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**Exploring Discourses of Access and Sexual Harassment in
Higher Education: A Study of Students' Perceptions of University
of Nairobi's Institutional Culture, Kenya.**

**Thesis Presented for the Degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in**

The African Gender Institute

Faculty of Humanities

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

BY

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April, 2013

DECLARATION

I, Juliet Njeri Muasya, declare that this thesis is my original work, except where references have been used and that it has not been submitted to any other university for any degree.

Name:

Signature:

Date:

University of Cape Town

DEDICATION

To my dear children, Olive, Carol and Cynthia, may you live to be inspired by this work and may your lives be guided by the just Women's Rights.

To my late dearest loved ones, parents Secondo Gacegoh and Cecilia Wanjuki, sister Patricia Muthoni and sweet grandparents Phillip and Angela who never lived to see the fruits of my labour. Thank you for your inspiration and countless love. Be assured that I have achieved my goal in life.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AA	Affirmative Action
AAU	Association of African Universities
ACU	Association of Commonwealth Universities
AGI	African Gender Institute
AHE	African Higher Education
ATM	Automatic Teller Machine
AWSC	African Women Studies Centre
CAE	College of Architecture and Engineering
CAVS	College of Agriculture and Veterinary Sciences
CBD	Central Business District
CBPS	College of Biological and Physical Sciences
CCU	Central Catering Unit
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
CEBIB	Centre for Biotechnology and Bioinformatics
CEDAW	Convention of Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CEES	College of Education and External Studies
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CERTWID	Centre for Research Training and Information on Women in Development
CHE	Commission of Higher Education
CHS	College of Health Sciences
CHSS	College of Humanities and Social Sciences

CMO	Chief Medical Officer
CODL	Centre for Open and Distance Learning
COVAW	Coalition of Violence against Women
CSASP	Carnegie South Africa Scholarships Programme
CUE	Commission for University Education
CUEA	Catholic University of Eastern Africa
DVC	Deputy Vice-Chancellor
DVD	Digital Video Disk
EFA	Education for All
FAWE	Forum of African Women Educationists
FGD	Focused Group Discussion
FIDA	Federation of Women Lawyers
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GDPC	Gender Dimension Programme Committee
GMD	Gender Mainstreaming Division
GoK	Government of Kenya
HE	Higher Education
HELB	Higher Education Loans Board
HER-SA	High Education Resources of South Africa
HIV/AIDs	Human Immuno deficiency Virus/ Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IAAGS	Institute of African, Anthropology and Gender Studies
ICIPE	International Centre of Insect Physiology and Ecology
IDIS	Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

IDS	Institute of Development Studies
IDDS	Institute of Development Studies and Sociology
IPO	Initial Public Offer
ISO	International Organisation for Standardisation
JAB	Joint Admission Board
JKUAT	Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology
KCA	Kenya College of Accountancy
KCSE	Kenya Certificate of Secondary Examination
KMTC	Kenya Medical Training College
KU	Kenyatta University
KWUST	Kiriri Women University of Science and Technology
MA	Master of Arts
MESS	Students Cafeteria
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MMUST	Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology
MOEST	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NUR	National University of Rwanda
ODeL	Open, Distance and e-Learning
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation Development
PAC	Preferential Admission Criteria
PAYE	Pay As You Eat
PEP	Pre-Entry Programme
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy

PSRI	Population Studies and Research Institute
RISC	Royal Institute of Chartered Secretaries
RTCEA	Royal Technical College of East Africa
SADC	South African Development Community
SAGAs	Semi-Autonomous Government Agencies
SCC	Student Counseling Centre
SCDE	School of Continuing and Distance Education
SAPS	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SHQ	Sexual Harassment Questionnaires
SMU	Strategic Management Unit
SMT	Science, Mathematics and Technology
SONU	Students Organisation of Nairobi University
SRC	Student Representative Council
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SSRA	Student Sexual Response Assistance
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infections
STM	Science, Technology and Mathematics
STM	Sexually Transmitted Marks
SUA	Sokoine University of Agriculture
SWA	Students Welfare Authority
TV	Television
UCAD	<i>Universite' Cheikh Anta Diop</i>
UCLAS	University College of Lands and Architectural Studies
UCT	University of Cape Town

UDSM	University of Dar-es-Salaam
UEAB	University of Eastern Africa, Baraton
UI	University of Ibadan
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNES	University of Nairobi Enterprises and Services
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNISA	University of South Africa
UoN	University of Nairobi
USA	United States of America
USHEPIA	University Science, Humanities and Engineering Partnerships in Africa
USIU	United States International University
WARSH	War against Rape and Sexual Harassment
WHO	World Health Organisation
WOSWA	Women Students Welfare Association
WSP	Women Studies Programme
WUCST	Western University College of Science and Technology
WWW	World Wide Web

ABSTRACT

Debate on gender and education suggest that discourses of culture and institutional norms are responsible for the differential treatment of men and women in the universities. Despite the wide range of multiple interventions set up by international and national communities, women who study and work in the universities sometimes suffer from gendered unfriendly culture. Such an environment may erode women's ability to participate in various university programmes. The relationship between institutional culture, access and sexual harassment remain complex at different levels of Higher Education in Africa.

The main objective of this study was to deepen our understanding of University of Nairobi's institutional culture. The study interrogates students' perceptions of gendered realities through the discourses of access to opportunities, space and facilities and their experiences of sexual harassment raised by research in African universities. To achieve this objective, the study used qualitative data drawn from in-depth interviews with a sample of 30 fourth year students and four Focused Group Discussions with student leaders. Analysis of data, as discourse, was used to explore the meaning of students' perceptions of their experiences based on masculinity, femininity and heterosexual traditions and practices within the University of Nairobi, the research site.

The findings reveal complex gendered experiences that tend to position men and women students differently. The construction of heterosexuality is theorised as 'normal' and 'natural' where men are sometimes portrayed as 'potentially aggressive', and women as 'weak'. The gendered representations operate to influence women students' daily transactions, sometimes reinforcing inequalities and social injustice. The research advocates that University of Nairobi's culture is shaped by patriarchal norms and structures where some women students continue to experience discrimination at different levels: social, cultural, political and economic.

The study recommends a need to have gender responsive pedagogy and a comprehensive empowerment programme if there has to be meaningful gender transformation. Strengthening guidance and counselling programme could help students cope with diversified challenges. Gender Based Violence and sexual harassment policy which promotes gender inclusive university culture is required.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This research focuses on understanding the institutional culture of Higher Education (HE) drawing on discourses of students' access to opportunities, space, facilities and their experiences of sexual harassment in the University of Nairobi (UoN), Kenya. In this chapter, introduction to the study is laid out, in addition to the meaning of institutional culture. The study problem, objectives as well as the significance are presented. The limitations are pointed out, while important terms pertaining to this study have been defined.

1.1 The Meaning of Institutional Culture

Culture entails the total pattern of norms, attitudes, core values, ethos, beliefs, codes of socially acceptable conducts, modes of life, religion, history, philosophy and traditional practices that guide the behaviour of individuals and groups (Greetz, 1973; Kuh and Whitt, 1988; Soetan, 2001; Museus, 2008), thus contributing to people's self understanding (Greetz, 1973). Kuh and Whit (1988) enhance my understanding of culture by stating that it is the 'invisible glue', which holds individuals and institutions together. Culture which is transmitted from one generation to another in a flexible manner, determines the way different aspects of culture shape life and impose behaviour on its members (Soetan, 2001; Murunga, 2002). Thus, it can generally be argued that culture determines what the society wants in its institutions, and expects of its members (men and women, girls and boys) in terms of their roles, responsibilities and attributes.

Institutional culture is embedded patterns of behaviour involving the institution's own ways of doing things that are accepted as the way things are, its knowledge, body of traditions, values, beliefs, ideologies and orientations (Anyakoho, Uzuegbunam and Ezeike, 1999; Ismail,

2000; Pereira, 2007; Peterson and Spencer, 1991 in Campbell and Hourigan, 2008). The institutional culture further involve interaction patterns and styles, collective memories, their ways of life known by those who work, and study in the institution through their lived experiences (Ismail, 2000; Steyn and Van Zyl, 2001). Thus, institutional culture consists of formal rules and procedures, traditional and informal practices and structures operating within the establishment (Onokala and Onah, 1998; Barnes, 2007). Pereira's (2007) concern with the dominant culture that prevails over the subordinate culture is significant in understanding the gender relations. Gender relations seem to be marked by power differentials that map the range of processes, activities, use of time and space that are considered appropriate for men and women in an institution (Gore, 2001 in Pereira, 2007). These are usually marked by what Ruth (2000:13) refers to as codes for '*man-as-thinker*', '*man-as-aggressive debator*', '*man-as-athlete*' and, '*boys-becoming-men*'.

Using Kuh and Whitt's (1988) arguments, it seems that different aspects of culture provide a frame of reference within which to interpret the meaning of events and actions as they relate to girls and boys, men and women. Such aspects according to Mawayo and Hoadley (2007), Haupt and Chislom (2007) are significant in helping us understand the ways in which peoples' experiences can be explained in relation to institutional culture. I do recognise that presenting the experiences and constructs of men and women outside a clear understanding of the institutional context is likely to lead to partial knowledge of issues under investigation (Haupt and Chislom, 2007).

The concept of institutional culture portray norms of experiences lived by people in an institution, usually perceived as natural and normal (Shackleton, 2007). Although the experiences of students are different (due to gender, age, educational levels, nature of degree programmes, class, race etc), I did explore them with an understanding that there are common discourses that cut across these experiences, and which portray unequal power relation between the two genders. Drawing from Kamau's (2009) arguments, I found it necessary to consider the

differences between men and women since each has different needs and interests. Since institutional culture guides behaviour and beliefs, providing a framework for understanding students' experiences, thus influencing every aspect of institution's functioning (Shackleton, 2007; Museus, 2008), it was imperative to find out how men and women students' lived experiences of the institutional culture, affect their daily interactions in the UoN.

1.2 Gender Equity and Equality within Higher Educations' Institutional Culture

Globally, various international conventions and declarations offer information concerning gender equity and equality in education. World Declaration on Higher Education for the 21st Century of 1998, Article 4 mentions the need to enhance participation and promote the role of women at all levels of Higher Education (HE) (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations (UNESCO), 1998a; 1998b; 2000). The Declaration emphasises elimination of gender stereotyping in HE and the need to consolidate women's participation at all levels and disciplines in which they are under-represented, within their respective institutional culture. Since HE is a fundamental pillar of human rights, democracy, sustainable development and peace, it should be accessible to all people irrespective of race, gender, language, religion, economic, cultural or social distinctions, and physical disabilities (UNESCO, 1998a), if gender equality and equity has to be achieved and enhanced. Fernando Henrique Cardoso, former president of Brazil stresses that societies with greater gender equality between men and women, boys and girls, are healthier, safer, more prosperous and democratic (Plan International, 2011).

Other international conventions emphasising similar sentiments include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948, the UN Convention on All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) 1979, usually described as the International Bill of Rights for Women, the Beijing Platform for Action 1995, the Jomtien Declaration on Education for All (EFA) 1990, the World Education Forum 2000 and

the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) 2000. The declarations reflect the importance international community attaches to gender equity and equality in education and the empowerment of women. Thus, HE for women is positioned in the international development discourse as a central site for facilitating skills, knowledge and expertise that are important to socio-economic development in low-income Commonwealth countries (Morley, 2004; 2005; Tjomsland, 2009), Kenya included.

Although many governments, including Kenya are signatories to these declarations and conventions, and have attempted to implement most of the goals, especially gender parity in access and participation in education, different forms of discrimination continue to be experienced by women in educational sectors (UNESCO, 1998a). The underlying gender differences in men-dominated societies seem to be a feature of the institutional culture, particularly embedded in the formal and informal routines and practices (Pereira, 2007) of HE. Using cultural-centred approach, Anna Smulders 1998 in UNESCO (2002b) notes that institutions of HE reproduce gender inequalities via their internal structures and everyday practices because of the cultural perceptions which determine the attitudes, and behaviour of men and women. The implication here is that the persistent inequalities and discrimination of women are to a large extent produced by the universities' institutional culture (Kamau, 2004; Mama and Barnes, 2007), thus, culture plays a major role for women's access to HE (Tjomsland, 2009).

It seems that universities are significantly influenced by traditional elitist, patriarchal structures and culture (Acker, 1994 in UNESCO, 2002b; Endeley and Ngaling, 2007) which are internalised and generally accepted as 'norm'. Barnes (2007:12) notes that any examination of institutional culture in African universities should be guided from the dynamic that these institutions have been places '*of the new men for the new men*'. Thus, the masculine nature of educational institutions predominate in the culture and processes of the institutions with specific needs and

interests of women students and staff being relegated to the periphery (Bunyi, 2008).

Morley (2004; 2005) observes that the extent to which the imbalance in the experiences of men and women in HE contributes to discrimination among university students and staff should be of great concern to institutions of higher learning, since such differences tend to undermine the realisation of gender equality and inclusive culture. This could affect the realisation of people's aspirations towards the achievement of democracy and social justice (Mama and Barnes, 2007), since gender equality is about fairness in the cultural, social and political dimensions (Organisation for Economic Co-operation Development (OECD), 2012). Promoting the achievement of gender equality and women's empowerment is the third MDG's goal. OECD (2012) sees this goal as a catalyst for multiplying developmental efforts.

The current research recognises that the creation of responsive university culture involves theorisation of the perceptions and experiences of men and women students in educational institutions. Use of students' perceptions through qualitative research in the present study is important for purposes of conceptualising the nature of institutional culture, if as Barnes (2007), Mama and Barnes (2007) articulates the universities have to play the role of producing, facilitating and disseminating relevant knowledge in the 21st Century. Morley (2004; 2005) observes that lack of qualitative information in the public domain could impact on knowledge production, dissemination and scholarships. In addition, Adusah-Karikari (2008) and Achola (2009) advocates for a close examination of womens' experiences in their real life situations, through questioning of cultural and institutional norms which underpin the quest for gender equality and human rights in HE.

Thus, the present study is, to some extent, in line with the UNESCO global objective, which emphasises that democracy, sustainable human development and peace can only be promoted by facilitating an institutional culture where men and women participate in all levels of

education without any discrimination (UNESCO, 1998a; 2009). This objective can be achieved by exploring the hidden experiences in the context of social, political and economic challenges through the discourses of access and sexual harassment, likely to undermine the establishment of a gender responsive culture, using in the current study, a case of UoN.

Inclusive/responsive culture which encourages women's participation is likely to lead to gender equity in access, if barriers that influence access are addressed (UNESCO, 2002b; Commonwealth Secretariat, 1999 in Endeley and Ngaling, 2007). Thus, sustainable development of an inclusive culture is the responsibility of all stakeholders of the institution (Endeley and Ngaling, 2007). Although studies on gender equity and equality within HE institutions have been conducted in low-income Commonwealth countries, majority are small-scale pieces of 'lone' research, usually found in the 'unpublished domain' or 'grey literature' (Morley, 2004; 2005; Gunawardena *et al* 2004) which may hinder the formulation of relevant interventions. I agree with Morley (2004; 2005) and Adush-Karikari (2008) that by conducting research in gender issues and disseminating the findings, it could help unearth challenges women encounter in HE.

1.2.1 Benefits of Higher Education

Since gender equality is a developmental strategy within the establishment of institutional culture, promoting it through education enables all people to escape poverty, improve their living standards, tap their talents, and potential (World Bank, 2001; Republic of Kenya, 2006a; EQUATE Project, 2008; OECD, 2012). While considering the benefits of educating women and girls, Summers (1992) concludes that investing in girls' education may offer the highest return available in developing world. This is because the benefits of education, particularly university education, goes 'beyond' the woman and her family, offering long term options for poverty alleviation (Subbarao, Raney, Dundar and Hawforth, 1994).

Within the developmental discourses, education for women seems to be a central pre-condition for the elimination of poverty (Subbarao *et al*, 1994), since women represent half of the active population (Onokala and Onah, 1998). That is why Kwesiga (2002: ix) states: *'educating women constitutes a crucial escape route from the poverty trap in the African continent'*. Thus, the social returns for educating women encompass not only fertility, health, nutrition, higher family income and schooling but also an increase in productive opportunities, regional, occupational, and the upward mobility of the household (Kwesiga, 2002; Chege and Sifuna, 2006; EQUATE Project, 2008). Poverty alleviation is the first goal of MDGs 2000.

Getting girls to school is likely to make differences between life and death for millions of people (Global Campaign for Education, 2003), since it gives them confidence, and power to make better choices for themselves, and their children. King (1991), in Kibera (2002) noted that an educated mother raises a smaller, healthier and better-educated family, and she is more productive at home and in the work place. That is why Ajayi, Goma and Johnson (1996), Imam, Mama and Sow (1997) support the theory that educating a man is to educate one person, but to educate a woman is to educate a whole nation. What this suggests is that educating girls and women bring multiple benefits and long lasting change, including reduced child mortality, increased productivity and income, more educated children, gains for women and girls' social status and empowerment (Okeke, 2004; Gyan, 2005; OECD, 2012).

HE is expected to embody norms of social interaction and reject discrimination based on gender, ethnicity, religious beliefs, or social class (World Bank, 2000). Therefore, any kind of discrimination against women and girls in education means denying millions the opportunity of enjoying their basic human rights (Subbarao *et al*, 1994; Rathgeber, 2003). It, thus, becomes imperative to address the extent of discrimination in the present study, through the discourses of access and sexual harassment, in order to understand UoN's culture.

World Declaration on HE for the 21st Century (1998), Article 1 mentions the need to educate for responsible citizens, active participation in society, consolidation of human rights, democracy and culture of peace. Thus, institutions of higher learning should be seen as important agents of social change since they shape and instill the norms, attitudes, and values including gender ideologies, and identities which are crucial for democratic practices to flourish (World Bank, 2000; Mama, 2008). In her opening remarks at the Association of Commonwealth Universities International Conference in Colombo, Sri Lanka, Haraldstad noted that HE give women options to be independent thinkers and agents of change (Haraldstad, 2012). What this means is that university education is a fundamental building block for development since, it has cultural benefits, that of creating, promoting a common, enlightened, citizenship and passing on culture from one generation to another (World Bank, 2000; Kwesiga, 2002; Haraldstad, 2012). Such kind of education places women in strategic positions as social educators, and transmitters of values and norms to all members in the society (Makhubu, 1998). The current study draws from Adusah-Karikari's (2008) ideas, of the need to carefully investigate values and the resulting behaviour of men and women in society, and particularly in the universities since it is an essential goal within the comprehensive planning efforts of HE's institutional culture.

University education is also the main route to personal, career advancement, collective liberation, empowerment of women (Mama, 2003; Mama and Barnes, 2007), and a prerequisite for women to pursue better opportunities in the academic labour market (UNESCO, 2002b), especially in Africa. Education for gender equality aims at transforming gender relations, so that men and women enjoy the same opportunities (UNESCO, 2000). Such a transformation is important because the actors involved, both dominant and subordinate, subscribe to social and organisational reality (UNESCO, 2002b). But, from the histories of unequal gender relations, many men expect respect, and service from women. Failure by women to respond in the 'appropriate' ways or

deviation from gender norms entail penalties or sometimes make them be subjected to sanctions of being labeled deviant to violence (Pereira, 2007; Homes and Maraa, 2010). Morley (2004) notes that gendered power relations construct and regulate women's experiences of HE. Therefore, following Manuh (1995) in Adusah-Karikari (2008) sentiments, there was need to consider students' gendered power relations in order to explain the ideological basis of women's continuing subordination.

African universities have a critical role to play in the social and economic transformation of African states (Namuddu, 1995). Namuddu (1995) and Tjomuland (2009) argue that HE stands out as a highly efficient way of shaping gender equitable societies, thus a major vehicle for development. For universities to play their role effectively there is a need to provide equal educational opportunities to men and women. Depriving women of HE excludes them from obtaining the technical skills and professional employment needed to participate in national, international decision-making, and problem solving processes (Onsongo, 2005; Assie-Lumumba, 2006). It is only through getting university education that women may be able to move from the traditional lower levels of employment (Kwesiga, 2002; Mama, 2003). With high level skills, more women may enter the labour market as teachers, doctors, nurses, engineers, entrepreneurs and social scientists which could improve the economy, and eventually allow them to overcome the myriad challenges they encounter (Heider, 1996; Mama, 2003; Hanushek, 2008; Kamau, 2010) in the society.

Education for equality entails the importance of 'empowering' women by giving them a range of socio-cultural competencies and tools, beyond reading and writing skills (Nanette and Czuba, 1999). This is based on empowerment approach which focuses on the skills and knowledge, to make women independent. Empowerment, a multi-dimensional process fosters power in people for use in their own lives, communities and society by acting on what they define as important (Nanette and Czuba, 1999). Empowerment gives women the ability to make decisions

directly related to their lives both in the public and private spheres (Makhubu, 1998). Thus, empowerment of women the need to recognise their participation in HE, support, equip, motivate and tap the dynamism they bring as students, staff and managers (Gachukia, 2003).

The provision of university education for women is critical in building the diverse capacities necessary to tackle the African continent's multifarious and multi-dimensional problems (Makhubu, 1998). Thus, HE provides expertise for key posts, which shape policy in all fields (UNESCO, 1998a). The Cairo and Beijing Conferences of 1994 and 1995 respectively noted that education is one of the most critical areas toward women's empowerment. Therefore, in order to achieve gender equity and equality, Morley (2004) advocates a need to establish an empowering environment for women and men in HE. Despite the importance university education play in empowering women, the question is, are men and women students empowered enough to be able to cope with challenges they encounter once they enter HE institutions?

From my observation, researchers seem to unanimously agree that university education is important in improving women's general status, setting the agenda at various levels, creating and disseminating gender friendly knowledge within their respective culture. Since universities are important sites for research, and knowledge production, they are likely to generate equitable knowledge (Mama, 2003). HE is further charged with the critical role of shaping women and men of the future who would influence the form and content of knowledge (Maseno (2005). This has partly been achieved by the establishment of gender studies as a field of knowledge, strategic for the transformation of HE and society, and one of the recommendations by the World Declaration on HE for the 21st Century (UNESCO, 2000).

Examples of universities in Africa with gender institutes, centres, departments and courses include Makerere, Uganda Martyrs (Uganda), Dar-es-Salaam (Tanzania), Cape Town, Kwa-Zulu/Natal and Pretoria (South Africa), University of Buea (Cameroon), Kwame Nkrumah,

University of Ghana (Ghana), Lagos State, and Obafemi Awolowo Universities (Nigeria) Addis Ababa University (Ethiopia), Kenyatta, Egerton, Moi and UoN (Kenya). The centres have offered men and women students intellectual and professional growth, which could make them move from being passive ‘consumers’ of information to active members of the society committed to building contexts free of discrimination (Bennett, 2002). But what hinders women and men from participating equally in the production of gender friendly knowledge within HE?

For men and women students to benefit from university education and to contribute positively to nation building, they need to equally participate at all levels of development. Chege and Sifuna (2006) point out that quality university education is necessary for women to adequately and effectively participate in national development. Thus, any barrier to women’s access, participation, and retention to university education need to be addressed and challenged, so that potential benefits meant to be accrued by women are not completely eroded. I support Guranatunhu-Mudiwa’s (2010) idea that when it come to addressing gender inequalities, HE should take top priority since it impacts on knowledge production, dissemination, and absorption by the society. The question is: to what extent have the barriers which hinder men and women students’ access to opportunities and space been adequately addressed and understood through qualitative research in HE in Africa, and Kenya in particular?

1.3 Gender Issues in African Higher Education

Gender imbalances are acute and persist in all African universities and in most disciplines, despite the efforts and initiatives that have been set up by the various governments to increase the participation of women students (Eshiwani, 1999; Lurat, 2003; Tereffa and Altbach, 2003), staff and managers. Among the issues raised in most HE gender studies include poor academic performance, gender biased curriculum and teaching methods, discrimination in staff recruitment, lack of facilities, sexual harassment and gender unfriendly environment (Mlama, 1998;

AAU and FAWE, 1999; Huggins and Randell, 2007). In their research project done in universities from Nigeria, SA, Uganda, Tanzania and Sri-Lanka, Morley (2004); Gunawardena, Kwesiga, Lihamba, Morley, Odejide, Shackleton and Sorhaindo (2004) findings show widespread existence of violence against women as a dominant concern of gender scholars, in addition to access as a redistributive measure, patriarchal organizational culture, micropolitics and the gendered division of labour in the academia. Further, Pereira (2007) notes that sexual harassment and the absence of women in certain structures seem to be salient in shaping the ethos of the dominant university culture, a starting point for the present study.

Gender scholars are trying to account for the persistent inequalities in HE, especially in dominant organisations of knowledge production (Gunawardena *et al*, 2004). In their argument, Mabokela (2003), Mama and Barnes (2007) assert that womens' experiences point to the persistent institutional practices and inequalities which to some extent reflect lack of institutional commitment to gender issues. These practices constitute what Cox (1994) refers to as the organisational culture: norms, values and beliefs that influence how the 'minority' groups are treated by their 'majority' counterparts. The minorities are required to conform to the values and norms of the majority culture with limited opportunities to assert their own beliefs. Gibson, Ivancevich, Donnelly and Konopaske (2003), Mc Share and Von Glinow (2005) support Cox (1994) argument, while noting that the stronger and dominant a culture is, the more it tends to influence behaviour of people in the organisations. Therefore, by trying to deepen our understanding of gendered nature of university's culture through women's voices (Morley, 2004; 2005) and how it helps set the environment for violent acts, this could enlighten members of the society why such acts occur.

African universities are faced with the challenge of ensuring equal participation of men and women students, staff and managers. The institutional inequalities challenge the integration of gender equality and

equity commitments within AHE (Randall and Fish, 2008). These challenges are still being felt, even after the World Declaration on HE for the 21st Century 1998, which considered the issue of equity of access, enhancing participation and promoting the role of women as areas which need urgent redress (UNESCO, 1998b). This is especially so in universities in the low income Commonwealth countries where Morley (2004) observes, the under-representation of women as one of the issues facing universities.

The low enrolment of women in education is an indication that the African continent is under-utilising more than 50% of its available human talent (Eshiwani, 1999). One wonders how we can be justified to say that we have achieved gender equality and sustainable development, when half of the population is marginalised. African universities need to review their mission statements and come up with specific strategic plans that can help women cope up with such challenges (Eshiwani, 1999), particularly gender-related ones. Thus, achieving gender equality requires systematic changes in policy in the society (UNESCO, 2004), and particularly within HE.

1.3.1 Gender and Access to Institutions of Higher Education in Africa

Access is the 'right or privilege to approach, reach, enter or make use of something' (Kwesiga, 2002: ix). Ribbot (1998) in Sall (2000) sees access as the freedom or the ability to obtain or make use of something or a right in the sense of an enforceable claim to use or benefit from something. Yahya-Othman (2000) links access to struggle for greater democracy and respect of people's rights. Democracy is a battle which is fought every inch of the way for the development of a just and equal society (Williams, 1997). Sall (2000) talks of the playing field which needs to be 'levelled' so that all players have equal or fair opportunities. The unlevelled platform has to partly do, with the question of access. Creating an even playing field which is embedded in the notion of equal power relations is the hall mark of Gender and Development (GAD) approach. Thus, GAD does not advocate that women and men are

equal, but that access to opportunities, economic and social resources be equal (Guramatunhu-Mudiwa, 2010), irrespective of gender, class, age or race.

Access to HE has been identified by UNESCO and other United Nations (UN) agencies as one of the areas where inequalities can be found, a challenge towards the achievement of gender equality. This is because women's access to HE remains critically low at all levels of HE system (UNESCO, 2002b), yet access based on merit is guaranteed by the UN Declaration on Human Rights 1948 (Article, 26). Kwesiga (2002:48) asks: *What makes education less approachable, less easy to enter for women than men? Do men have more rights or enjoy more privileges to get education?* In trying to understand access in education, Kwesiga (2002) and Onsongo (2005) points out that access has to do with equality of opportunity in three dimensions: Equal access for individuals regardless of social structures; equal chances to take part or share in the system and equal educational results and gains. Thus, access introduces the concept of equity, which focuses on fairness and social justice in the way social educational opportunities and resources are allocated and shared (Onsongo, 2007). In the present study, access refers to men and women students being able to get similar chances to use support structures, get opportunities, take part in various activities and share equally in the distribution of resources in the UoN.

Mama and Barnes (2007) attempt to give an answer to the question of why the university playground remains uneven for women students to access by theorising the idea of universities being highly male dominated spaces, numerically and culturally. The idea that women are under-represented within the university structures make them comply with the majority (Mabokela, 2003), which could expose them to different forms of discrimination. For instance, Morley (2004) feels that sexual harassment an ubiquitous area of gender power seems to be the prices women are expected to pay for entering men dominated spaces in HE, an area explored in this study. To some extent, this makes women in most African countries struggle on many fronts in their attempt to

access university education (Ajayi *et al*, 1996; Pereira, 2007), opportunities and other support systems. It also partly explains why women's enrolment in the universities remain low (Rathgeber, 2003; Bunyi, 2004; Salo, 2004), causing the university systems to sometimes be characterised by gender inequalities (Imam *et al*, 1997).

Findings of a study done in 32 Universities in Africa shows that women students are the most under-represented groups (Negash, Olusola, Colucci, 2010). This is evidenced by the following statistics: In 2005/2006 only 22.3% and 9.9% of the women undergraduate and post graduate students respectively were enrolled in Addis Ababa University in Ethiopia (Mulugeta, 2007). In 2002 women students in the University of Asmara in Eritrea were 14%, while in 2003/2004 women graduates at the Advanced Institutions of Learning in Eritrea were 67 as compared to 165 men (Ravinder, 2005). Girls enrolled at tertiary levels in Rwanda between 2008/2010 were 25% and 30% respectively (Masanja, 2010).

Studies done in Africa on the distribution of students by faculties generally show that women's participation is lowest in the science/technological programmes, as compared to the art-based faculties. By 2010 the percentages of women students decrease by field of study in most Universities in Africa. For instance, in SA Universities, there were 57% men students in the science, engineering and technology courses by 2010 (MacGregor, 2010). At Addis Ababa University in Ethiopia, women students studying languages and those in the Faculty of Science in 2000 were 19% and 7% respectively (Eshete, 2001). Results of enrolment for first year in 2005/2006 in University of Dar-es-Salaam (UDSM) in Tanzania shows that women were 15% and 11% of those studying Bachelor of Science in Mechanical and Mining Engineering respectively (Kapinga 2010). Assie-Lumumba (2006) notes that in the University of Cape Coast in Ghana 17% and 26% women students were studying Science and Education, respectively, in 2000. While the proportion of women students enrolled in Science,

Mathematics and Technology (SMT) in the National University of Rwanda (NUR) by 2009 was 27% (Masanja, 2010).

One would expect more women in the traditional feminine courses like education, but surprisingly they are still under-represented. This reflects traditional gendered constructions surrounding specific fields of study (Randall and Fish, 2008). Karega (2001) reported 30% of women students enrolled in Medicine and Agriculture in Abdou Moumouni University in Niger. Karega (2001) and Masanja's (2001) findings are similar to Kapinga's (2010). These scholars found that in the UDSM's Faculty of Pharmacy, admission was nearing parity. Women enrolment rate in the UDSM was slightly close to 40% in Pharmacy while Nursing had 57% in 2005/2006 (Kapinga, 2010). Parity seems to be based on the fact that nursing is one of the components of medicine, a dimension seen to be more feminine. This reinforces the belief that women are not only under-represented in science/technological courses but seem to probably have a phobia for traditionally men-dominated disciplines (Terhemba, Onyeka and Jumnai, 2008). The general trend of under-representation of women in science/technological courses is common in most African universities, with the exception of universities in SA, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, whose figures compare favourably with those of industrialised countries (Imam *et al*, 1997; Makhubu, 1998; Eshete, 2001; Assie Lumumba, 2006; Puja, 2009), an indication that it is possible to achieve gender parity.

The disciplinary choices of women have been the focus of debate in feminist discourses on education and equity in the Western countries (Harvey, 1993; Mckinnon and Brooks, 2001; Chanana, 2004). In most cases scientific careers are constructed in ways that privilege dominant forms of masculinity (MacGregor, 2010), an area further explored in the current study while using five unique degree programmes. Theorising social construction of masculinity is in its early stage in universities in low income Commonwealth countries (Morley, 2004; 2005). Masculinity tends to undermine women's capacity to engage in decision making within the institutions (Pereira, 2007). Thus, there was need to

problematise aspects of masculinity in the present study, through the discourse of students' access to unique degree programmes.

The feminisation of fields of study is generally associated with the decreasing social value, prestige and economic return rates (Assie-Lumumba, 2006). Onsongo (2007) notes that the low enrolment of women in these courses affects their participation in the job market, thus it has implications for gender equity in the society. Onsongo (2007) further argues that the subjects most women are enrolled in do not have attractive remuneration options. The implication is that most women stand to lose in terms of economic empowerment since they are likely to earn low salaries upon employment.

At the faculty levels, women academics have not managed to climb to high academic leadership positions, unlike the men (Makhubu, 1998). The idea that women faculty are fewer in proportion than men, is an indication of the manifestation of gender gap in faculty distribution (Tereffa and Altbach, 2003; Zeleza, 2003), where women are always concentrated in the lower ranks (Mabokela, 2004; Macgregor, 2010). The under-representation is mostly in the upper echelons of the academy, in senior management and administrative positions within the academy (deans, heads of departments, vice-chancellors). By 2008, there were only 6% of women professors in African Universities (Mama, 2009). Specifically, in the University of Buea Cameroon, Endeley and Ngaling (2007) reported that in 2002 and 2007 there were 0.9% and 0.4% women academic staff, respectively, who had attained rank of professor as compared to 17.7% in 2002 and 12% in 2007 at the level of assistant lecturers. In 2007, 24% and 76% of associate professors and professors were women and men respectively, in South African Universities (MacGregor, 2010). The gender gap is partly due to the decrease of women students as one climbs up the educational ladder (Ajayi *et al*, 1996; MacGregor, 2010). MacGregor (2010) attributes gender disparity to women's careers as being connected to relationship with their husbands, parents, children and lack of networks.

The status of gender disparity in Makerere university as per 2008 shows that only 15.2% women were at the level of associate professor and professor, while women faculty in the science-based disciplines is 3.1% professor and 13.3% associate professors (Tibatema-Ekirikubinza, 2010). By 2010 there were only six of the 63 full professors, and 15 of the 99 associate professors (Tibatema-Ekirikubinza, 2010). In 2000/2001 only five women professors in Tanzanian universities and none were in the Faculties of Education and Nursing (Nawe, 2004). In Guinea out of 1,000 faculty members: 2.5% are women, and in Ethiopia out of 2,228 faculties: 6% are women. Uganda, Morocco, Tunisia and SA have 20%, 24%, 33% and 36% respectively by 2000 (Tereffa and Altbach, 2003) women faculty members. In UDSM, the position of women in the faculty is low, mostly due to the drop in of women joining universities and the fact that most universities have stopped recruiting staff at the level of tutorial assistants.

The fact that obtaining post-graduate degree is a requirement for one to be employed limit women's chances of being recruited at the faculty levels (Yahya-Othman, 2000). In Ethiopia, women faculty members in teacher training colleges constitute only 4% in 2000 (Eshete, 2001). These statistics suggest a need for women friendly environment, which allows for the questioning of values and beliefs if the recruitment, retention and advancement of women at all levels in the university is to be retained (Eshete, 2001). To be able to create a friendly environment for students, faculty and administrators, Morley (2004; 2005), Mama and Barnes (2007) recommends an exploration of experiences, a much less studied terrain, in order to illuminate gendered processes and practices that contribute to the inequalities recorded in gender disaggregated statistics.

Association of African Universities (AAU) and Forum of African Women Educationalist (FAWE) (1999), Bennett (2002), Global Campaign for Education (2003) point out that in most African universities, women are outnumbered by men, especially at the management and faculty levels, where power is exercised, and important

decisions are taken. This means that the management levels are characterised by the absence of women or by meager representation of women in educational policy-making bodies, with most African universities producing mainly men managers (Assie-Lumumba, 1997). Otunga and Ojwang's (2004) study confirm this information, while noting that 90% of staff, 80% lecturers and 75% students in Moi, UoN, University of Eastern Africa, Baraton (UEAB) and Daystar universities in Kenya are men.

Any sustainable growth can only be realised if there is equal access by men and women to positions of power and influence (Guramatunhu-Mudiwa, 2010). Mama (2009) argues that exclusion of women in university leadership deprive universities of the social capital which women would bring in form of networks, values and beliefs that contribute to a friendly institutional culture. For instance, University of Buea in Cameroon which has been headed by a woman vice-chancellor for many years has one of the most advanced gender friendly environments (Guramatunhu-Mudiwa, 2010). However, gender disparity continues to be experienced at the management and leadership positions in many African universities. For example, an investigation of 117 universities in the South African Development Community (SADC) in 2010 reveals that 105 (89.7%) have men presidents, and only 12 universities (10.3%) are led by women. Out of 117 universities, ten (66.7%) of SADC countries did not have women vice-chancellors, while five (33.3%) countries had universities led by women vice-chancellors. In the senior university management, SA has the highest number, six (26.1%) of women leaders, followed by Madagascar (25%), Zimbabwe (18.2%) and Tanzania (8.7%). In Makerere by April 2010, among the ten members of top management, only the deputy vice-chancellor (Academics) and university librarian are women (Tibatemwa-Ekirikubilinza, 2010). The low percentages of women in these senior management positions reflect the idea that women form a small percentage (UNESCO, 2002b).

The majority of women hold positions in support service sector in the universities, especially in the areas of students' discipline, catering, guidance and counselling. These roles have been traditionally associated with women and they do not seem to count for promotion and senior ranks (Morley, 1999; Onsongo, 2000) in the academy. The scarcity of women within the academic hierarchy in the universities has implications for gender equity programmes, since it hinders women from getting involved in key decision-making positions, for instance in formulation of policies, monitoring, evaluation and budgeting (Onsongo, 2007; Kearney, 2000 in Kamau, 2010; Tibatemwa-Ekirikubinza, 2010).

Obtaining a Doctor of Philosophy Degree (PhD) is a mandatory requirement for promotions into senior management positions in most universities as articulated by Mabokela (2004) and Onsongo (2005). While sometimes the requirements tend to disadvantage women, who take longer than the men to get PhD (Kamau, 2004; Onsongo, 2005), Kamau (2004) reported on women's doctoral programmes stagnating, due to lack of funds to conduct field work. In addition, Masanja (2010) in an interview with 43 women in National University of Rwanda (NUR) found that 87% and 93% did not do their PhD because of insecurity in marriage and home chores respectively. Women are not only marginalised in management due to lack of appropriate qualifications (PhD), but Mabokela (2004) pointed out that the few senior women frequently find themselves isolated in hierarchies and their rewards are different from those of their men counterparts.

The idea of more women joining arts, social sciences and law, rather than sciences and engineering, makes it difficult for them to get donor funding for their research (Tamale and Oloka-Onyango, 1997; Yahya-Othman, 2000), yet research and publication are important to any promotion in the university (Onsongo, 2000). According to Mbow (2000), donor-funded consultancies and researches favour men, who have a head start in establishing networks. For instance, research on women and gender issues rarely receive financial support from the

donors in the University of Dakar (Mbow, 2000), which could affect women's participation both as students and faculty.

There is evidence to show that qualitative experiences of women once they enroll at the university level largely remain unresearched (Morley, 2004; Mama and Barnes, 2007; Adusah-Karikari, 2008). Yet, the persistent under-representation of women as intellectual leaders in the universities has wider implications on the production of gendered knowledge through research and publication (Mama, 2003) required for sustainable development. It is no wonder that Gunawardena's *et al* (2004) major concern is on the issue of qualitative experiences of women in universities as students, academics and managers. Thus, in order to effectively address issues of gender imbalance in HE institutions, I agree with Patton (2002), Arnot (2004) and Assie-Lumumba's (2006) sentiments that scholars need to have a broader understanding of women's perceptions through qualitative research which is used to generate insights into particular phenomenon, since such research tend to treat women as subjects, and by so doing give them the ability to express their voices.

While opening the Conference on Institutional Cultures and HE Leadership at the University of Cape Town, Ramphela and Brito (2008) challenged universities to address institutional cultures, since they are awash with gender based power constructs that keep women out of leadership and other opportunities in HE. The cultures of HE institutions are important forces in the production of 'professional' citizenship, in addition to constructing gendered norms of heterosexuality (Bennett and Reddy, 2009). Thus, by conducting the present study, the researcher's aim is to get a clear understanding of the processes in which men and women students construct gender inequalities and social injustices through discourses of access and sexual harassment in the UoN, Kenya.

1.4 The Status of University Education in Kenya

Since the inception of the first national university, UoN in 1970, the university sector in Kenya has undergone phenomenal growth and expansion. The Commission for Higher Education (CHE) established by the Government of Kenya (GoK) through an Act of Parliament in 1995 under the provisions of the Universities Act CAP 210B and GoK (GoK, 2003) recognises, and has authorised more than 30 universities in Kenya. The Kenya Government has established Commission for University Education (CUE) (2012) to replace CHE. CUE a State Corporation, established under the Act of Parliament, Universities Act No. 42 of 2012 aims at making better provisions for university education with a vision of providing quality university education that is accessible and sustainable.

By 2006, there were six public, eight chartered, six universities with Letters of Interim Authority¹, and six private universities with Certificate of Registration (GoK, 2003; CHE, 2006; Chege and Sifuna, 2006; Wekesa, 2006). To date (2013), there are 22 public chartered universities with more than 15 constituent colleges, 15 private chartered universities and 12 with Letters of Interim. The public universities are those established by an Act of Parliament, largely supported with public funds and recognised by CUE. They include among others: UoN (1970); Moi (1984); Kenyatta (1985); Egerton (1987); Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT) (1994) and Maseno (2001) (GoK, 2003; Chege and Sifuna, 2006); Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology (MMUST) (2007) (GoK, 2003; CHE, 2006; Aduda, 2012); Kenya Polytechnic, Chuka, Pwani, Jaramogi Odinga and Dedan Kimanthi Uuniversity of Science and Technology (2013).

¹ The Letter of Interim Authority allows the sponsor or institution to set up a governing body; commence or continue the development of physicals facilities or to assemble academic resource. Within three years of Letter of Interim Authority the Commission may determine the process of full accreditation to start.

The fact that each public university in Kenya is established under its own Acts of Parliament makes them legally independent and autonomous from the government and each other (Mwiria, Njuguna, Ngome, Wawire and Wesonga, 2007), including their culture. This means that each university is different in terms of its geographical location, institutional, political, demography of its student's population (Bennett *et al*, 2007), and specific cultural aspects such as values, traditions, customs, habits and beliefs (Gouws and Kritizinger, 1997). Therefore, treating each university differently is important, since, as Kwesiga (2002) asserts, it helps understand specific contexts, consequently, be able to identify localised solutions to women's discrimination and marginalisation. Since universities are different, it thus becomes challenging to generalise research findings (Gouws, Kritizinger, Wenhold, 2005; Barnes, 2007; Bennett *et al*, 2007).

The chartered private universities are established in accordance with the Universities Act 1985 (Cap 210B) and Legal Notice No. 56, The Universities, Standardisation, Accreditation and Supervision Rules. From only two universities in 1980, by 2012 there are 27 private universities in Kenya (Kamotho, 2012). So far 15 private chartered universities have been fully accredited² by CHE (2006) include: University of Eastern Africa Baraton (UEAB) (1991); Catholic University of Eastern Africa (CUEA) (1992); Daystar (1994); Scott Theological College (1992); United States International University (USIU) (1999); African Nazarene (2002); Kenya Methodist (2006); Pan African Christian, Strathmore, Kabarak and St. Paul's (2008); Mount Kenya, African International, Kenya Highlands Evangelical (2011) and Great Lakes University of Kisumu (2012). The universities with Letters of Interim Authority from CHE include Kiriri Women's University of Science and Technology (KWUST) (2002); Aga Khan (2002); GRESTA (2006); Kenya College of Accountancy University (2007); Presbyterian

² In Kenya accreditation means public acceptance and confirmation evidenced by either the creation of a university through an Act of Parliament or a grant or award of charter that a university meets and continues to meet the standards of academic excellence set by the commission in accordance with provisions of the Universities Act 1985 (Cap 210B) and relevant rules and or guidance developed under the act.

University of East Africa (2007); Adventist University of Africa, Inoorero (2008) and The East Africa University (2010); Genco and Management University of East Africa (2011); Riara and Pioneer International University (2012).

All these private universities except USIU, Kabarak, KWUST, Aga Khan, GRESTA (Nyaigotti-Chacha, 2004), Great Lakes University of Kisumu, Inoorero, KCA, The East Africa University, Genco and Management University of East Africa, Riara, Pioneer International University and Mount Kenya Universities have religious affiliations. Most private universities are located in Nairobi and its immediate environs and offer array of opportunities and courses that are market friendly, such as business administration, humanities, computer science, human resource, hospitality, accounting and communication. In addition they have degree programmes in pharmacy, clinical medicine and laboratory sciences.

University education in Kenya is under the management of the Ministry of HE with an assistant minister and a directorate. A number of Semi-Autonomous Government Agencies (SAGAs) or HE agencies are responsible for the development and management of the various aspects of university education: CHE, the Higher Education Loans Board (HELB) and the Joint Admissions Board (JAB). CHE, whose Secretariat became operational in 1986 is the sole regulatory body (Nyaigotti-Chacha, 2004; Thairu, 2006) of HE in Kenya. CHE, which was established in 1985 by an Act of Parliament, the Universities Act CAP 210B, aims at making better provisions for the advancement of HE (Mwiria *et al*, 2007). It acts as an internal and external quality assurance³ agency and accreditation for HE in Kenya (Nyaigotti-Chacha, 2004; Kaberia, 2006). CHE endeavours to facilitate and coordinate sustainable quality education (GoK, 2006) on par with the internationally recognised quality standards, and to promote a dynamic

³ The external and internal assurance are means by which an institution guarantee that the standards and quality of its educational provisions are being maintained or enhanced

HE supposed to lead to international, and global competitiveness of the Kenyan University system (Kaberia, 2006).

Through its quality assurance programme, CHE guarantees that the standards and quality of university education are maintained and/or enhanced. CHE achieves this by inspecting each public university once every four years (Mwiria *et al*, 2007). To be able to harmonise and streamline accreditation processes and procedures, CHE signed a memorandum of cooperation with the regional HE Regulatory Agencies, National Council for HE, Uganda and the Tanzanian Commission for Universities (CHE, 2006). CHE offers advisory services to India, Botswana, Lesotho, Zambia, Tanzania, Uganda and Ghana. Such services enable these countries to establish or strengthen their bodies, as CHE continues to learn new innovations from them.

JAB is the body that oversees and thus mandated with the eligibility of admission of students into public universities in Kenya. JAB makes use of its own discretion, depending on overall performance in the national university entrance examinations (Onsongo, 2006; 2007; 2009). JAB uses an Affirmative Admission (AA) policy to attain 30% increase in women students' entry into public universities by lowering for women one to two points below that of men. AA policy has in most cases increased the number of women being admitted to public universities (Onsongo, 2006; 2007). However, the policy is only limited to admission of women students in general undergraduate programmes, but does not apply to those pursuing science/technological related subjects like actuarial science, engineering, architecture and medicine where the entry grade is A (Onsongo, 2009), post-graduate students and appointment of women into faculty, management and administrative positions.

JAB has managed to streamline admission of undergraduate students in all public universities in Kenya (Mwiria *et al*, 2007). However, despite a slight increase in the overall enrolment of women students in public universities in Kenya through the AA policy, especially in the general

courses, data reveal that gender parity is yet to be attained in the professional degree courses, an area investigated in the present study, through the use of unique degree programmes. By 2008/2009, the enrolment of women students in public universities in Kenya including part time students was 37.7% which is far below 50%. Chege and Sifuna (2006) blame the low transition rates from lower levels of education as key to gender disparity in public universities. Consequently, in their third and final admissions meeting of 2006/2007 held at KU in 2007, JAB members formed a sub-committee named 'The Joint Admissions Board Sub-Committee on Review of Admissions Criteria Gender Affirmative Action' (JAB, 2007b). The team recommended: Lowering the degree programme cluster cut-off for women candidates by a maximum of two (2) points subject to attaining a minimum 30% representation of women students in all degree programmes; lowering the overall cut off for admission of women candidates by up to two (2) points subject to the attainment of gender parity. However, despite the implementation of JAB Gender Policy on AA 2007, I feel that the achievement of gender equity in professional degree courses is yet to be evaluated through empirical research. This area probably requires further investigation, since by the time data for the present study was collected, no students had been admitted through this policy.

Moreover, the AA has received criticisms from women faculty who are opposed to it, since it consigns women to inferior status and endorses the notion of women as intellectually weaker, or because the policy discriminates against men students and weakens the university educational standards (Bunyi, 2003; Nawe, 2004; Chege and Sifuna, 2006; Sowell 2004 in Lewis, 2006; Puja, 2009; Onsongo, 2009). The practice has further been misinterpreted by politicians who think that it amounts to some quota system through which the respective areas they represent should enjoy university admission (Nungu, 1996 in Chege and Sifuna, 2006). However, despite these criticisms, of unfair access to women, it is difficult to note any differences between those admitted

through the policy and those who follow the normal competitive admission procedures (Nawe, 2004).

HELB was legally established by an Act of Parliament in July 1995 under the statute known as HELB Act No. 3 of 1995. HELB is mandated to set the criteria and conditions governing the granting of loans, consider all loan applications from eligible persons (students) who wish to pursue HE, approves and rejects applications in accordance with the Act, determines the maximum number of eligible persons to be granted loans in any one particular year, grants loans and recovers matured loans among other functions (HELB website)⁴. To qualify for a loan, an applicant should be a student admitted either at public or private chartered university. On the idea of giving more loans, Cheron (1999) notes the need to change the policy so that HELB can grant higher amounts of money to all qualified women students, regardless of their parents' financial status, a way of empowering them and ensuring that many girls join the university and concentrate in their studies. The present study explored men and women students' experiences based on their supplementary sources of income.

Kenya's Sessional Paper 1 of 2005, a policy framework for education, training and research, acknowledges that despite the rapid expansion of HE over the last two decades, challenges of access still exist. For instance, by 2001/2002 out of 11,147 admissions, 7,204 and 3,943 were men and women, respectively (JAB, 2007a). In 2006, out of 58,028 candidates who met the minimum requirements, only 10,632 students were admitted to the public universities for the 2005/2006 academic year, 78% of whom were men and only 22% women (Wanjohi, 2006; JAB, 2007a), leaving out about 47,031 candidates. Thus, only 20% of the total secondary school graduates who qualify for university education are offered admission at the public universities (UoN, 2005c). For instance, in 2010/2011 about 24,000 students out of 82,000 qualified to join universities under government sponsorship (Muindi,

⁴ <http://www.helb.co.ke>

2011). The remaining students (58,000) had to either compete for places in private universities, join public universities on self-sponsored basis or universities abroad where they pay relatively high fees than their counterpart on government sponsorships. In 2011/2012 out of 290,000 candidates who sat Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE), 119,658 students attained minimum university entry grade C (plus), yet public universities have an admission capacity of 32,000 students. This means that 87,000 students will miss out on slots in public universities, yet only 10,000 can be absorbed in 15 private chartered universities (Muindi, 2012).

The enrolment of women in each of the public universities by 2007 was as follows: JKUAT (19%), UoN (25%), Moi (27%), Egerton (30%), Maseno (36%) and KU (38%) (Mwiria *et al*, 2007). According to Mwiria *et al* (2007) there is gender parity of enrolment in KU as compared to JKUAT, probably because of the nature of courses offered, namely social science, arts and science based which tend to attract both genders. Despite the general parity, results from a survey done in KU reveal that gender disparities are evidenced in all the schools, with 12% women representation in health sciences (Wangia and Vikiru, 2008). The facts and figures show that some well qualified students, the majority of whom are women, may be denied the opportunity to join public universities due to the limited facilities. The general picture is that only 30% of women students are admitted in public universities (Mwiria *et al*, 2007; Kamotho, 2012). Mwiria (2001) specifically notes that such gender imbalance has implications for women students' access to post-graduate training, university teaching, research, administration and political leadership. There was need to unpack the question of limited facilities in the present study.

While gender disparities are quite obvious in the enrolment of students at public universities in Kenya, private universities seem to be doing better especially in humanities, social sciences, business, and to some extent science and technology (Bunyi, 2004). Women students are well above 50% of those registered at private universities compared to 35%

in public universities (Kamotho, 2012). Reporting on the ratio of men and women in four of the largest and most established private universities in Kenya, Bunyi (2004) reveals the following: USIU 47:52; Daystar 42:58; CUEA 49:51; UEAB 51:49 men and women respectively. By 2006, the population of women students stood at 3,200 (53%) in USIU (Brown, 2006). Private universities take about 14% of the total number of students who qualify to join universities (Bunyi, 2004). Private chartered, accredited and unaccredited universities in 2001/2002 had enrolled 4,071 men and 4,600 women students. In 2002/2003, there were 4,224 men and 4,905 women students, while in 2003/2004, there were 4,412 men compared to 5,128 women and in 2004/2005 there was a total of 4,597 and 5,453 men and women students respectively (GoK, 2006).

The high enrolment in the private universities pushes women's representation in the university education to about 35% nationally (Chege and Sifuna, 2006). Ngome (2003), Bunyi (2004), Wesonga, Ngome, Ouma and Wawire (2003) give different reasons to explain why there are more women students in private universities as compared to public. These scholars have emphasised that the humanities and social science programmes tend to attract more women students. In addition, Bunyi (2004) talk of parents' perceptions that the private institutions provide safe and enabling environments for their daughters, while Ngome (2003), mentions poor performance of girls in KCSE. For instance, massive gender disparity has been noted with the 2012 KCSE results, where out of 47 best girls and boys from the Counties, there were only 10 girls (Siringi, 2012).

Women students are under-represented in the various degree programmes. For instance, in JKUAT in 1989/90 there were only 12 women students out of 112 in the Faculty of Agriculture (Puja, 2009), while at KU more women students (90.8%) were found in Home Science as compared to 20% at the Faculty of Science (Karega, 2001), which are the traditionally stereotyped subjects. At the faculty level, women remain a minority. Most of the representation was recorded at

the ranks of lecturer and assistant lecturer at 48.8% and 37.5% women and men respectively (Otunga and Ojwang', 2004). By the turn of the century, the situation of women had not changed. For instance, at KU, women lecturers constituted 33.1% in 2004. At full professor level, women constituted only 5.7%, at associate level they were 12.2%. The situation seems to improve down the ladder, where at senior lecturer level they were 29.3%, while lecturers constituted 34.9%. At the position of a tutorial fellow, women are 40.2% while graduate assistant were about 41.2%. Otunga and Ojwang' (2004) further reported that 26.8% of the women had PhDs compared to 51% of men. Yet, promotions are mostly tied to those with highest academic and professional qualifications (PhD). As one moves up the academic ladder, women become fewer. This could limit their opportunity to participate in the production of knowledge that may help understand gender imbalances. Lack of women's contribution to research output may create a vacuum, which could slow the pace of change in the eradication of the gender gap (Assie-Lumumba, 2006), in HE, hence the need to consider the views of men and women students in the present study.

At the senior management levels, gender disparity can still be observed. For example, in 2004 among the senior administrative positions in KU, out of 11, only one or 9.1% (a deputy vice-chancellor of Finance) was a woman. Among the senators, only 31.3% were women (Bunyi, 2004). At the most senior management levels, KU and JKUAT are the only public universities in the region with women vice-chancellors, picked through a competitive process (Kamau, 2006). Private universities with women vice-chancellors are Aga Khan, African Nazarene, KWUST and USIU. To date (2013), only Daystar and Maseno universities have women chancellors. Kamau (2006) asserts that women in senior academic and administration positions may help eliminate the stereotype that women cannot lead within universities. It should be noted that women have the potential to play critical roles in shaping the future of women and men in the society (Malik and Lie, 1994).

The appointment of women to positions of vice-chancellors and deputy vice-chancellors shows that they are capable of managing HE institutions. The senior women managers are acting as role models for young women who may be aspiring to management positions in the universities (Onsongo, 2007). However, the scarcity of women in senior academic and management hierarchy, especially in public universities, hinder their ability to influence policy and direction of their institutions, especially in gender-related issues (Kamau, 2006; 2010). The under-representation of women in senior management positions in the universities further contradict Article 4 of the World Declaration on HE for the 21st Century (UNESCO, 1998a; 1998b). The declaration is explicit on the need to enhance women's active participation through their involvement at decision-making levels within HE.

Although most universities in Africa tend to state their commitment to gender equity and equality in their mission and vision statements (Mama and Barnes, 2007), they, however, continue to measure their success in quantitative terms (Bennett, Gouws, Kritizinger, Harnes and Tidimane, 2007; Shackleton, 2007; Tsikata, 2007; Ramphele and Brito, 2008; Qhobela, Eloff and Lange, 2008) at different levels. While such measurements remain very valuable in profiling the status quo at numerical level, feminist scholars have stressed the need to recognise that gender operates at the levels of culture, sexuality and epistemology (Mama, 2003). Thus, there is need to analyse gender inequalities within institutional space of HE, since elements of institutional culture interact with and reproduce the gendered meanings of academic life in African universities (Bennett *et al*, 2007; Barnes, 2007).

Ignoring the critical elements which shape the university's institutional culture, as Barnes (2007) and Mama (2008; 2009) notes, make African universities to operate in ways that sustain, perpetuate and reproduce unequal gender relations in social and intellectual life. This calls for a need to privilege the voices of women in HE, by enabling them to share their experiences, since such information could find its way into academic and policy debates (Adusah-Karikari, 2008; Kabira, 2009). In

addition, the information could shed more light on how men and women negotiate the unlevelled play field and how these constructs influence their transaction of gender inequality within the universities' culture.

In support of Adusah-Karikari and Kabira's views, Morley (2004; 2005) asserts that the absence of women's voices can affect organisational priorities, performance indicators and cultural traditions. Therefore, use of students' voices through qualitative research, in the present study, will help unpack what Qhobela *et al* (2008) refers to as the process of understanding behaviours hidden behind the numerical profiles, vision, and mission statements, which reflect the nature of institutional culture. I agree with Barnes (2007), Ramphele and Brito (2008), and Parker's (2008) sentiments of the need to increase our understanding of how the elements of the institutional culture (numerical profiles, vision and mission statements), create barriers to women's success in the academy, if meaningful transformative policies and interventions at different levels of HE are to be implemented. Such development policies could create a human social order where the interests and power relations of men and women are at par (Kinyanjui, 1995) in the society.

1.5 Sexual Harassment and University Environment

A supportive university environment is crucial for both men and women students and staff (Gupton and Slick, 1996). The need for HE to create an environment which is non-violent and exploitative for all is clearly stipulated in Article 6 of the 1998 World Declaration on HE for the 21st Century. Kenya's Vision 2030, the long term development blueprint towards a better country, in its social pillar mentions the need to establish a secure environment for all. However, despite such global and national sentiments, the working university environment of women, is markedly different from that of men, and is likely to contribute to disparities, disadvantages and inequalities (Tamale and Oloka-Onyango, 1997; Yahya-Othman, 2000), with sexual harassment reported as a major impediment to gender equality, women's participation and completion of HE (Gunawardena *et al*, 2004). Onsongo (2007) notes

that women managers are disadvantaged when the work environment is not supportive because they are under scrutiny from the people they manage, and they are judged more harshly if they do not perform their responsibilities. Thus, a hostile environment partly characterised by unwanted sexual behaviours has implications for women's participation in HE as students, academics and managers.

Women experience a multiplicity of role conflicts and negative traditional culture, which define them as outsiders-insiders (Kamau, 2004; Onsongo, 2005; 2007) within the university environment. Women are outsiders in the academy because they are excluded from informal academic networks, lack academic mentors, suffer excessive workloads (both reproductive and productive), are marginalised by patriarchal culture, while their experience of different forms of sexual harassment, and gender violence is left unchecked (AAU and FAWE, 1999; Gachukia, 2003; Kamau, 2004; Morley, 2004; Onsongo, 2005; Pereira, 2007). Any hostile environment makes it difficult for women to freely exercise their rights in the academy, a move likely to hinder the achievement of gender equality. Reporting the experiences of women academics and managers from private universities in Kenya, Onsongo (2007) notes that lack of sexual harassment could make them feel safe in the university environment, and concentrate in their career advancement and job performance.

Feminist researchers mainly in the United States of America (USA), United Kingdom (UK), Australia and SA document women's experiences as managers, faculty and students, showing the extent to which the university environment is hostile and sometimes unsupportive to them. In the literature on gender and institutional culture the phrase 'chilly climate' is often used to refer to the atmosphere that surround women students and faculty in the academy (Ruth, 2000), particularly in African universities which are microcosm of patriarchal societies, and tend to give little attention to gender issues (Guramatunhu-Mudiwa, 2010). The 'chilly climate' is often seen as

norm, an obstacle and barrier to the achievement of gender equity and equality (Ndlovu, 2001; Creighton and Yieke, 2006; Onsongo, 2006). 'Chilly climate' include discourses of being ignored, treated differently or sexually harassed (Morris and Daniel, 2008). The original report on the 'chilly climate' by Hall and Sandler (1982) entitled, *The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women* shows that some faculty members treat women students differently from men in the classroom, leading to loss of confidence and abilities, thus puts women at a significant educational disadvantage likely to impact negatively on their performance (Morris and Daniel, 2008). In 1984, Hall and Sandler wrote a second report on *Out of Classroom: A Chilly Campus Climate for Women*. The report reveals that a campus environment may prove hostile depending on the nature of interactions between students and staff, students' experiences with support services, campus safety and employment, health care, dormitory life, students' government and leadership (Morris and Daniel, 2008).

Within a 'chilly climate' women may encounter hostility to their professional authority, for instance, men's intrusion in areas of responsibility and institutional practices like meetings (Onsongo, 2004; 2006; 2007; Pereira (no date) in Barnes, 2007). The hostility may be characterised by unwanted sexual behaviours (Onsongo, 2004; 2007). Thus, 'chilly climate' sums up all ways in which women are sidelined in favour of masculine behaviour on campus (Ruth, 2000). I found it necessary to explore students' experiences with support services and facilities (health, dormitory life, campus safety and employment opportunities), within the university environment in order to understand the extent to which sexual harassment sometimes impacts on their access to these facilities and opportunities.

The culture in African campuses encourage the fundamental ills that universities are supposed to change (Guramatunhu-Mudiwa, 2010), for instance, violence against women, intimidation and sexual harassment (Gaidzanwa, 2007). Sexual harassment, a key discourse of 'chilly climate', has been identified by feminist researchers as one of the most common forms of gender discrimination experienced by women in the

universities, which is rarely acknowledged, no reported (Farley, 1978; Cairns, 1997; Hagerdon, 2000; Omale, 2000; Kamau, 2004). Sexual harassment sometimes blocks women's achievement of equality with men by supporting the institutionalisation of gender inequality in all its forms (MacKinon, 1979, in Onsongo, 2007). That is why Morley (2004; 2005) reports sexual harassment as the most frequently explanatory factor which make women invisible in the academy.

Research further suggests that sexual harassment contributes to women's frustrations, causing career stagnation and sometimes leads to women quitting or changing their jobs (Omale, 2000; Kamau, 2004; Onsongo, 2005; 2007), because majority are not strong and determined to handle sexual harassment problems (Onsongo, 2007). Sexual harassment which problematises women's bodies and sexuality in HE is rife on campus, yet action to combat it is uneven (Morley, 2004; 2005), probably due to the gender and power relations surrounding its occurrences and lack of appropriate coping strategies. Sexual harassment becomes a significant factor in women's job turnover and slower career development (Onsongo, 2007), in addition to their participation and performance at different levels on campus.

Most discussions of gender and HE in Africa mention sexual violence as a critical source of injury to women, a force that silences and disempowers women (Bennett, 2002; Morley, 2004; Bennett, 2005a, Morley, 2005). Further, Bennett, (2002), Bennett and Reddy (2007) see sexual harassment as one of the routes into analysis of institutional culture because it illuminates power through which academic and social 'careers' are forged. In view of the range of power structures that constitute the university system, this requires addressing questions of institutional power relationships (Pereira, 2007) at different levels in the university if change has to occur.

Thus, sexual harassment offers one window into understanding the culture of heterosexuality within HE in Africa (Bennett *et al*, 2007). Gunawardena *et al* (2004) and Morley (2004; 2005) argues that gender,

HE and development need to be intersected in order to remove the silences, in policy, literature and research. Sexual harassment, a discourse likely to affect social, political and economic development and which is articulated in Kenya's policy frameworks: National Policy on Gender and Development 2000, Sessional Paper 2 of 2006 on Gender Equality and Development, Gender Policy in Education 2007 and Vision 2030, was qualitatively explored in the present study. And, since the practice of sexual harassment has different connotations for men and women (Gunawardena *et al*, 2004), use of gendered discourses in sampling, collecting, analysing, and disseminating data was critical in the present study. Gender based approach make sense because gender equality can only be achieved when one looks at women and men as distinct categories in the society (Kamau, 2009).

1.6 Statement of the Research Problem

There is limited scope and coverage of life experiences and perceptions of students, especially those focusing on the formal and informal campus environment (Bunyi, 2004; 2008; Morley, 2004; 2005; Tsikata, 2007; Adusah-Karikari, 2008). Scanty information is documented about the specific critical discourses of the institutional culture (structures, processes, life experiences, perceptions and hierarchies), and especially how they connect to impact on gender equality (Tsikata, 2007). Yet, such discourses help to construct meanings and insights students ascribe to their gendered day to day life experiences on campus, showing how they interconnect to portray the nature of institutional culture (Manuh, 1995 in Adusah-Karikari, 2008; Canington and Pratt, 2003; Higgs, 2010; Reingarde, 2010).

Students' perceptions and experiences allow them to use language appropriate to each occasion, which shows how they understand their world (in terms of social, political and economic realities) (Parker, 1997). The discourses, men and women students use in their conversations and interactions reflect the norms of the society, showing the diversities of the institutional culture. Thus, use of students' voices which speak through qualitative research, drawing data that can be used

to inform policy is a powerful tool especially when urging for change (Arnot and Fennell, 2008).

The need to qualitatively uncover the hidden forces that may drive behaviours, shape experiences and influence practice within the institutional culture (Harper and Museus, 2007) through the discourses of access and sexual harassment did facilitate the researcher's desire to conduct the present study. By studying discourses of access and sexual harassment through qualitative research, a greater understanding of the political, social, cultural and economic barriers that affect women at different levels in the universities may be unveiled (Parker, 2008).

1.7 Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study was to understand the institutional culture of the UoN through exploring the voices of men and women students in regard to access and sexual harassment. The study was guided by the following objectives:

- i) To explore students' perceptions of their access to opportunities, space and facilities within the institutional culture.
- ii) To examine the perceptions of students' experiences of forms and effects of sexual harassment in the institutional culture.
- iii) To analyse students' perceptions of the causes of sexual harassment in the institutional culture.

Research Questions

This study sought to answer the following questions:

- i) What are the perceptions of students regarding their access to opportunities, space and facilities in the institutional culture?
- ii) What are the perceptions of students' experiences of forms and effects of sexual harassment in the institutional culture?
- iii) What are the perceptions of students in regard to the cause of sexual harassment in the institutional culture?

1.8 Significance of the Study

The knowledge gained is likely to make UoN to consider special needs of boys and girls, men and women when initiating and revising its policies and programmes. The study provides evidence which shows the status and nature of discriminatory practices, therefore, form justification for advocating gender equity principles. This is important if UoN is to achieve its mission of being a centre of learning and scholarships in preparing boys and girls, men and women students for academic pursuits, enhance professional and personal development, responsible citizenship, thus contribute to social, economic and cultural development.

The findings generated from this research provide an important framework for understanding gender inequalities in regard to UoN's institutional culture using critical discourses of (access and sexual harassment), drawn from the students' experiences. Thus, knowledge gained from the study serve as a basis for strengthening and advancing analytical understanding of the descriptive data which can be used to rectify and address UoN's inequitable culture.

The dissemination of the findings from the present study would not have been as timely as now when the UoN has launched and established the African Women Study Centre (AWSC) (2011). Hopefully, AWSC could use some of the recommendations to derive adequate solutions through enhancing gender equity programmes to enable all members make a distinctive contribution towards the achievement of gender equality. Further, the findings partly act as a pointer to the UoN of the need to closely monitor the implementation of Gender Policy 2008 and formulate Gender Based Violence and Sexual Harassment Policies. Such policies would create and sustain gender inclusive culture, which would improve participation, performance and, overall achievement of gender equality.

The UoN, being the pioneer university in Kenya, always leading in its unique developmental programmes and performance contracts is

expected to play a significant role in realising the achievement of gender equality and equity. UoN, the highest education institution for knowledge production and dissemination in Kenya, envisions the achievement of gender equality by promoting an institutional culture conducive for learning and research, where the needs of men and women are met and respected. Therefore, the findings of this study could challenge the UoN, pointing to the need of prioritising gender issues in its developmental agenda.

Findings from the current study are key towards achievement of Vision 2030 and Constitution 2010, which envisions a just, cohesive and equitable Kenyan society. The idea that gender inequalities are found in the hidden institutional culture makes qualitative studies form the basis of analysing procedures, structures and practices which make women internalise their inferiority accepting it as normal and natural. This would help girls and women understand the gender construct of the society they live in, identify the emerging issues pertaining to their discrimination, after which relevant solutions can adequately be found (Mlama, 2005). Thus, knowledge generated about inequalities, will help shape a culture of responsibility and accountability in order to establish equitable institutions in Kenya.

In addition, the gendered discourses likely to lead to unfriendly institutional culture could be used by the education stakeholders in Kenya, namely, the Ministries of HE and Basic Education, JAB and HELB, which have political influence in articulating for and contributing to men and women students' interests and concerns in the universities. Other line ministries will also gain as gender issues seem relevant to all areas of development. They will be made aware of the need to continuously evaluate, and monitor gender-related issues in their respective ministries and universities. This will act as a benchmark in discovering the extent to which gender equity and equality is being enhanced and sustained.

Further, findings generated from the present study are vital to regional and international community, NGOs (such as FAWE, FIDA, COVAW), feminist scholars, educators, policy makers and researchers keen on the progress made towards the achievement of MDGs and EFA goals on gender equality in education. Such information could help to create awareness of the unique challenges women students continue to encounter at the university, which hinder the establishment of an inclusive culture. The outcome of the research is likely to form a base for subsequent recommendations to be undertaken towards the enhancement of an equitable institutional culture in African universities. Finally, findings from the present study will add to the existing body of knowledge which could help all stakeholders to conceptualise better women's unspoken and complex experiences at universities if any justifiable social transformation, including commitments to gender equality, social justice and democratisation (Mama, 2006) has to occur.

1.9 Scope and Limitations

HE in Kenya comprises of university education, technical, vocational education and training, teacher education and training, non-formal and adult education. However, in this study HE only refers to university education. And for purposes of thorough exploration of students' perceptions, out of the then six public universities, this study was done in one public university, UoN, Kenya.

Since cross-sectional survey design emphasis on a particular time frame, it means that if a similar study is done in the UoN it may provide different results. Like in all qualitative studies, broad generalisations of the findings to other contexts should be made with caution. Being an exploratory study it might not have been possible to capture all categories of women and men students/leaders, to some extent implications could also be restrictive to UoN.

1.10 Operational Definition of Key Terms

The operational definition of key terms is presented below:

Access: right to enter, reach a place, use or get something, take part or participate, and apply.

Discourse: institutional way of talking, discussion or dialogue, communicate or converse issues/ideas (political, economic, cultural, social). Those involved use language either in speech and/or written about what they know in order to produce meaning.

Experiences: events or activities that happen to someone over a period of time, influencing the way one behaves, thinks, feels, talks, and writes about it.

Explore: the idea of searching for something completely or carefully, in order to find out more about it.

Facilities: services, equipments that are used for a particular purpose. In the current study, this means accommodation, catering, health and academic.

Gender: socially constructed and learned roles, behaviours and expectations associated with girls and boys, men and women.

Gender dynamics: ways in which men and women behave, react or relate to each other, in particular situations, events, or activities.

Gender equality: idea of giving boys and girls, men and women similar opportunities, rights and responsibilities to enable them realise their full human potential and contribute to and benefit from social, economic, cultural and political development. It is based on men and women becoming full and equal partners in their homes, communities, schools, universities and society.

Gender equity: process of being fair to boys and girls, men and women. Equity is a means for a society to overcome inequalities. In this study it implies fairness in the distribution and use of available opportunities, space and facilities among men and women students.

Gender parity: relate to same numbers or proportion of women and men, girls and boys in a programme or organisation.

Heterosexuality: idea of being sexually attracted to people of the opposite sex.

Institutional culture: way of life, usually seen as natural and normal by people in and working within the organisation, it guides, influences behaviour, and beliefs of those in organisation.

Opportunities: chance to get into something. In this study it is the idea of getting into the unique degree programmes and being able to get supplementary sources of income.

Patriarchy: society that is dominated by men in both public and private affairs and which legitimises the oppression of women through political, social, economic, legal, cultural, educational, religious and military institutions.

Patriarchal ideology: set of ideas defining women's roles as different from and subordinate to those of men.

Perception: idea, belief or an image that makes one understand the true nature of something.

Sexual harassment: any unwelcome conduct, behaviour, comment, advances, gesture or contact of sexual nature using coercion by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim.

Space: place that is available for use, in this study it refers to accommodation, catering, health and academic.

Student: person who is studying at a university. In the current study it refers to undergraduate persons in their fourth year of study.

Sustainable development: development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their needs, irrespective of gender, age, race, colour etc.

Transactional sex: exchange of sexual activities with material items such as money, marks, accommodation space, leadership positions, scholarships etc.

Unique degree programmes: programmes offered only in the UoN by the time data for this study was being collected.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents literature relevant to gendered access to opportunities, space, facilities and sexual harassment in the universities' institutional culture in Africa. The background of universities' institutional culture is given, together with reviews on gender and institutional culture in Africa, in order to conceptualise the structures and processes that shape the terrain of the university. Review of work on gender patterns in students' access to different levels of the universities, which informed the present study on the importance of using formal and informal settings, hierarchies and practices to understand the gendered power relations and inequalities in the institutional culture, is discussed. Insights on how discourses of sexual harassment influence transactions and negotiation of gender equality, and social justice in the university was gained. Since gender inequalities are a major policy concern (Lewin, 2007), findings of this study are likely to lead to review and implementation of sound policy and strategies for a supportive university environment because as Maseno (2005) reaffirms, this cannot be done in a vacuum. Theoretical framework informing this study is discussed. In essence, the review of related literature served as a link between the present study and those previously done in the same or related areas in African universities.

2.1 Background of Universities' Institutional Culture

University is a complex, social institution (Sandra, 1992; Ruth, 2000) with unique cultures, where individuals share common habits, behaviours, ways of life and thinking (Becher, 1984; Snow, 1994; Pereira, 2007). Every university has its own unique culture based on a number of aspects: vision, mission and purpose, size, age, location,

teaching, curricular structure, academic standards, knowledge production and dissemination, characteristics of student, faculty and the physical environment (Kuh and Whitt, 1988; Clark, 1993; Murunga, 2002; Museus, 2007; Parker, 2008). These aspects constitute forces which shape the behaviour and experiences of faculty, managers and students (Musues, 2007) of each university. The fact that universities are heterogeneous entities each with its own unique culture, calls for different treatment because members of each university have different interests, experiences, perceptions, responsibilities and values (Martin, 2004). Because of these differences, Lewin (2007) argues that each university environment presents significant challenges for students and staff in terms of what they value, understand and accept as norms of the institutional culture. Thus, institutional culture determines what is important and acceptable, and how business is to be conducted at each campus (Parker, 2008). Further, Kyomuhendo (2001), in Endeley and Ngaling (2007) asserts that by examining the systems, structures, norms and values which govern, and define each university, and their way of operation, this will go a long way, in understanding how universities perpetuate gender bias. Therefore, treating university culture as unique, enables progress to be made on specific initiative, since each institution operates using unique, cultural norms, and standards (Eckel, Hill and Green, 1998), including UoN.

Due to the unique and diversified nature of university culture, there was need to conduct the present study in the UoN, since feminist scholars such as, Gouws and Kritizinger (1997), and Simelaine (2001) caution researchers to avoid duplicating studies without contextualising them within each university. This is likely to avoid generalisation of study findings while using perceptions and experiences as the basis for law reforms (Adush-Karikari, 2008). In collecting data, I used experiences and perceptions of men and women students drawn from the discourses of access and sexual harassment, since they offer a wide range of knowledge in the midst of political, socio-economic, and cultural aspects allowing for a deeper exploration of the students'

gendered experiences, interactions, and processes within the university's institutional culture. Such discourses enable researchers to understand the gendered nature of the institutions (Ruth, 2000; Steyn and van Zyl, 2001; Martin, 2004) in this case, UoN. In the next sub-section, 2.2 a review of related case studies, which guided the current study on gender and institutional culture, particularly on the importance of using formal and informal structures and processes is presented.

2.2 Gender and Institutional Culture in African Universities

In this section, I will explore the gendered aspects of the institutional culture in African universities as reflected in specific spaces and places (Halls of Residence, religious associations, Senior Common Room and Social Science Tea Room); feminist or gender based change initiatives (Centre for Research Training and Information on Women Development (CETRWID); leadership for development, democracy and programme for teaching, research and documentation of women studies and analysis of gender relations in the social sciences in Africa; Higher Education Resources of SA (HERS-SA), and Carnegie-SA Scholarships Programme (CSASP). In addition to the use of space and initiatives, feminist researchers interviewed students, faculty and administrative staff and also analysed documents and archives. Generally, the aim of this review of gender and institutional culture was to find out how different aspects of institutional culture either enhance or contribute to gender equalities and/or inequalities in African universities, a way of gaining deeper insights into universities' culture. Although case studies on gender and universities' institutional culture are more firmly established and researched in South, Central, West and North Africa, Barnes (2007) observes that work on the same still remain largely unmapped and a fruitful topic of enquiry. This is true especially in East Africa and Kenya in particular.

In their studies done in the Universities of Ibadan (UI) in Nigeria and Zimbabwe, Odejide (2007) and Gaidzanwa (2007) explored the perceptions and lived daily experiences of women students and academic staff using students' Halls of Residence, religious associations,

leisure spaces of the Senior Common Room and Social Science Tea Room. These spaces provide opportunities for social and political interactions among the students and between the staff themselves. Interviews with key informants, Focused Group Discussions (FGD), observation, documentary evidence and personal experiences were used as sources of data. Odejide's research was facilitated by lack of in-depth examination of the challenges men and women experience in a multi-ethnic student population, likely to reflect on a variety of gendered inequalities, usually internalised as normal and natural. The focus on gender and power relations that characterise UI aimed at conceptualising how such relations could be transformed to enhance a friendly learning environment. The belief that women are on campus to attract and find suitable husbands continue to persist with the common phrase: '*...there is a big rush in the husband market...in the fellowship and crusades you will see the number of sisters who are out to get a husband...*'. (Odejide, 2007: 52). Mama (2009) in her critique of Odejide's study notes competition in the '*marriage market*' with women being overloaded by domestic responsibilities. The challenges women encounter include lack of motivation and networking skills required for success in students' politics. These findings show that discourse of women students' 'indecent dressing' continue to construct women's sexuality as powerful and sometimes difficult to control. The 'indecent dressing' cause women students to be blamed for the widespread occurrences of gender-based violence. The existence of transactional sex features at UI. Odejide's (2007) theoretical conclusion was based on the idea that gender relations in religious fellowship and Halls of Residence are mostly influenced by the traditional norms of masculinity and femininity, which make the victims (usually women), feel powerless. While Odejide's study focused on women students' indecent dressing, the present study explored reasons which make women students sometimes dress provocatively, using their voices.

Gaidzanwa's findings show that the two spaces were popular sites for lectures, pressure groups, economists, activists and creative arts

fraternities. The Social Science Tea Room was seen as a place for laughter and verbal jokes between members of different parties, creating entertainment and providing a relaxed atmosphere for discussing political and academic issues. Young women academics were involved in counselling students, career guidance, teaching and research in addition to caring roles but with no extra remuneration or concessions. Gaidzanwa argues that in these spaces women performed the privatised, unpaid and deskilled work of serving tea which shows that they carried over their domestic roles into the academic domain losing out on leisure time. Yet, domestic work is unrecognised in the academic reward and promotion structure. Although in Odejide's and Gaidzanwa case studies the social spaces were found useful in providing women students and staff with social and support network, alliances for relaxation, getting useful academic information, being mentored by the older men and women known to the system, provide protection against campus violence, Odejide was specific that men control fellowship groups and double standards in relation to sexuality. Gaidzanwa found informal mentors introducing their protégés to successful colleagues, after which they were able to procure recent literature, publish, get recommendations and references for research grants and other opportunities.

Gaidzanwa reported of women experiencing constraints in using the library, lecture rooms, laboratories, canteens, ablution facilities and that lack of resources for teaching could have been brought about by increase in students' population. This led to an alienation of learning environment for staff and students because the massification of students' enrolment did not match with the available resources. Like was the case with Odejide who revealed UI as characterised by a gendered hierarchy in leadership positions where women are particularly marginalised in the decision-making process, Gaidzanwa found that the working environment restricted staff to the number of times they would go to campus. This is an indication that university is characterised by masculine gendered culture. For many women academics, domestic

responsibilities or what Mama (2009) refers to as ‘female domesticity’, ‘nurturing’ and ‘material’ roles tended to impinge on their career growth. Gaidzanwa and Odejides’ findings show that knowledge, skill acquisition and behaviour is contested, digested, refined and changed through formal and informal institutional spaces and processes. Use of informal institutional settings and the processes which operate to either advance or frustrate the ways in which gendered knowledge is produced and generated in African universities, did inform the present study on the importance of using space and facilities to understand UoN’s culture.

Mabokela (2003; 2011) and Tsikata (2007) in their research in universities of SA and Legon Campus, University of Ghana respectively used men and women faculty and administrative staff to explore how their work experiences are affected, influences and continue to shape the institutional culture in the midst of political and social challenges within the climate of organisational culture. These researchers used open-ended interviews, archival and documentary research as sources of data. Mabokela (2003) reported that like ‘donkeys’ women are charged with challenging responsibilities within their institutions with no respect and recognition befitting their efforts. Similarly, Tsikata (2007) found that since the university is an inequitable gendered space, women have to work hard to establish themselves. Mabokela’s (2003) research revealed that women experience resistance from men and women counterparts. Rewards, promotions and opportunities are allocated along racial lines, rather than on one’s achievements. Societal cultural norms and expectations influence the way in which they interact with their colleagues. This is further manifested in the traditional responsibilities assigned to women administrators.

Mabokela (2003) and Tsikata (2007) found that women, as compared to men, encounter more challenges in their intellectual work and career trajectories. Some of the challenges result from the unfriendly mentoring culture, family obligations, responsibilities and experiences of sexual undertones and innuendos, while discrimination in the boards

and committees affect their publishing work. According to Mabokela (2003) women administrators resist some of these challenges by being assertive, proactive and innovative. Women also encounter challenges in their teaching due to poor laboratory equipment and facilities (Tsikata, 2007). While Tsikata (2000) found lack of a clear policy on the toilets for the two genders also disadvantages women, Mabokela's (2011) respondents were specific that women were assaulted, while use of dreadful toilet facilities and the presence of insecure environment made night teaching uncondusive to women students. Thus, Mabokela's (2011) study shows that respondents express their concern about institutional culture in relation to the physical safety of women students, faculty and administrators. Mabokela (2011) notes the importance of creating an institutional culture that value diversity and embrace it as critical step for attracting women and other marginalised groups in the society. Mabokela's (2003; 2011) findings like was the case with Gaindzanwa, Odejide and Tsikata's further recognises mentoring as a critical component especially in the early stages of the students, academics and administrators' studies, career progression and leadership positions respectively in African universities.

While Mabokela (2003; 2011) and Tsikata (2007) used senior women administrators and faculty staff, in this present study I used fourth year students and student leaders to explore their daily experiences of sexual harassment and access to opportunities, space and facilities, in order to advance our understanding of the discourses that shape UoN's culture. The choice of fourth year students and student leaders against faculty and administrative staff was partly informed by feminist stand point theorists (section 4.2 sampling design and size). Although Mabokela's (2011) study was conducted later than the data collection period for the present study, the discussion of the issues related to insecure and unfriendly learning environment for women students could be informed by it. Mabokela and Tsikata's findings offer important insights into understanding how institutional culture present challenges to women on campus. Thus, information from the current study could lead to

creation of strategies for supportive campus environment, since this cannot be done in a vacuum.

Gender based change or feminist initiatives are meant to improve the lives of women at different levels on campus: scholarships, leadership and curriculum. Chisholm, Haupt, Hoadley, Lewin, Mawayo, Moletsane and Moorosi's (2007) used CSASP in the universities of Pretoria, Kwa Zulu Natal and Cape Town all in SA; Diaw (2007) of University of Dakar, Senegal, used women's leadership for development, and democracy, together with a project entitled programme for teaching, research and documentation of women studies and analysis of gender relations in the social sciences in Africa; Mulugeta (2007) of the University of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, evaluated CETRWID, while Shackleton (2007) used HERS-SA. The gender scholars chose different initiatives because they represent examples of women's intellectual agency where they seem to be advancing their democratisation through incorporation of academic, social, economic, professional and gender-related issues within the masculine space. In collecting data, these scholars used archives, observation, their own personal experiences, short questionnaires, individual and FGDs and self-construction albums. Those who participated in these studies were men and women students and leaders, and those holding strategic positions in the university hierarchy and union movements, like faculty, administrators and directors. The reviewed case studies shed light on debates related to the use of gender based change initiatives when conducting feminist research, and their importance in helping conceptualise the gendered nature of universities' institutional culture.

Researches by Diaw (2007) and Mulugeta (2007) reveal the achievements and challenges women students encounter while using feminist initiatives. Diaw's (2007) results shows that women leadership for development and democracy project seem to have made great achievements for women students, such as installing computers in the women students' Halls of Residence, provision of scholarships and research grants, sensitising young women to gender and leadership

issues, organising end of year bouquets for women academics. Such incentives to some extent motivate women students in knowledge production and dissemination. Like Diaw's study, results of Mulugeta's evaluation of CERTWID, shows that the institute has made commendable achievements. For instance, they have a competitive research grant for senior undergraduate and graduate students, training workshops for staff, students, and employees of government and NGOs on gender aspects such as sensitisation, mainstreaming, sensitive research methodology, integrating gender in the curriculum and women parliamentarians. They have established a resource centre with gender-related materials, a programme that supports needy women students and also started an MA programme. The expansion of the institute witnessed lack of staff, unavailability of classrooms, library space and a computer laboratory for students. However, despite these achievements, while Diaw (2007) attributes the slow progress of women to an institution which is dominated by gender-blind university space and innate conservatism of the institution, Mulugeta (2007) notes that the institute is yet to become grounded to carry out teaching and other activities likely to influence policy formulation, implementation, and networking.

Like Diaw's feminist initiative, HERS-SA aims at increasing the number of women in senior leadership positions. Shackleton's (2007) findings reveal that the patriarchal culture has not allowed the university to regard gender as a serious issue beyond counting of statistics. The few women administrators see university environment as pressurising and complex. The patriarchal culture dismisses gender as an institutional dynamic, thus perpetuating the hegemony of the male norm, which make women experience the university environment as disempowering. The fact that gender relations are not considered to be an issue, they could cause discomfort and discrimination within the university community. The implication is vanishing or 'disappearance' of gender in the university discourse, despite its inclusion in the mission statement and equity policies, with race getting higher institutional priority. This

has resulted in inequitable gendered power dynamics, and lack of understanding of the impact of patriarchal environment on women's career development. Shackleton's findings provide insights into how deep rooted attitudes can persist in maintaining the andro-centric status quo even in a liberal HE environment. There is need to improve the gendered institutional culture, if HERS-SA has to achieve its goal. Shackleton's findings informed the present study on the importance of sensitising the university community to consider gender as a priority in the development agenda if any equitable and just society has to be established.

Generally, the findings of Diaw (2007), Mulugeta (2007) and Shackleton (2007) shows that patriarchal culture which structures the imagination of men and women help generate negative institutional and intellectual university culture, which could impact on women's career development. Such a culture may contribute to unfriendly environment manifested with sexual harassment and violence from the teachers, and which may lead to stigmatisation against women students. Thus, Shackleton's (2007) conclusion is based on the vanishing of gender in HE institutions, which means that women are trying to cope with masculine and aggressive demands of the institution. While Mulugeta (2007) found that women students are afraid of moving around campus at night, they are disturbed in the library, as graffiti seems to be a degrading feature on campus, Diaw (2007) reported that women students keep sugar daddies in their Halls of Residence, thus reinforcing the construction of masculinity and femininity. This could impact on the production and reproduction of gendered knowledge and skills.

CSASP, a gender initiative used by Chisholm *et al* (2007) aims at promoting women in Natural Sciences and Engineering. The researchers based their study on specific aspects of institutional culture: social relationships between young men and women, sexual harassment, classroom dynamics, lecturer and student support and other academic experiences. The findings show students in display of a sense of independence, aspiring to be in control of their lives and shape their

own destinies, being able to balance work and family life. Students used personal and social networks of family and friends for support. In addition, students were shy in naming experiences as sexist or racist for fear of being seen as less intelligent, undeserving and being labeled as feminist. Like was the case with Shackleton's (2007) study, despite the ongoing inequalities between men and women, it seems that universities in SA tend to give priority to class and race, more than gender. Chisom's *et al* (2007) research informed the present study on the importance of considering institutional culture when dealing with women's experiences and the need to give women voice when conducting a feminist study, in order to understand the challenges they encounter in men dominated space. Being a feminist research, I allowed women students to speak out, and discuss their experiences using their own words in order to address the invisibility, and distortion of these experiences in ways that could enhance equality (Lather, 1995).

Although the present study did not use any specific feminist programme to explore the nature of gender equalities in UoN, the knowledge gained shed light on the need to recognise discourses of patriarchy and masculinity in the discussion of the findings. Sexual harassment and abuse appears to be a common occurrence on African campuses, but none of the reviewed case studies set out to explore the nature and prevalence of sexual dynamics, a norm of the institutional culture. Like majority of feminist studies, since my interest was to explore inequalities existing between men and women, a way of understanding institutional culture (Chisholm *et al*, 2007), I did allow men and women students to talk about their perceptions regarding their access to opportunities, space, facilities and experiences of sexual harassment. The idea of involving men and women students in the present study was partly informed by Pereira (2007), Rampele and Brito (2008). Pereira (2007) asserts that a study which involves men could allow them to take responsibility of changing masculinist features of the university culture which sometimes tend to disadvantage women students. Consequently, as McCarrey, President of Plan International Canada argues, involving

men in such a study will make them become active supporters and proponents of gender equality (Plan International, 2011). Thus, men will be able to share and be part of a broader, healthier, safer, and richer cultural experience (UNESCO, 2004). Use of women in the present study, concurs with Rampele and Brito's (2008) sentiments that women researchers need to amplify women's voices if any positive change has to be realised on campus.

2.3 Gender Patterns of Students' Access to Opportunities and Space in African Universities

Feminist researchers have drawn their findings from primary and secondary sources based in African universities in order to determine the nature and extent of gender patterns in students' access to opportunities, space and facilities. Researchers, Kaino (1998), Karega (2001), Onokala and Onwurah (2001), Bunyi (2003; 2008), Lewis (2006) and Ogunyuyigbe, Liasu and Sulaiman (2008) used statistical analysis to explore the nature of gender disparity among undergraduate and post graduate students in Science Mathematics and Technology (SMT) and PhD students. These studies were done in Niger, Nigeria, Tanzania, Rwanda, SA and Kenyan universities. Specifically, Bunyi (2003; 2008) and Karega (2001) used KU. Scholars like Bunyi (2008), Lewis (2006), Ogunyuyigbe *et al* (2008) focused their work on primary, secondary and universities in Africa. Most of the researchers employed quantitative survey design, in addition to Bunyi (2008) and Ogunyuyigbe *et al* (2008) who combined quantitative design with informal interviews and FGD respectively. Karega (2001), Onokala and Onwurah (2001), Lewis (2006), Bunyi (2003; 2008) and Kapinga's (2010) reports were mostly based on secondary data drawn from documents, programs, brochures, books, articles, evaluation reports from relevant ministries, universities, feminist programs and a critical review of literature.

The present study used cross-sectional survey design (sub-section 4.1 research design). The research design enabled the researcher to use qualitative methods: in-depth interviews and FGD to collect data from men and women students/student leaders (sub-section 4.3 methods of

data collection). Use of such methods in a study of gender and institutional culture was significant because interviews and FGDs provide direct information about women's lives, and insights into their social construction of their experiences (Haupt and Chisholm, 2007; Harper and Museu, 2007). The interviews and FGDs made it possible for the researcher to use men and women students' 'voice' as a manifestation of 'reality' (Haupt and Chislom, 2007), a key aspect to policy revision, formulation and implementation. While Bunyi (2008) pointed out lack of reliable data on aspects of participation in HE, especially in disciplinary ratios, makes informed policy development and planning difficult, Kaino (1998) noted that findings from her analysis could not be generalised, and compared with other data from large samples due to the small number of respondents involved. In addition, Lewin (2007) is concerned that little has been published on real life experiences of women in men dominated areas of study.

In the review on gender patterns of students' access to opportunities, the researchers used SMT, Environmental Design and Veterinary Medicine to explore the nature of gender inequalities, while Kapinga (2010) used Preferential Admission Criteria (PAC) and Pre-Entry Programmes (PEP) as examples of feminist initiatives in UDSM. However, in this present study, I used unique degree programmes (Quantity Survey, Veterinary Medicine, Land Economics, Statistics and Pharmacy) (sub-section 3.4.4 Gender and UoN Curriculums) and supplementary sources of income within men dominated spaces of the UoN to explore students' perceptions in regard to these disciplines and opportunities. Namuddu (1995), Bunyi (2004) and Lewis (2006) underscore the importance of addressing gender disparities in the science/technological courses. These scholars are in agreement that such courses are widely recognised as the cornerstone of development and prosperity particularly in this era of globalisation where there is need for high skilled human resources. In addition, the 1998 World Conference on HE for 21st Century clearly states the need to provide a critical mass of skilled and educated people, to ensure genuine

sustainable development (UNESCO, 1998a). Achievement of sustainable and socio-economic development can only be possible if women are given an opportunity to study different disciplines in HE (UNESCO, 1998a; Lewis, 2006), particularly those related to science and technology.

Science, technology and innovation are important aspects anchored in the economic pillar of Kenya Vision 2030 and one of Kenya's National Goals of Education. Drawing from Ikiara's (2009) sentiments, the question is, to what extent are women positioned to participate and benefit from the opportunities expected to arise from the on-going implementation of Vision 2030? This probably means that the absence of women in science/technological related disciplines could limit them from getting best job opportunities, prospects for career development, which will then challenge their position as knowledge authorities like their men counterparts (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) 2001; Assie-Lumumba, 2006) in a globalised knowledge economy. The implication here is that if educational experiences are not equitable, girls and women's learning is compromised and their psychological empowerment is greatly reduced (Wellesley Centre for Research on Women and Development and Training Services, 2003). For women to be able to enroll and participate competently in science/technological courses, which are critical to the socio-economic transformation of the society, there is need to clearly understand their life experiences in men dominated disciplines, which to Harper and Museus (2007) cannot be understood in the absence of their voice.

In their analysis of gender disparities in SMT, the review shows that women students are quantitatively under-represented. Kaino (1998) reported low enrolment in Mathematics with an average of eight women students between 1989/1997 in the University of Swaziland with a decline in the enrolment of men students to 50% in 1996/97. Karega (2001) found that gender disparities exist at undergraduate, post-graduate, and PhD levels and women tend to dominate (90.8%) in the

traditionally stereotyped subjects in UDSM, KU and Abdou Moumouni. Bunyi (2004) found that only 29.8% of women students were found in Public Technical Training Institutions in 1998 in Kenya. The enrolment of women students in the degree programmes in public universities between 1990/95 shows a skewed disparity in SMT. Even KU, which has the highest number of women students in public universities in Kenya, reported the lowest enrolment in the Information and Technology Programmes of Computer Software and Engineering, Applied Technology and Telecommunications, each with enrolment of women students below 20%.

Similarly, Onokala and Onwurah (2001) studies shows that the Faculties of Education and Arts in 36 universities in Nigeria have the highest percentage of women students while the Faculties of Engineering and Technology, Environmental Design and Veterinary Medicine had the lowest across three academic years 1988/89, 1990/91, 1991/92. Bunyi (2008) reveals that women are disadvantaged in the SMT programmes in Nigeria, Rwanda, Tanzania and Kenya. For instance, in 1999/2000 women students constituted only 27% of those in Science, Technology and Mathematics in Nigeria. In 2005, there were only 20% and 23% of women students in science and technology programmes in Kigali Institute of Technology and Management and Institute *Supérieur de Agriculture*, respectively. While there is evidence to show that women are numerically under-represented in the available opportunities on campus, DiGeorgio-Lutz (2002) asserts that women still remain a relatively voiceless minority when it comes to defining values, goals and ever-evolving mission statements in campus. In the present study, I was able to give men and women students/leaders an opportunity to use their voice, during the interviewing process in order to understand their perceptions in regard to gender disparities. Krook (2007) argues that women should be allowed to speak for themselves about their everyday lives, especially when in marginalised positions.

In their findings Kaino (1998) found lack of motivation by teachers in high schools, friends and relatives, poor background in the subject and

the issue of domestic work as being responsible for gender inequities in SMT. Bunyi, (2004; 2008) and Lewis (2006) are in agreement that socio-cultural values, beliefs and practices, gender stereotypical roles, attitudes and norms lead to gender disparities. In addition, Lewis (2006) reported of family expectations, gender stereotypes, teachers' attitude and approaches, gender-biased materials in schools as factors leading to gender inequalities. Financial constraints, cost of education materials, negative attitudes of the government, parents and girls towards the participation of women in SMT were factors noted by Ogunjuyigbe's *et al* (2008). Kapinga (2010) reported consistent lower rate of enrolment in science and engineering, despite the positive actions, sensitisation campaigns and use of programmes such as PAC and PEP in the UDSM. I agree with Kamau's (2009) sentiments that by conducting a study from an ontological perspective, people's views, understanding and interpretations become meaningful for the generation of knowledge. This means bringing men and women's views and opinions to light that would not have been possible in more closed methods of data collection (Mason, 2002).

While there is limited qualitative research on gender disparities in life experiences of men and women, which sometimes seem to get lost in institution's statistical analysis (Bunyi, 2003; Harper, 2007), women unfriendly, insecure and unsafe environments (Bunyi, 2003; 2008) were mentioned as factors affecting students' access to opportunities and space in the African universities. Data on the extent to which sexual harassment hinders women from accessing opportunities and space on campus is scanty. It is apparent that most attention has been given to students' access of SMT, yet clear understanding of access to informal structures and support services is important for students' survival on campus, usually assumed as the norm of the institutional culture. To bridge this gap, the present study paid special interest to students' experiences in their access to opportunities and space, while unpacking what Karega (2001) and Bunyi (2003; 2008) refers to as the limited,

inappropriate accommodation and sanitation facilities in order to understand the nature of gendered equalities within the UoN's culture.

Like earlier reviewed studies on gender and institutional culture (sub-section 2.2), Pereira (2007), Mama and Barnes (2007) further notes the importance of using informal structures, space and other support services when conducting a study on institutional culture since gender differences in the universities are usually entrenched in the informal routines and practices usually taken as the norm. According to Mboya (2001), Harper (2007), Mama and Barnes (2007) use of informal structures such as (health, catering, lecture and residence halls and rooms, libraries and laboratories) which are crucial for students' daily operation in universities as spaces where production of knowledge is facilitated help provide explanations for gendered situations aimed at enhancing a friendly university environment. However, literature on the experiences of men and women students in accessing the informal structures in HE is limited. In addition, Harper (2007) and Adusah-Karikari (2008) points out the need to conduct qualitative research in order to obtain rich description of men and women's lived experiences, a way identifying the challenges they face so as to answer the question about women's under-representation and their low participation at different levels of the university. Findings of such a study would probably go along way in improving access with the goal of attaining gender equity and equality, a critical component of promoting sustainable development, and achieving the MDGs (Huggins and Randell, 2007), in Kenya, and across Sub-Saharan Africa.

2.4 Sexual Harassment in African Universities and Campuses

The review in this sub-section is based on empirical and non-empirical sources drawn from the discourse of sexual harassment mostly from South, Central, West and East African universities and campuses which guided, and informed the present study.

2.4.1 The Evolution of Studies on Sexual Harassment in Universities in Africa

The phrase 'sexual harassment' originated in mid-1970s in USA, Canada, Australia and Europe (Thomas and Kritizinger, 1997; Bennett, 2002; Pereira, 2004). According to Bennett (2002) the term sexual harassment was first used to describe the occurrences of GBV in workplaces and educational institutions. Although the term sexual harassment is relatively new, the behaviour it describes are centuries old. The first recorded use of this term was in a survey developed by Working Women United in 1975 (Thomas and Kritizinger, 1997). However, it was not until 1979 when the first manuscript of Catherine MacKinnon's book '*Sexual Harassment of Working Women*' was circulated around women's groups and feminist organisations becoming very influential in USA. The two publications Lin Farley's (1978) '*Sexual Shakedown*' and Catherine Mackinnon were credited for bringing the issue of sexual harassment to public attention. This made it possible for studies on sexual harassment to start being done in Europe, USA, Canada and Australia.

The earliest effort to carry out research on GBV and sexual harassment in AHE was in the 1990s. The first investigation of sexual harassment and violence against women students in 12 secondary and tertiary educational institutions was done by the London-Based Human Rights Organisations in Africa (African Rights, 1994 in Hallman, 1994; Pereira, 2004; Unpublished). Results of the investigation were published in a ground breaking discussion paper, '*Crimes without Punishment*' which revealed a high prevalence rate of sexual harassment in educational institutions in Africa. The findings were mainly drawn from documentary review of committee and workshop reports, published books, newspapers and informal interviews with key informants.

The investigation was closely followed by similar studies in South, Central and West Africa. In the early 1990s, a comprehensive study on sexual harassment in the University of Cape Town (UCT) was undertaken in response to sensational reporting in local newspapers and

magazines on the extent of sexual harassment on SA campuses (Simelane, 2001). In addition, the rape incidences of five women students prompted UCT to initiate the investigation by launching a Committee of Inquiry into Sexual Harassment in November 1989 (Sutherland, 1994; Gouws and Kritizinger, 1997; Gouws *et al*, 2005). The committee was charged with the task of collecting empirical data on the nature and frequency of sexual harassment at UCT. Sutherland (1994) distributed questionnaires to the students from their Halls of Residence. The questionnaires were however, not as effective as FGD and individual interviews with students and key informants. In this present study, in-depth interviews and FGD with men and women students/leaders were used for a more focused study. In using the two data collection methods I was able to advance my theoretical understanding of sexual harassment, in terms of cultural norms, beliefs and behaviours associated with it (Ellsberg and Heise, 2005), thus enhance my understanding of the UoN's culture.

Similar projects were done in Universities of Witwatersrand, Natal, Fort Hare and Rand Afrikaans (Gouws and Kritizinger, 1997). A conference held at UCT in 1994 and hosted by the Sexual Harassment Support, Prevention Service and the Equal Opportunity Research Project of UCT and attended by 120 staff and students from over 13 universities and Technikons from SA provided rich and productive discussion on the issues of sexual harassment. For instance, in her welcoming address, Ramphela (1994:3) noted about: '*...sharp rise in sexual violence in educational institutions reflecting a general rise in violence against women...*'. The conference acts as a catalyst into research and formation of committees based on sexual violence and harassment in universities in SA and the rest of Africa. Similar case studies were done in the Universities of Stellenbosch, Cape Town and Natal, Swaziland in SA, Botswana and Zimbabwe (Pereira, 2004). Like, UCT, Wits University appointed a commission to investigate sexual harassment (Naidoo and Rajab, 1999). A review of some of these case studies and others done in African universities/campuses are discussed in sub-section 2.4.2.

2.4.2 Research on Sexual Harassment in African Universities and Campuses

Information from sub-section 2.4.1 shows that most of the studies have been done in South African universities, especially in 1997 after the 1994 Conference at UCT. The studies were done by Gouws and Kritizinger (University of Stellenbosch), Mapetia and Matlosa (National University of Lesotho), Mate (University of Zimbabwe), Tlou and Letsie (University of Botswana). Masiela's (1998) study was in University of Swaziland, while Naidoo and Rajab (1999) and Simelane (2001) carried out their research in the University of Natal, at Durban and Pietermaritzburg campuses. Zindi (1994), Shumba and Matina (2002) did their studies in universities, polytechnics and teachers' colleges in Zimbabwe. Phiri's study (1999; 2000) was based at the Chancellor College Campus, University of Malawi, while Reuben (1999) and Yayha-Othman (2000) wrote a paper using secondary data from UDSM in Tanzania. In West Africa, Ladebo (2003), Adedokun (2005) and Britwum's (2005) studies were done in Nigeria and Ghana respectively, while Imasogie's (2002) study was based in Olabisi Onabanjo University, Nigeria. In a comparative study, Ladebo (2003) collected data from three universities in Nigeria: federal government funded, state government owned university and private religious university. As earlier mentioned in Chapter one, the present study was done in the UoN, Kenya (sub-section 3.5 rationale for choosing UoN as a research site).

Reasons which made different researchers to conduct studies on sexual harassment varied from one university to another. They include complaints by the students, media reports, students' academic performance, death of a woman student and the need to formulate sexual harassment policies and interventions. For instance, a wave of committee reports, meetings, complaints and rising statistics of sexual harassment of women students by men lecturers reported at the Students Counselling Centre (SCC), Students Representative Council (SRC) and office of the Students Affairs prompted Tlou and Letsie (1997), Naidoo and Rajab (1999) to conduct their research. Zindi (1994)

and Britwum (2005) were provoked to undertake their studies by press coverage and media reports which revealed rampant occurrences of sexual harassment, and particularly the debate about the mode of dressing by women students, as a possible cause of violence against women. The death of a woman student through suicide (Reuben, 1999; Yayha-Othman, 2000) made UDSM to establish Gender Task Force, GDPC and form a probe committee in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences as a way of dealing with sexual harassment. Ladebo's (2003) study was done after an outcry by former President General Olusegun Obasanjo, who ridiculed men university lecturers for treating women students as 'sex objects'. Similarly, in 2004 former Assistant Minister of Education, in Kenya, Hon. Beth Mugo challenged UoN to establish the validity of the allegations of sexual harassment by professors, lecturers and college tutors toward women students. This was a wakeup call of the need to undertake a study on sexual harassment in the UoN, since the information was based on theory and allegations more than on empirical research.

Failure of women students in mid-sessional, end year and final examinations facilitated Shumba and Matina (2002) to conduct their study. The aim was to find out whether sexual harassment affects students' academic performance. Like Ladebo (2003), Shumba and Matina (2005) sought to find out whether or not inappropriate relationships exist between faculty and students. A number of other studies, Gouws and Kritizinger (1997), Masiela (1998), Reuben (1999), Phiri (1999; 2000), Simelane (2001) and Imasogie (2002) investigated various aspects of sexual harassment in their campuses, which include the occurrences, nature, magnitude and perceptions of students towards sexual harassment. In their study, Gouws and Kritizinger (1997) noted the importance of utilising sexual harassment as a critical variable for understanding institutional culture. Sexual harassment is a key feature of oppressive institutional culture (Gouws and Kritizinger, 1997; Sall, 2003). Thus, institutional culture become important in the present study because as Steyn and van Zyl (2001) and Museus (2008) asserts, it

covers every aspect of experiences, including sexual harassment of staff and students, a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, not well understood.

Apart from providing information on the nature, perceptions, experiences, factors and consequences of sexual harassment, feminist scholars, Mapetia and Matlosa (1997), Mate (1997), Tlou and Letsie (1997), Reuben (1999), Simelane (2001), Adedokun (2005) and Britwum's (2005) findings provide insights and guidance which they used as a basis for suggesting a framework for developing university policies, procedures, structures in handling and preventing sexual harassment in their respective campuses. Any delay in adopting the proposed policy, lack of initiatives and procedures (Tlou and Letsie, 1997); lack of a comprehensive gender policy, failure of the university regulations to provide sufficient mechanisms for combating sexual harassment (Mapetia and Matlosa, 1997) encourages unwanted sexual behaviours to continue. Mapetia and Matlosa (1997) further found that students' handbook had nothing specific about sexual harassment, yet it needs to contain enforceable regulations that explicitly aim at eradication of unacceptable sexual behaviours. These scholars have shown that for policies and procedures dealing with sexual harassment to be formulated and implemented successfully, there is need to conduct a study on sexual harassment and disseminate the findings. For instance, results of Simelane's (2001) study led to the development of sexual harassment policy. The idea of research findings providing critical inputs for policy formulation (Assie-Lumumba, 2006), did inform the present study.

Apart from Reuben (1999) and Yahya-Othman (2000) whose findings were based on secondary review of 'punch', a secret group of men students which used to sexually harass women students, especially those vying for positions in the students' organisations, other researchers used both qualitative and quantitative methods to collect data in their respective universities/campuses. Majority of the researchers used questionnaires to collect data from students and faculty. Zindi (1994)

administered questionnaires to 3,500 first, second, third year and post-graduate women students from 16 institutions of HE. 'Sexual Harassment Questionnaires' (SHQ) was used in three of the reviewed surveys. For instance, Zindi (1994), Shumba and Matina (2002) used a 24 and 30-items SHQ respectively. While Shumba and Matina (2002) adopted and modified Zindi's SHQ, and randomly administered it to 83 first, and third year students, Naidoo and Rajab (1999) modified SHQ from Bless and Braine of the Pietermaritzburg Campus with additional attitude items which they used to collect data from 2,200 students. Other feminist researchers, Mate (1997), Gouws and Kritizinger (1997), Phiri (1999; 2000), Simelaine (2001) and Imasogie (2002) also used questionnaires. Naidoo and Rajab (1999) analysed data using a PC Software package viz Statistical Graphics System.

However, a low return rate of the administered questionnaires was observed by Zindi (1994), Gouws and Kritizinger (1997), Phiri (1999; 2000), Imasogie (2002) and Britwum (2005). For example, in Imasogie (2002) and Britwum's (2005) surveys, out of the 250 questionnaires administered, only 150 were returned; while only 1,425 out of 2,142 target sample size of students returned the questionnaires respectively. In other surveys, out of 3,500 questionnaires, 2,756 (79%) were returned for analysis (Zindi, 1994); while Gouws and Kritizinger (1997) only managed to analyse 1,215 (60.8%) that is (42% or 501 men) and (58% or 714 women) out of the 2,000 open-ended questionnaires they administered to the students at the university residences and students centre. In Phiri's (1999; 2000) study, data was analysed from 202 questionnaires out of 364. Surveys provide fairly superficial information (numeric-based), thus, they may limit a deeper understanding of the complex processes of sexual harassment or their causes (Ellsberg and Heise, 2005; Polkinghorne, 2010). This could lead to insufficient response by policy makers, since they might require more compelling evidence (Harper and Museus, 2007). Thus, in researching sexual harassment, Miller (2000), Ellsberg and Heise (2005), advises scholars to use 'personal/individual' words and thoughts since they enhance

interaction between researchers and respondents, thus advancing our understanding of the numbers drawn from the questionnaires. This did inform the present study on the need to use individual interviews and FGDs.

In using qualitative methods, Mate (1997), Tlou and Letsie (1997), Masiela (1998), Imasogie (2002), Ladebo (2003), Adedokun (2005) and Britwum (2005) obtained data from interviews with students and key informants, group interviews, checklists, social mapping and review of documents. These researchers used administrators, lecturers, parents and guardians as key informants. Example of administrators who participated in these studies include deputy vice-chancellor for administration, university policy makers, legal and planning officers, registrar, and students' affairs managers, counseling centre personnel, members of the university disciplinary committees, union leaders and lawyers in private practice. Shumba and Matina (2002) did not use interviews because the students proved uncooperative. In addition to interviews and FGDs, Mate (1997), Masiela (1998), Imasogie (2002) and Britwum (2005) also used questionnaires. Using key informants, Tlou and Letsie (1997) conducted 43 interviews, while Ladebo (2003) and Britwum (2005) had 103 and 71 interviews respectively. Since in qualitative research there are no rules for sample size (Patton, 1990), in the present study a sample of 30 (14 men and 16 women) fourth year students were interviewed, in addition to four FGDs with student leaders. Some important questions one needs to ask about the number of participants in qualitative studies is '*what work do I want my sample to do*' (Mason 2002:121), or '*what is the purpose of the inquiry*' (Patton, 2002:184). However, drawing from the strength of in-depth interviews and FGDs (sub-section 4.3 methods of data collection), time available, resources, and the amount of data that was to be managed, I settled on 30 students and four FGDs with student leaders. Ellsberg and Heise, (2005), Harper, (2007) have shown that the fewer the respondents, the more they are likely to provide rich information, which could inform policy in instructive ways. Further, Masiela's (1998) use of audio tapes to collect

data (sub-section 4.4.2 Phase II: Actual data production) and the study objectives to formulate themes during data analysis (sub-section 4.5 Data management and analysis) did inform the current study.

While feminist researchers such as Zindi (1994), Phiri (1999; 2000), Simelaine (2001), and Imasogie (2002) did not specify the sampling procedures they adopted in their studies, Gouws and Kritizinger (1997), Tlou and Letsie (1997), Shumba and Matina (2002), Ladebo (2003), Britwum (2005), and Adedokun (2005) relied on either one or two of the following techniques: random, purposive, referral from colleagues and volunteering sampling depending on the category of the respondents. For instance, in sampling the students, Gouws and Kritizinger (1997), Shumba and Matina (2002), Britwum (2005) used random selection of men and women students based on proportional basis according to the number of students in each residence and other aspects like year of study. Tlou and Letsie's (1997) use of volunteering sampling where students were required to post their names on strategic notice boards on campus did inform the present study. Use of multi-sampling procedures (volunteer, simple random or lottery, purposive) in this current study was important since it allowed the researcher to get men and women students/leaders who were willing to talk about what they had personally experienced or heard about sexual harassment on campus. Thus, in qualitative inquiry, the goal is to select for information richness, detailed data or what is useful from a few selected cases that manifest the phenomenon (Patton, 1990; Ellsberg and Heise, 2005) under investigation. Being a sensitive topic, use of volunteer and simple random sampling procedures in the present study did to some extent enhance privacy.

As part of feminist research ethics, a number of reviewed studies were concerned about issues of privacy and confidentiality, which guided the present study. For instance, Imasogie (2002) used letters to refer to the faculty, while Ladebo (2003) withheld the names of the universities. Naidoo and Rajab (1999) maintained that answering of the SHQ was anonymous. Since sexual harassment is a sensitive issue, touching on

students' privacy in ways that could be stressful and emotional, I found it necessary to consider ethical issues in the present study (sub-section 4.6 ethical issues relevant to the study). While Zindi (1994) sought permission from the Ministry of HE in Zimbabwe, Naidoo and Rajab's (1999) proposal was approved by the University administrative authorities, academic departments and students' bodies. I got approval to collect data for my study from the Ministry of Science, Education and Technology (MoEST), and Registrar in the Deputy Vice-Chancellor's (DVC) office (Administration and Finance), UoN (Appendix 2 and 4).

Findings by Gouws and Kritizinger, (1997), Tlou and Letsie, (1997), Naidoo and Rajab, (1999), Simelane, (2001), Imasogie (2002), Ladebo (2003) and Britwum's (2005) shows that nature and prevalence of sexual harassment varied from one university to another. For instance, women students said that they were more exposed to different forms of sexual harassment, including unsolicited, unwanted sexual advances and attention like touch/fondling, sexist comments/jokes, rape, date rape (Gouws and Kritizinger, 1997; Tlou and Letsie, 1997; Naidoo and Rajab, 1999). There was a general consensus from men and women students that sexual assault, intimidation, sexual pressure, and sexually loaded gestures all constitute sexual harassment (Naidoo and Rajab, 1999; Simelane, 2001). Simelane (2001) reported sexually loaded noises, staring, wolf-whistling as other forms of sexual harassment in the campus. According to Ladebo (2003) and Britwum (2005) sexual harassment involves sexual coercion and sexual provocation. Sexual violence is also associated with the hostile environment, physical, emotional and sexual violation of women's rights by men (Imasogie, 2002; Adedokun, 2005; Britwum, 2005). Replacing computer screen saver with pictures of nude women is one of the ways of making learning environment hostile for women students (Imasogie, 2002). Sexual harassment especially date rape, is a common occurrence in the men's Halls of Residence (Gouws and Kritizinger, 1997). Ladebo (2003) found that sometimes men take women students for film shows where

they sexually harass them. Data on how each gender perceives and experiences sexual harassment, where the unwanted sexual behaviour takes place on campus, apart from the Halls of Residence may be necessary, if, it has to be controlled through a comprehensive programme.

A number of researchers namely, Zindi, (1994), Mapetia and Matlosa, (1997), Gouws and Kritizinger, (1997), Imasogie, (2002), Ladebo, (2003) and Britwum, (2005) identified quid pro quo as a form of sexual harassing behaviours. Results of the analysis reveal that 1,252 (45%) students felt that they got low grades after they turned down their sexual advances or after their 'relationship' had gone bad with their lecturers (Zindi,1994) while men lecturers usually fail men students who have an interest in their girlfriends (Zindi, 1994; Imasogie, 2002). About 2,250 (82%) said they had lost respect with lecturers who go out with the students (Zindi, 1994). Findings by Mapetia and Matlosa (1997) shows that sexual harassment exists between staff and women students, and takes the form of exchange of goods and services for sexual favours in a power relationship. Mapetia and Matlosa (1997) further found occurrences of quid pro quo transactions among young staff (20-35years) by men bosses with threats of non-renewal of their contracts, promising favours like promotions and training opportunities. Other forms of quid pro quo behaviour include need for academic rewards or favours in form of better grades and passing of semester examinations, getting academic support such as admission into university programmes and introducing faculty members to international conferences (Imasogie, 2002; Ladebo, 2003; Britwum, 2005); monetary gains and acquiring the status of 'super girl' with men faculty members taking advantage of the academically weak women students (Britwum, 2005), as some of the reasons likely to expose them to sexual harassment. However, data on other forms of quid pro quo transactions apart from academic rewards and monetary gains, and how this contributes to culture of heterosexuality is necessary. In addition, characteristics of perpetrators apart from men faculty, and circumstances which make

women students become victims of quid pro quo transactions using students' perceptions is required, for purposes of enhancing a friendly learning environment for all on campus.

There is evidence to show that women students have broader perceptions of sexual harassment as compared to men, as shown from the high response rate among women students (Gouws and Kritizinger, 1997; Naidoo and Rajab, 1999). For instance, Naidoo and Rajab (1999) found women students recording higher frequencies than men in all categories of sexual harassment behaviours. African men students demonstrated fewer consensus on behaviour constituting sexual harassment, probably because Africans consider this behaviour to be socially acceptable. A total of 67% women students said they had been sexually harassed on campus (Phiri, 1999; 2000), while Britwum's (2005) study reveal that 83% students, 78% non-teaching staff and 80% teaching staff indicate that more women suffer from sexual harassment as compared to men, especially first year students and junior women staff.

The findings further confirm that women students are sexually harassed mostly by men students, lecturers and non-teaching staff (Tlou and Letsie, 1997; Phiri, 1999; 2000; Adedokun, 2005). Shumba and Matina (2002) noted that about 90% men and 79% women students show that women students are sexually harassed by men lecturers. In few cases are men students sexually harassed by women lecturers. In addition, Phiri's (1999; 2000) results reveal that 12.6% of the women students had been raped, 48% were raped by boyfriends, 17% by friends and 6% by other people. The perpetrators of sexual harassment are mostly friends as reported by 55% of the students, 28% of men lecturers and 5% boyfriends. It is clear that most of the reviews relied on survey methods, which sometimes provide limited data, thus making it hard for policy makers to obtain reliable data (Harper and Museus, 2007), on sexual harassment, which is part of the complex human behaviour. Therefore, interacting with students's perceptions through interviews and FGDs like was the case with the present study, provides insights useful in

understanding better and being able to interpret survey results, if the goal of contributing to social change (Ellsberg and Heise, 2005) and establishing a just society is to be achieved.

Among the attributes that lead to occurrences of unwanted sexual behaviours, were provocative dressing and influence of alcohol (Gouws and Kritizinger, 1997; Masiela, 1998; Naidoo and Rajab, 1999; Simelane, 2001; Imasogie, 2002; Adekokum, 2005; Britwum, 2005). Masiela (1998) and Imasogie (2002) respondents noted that lack of dress code which make women students wear short and tight skirts, and the idea of drunkard students knocking at the women students' hostels demanding to be accommodated, as reasons likely to lead to occurrences of sexual harassment. The issue of dress code was seen as discriminatory on the part of the women students, since security guards were empowered to prevent women students who are not properly dressed from entering the campus (Imasogie, 2002). Data is required using men and women students' lived experiences to help understand why and how use of alcohol, drugs and provocative dressing styles as a norm on campus justifies the presence of culture of heterosexual relationship. Furthermore, Bennett *et al* (2007) asserts that research on the way in which heterosexuality is part of university life is thin in most African campuses.

Heterosexuality is a sign of masculinity, where men create a view of masculinity by adopting expectations directed towards manhood, while comparing themselves to other men (Laitinen, 2003). Heterosexuality usually perceived as a freely chosen sexual preference, is natural, normal and inevitable form of sexual expression manifested in intimate relations of men and women, where women's sexuality is controlled (Ghail, 1996; Muhanguzi, 2005; Reingarde, 2010), through domination and subordination (Muhanguzi, 2005), mostly by men. Heterosexuality as a norm, is constructed and reproduced in politics, media, popular culture, arts, working life, families (Reingarde, 2010), universities to mention but a few. Being a dominant discourse in most organisations, heterosexuality allows men to explore women's bodies (Ronald, 2000;

Sunnai, Heikkinen and Kangsvo, 2003; Reingarde, 2010), demanding for sexual attractiveness on the part of women if one has to be involved in a relationship (Ronald, 2000). In such a context patriarchal notions view women as objects to be looked at by men (Albury, 2002, in Charles, 2004). Charles (2004) further notes that some feminists equate patriarchal power with beauty and sexuality. For instance, post-structuralist feminists view dominant discourses of heterosexuality as working to produce ideas about femininity, thus situating women as passive victims of violent men's sexuality thought to be active, uncontrollable and potentially aggressive (Charles, 2004; Weedon, 1996).

From their findings, Zindi (1994) and Simelane (2001) reported lack of moral education on meaningful relations as reasons which could lead to construction of sexually unwanted behaviours. The present study used the practice of 'gold rush' (sub-section 3.4.1 Strategic Plans and Policies of the UoN) to construct ways in which women students' lack of life skills could easily make them victims of unwanted sexual behaviour. The patriarchal social status and relegation of women to a subordinate status make sexual harassment a complex issue to deal with (Tlou and Letsie, 1997). Tlou and Letsie's study further shed light on the need to consider patriarchal ideology as a theoretical framework. However, the question still remains: are these the only reasons that can help conceptualise the occurrences of sexual harassment on campus, which leads to hostile environment for women students on campus? For instance, while Reuben (1999) and Yahya-Othman (2000), used 'punch', to construct aspects of unwanted sexual behaviours through secondary data, I explored different peer groups, as recommended by Zindi (1994), Shumba and Matina (2002) through qualitative research in order to get insights into how such groups influence the construction of active, attractive and aggressive heterosexual relationships among UoN students.

From their studies, Tlou and Letsie (1997) found that most victims of sexual harassment feel isolated, ashamed, suffer in silence, blame

themselves and remain reserved. Other researchers Phiri, (1999; 2000), Reuben, (1999), Yayha-Othman, (2000), Shumba and Matina, (2002) Adedokun, (2005) reported effects of sexual harassment as: poor performance, depression, mental torture, attempted suicide and sometimes death stigmatization, victimisation, anger and hatred of men as perpetrators, loss of confidence and self-esteem, psychological trauma, sexually transmitted infectious diseases and unwanted pregnancies. In the present study, I allowed men and women students/leaders to give their perceptions on the effect of sexual harassment on women students. By enabling men students/leaders to acknowledge the effects of sexual harassment on students, this should be seen as a step towards envisioning the need to make them participate in the formulation of policies and programmes if effective control of unwanted sexual behaviour has to be achieved. The idea of supporting boys and men's participation in creating policies to improve sexuality knowledge, and achieve gender equality is one of the recommendations stipulated in *'The State of World Girls Report'* by Plan International, 2011.

I found it necessary to compare and contrast the views of men and women students/leaders regarding their perceptions and experiences of sexual harassment. It seems that there is limited coverage and scope in the use of gender approach from the reviewed studies, yet such data could enrich our understanding of sexual harassment behaviours from a divergent view of each gender. Drawing from Muhanguzi's (2005) sentiments, it is important to acknowledge that men and women hear, interpret, express and present messages in gender distinctive ways. Furthermore, Kinyanjui (1995) points the importance of considering the interests of men and women in the creation of gender sensitive policies. By understanding their perceptions and responses differently as men and women, boys and girls, this would help suggest transformative changes likely to eliminate the root causes of discrimination (EQUATE Project, 2008; Plan International, 2011), since achievement of gender equality is about the role of boys and men, not just an issue for women and girls (Plan International, 2011). Thus, it is important that gender

scholars work with girls and boys, men and women in all efforts to understand and address GBV in educational institutions (Wellesley Centres for Research on Women and Development Training Services, 2003). In addition, the findings of the current study will go a long way to challenge what Pereira (2007) refers to as, lack of detailed, reliable data, associated with the phenomenon of sexual harassment because the practices involved, are often submerged and ignored.

2.4.3 Studies and Reports of Sexual Harassment in Kenyan Universities

A number of empirical and non-empirical researches on sexual harassment have been done in Kenyan universities by Gitobu (1999), Omale (2000), Wanjala (2000), Mbugua and Mutoro (2007), Kawira and Nyaga (2008). A comparative study was done by a Research Consortium on Sexual Harassment and Abuse of women, a project of the Public Law Institute in Kenya (Wanjala, 2000). Wanjala's (2000) study focused on the nature, incidence and extent of sexual harassment in public and private universities, the former Kenya Polytechnic (currently a constituent campus of UoN), secondary schools and a number of work place institutions in Nairobi County (urban) and Mwingi district (rural). Wanjala used simplified open-ended questionnaires to collect data from Mwingi district, while a sample of 100 randomly chosen respondents was interviewed from Nairobi County, but only women participated. Wanjala faced open hostility from potential men respondent who declined to be interviewed dismissing the exercise as futile since '*there was nothing like sexual harassment in Kenya*' (Wanjala, 2000: 41). Wanjala's findings revealed that of the 92% respondents who said they had been sexually harassed, 84% were from public universities and mid-level colleges. The high percentage (84%) is an indication of the widespread occurrences of sexual harassment among women students in public universities.

While Wanjala's findings were not analysed to reflect the urban/rural gender based approach, use of traditional methods (questionnaires) and interview with 100 women respondents to research sexual harassment, a

complex and fluid topic, proved challenging since it was not possible to elicit all the relevant data. In their support, Ellsberg and Heise (2005) noted that use of survey methods are not the most appropriate method in helping determine the nature, causes and impact of violence, since they tend to provide limited data about how men and women experience violence, a complex social phenomenon. Thus, quantitative data may hinder policy makers and public from making appropriate decisions, since it sometimes provide incomplete information that lacks depth, complexity and voice (Harper and Museus, 2007; Harper, 2007).

Unlike Wanjala's study which relied mostly on questionnaires and interviews with only women students, other studies by Gitobu (1999), Kamau (2003), Kawira and Nyaga (2008) are limited by the fact that the findings have not been published and well documented and so remain inaccessible to the public domain. In addition, Wanjala (2000) noted lack of local literature/scholarly text on sexual harassment which could have provided the much needed theoretical basis to enrich the vision and refine the methodological instruments of the study. Similarly, Maseno (2005) and Morley (2005) points out that lack of published literature on women's experiences of HE in low-income Commonwealth countries, both as students and staff, is an aspect likely to slow down policy formulation on gender issues. From my observation, it seems that the available local literature on sexual harassment lacked clarity on the theoretical development of the research problem, how data was collected and analysed.

In her presentation at the Fourth FAWE General Assembly, where she deliberated on the issue of insecurity in KU, Gitobu (1999) notes that sexual harassment was rampant in Kenyan universities. Kamau (2003) noted a woman student, who lamented about the high rate of gender violence in the learning institutions in Kenya. Emphasising further on this point, Professor Rosalid Mutua, a former vice-chancellor of KWUST, acknowledges that sexual harassment in universities is a big problem especially with the introduction of self-financing (Kamau, 2003). In addition, Wanjala (2000) reported high level of unemployment

in the institutions of learning as a factor likely to lead to occurrences of sexual harassment. The implication here is that lack of adequate financial support could make women students, particularly from low income families, become vulnerable to abuse, as they struggle for their survival on campus since they can easily be lured to trading sexual favours for money either from older, single, affluent men students or the lecturers (Karanja, 2003). There was a need to establish the validity of allegations by Wanjala, Kamau and Karanja, on the relationship between finance and sexual harassment. This can effectively be established by carefully listening to men and women voice their direct and indirect experiences, in order to make the individual accounts clearer (Miller, 2000), if gender policies and programmes are to be revised and developed.

Out of the nine public universities in Kenya, KU, Egerton and UoN have at one time formed different committees to deliberate on the issue of sexual violence. However, only KU has put their deliberations in the public domain. For instance, Gitobu's report (1999) was a product of a committee established in 1993 by vice-chancellor, KU, after complaints from women students on violence by men students and lecturers. Omale's (2000) findings from research carried out in KU, JKUAT, Egerton and Maseno universities were disseminated, while Kawira and Nyaga (2008), gave a presentation about sexual violence in KU as a synopsis of the baseline survey report. Mbugua and Mutoro (2007) presented a paper in a seminar organised by United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and Institute of African, Anthropology and Gender Studies (IAAGS), on gender violence in the UoN, but only one campus out of six participated. Although the reports, confirm rampant existence of sexual harassment in the four public universities, they however, lack information on the methodology used to collect and analyse data, while most relied on survey methods (closed/semi structured questionnaires), others used only women students as respondents. Use of women students only may limit the nature, clarity and diversity of data from two genders, which could lead

to gender blind institutional process. In addition, use of qualitative methods (especially interviews/FGDs) like was the case with the present study enables a researcher to gain in depth understanding by unveiling information based on multiple layered voices regarding sexual harassment drawn from the respondents point of view (Miller, 2000; Ellsberg and Heise, 2005), which is significant for the establishment of gender inclusive university culture.

It is not clear from the Kenyan reports as to why sexual harassment takes place in educational institutions, apart from Omale (2000), Mbugua and Mutoro (2007), Kawira and Nyaga (2008) who pointed out the issue of sexually provocative mode of dressing and drug abuse in JKUAT, KU, and UoN. Although the two factors are similar to those reported in earlier reviews (sub-section 2.4.2: Research on sexual harassment in African universities), there was need to find out why men and women students dress provocatively and engage in alcohol and drug abuse. Such data could help conceptualise how the culture of dominant heterosexuality is constructed in campus.

Although Mbugua and Mutoro disseminated their findings, by the time I was preparing to collect data for this present study, to date (2013) UoN is yet to develop sexual harassment or/and GBV policy, while the extent to which Gender Policy 2008 has been implemented is yet to be evaluated. I was conscious that for gender sensitive policies and programmes to be developed and implemented effectively, there is need to recognise that society is made up of men and women who require a different focus (Kamau, 2009). Since social realities of women and men are different (Weeden, 1987, in Morosi and Moletsane, 2007), I decided to include the opinions of individual men and women students/leaders (Ellsberg and Heise, 2005) in the present study. And as earlier stated (sub-section 2.0 introduction) gender policies and strategies cannot be formulated and implemented in a vacuum, thus, the findings of Mbugua and Mutoro (2007) present a gap in knowledge. I found it necessary to consider the voices of men and women students/leaders in order to construct their perceptions of sexual harassment, a way of enhancing

what Patton (1990), Parr (2000) and Ellsberg and Heise (2005), refer to as greater depth rather than breadth in understanding the complex nature of sexual harassment. Further, Parr (2000), Ellsberg and Heise (2005), Adush-Karikari (2008) agree that by listening to women's own words, through their voices regarding the challenges, and obstacles they encounter, this could form a sound basis for policy formulation and interventions on gender issues in HE.

2.5 Emerging Research Gaps

It is clear from the literature review that feminist researchers use different spaces, places, cultural norms, and gender initiatives to explore the experiences of students and staff, which informed the present study on the need to use formal and informal structures and processes in a study of gender and institutional culture. Studies on gender and institutional culture are limited, particularly in Kenya. I choose to work with a mixture of ideas (political, economic and social-cultural norms) informed by feminism with different domains of opportunities, space, facilities and experiences of sexual harassment. The discourses were chosen because they allowed for in depth theoretical understanding through the construction of diversified ideas and experiences from men and women students regarding masculinity, femininity, and the much hidden social realities of institutional culture, particularly culture of heterosexuality whose research remains scanty in most African universities.

Research on the extent to which sexual harassment hinders women from accessing opportunities and space is limited, while students experiences of sexual harassment a complex multifaceted phenomenon of institutional culture has mostly been done through quantitative methods, mostly involving women. Use of quantitative methods in a study of institutional culture may provide superficial, incomplete and unreliable information, which could challenge meaningful transformation on campus. To bridge the knowledge gap the current study concentrated on men and women students/leaders' direct and indirect experiences through amplifying their voice, by using interviews

and FGD, in order to clearly understand the social, cultural, political and economic realities. Use of gender approach in the present study was meant to advance our understanding of students' perceptions and experiences of formal and informal aspects of institutional culture from a divergent view of different gender, since society is made up of men and women with different needs, values, interests and ideas.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

Being a feminist study, my standpoint is informed by theories of patriarchy, radical and liberal. The integration of these frameworks provides a theoretical basis from which to understand the UoN's culture through the discourses of access and sexual harassment. Patriarchy a social and ideological construct in which men and masculine qualities are valued more highly than women and feminine qualities (Belknap, 2007, in Mitchell, 2009), give men privileges which tend to interfere with supportive, friendly environment. Theory of patriarchy which has been developed within feminist writings and women's movements has different meanings (Beechey, 1979; Walby, 1990). Sylvia Walby one of the few feminists who have 'theorised' patriarchy defines it as 'a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women' (Walby, 1990:20) at a number of different levels: production, reproduction and sexuality (Ray, 2007; Mitchell, 1984). Since the present study examines students' perceptions of access and sexual harassment, a way of understanding institutional culture, theory of patriarchy was relevant because as Beechey (1979), argues it attempts to penetrate beneath particular experiences, manifestations and perceptions of life. Furthermore, Walby (1990) claims that patriarchal ideology is indispensable for analysis of gender equality. I took note of Walby's sentiments, since the study explored how discourses of access and sexual harassment impact on gender equality.

Mitchell (2009) sees patriarchy as a building block of feminist perspectives. I found feminist framework important to this study since they stress that the relationship between men and women is that of

inequality (Kamau, 2009). A feminist framework allows the researcher and participants to be actively involved as informants and investigators in the democratic process (Kamau, 2004). By locating myself in the research process, I was able to get knowledge and information which I used to argue for liberation, emancipation and social transformation of the gendered injustice and discrimination existing in the UoN.

Further, my use of feminist perspective is justified by the existence in Kenyan universities of gender relations which are sometimes unjust and oppressive (Onsongo, 2005). The knowledge of gender-relations and social reality has implications of freedom from oppression likely to lead to the creation of a democratic society. Feminism bring womens' perceptions into existence, and offer an understanding of their experiences, thus, it is action-oriented and seeks to advance feminist values, personal and social change (Howry and Wood, 2001; Gallies and Alldred, 2002). According to Adusah-Karikari (2008) the understanding can only be achieved when space among those marginalised is created and facilitated through a search for their voice.

Voice in feminist writings is an important tool of empowerment since it ensures that marginalised perceptions are heard (Adusah-Karikari, 2008). Thus, use of voice in the present study helped reveal the contradictions, fragmentations, conflicts and tensions presented in students' perceptions and experiences (Song, 2000; Mawoyo and Hoadley, 2007), in order to understand how each gender negotiate the university terrain. During field work and data analysis period I paid attention to the voice, in reference to men and women students' direct and indirect experiences regarding their gendered realities of access and sexual harassment. Use of voice did enable the researcher to make experiences of men and women students/leaders visible and relevant for practice (Aniekwu, 2006).

Walby (1990), a feminist scholar uses several theoretical perceptions in order to understand the role of patriarchal ideology in accounting for gender equalities within the institutional culture. I decided to work with

liberal and radical feminist perspectives, since they best fitted my study. My decision was informed by Maynard (1995) in Kamau (2009) while arguing that feminists need to take a 'middle approach' in theorising. Further, Kamau (2009) notes the need for feminist research to be informed by feminist perspectives, since other theoretical traditions downplay the interaction of gender and power. Drawing from Muhanguzi's (2005) sentiments, gender and power are crucial concepts in understanding institutional culture, an aspect considered in the current study.

Radical feminism asserts that the cause of inequality arises from men controlling women (Ray, 2007). Thus, society is characterised by paternal dominance, competition and power. Some of the structures that reinforce men supremacy, dominance and which informed the present study can be seen in the patriarchal constructions of knowledge in educational institutions, sexual oppression and heterosexuality (Ray, 2007; Beechey, 1979). For instance, radical feminists argue that rape, is inherent in heterosexual relationships, practices and that these relationships are coercive and exploitative towards women due to the control and dominance that men exert in the socio-political and economic spheres (Murphy, 2004). Therefore, to radical feminists the oppression of women is inevitable in men dominated societies (Schaefer, 2004), including universities, since men have power over women in almost all aspects (political, social, economic) of the institutions. Radical feminists argue that for any change to occur, there is need to challenge women's subordination and work towards transforming society by abolishing patriarchy, a way of achieving equality (Connelly, Murray Li, MacDonald, and Parpart, 2000).

Liberal feminism champions equality, legal, political rights, natural justice and democracy if women are to compete with men in the public domain (Connelly *et al*, 2000; Ray, 2007; McLaren, George and Cornell, 2008), where they seem to have been marginalised. Liberal approach focuses on issues of equal rights of access to resources for men and women especially in education, work, employment and support of

affirmative action as a compensatory strategy. These aspects informed the researcher on the need to explore the discourses of men and women students' access to opportunities (unique degree programmes and supplementary sources of income), space and facilities a way of understanding UoN's culture.

Susan Moller Okin, a liberal feminist argues that power as a resource which is unequally and unjustly distributed between men and women can be used to explain the inequalities existing in the society. It is by redistributing the resources and opportunities in more equitable ways, ensuring that laws and policies are not discriminative that justice can be established. Further, Kanter (1977) in Kamau (2009) noted that in order to improve the situation of women in organisations, there is need to understand the basic organisational and structural issues. This did justify my use of formal and informal structures and practices (access and sexual harassment) in the current study, since they help conceptualise UoN's culture. Kanter, (1977), in Kamau, (2009) are in agreement with radical feminists that for any change to occur, a critique of patriarchal systems and structures is necessary. This means that for policies and programmes to change, systems and structures that govern them need to be well understood, and revised, if necessary.

Patriarchy describes men as having more power and control over women, dominating them culturally and socially (Walby, 1990). This has been emphasised by Beagan and Saunders (2005), while pointing out that social and cultural norms convey messages about what people should do and should not do within the institutional culture. For example, Courtenay (2000) observes that for men to demonstrate that they are 'real men' they must conform to cultural definitions of masculine beliefs, attitudes, behaviours and occupations. The data did help the researcher understand, for instance, the occurrences of the complex multi-partnered heterosexual practices, in the UoN.

I share with Mbuyiselo Botha, in Cornwall, Edstrom and Greig (2007) feelings that masculinity is all about men perceiving and thinking about

the benefits and the power they have which give them access to certain privileges (in my case, this refers to opportunities, space and facilities), as compared to women. I am drawn to Home and Maraa, (2010) argument that masculine (dominance and control of power), and feminine (subordination and lack of power) ways of behaviour are constantly reinforced in everyday interaction in flexible, dynamic, ambiguous, predictable, and unpredictable ways usually seen as a 'norm' in the institutional culture. Thus, unwanted sexual behaviour is conceptualised as being located within the masculine and feminine identity whose interaction is predicted upon an unequal status of power and gender relations (Muhanguzi, 2005). According to Dube (2003) the culture of power in the university is so deeply entrenched making it critical in understanding institutional relations and manifestations of the hostile environment. Due to power structures, people have learnt to accept their positions and roles as given, hardly questioning the set rules and regulations (Kamau, 2009), and as a result this tend to put some women in a subordinate position of being oppressed in the society. Thus, sexual harassment, a discourse explored in the present study is seen as a tool of domination that sometimes keep women perpetually subordinated to men (Ladebo, 2003).

The concept of masculinity shape how men and women act, how institutions work, and how culture operates (Connell, 1970 in Cornwall *et al*, 2007). Men's expression of aggression and competition have been rewarded because this has always been seen as natural, normal, and appropriate in the society (Moulton, 1983 in Karlberg, 2005). It is clear that the society rewards aggressive and dominating behaviour in men and submissive, passive and acquiescent behaviour in women (Tangri, Bart and Johnson (1982) in Hagedorn, 2000). As such, patriarchal society expects men to be 'macho', strong, tough, dominant and powerful, while women are supposed to be sweet, demure, attractive and in need of men leadership (Hagedorn, 2000; Timmerman, 2003). It seems that masculine and feminine characteristics are constructed by the patriarchal society, as a way of justifying men's behaviour and actions,

which further influence my understanding of intersection of gender, access and sexual harassment in defining and understanding the nature of university environment. Masculinity tends to undermine women's capacity to engage in decision-making within the institution, where men's autonomy is taken for granted, while women have to struggle (Pereira, 2007). Consequently, socio-cultural construction of masculinity and femininity, a process which often goes unnoticed guided the researcher in trying to conceptualise how the relationship between men and women are formulated and lived out (Cornwall *et al*, 2007; Dube, 2003), thus, being able to understand ways in which women are sometimes silenced by the institutional culture.

Men seem to have internalised masculine values, attitudes and behaviour regarding women, giving them more power to shape the terrain of sexuality (Pereira, Unpublished). The internalisation of masculine and feminine cultural behaviour make men and women see violent behaviour as deserving and normal. By understanding the 'norms' of masculinity, which serve as a structure of men privilege, as opposed to feminine traits such as caring, kindness, friendliness, helping, supporting, modesty, conscientiousness and cooperation (Laitinen, 2003; Karlberg, 2005), this would help recognise that society is made up of men and women who require, different focus and treatment. This is important because equality between men and women can only be achieved if their differences are appreciated and included in policy and practice (Kamau, 2009). Thus, I considered the differences of men and women students throughout the research process (sampling, data collection and analysis, and discussion of the research findings). I realised that by understanding masculinity and transforming it in positive ways, this could go a long way in bringing about a fairer, more just and happier society where all participate equally in development, irrespective of gender. This decision was informed by Samia Afroz Rahim in Cornwall *et al* (2007), a participant in a Symposium on *'Politicising Masculinities: Beyond the Personal'* in Dakar, Senegal while

responding to a question of why it is important to understand masculinity.

The way institutional power is distributed and organised is fundamental in understanding the unevenness of the playing field. I agree with Hagedorn's (2003) sentiments that men are in positions of power (superiors), while women are sometimes relegated to the more subordinate (inferior) positions. Power as a discourse is used by men to control women's access to public and private domains (professor control scholarly discourse, teacher educational discourse), and by influencing their minds and actions through persuasion, manipulation, and everyday talk (van Dijk, 1996). Thus, Liberal feminists and patriarchal ideologies draw a distinction between 'private' and 'public' spheres (Walby, 1990; Connelly *et al*, 2000), through space, social networks and activities that produce different 'cultures' 'ways of being and knowing' (Edwards and Ribbens, 2000:13). Feminist scholars, Walby (1990) and Karlberg (2005) asserts that 'public' sphere refers to institutional structures such as, political, judicial, employment, schools and churches, which tend to preserve patriarchal ideologies by perpetuating the inequality of men and women in their positions, power and control, thus excluding women. 'Private' patriarchy means that women are oppressed on a personal and individual basis, thus keeping them out of public space (Walby, 1990).

'Public' and 'private' domains were a concern of the present study. First, UoN is one of the nine 'public' universities in Kenya, with both 'private sponsored' and 'government funded' students (sub-section 3.5 rationale for selecting UoN as a research site). Secondly, since men and women students' experiences mainly occur in their personal lives and voices, this could be seen as 'private' (Edwards and Ribbens, 2000; Kamau, 2009), or culture of private domain (Kamau, 2004). Use of students' perceptions was further informed by radical feminist phrase of 'personal is political' which draw attention to political meanings of women's experiences, thus, being able to understand their real life situations. I did respect personal/private lives and opinions of men and women students

by observing ethical guidelines especially now that I was researching sexual harassment, a sensitive issue. This enabled the researcher to provide private space in which men and women students were able to voice their own personal narratives (Miller, 2000), on how they perceive access to opportunities, space, facilities and experiences of sexual harassment. Third, the findings of this research will be disseminated to the public domain, for academic and professional audiences (Edwards and Ribbens, 2000), if UoN is to incorporate democratic values into policy formulation, revision and implementation. In chapter three, I contextualise and discuss gendered discourses specifically related to UoN, the research site of the present study.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER THREE

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI: THE STUDY SITE

3.0 Introduction

The research site for this study was University of Nairobi (UoN). Therefore, this chapter presents the historical landmarks of the UoN, delving into its origin, development and expansion. The different locations and constituencies of the UoN, together with its myriad of social and political positions, are presented. The researcher locates gender-related challenges and struggles of men and women students' within the context of the university culture, structures and processes. Specifically, the theoretical status of gender issues derived from policies to structures within the UoN's culture has been discussed. The rationale for choosing UoN as a research site for the study is also presented.

3.1 Historical Development of the University of Nairobi

The origin of UoN since 1947, the premier institution of Higher Learning in the Eastern African Region is unique as compared to other public universities in Kenya. Different stories and versions have been used to give its historical development over the years. One story is 'A Tale of Eight Trees' (UoN, 2005a: 26). Trees in the African society are planted to mark important, great historical events. Since the 1950s, trees have been planted in the UoN signifying historical occasions. Gendered metaphors have been used to refer to UoN. For instance, UoN is seen as 'mother' to Kenyatta University and 'grandmother' to Moi, Egerton, and Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology. Other metaphors that have been used to describe the history of the UoN include, 'The Journey Traveled So Far' (UoN, 2007a: 25); and 'Tall Story-Our Tale, University of Nairobi' (UoN, 2004: 43); and 'A Tall Story' (UoN, 2005a: 35). These stories provide an account of the developmental patterns undertaken by the UoN, which to a large extent influences the origin and growth of other public universities in Kenya.

The origin of UoN is characterised by landmarks within Kenya and the East African Region, which has seen it rise from a Technical Institute to one of the largest Teaching and Research Universities in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). UoN's historical development can be traced from 1947 when the then Kenya Government mooted the idea of establishing a Technical and Commercial Institute in Nairobi (UoN, 2000). This became a reality in 1949, when a plan of providing Higher Technical Education for the East African territories had grown (UoN, 2000; UoN, 2004). Between 1951 and 1958, the colonial government granted UoN a Royal Charter making it be referred to as the Royal Technical College of East Africa (RTCEA). Under RTCEA it admitted the first batch of 'A' level students in 1956 for technical courses (GoK, 2003; Nyaigotti-Chacha, 2004; CHE, 2006; Chege and Sifuna, 2006). Princess Margaret of Britain planted the Naivasha Thorn and the Royal Palm trees in 1956 to mark the establishment of the RTCEA (UoN, 2005a). In 1957 and 1961, Colin Bullard, took over the leadership of RTCEA (UoN, 2004).

Following an agreement with the Asian Community in Kenya, the GoK incorporated the Gandhi Memorial Academy into the RTCEA (UoN, 2000). RTCEA offered professional education mostly technical and commerce, below the degree level. The first group of 18 students graduated in 1963, after which the enrolment rose to 452 students (UoN, 2004). There is lack of gender specific details on the 18 and 452 students, pioneer students admitted in the UoN which probably means lack of gender awareness during the initial years of its development.

With the recommendations of the working party chaired by Sir John Lockwood, the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of London, RTCEA was transformed into the second Inter-Territorial University College in East Africa in 1958 after Makerere University College and University College Dar-es-Salaam. Following the recommendations by the East African Governments on 25th June, 1961 through an Act of the East African High Commission, the Royal Technical College became the second University College of East Africa. Dr. J.M. Hyslop, the Principal of Royal Technical College took the complex process of re-

organising the Technical College into a University College between 1961 and 1962 (UoN, 2004; UoN, 2007b). From the 'Royal College Nairobi', 1964, it was renamed 'University College Nairobi' on 20th May, 1964 under the leadership of Arthur Porter, a resident of Sierra Leone (UoN, 2000; UoN, 2007b). Arthur Porter became the principal of 'University College Nairobi' 1964 to 1971, when the university was at the bedrock of activism and socialism (UoN, 2004).

The three University Colleges of Makerere, Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam were incorporated into the University of East Africa in 1963, but still under the University of London (Chege and Sifuna, 2006). To mark the commemoration of the establishment of University of East Africa, the former President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania planted the Pride of Bolivia (*Tipuana tipu*) (UoN, 2005a: 27). The tree continues to adorn the square fondly referred to as 'Maternity' (UoN, 2005a). 'Maternity' is a term related to reproductive roles of a 'mother'. The Second University College in East Africa under the Royal College Nairobi was established in 1961, becoming a constituent college of the newly founded Federal University of East Africa established in 1963 (UoN, 2005a; CHE, 2006). However, despite the smooth growth and development, between 1963 and 1964 the University College Nairobi experienced administrative problems. These problems were offset by Professor W.E Isaac, who was the Acting Principal with the assistance of his two dynamic Acting Vice-Principals, Prof. D.B. Sears and G.D Wing (UoN, 2004). After this period of uncertainty on leadership the post of principal was finally occupied by Dr. Arthur T. Porter, Professor of History and former Vice-Principal, Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone 1964-1971 (UoN, 2004).

Having attained the status of a University College Nairobi under the leadership of Dr. Porter, the University College Nairobi was able to prepare students for the degree awarded by the University of London, while continuing to offer internal diploma programmes. University College Nairobi provided educational opportunities in this capacity until 1966, when it began preparing students exclusively for the degrees of

the University of East Africa (UoN, 2000). Under a special relationship with the University of London in 1961 students were able to enroll in the Faculties of Arts, Science and Engineering (Bogonko, 1992; UoN, 2004; Chege and Sifuna, 2006). The only exception was that the students in the Department of Domestic Science and Land Development continued to study under the University of Manchester and the Royal Institute of Chartered Secretaries (RICS) (UoN, 2007b).

In 1963, the idea of Africanising the administration and teaching staff of the University College Nairobi led to the appointment of Simeon H. Ominde, the first African Professor and Principal replacing Prof. Arthur T. Porter (UoN, 2004). Later, the posts of the Registrar and Finance Officer were also Africanised. So far, all the principals mentioned are men, an indication that men started dominating senior management positions of the University College Nairobi since its inception in 1957. What followed on 1st July, 1970 was the dissolution of the University of East Africa, after which the three East African countries: Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania each set up their own National Universities (Bogonko, 1992; Nyaigotti-Chacha, 2004; CHE, 2006; Chege and Sifuna, 2006). The Royal Palm (*Rostonea elata*) of 1970 planted by late President Mzee Jomo Kenyatta marks the culmination and establishment of the UoN as a National University (UoN, 2005a). Makerere University in Uganda and UDSM in Tanzania, commonly referred to as 'older sisters of the UoN' also became National Universities (UoN, 2004: 43). The UoN was set up by an Act of Parliament and inaugurated by the late President Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, who became its first graduate and Chancellor (Bogonko, 1992).

Available literature from the UoN, however does not mention any woman as being within its first batch of the graduates/or among those who worked at the UoN in its youthful years. Yet a number of prominent women: Grace Ogot, Phoebe Asiyo, Professors Julia Odhiambo and Micere-Mugo, were among the first women graduates from the UoN. The late Professor Wangari Maathai, former chairperson of the Greenbelt Movement and the first African woman Nobel Peace

Prize winner in 2004, was the first indigenous woman in Eastern Africa to earn a PhD in 1971, while teaching and chairing a department at the UoN. Professor Odhiambo was the first woman lecturer at the UoN and the first woman Assistant Minister in Kenya. According to Mwangi (2007), Professor Micere-Mugo, who by 2007 was the chair of the Department of African/American Studies at Syracuse University in New York, USA, became the first woman Dean, Faculty of Arts at the UoN in 1978. What emerges here is a group of renowned Kenyan women who have excelled in their careers and who owe their achievement to the UoN. From the positions they have held both nationally and internationally, it is true that given an opportunity women have the abilities and will to excel and perform competently well in all areas of development, including education and leadership positions. To that end, some of the women have risen to fight various manifestations of political, social and economic injustices nationally and globally through for instance, creative writing, activism and environmental degradation (Kabira, Achola and Chesaina, 2009).

The UoN was established through the UoN Act of 1970 (UoN, 2000). From 1970 onwards, the UoN has been going through massive expansion and innovations in terms of student's population, mushrooming of new departments and academic programmes, schools, institutes and constituent colleges. Currently (2013), UoN has grown from faculty based university to college/campus focused university. The expansion and innovations have resulted in decentralisation of the administration through the creation of the colleges established by the Act of Parliament Cap 210 of the Laws of Kenya in 1985 (UoN, 2006a). The expansion is a result of increased demand for university education, which made the government expand UoN, a move meant to develop human resources for private and public sectors (Nyaigotti-Chacha, 2004). UoN has six constituent colleges: College of Education and External Studies (CEES), College of Humanities and Social Sciences (CHSS), College of Biological and Physical Sciences (CBPS), College of Health Sciences (CHS), College of Architecture and Engineering (CAE)

all with men principals, except College of Agriculture and Veterinary Studies (CAVS), which is under the leadership of Professor Agnes Mwangombe (UoN, 2011b). Other campuses affiliated to some of the six colleges include Kenya Science Campus (CEES/CBPS) in Nairobi County, Kisumu Campus and College of Business Studies at Bandari College in Mombasa County (CHSS).

Since 2006, the UoN has undergone a restructuring process in line with its Strategic Plan 2005-2010 and the now revised Strategic Plan 2008-2013. The restructuring is meant to improve service delivery through creation of clean, efficient and effective management structure that help to achieve the goals and objectives of the university. The restructuring resulted in merging of some departments and a number of units being dissolved. This has witnessed an extensive introduction of academic programmes based in three faculties, six institutes, 17 schools and 67 departments all with over 200 degree programmes (CHE, 2006; UoN, 2006a; UoN, 2011a). Out of 26 deans of faculties, directors of schools and institutes, only seven are women. They are in education, pharmacy, physical, dental and nursing sciences, economics, journalism and mass communication (UoN, 2011b). Despite gender disparity in the university management, there is an indication that women are capable of excelling in the leadership of science and arts based faculties, schools and institutes in the UoN.

The expansion of the Institute of African, Anthropology and Gender Studies (IAAGS) which offers Bachelor of Arts, Post-graduate Diploma and Masters in Arts all in Gender and Development (UoN, 2007b) is a bold step UoN has taken in mainstreaming gender in the curriculum. The undergraduate and post-graduate courses cover gender issues in a wide range of development, for instance, media, technology, reproductive health, medical, language, politics, agriculture, culture, law, education and environment to globalisation. The Beijing Platform for Action's 1995 strategic objective four supports the development of gender studies and research at all levels of education, especially at the post-graduate level of academic institutions. The inclusion of gender-

related courses in IAAGS and other departments is a step towards the achievement of this objective.

Apart from teaching, IAAGS in collaboration with United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) organised and facilitated two seminars in 2006 and 2007. Although the seminars were meant to empower the students and staff of the UoN on gender-related issues on governance and human right, they were only held in Main Campus. This to some extent denied men and women students from other five colleges/campuses an opportunity to participate. However, it is hoped that with the full establishment of AWSC in November 2011, UoN will be able to reach out all its students and staff regarding gender issues. AWSC hopes to fully involve all colleges/campuses in promoting scholarship and policy influence through research, teaching, publication and dissemination in order to bring African women's perspectives into development and scholarship in Kenya, Africa and Globally. The establishment of AWSC was informed by the recognition that the experiences of African women in all spheres of life have been invisible and have not been part of the mainstream knowledge development, and source of public and legitimate knowledge (UoN, 2009a).

Other unique centres and institutes that have continued to emerge in the UoN include, Centre for Biotechnology and Bioinformatics (CEBIB), the former International Centre of Insect Physiology and Ecology (ICIPE), where post-graduate training programmes with a multidisciplinary institutional participation take place, (UoN, 2006b; UoN, 2007b), the establishment of Wangari Maathai Institute for Peace and Environmental Studies in 2009 and the proposed Alumni centre (UoN, 2011c). The establishment of Wangari Maathai Institute located at CAVS, is an effort to recognise, celebrate and immortalise the achievements of the accomplished scholar, the late Professor Wangari Maathai. The institute aims at equipping graduates and practitioners with experiential learning, as a way of empowering and transforming societies.

The Centre for Open and Distance Learning (CODL) is meant to increase access of students to university education by enabling more faculties to provide diplomas and degrees using open and distance learning mode. The Open and Distance e-Learning Centre (ODEL), under the Director of Dr. Harriet Kidombo, and currently (2013) acting dean School of Continuing and Distance Education (SCDE) organises forums where lectures and students participate in the navigation of various e-learning tools, devices and e-library resources (UoN, 2010). Through CODL and ODeL modes of learning, UoN has witnessed an increase of women students (sub-section 3.5: Rationale for selecting UoN as the research site). In recognition of the challenges and opportunities associated with globalisation, the UoN has set up the Centre for International Programmes and Links which is charged with the responsibility of initiating, promoting, facilitating and coordinating international programmes and links, staff and student exchanges, mobility and worldwide networking (UoN, 2006a; UoN, 2009b). The UoN has over 100 International links, with the Confucius Institute established in 2005, which is the first and the only of its kind in SSA. Out of 12 centres and institutes in the UoN, only ODeL has a woman director, evidence of gender disparity in the university's top management (UoN, 2011b).

3.2 Geographical Location of the UoN's Constituent Colleges

The geographical location of the six constituent colleges is traced from the Main Campus, which is situated in the Central Business District (CBD) of the City of Nairobi, the capital of Kenya and a fast growing city with a population of over 3.5 million (UoN, 2000). CAE, part of CHSS, Central Administration, Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library, the Bookshop, offices of the Common Undergraduate Courses, the Board of Post-Graduate Studies, the Office of the Special Students Advisor and the Dean of Students, the Halls of Residence, where the majority of students' are accommodated, the Central Catering Unit (CCU) and the Health Unit are all in the Main Campus. The Main Campus is bounded by Harry Thuku Road to the East, University Way and Nyerere Road to

the South, Mamlaka Road to the West and Msonga Wai/Nairobi Rivers to the North (UoN, 2007b). Nairobi, the capital city is a commercial, administrative and cultural centre of Kenya, with Parliament Buildings, Headquarters of Government Ministries and Departments, Parastatals, local and International NGOs. The city has numerous hotels, beautiful parks, shopping malls, entertainment centers, mosques, churches of various denominations, markets and game parks.

College of Education and External Studies or Kikuyu Campus is located near Kikuyu Township of Kiambu County, about 24 kilometers west of Nairobi City. Lower Kabete Campus (School of Business) is situated in a quiet, attractive upper suburb area about 10 to 12 kilometers from the Main Campus (UoN, 2000; 2007b) along Lower Kabete Road. Parklands Campus (School of Law) is at Parklands area, about three kilometers from the Main Campus in a predominantly Asian residential environment. The IAAGS is next to the National Museum about one kilometer from the Main Campus (UoN, 2007b). CBPS (Chiromo Campus) is across the Msonga Wai River, some two kilometers from the Main Campus off Riverside Drive while CHS (Kenyatta National Hospital Campus) is about five kilometers from the Main Campus within Kenyatta National Hospital, the largest referral hospital in East African region. CAVS or Upper Kabete Campus is situated close to the North Western City boundary off Kapenguria Road, about 13 to 14 kilometers to the Northwest of the Main Campus (UoN, 2000; CHE, 2006; UoN, 2007b). Kenya Science Teachers Campus, a constituent campus of CEES and CBPS is located along Ngong Road, near Nakumatt Junction shopping malls.

The strategic location of the six colleges and their constituent campuses, schools, institutes, faculties and departments facilitates easy access of the students and staff around Nairobi City and its environs. The location is an asset that has seen the UoN become a busy hub and citadel of academic activities throughout the year (Academic Registrar UoN, 2003). The location of the UoN and its constituent colleges raises concern over the influence of different environmental aspects on the

behaviour of students. The different locations of the campuses/colleges enable the researcher to conceptualise the various aspects of gendered discourses in the UoN. The physical location of the UoN is presented in Figure 1.

3.3 Provision of Support Services for Students

UoN's Strategic plan 2008-2013 is clear that students' welfare is a critical component in enhancing excellence in teaching and learning. To be able to manage its core functions (teaching, learning, research, consultancy and community services) effectively, UoN launched its Service Charter on 18th May, 2006. The Service Charter outlines the services UoN renders to its clients. The aim of the charter is to enhance the level of awareness as a university, give an insight on the core values, set standards of service, clients, expectation and avenues of redress where services fall short of the set standards. It thus, defines the functions of the university, its structure and governance, principles of service delivery, university clients, partners/stakeholders, their expectations and obligations, support services, commitments to service delivery and handling complaints (UoN, 2006c). The charter is a major milestone that goes a long way to helping the UoN meet the goals spelt out in Strategic Plan 2005-2010. The goals are achieved through the services offered in the Students Welfare Authority (SWA), Dean of Students Office (Advocacy and Liason Activities, Counselling Services, Chaplaincy, Students Organisations), Special Students Advisor, Legal Office, Health Services and Security. The officers are charged with the role of giving students moral, spiritual growth and legal services (UoN, 2007a).

The Students Welfare Authority (SWA) is headed by a director, currently a man with a governing board, management, administrative and support staff (UoN, 2000). SWA's mission is to support the academic goals of the UoN's students by providing a comprehensive, competent and responsible catering and accommodation system (UoN, 2011d). However, SWA encounters challenges due to the expansive geographical location of the UoN colleges/campuses. In dealing with these challenges, SWA was decentralised in 1996/97, creating a total of 10 Strategic Management Units (SMUs) each under a manager. The Main Campus (Faculty of Arts, School of Economics, Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Institute of Diplomacy and International

Studies (IDIS), School of Journalism and Mass Communication, Population Studies and Research Institute (PSRI), CAE hosts four SMUs, while the other campuses have an SMU each. The four SMU's in Main Campus include Lower State House Road, Mamlaka and Prefabs, Women's Halls and Upper State House Road. The other six SMU are located in Chiromo Campus, Kenyatta Hospital Medical School, Upper Kabete, Lower Kabete, Parklands and the Kikuyu Campus Unit (UoN, 2000). The SMU has led to the decentralisation of SWA's operations making it cost-effective and more responsive to the needs of students and other customers requiring its services (UoN, 1997; UoN, 2000; 2005b). Thus, SMU provides quality life to students from the Halls of Residence to catering services.

The greatest change in SWA's catering department has been the transition from prepaid meals in 1983 to Pay as You Eat (PAYE) in the 1991/1992 (UoN, 2005b). This change follows the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) by the World Bank and other multilateral donors. The shift from free meals to PAYE has been a challenge to students of poorer financial status and has presently led to students cooking in the Halls of Residence. Mama (2009) argues that the deterioration of economic conditions which has led to withdrawal of campus services has made women students to cook, wash and provide other necessities and services to their men peers. My study findings, further corroborates this data, since women students tend to assume the role of 'cooks', who then exchange food cooked with the notes taken by the men students. Thus, gendered nature of these services may impact on gender equality in learning or as Mama (2009) noted it could jeopardise women's academic career prospects. What implications does PAYE and students cooking their own food have on men and women students in terms of their daily interactions on campus? The issue of students' security in the Halls of Residence may be jeopardised by the introduction of PAYE. Whereas the cost of cooking in the Halls of Residence has resulted in constant fires, ensuing maintenance cost and destruction of the facilities brought about by

faulty electric connections (UoN, 2008b). This to some extent threaten's students' security in the Halls of Residence.

To be able to provide quality services, SWA has appointed Chief Halls and Catering Officers in charge of students' accommodation and catering services, respectively. The Chief Halls Officer, who is currently a man, is assisted by Hall Wardens and Custodians, while the Chief Catering Officer, by catering officers in the respective colleges/campuses. According to UoN Strategic Plan 2005-2010, catering and accommodation services are expected to improve with the establishment of DVC's (Students Affairs) office. This will make it possible for SWA to achieve its mission of:

...supporting the academic goals of the students of the UoN by providing a comprehensive, competent and responsible catering and accommodation system, which enables the students and non-students, pursue their objectives in the most enjoyable manner... (UoN, 2005b: 4).

The office of the Dean of Students and the assistant dean of students from the six colleges/campuses are in charge of the advocacy and liaison activities, chaplaincy, counselling and advice to all affected students (Nzioka, 2000). The Dean of Students' office partly deals directly with the students, special student advisor, placement, health, students' organisations and clubs. Counselling and advice services are provided by the chaplaincy and counselling psychologists/Students Counsellors (UoN, 2000; 2005d). These services are important because they give men and women students' an opportunity to discuss their problems, assist them to become realistic about their potential and empower them with the ability to solve their own problems. Although the Counsellors are required to deal with gender related issues such as sexual harassment and assault (UoN, 2011b), it is important to note that available literature does not specify, how the office of the Dean of Students responds to other gender related issues, affecting men and women students.

The UoN has a comprehensive medical care managed by the University Health Services. The services cater for the students, academic and support staff on outpatient basis. The services are provided by a team of physicians, nurses and staff under the direction of the Chief Medical Officer (CMO), who is currently (2013), a man. Any referral case to other doctors outside the University Health Clinic is done by relevant specialists, namely Pediatrician, Obstetrician, Gynecologists and the Physician (UoN, 2005d). However, the medical care provided to the students does not include dental, optical, maternity care and pregnancy-related complications. Lack of such services could disadvantage women students, since they are more vulnerable to some of these health related issues.

A wide variety of co-curricular activities exist in the UoN in form of organisations and clubs, sports and entertainments. Student Organisation of Nairobi University (SONU) established in 1998 is able to influence, determine policy formulation and implementation as they attempt to solidify the UoN as a beacon of academia through its service delivery to the students (UoN, 2005d). SONU has got its representatives in all the six colleges with positions such as gender affairs secretary, secretary for health, accommodation, catering, sports and entertainment, which are usually taken by women students. A unique organisation is the Women Students Welfare Associations (WOSWA) supposed to cater for the welfare of women students. To date (2013), there are 141 registered associations and clubs in the Dean of Students' office. The members of the associations and clubs are supposed to liaise with the deans of faculties, directors of institutes and schools for guidance. Generally, students' associations and clubs not only address the professional and personal welfare interests of students, but they also provide opportunities for performing community service and participating in intramural sports.

3.4 Gender Issues at the University of Nairobi

While recognising the broad gender issues in the international and national context, this section presents gender issues in the UoN, as a way of introducing the UoN context. The section addresses specific gendered aspects in the context of policy and institutional frameworks with reference to senior management levels, academic staff and students' admission and the gender sensitivity of the UoN curriculum.

3.4.1 Gender and UoN's Strategic Plans and Policies

The UoN has had to recast its vision, mission and guiding philosophy through the formulation and implementation of the strategic plans and policies, which includes, Strategic Plan 2005-2010, SWA Strategic Plan 2005-2010, HIV/AIDs Policy 2005, Gender Policy 2008 and ISO 9001:2008 Certification, AWSC (2009) and revised Strategic Plan 2008-2013. UoN envisions being a World-Class African University committed to academic excellence and transformation of the Kenyan people (UoN, 2005c; UoN, 2006b). UoN also envisions being a reference point for social, cultural and moral growth for Kenya and the World at large across class, gender and ethnicity. The core values it emphasises are hard work, justice and fairness. The vision can only be achieved if boys and girls; men and women of the UoN community are equally involved and participate in the university activities and programmes under the atmosphere of peace and academic freedom. The UoN council is committed to providing conducive environment in order to enable it grow and expand into the best institution of HE in the region.

Following the recommendations made at a gender mainstreaming workshop in 2004 where all the universities in Kenya were presented, UoN has continued to incorporate and mainstream gender issues in its Strategic Plan 2005-2010, the revised 2008-2013, SWA Strategic Plan 2005-2010 and revised 2008-2013. The institutional frameworks have led to the formulation of Gender Policy 2008 and AWSC Strategic Plan 2010-2015. Objectives 13 and 18 of the UoN Strategic Plan 2005-2010, objective 8 in the revised UoN Strategic Plan 2008-2013, and objective

10 in SWA's Strategic Plan 2008-2013 are important because they seem to be guiding the UoN toward gender mainstreaming strategies and activities. Objective 13 and 8 shows UoN's commitment to strengthening and sustaining the formulation and implementation on HIV/AIDs, gender, disability and marginalisation policies.

According to objective 18, the UoN is required 'to promote an institutional culture conducive for learning and research'. It is important to note lack of emphasis on gender issues in the institutional culture if the specific needs of men and women as members of the university community are to be adequately addressed. By addressing gender issues this could lead to gender focused policies, structures and establishment of a more friendly institutional culture. However, revised Strategic Plan 2008-2013 does not mention the need to promote institutional culture (UoN, 2011a). The question is, to what extent has this objective been achieved, yet findings from the current study (Chapters 5, 6 and 7) reveal a culture that to some extent is not gender inclusive.

Of concern are gender related statements in Students' Handbook like, *'for the female students, there is a little antisocial behaviour called 'gold rush' find out what that is and make sure you are not the gold'* (UoN, 2005d: vi; UoN, 2011b: 10). Such statements may put students in a dilemma about 'gold rush', placing them in a vulnerable position of being manipulated into unwanted sexual behaviour. The term 'gold rush' and the behaviour associated with it seem to have its origin in one of the UoN's college, where the students nicknamed a newly constructed university Halls of Residence 'Kimberley' meant to cater for the double university intake in the 1990s. The older students from the 7.4.2.3⁵ system of education used to live in the old halls, while 'Kimberley' was meant for the young women students from the new 8.4.4 system of education. Students from the 7.4.2.3 system of education would make fun saying that they want to go to 'Kimberley' to get 'gold' (Field notes, 10th October, 2007). In this

⁵ 7.4.2.3. Old system of education in Kenya: 7 years Primary Education, 4 years Secondary Education 'O' Level, 2 years 'A' Levels and 3 years University Education.

case 'gold',-a precious mineral- is equated with the 'young 8.4.4 women students while 'rushing' simply means 'to run after something with speed'. Kimberley is a major mining area in South Africa. The culture of 'gold rushing' is deeply rooted in campus. It is rampant especially when first year students report to the university, an indication that the university management is aware of the existence of 'gold rush' on campus. This area was explored in the current study showing how it impacts on students' lack of life skills.

The recommendations by the Public Universities Inspection Board 4.18 are that '...universities without policies and systems of dealing with cases of sexual harassment should...develop them...for implementation by 2006/2007...'(Republic of Kenya, 2006a). Although objectives 13 and 18 in the UoN Strategic Plan 2005-2010 and objective 8 in the revised Strategic Plan 2008-2013 together with recommendation 4.18 provided a framework which culminated with the development and establishment of the UoN Gender Policy 2008 and AWSC 2011, specific policies dealing with Gender Based Violence and Sexual Harassment are yet to be formulated. The overall goal of UoN Gender Policy 2008 is to create and sustain a fair and just academic environment where men, women, boys and girls have equal opportunities and rights to voice their views and to access resources to enable them realise their full human potential. For a successful implementation of this policy, the UoN has planned to integrate institutional arrangements for instance, university-wide structures, college/campus based gender committees, units or focal points. The policy largely advocates for an affirmative action as a strategy to address gender inequality at the UoN. The extent to which UoN has implemented recommendations of the gender policy in the respective colleges and campuses is yet to be realised.

With the formulation of UoN Strategic Plans 2005-2010 and revised 2008-2013, SWA has continued to put emphasis on gender issues as is spelt out in its Strategic Plan 2005-2010 and revised 2008-2013 objective 10. To ensure that the facilities and operations are gender sensitive, SWA has planned to systematically segregate hostels on gender basis as

stipulated in strategic objective 10.1. Strategic issue 10 further states: ‘...need to ensure that the facilities and operations are gender friendly by sensitising the staff and segregation of hostels on basis of sex...’. While objective 2 reveals the need ‘...to be responsive, proactive and sensitive to gender-related issues...’. SWA attempts to achieve this by gender mainstreaming activities to ensure equal opportunities for men and women; campaign against gender-related violence; abuse and violation of human rights; create confidence among the affected in reporting gender-related problems, a way of complying with the UoN gender policy.

As outlined in its Strategic Plan 2010-2015, the objectives of the AWSC will be achieved through its broad range of proposed programmes, for instance, Academic Programmes and Research Division; Outreach Programmes and Exchange Programmes Division. Through such programmes AWSC hopes to fill the gap of knowledge, by facilitating the generation of knowledge from African women’s perspectives and experiences an area that has been neglected by traditional academic scholarship. By incorporating women’s experiences, vision and philosophy into mainstream knowledge this will go along in changing our societies, making them friendly to men and women (UoN, 2009a). AWSC could help promote the noble vision and mission of the UoN as stated in its Gender Policy 2008, a step towards achievement of gender equality.

3.4.2 Gender and Management

The current (2013) chancellor of the UoN, Dr. Joseph Wanjui was appointed by the Head of State, President Mwai Kibaki. Thus, since 2003 President Mwai Kibaki has appointed chancellors for each of the public universities in Kenya, whereas the previous heads of state (Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel Moi) held the positions since 1970s when the first public university was established in Kenya (Ngome, 2006). By appointing chancellors of the public universities, President Mwai Kibaki has broken the long tradition of not being the chancellor. The appointments have continued to retain the traditional faces of

patriarchy, a concern for gender equality in top management positions in public universities in Kenya. However, the appointment of the current (2013) chancellor of Maseno University, Professor Frida Karani, former DVC (Academic Affairs) of the UoN, marks a great milestone in the achievement of equality for women in senior management positions in public universities in Kenya. Changes in the appointment of chancellors are meant to revitalise the universities by giving them greater autonomy and freedom of operation. The chancellor is charged with the responsibility of conferring degrees, diplomas and other awards of the university, directs inspection into university operations and advises the University Council when and if necessary.

Other senior officers of the university include the vice-chancellor who is the Chief Executive Officer (CEO), the Accounting Officer and the Academic and Administrative head of the university and his four DCV's, one of whom is a woman. The appointment of a woman as DVC shows that UON has taken a bold step towards achievement of a gender sensitive institution. The DVC's are each in charge of Administration and Finance; Academic Affairs; Research, Production and Extension (RPE) and Students Affairs. DVC (Administration and Finance) is the head of the Administration and Finance Division responsible for Human Resource Management, Finance and Assets, while the DVC (Academic Affairs) is the head of the Academic Division, responsible for the development of the syllabus and regulations, examinations, post-graduate studies, research, admissions and academic staff training. The senior management positions are occupied by men. DVC (Student Affairs) is responsible for students' affairs including planning, organising and managing work study programmes, sports and games, catering and accommodation, community service, recreation, health and security of the students (UoN, 2006c; UoN, 2011b). DVC (RPE) is mainly in charge of planning, organising and managing research infrastructure development and appropriate policy planning (UoN, 2011b). The UoN vice-chancellor has set precedent of being the first one to go through a

competitive recruitment process in public universities in Kenya. Since its inception, the UoN has had 10 men holding positions of vice-chancellor, with two women, Professor F. Karani, former DVC (Academic Affairs) and Professor Lucy Irungu, former principal of CBPS and current (2013) DVC in charge of RPE. It was during Professor Karani's tenure that strict discipline, high academic standards and change of character to encompass a more gender sensitive atmosphere started being noticed in the UoN (UoN, 2004).

At the college level, out of the six principals and three deputy principals there is only one woman: Professor Agnes Mwangombe of CAVS. The two former principals of CEES were women: Professors F. Karani and Lucy Omondi, an indication that women are capable of competing favourably with their men counterparts if only they are given an opportunity. Lack of highly qualified women in the rank of professors and PhD holders block the majority of women from seeking senior management positions. For example by 2009, out of 104 professors in the UoN, women constitute only 10% as compared to 90% men. Yet, for one to qualify for the post of principal and other senior management positions one needs to have a PhD and preferably be in a position of a professor. Table 3.1 gives a summary of gender composition of the faculty members at the UoN by 2009.

Table 3.1 Gender Composition of Faculty Members at the UoN in 2009

Grade	Women		Men		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professors	10	(10%)	94	(94%)	104	(07%)
Ass. Professors	30	(15%)	164	(85%)	194	(13%)
Senior Lecturer	72	(23%)	235	(77%)	307	(21%)
Lecturer	173	(27%)	469	(73%)	642	(44%)
Ass. Lecturer	21	(32%)	44	(68%)	65	(06%)
Tutorial Fellow	35	(34%)	67	(66%)	102	(07%)
Contract	11	(26%)	32	(74%)	43	(03%)

Source: UoN 2009b (Unpublished Data)

The profile of the teaching staff shows that the overall percentage of women academic staff is only 24% as compared to 76% of the men. Women faculty make up only 10% of professors, 23% of senior lecturers and 27% of the lecturers while men are 90%, 77% and 73% respectively showing a striking gender imbalance at senior ranks. The highest concentration of women academics 34% is found at the lowest grade of tutorial fellows, an indication that most probably majority are on contract renewable after PhD registration. Unpublished data from the Planning Division, UoN (2006d) shows that about 17 women out of 50 men are in the Central Administration unit. By 2009 there were five women and 23 men directors of institutes, schools and deans of faculties; three men and two women associate deans; 42 men and 11 women chairmen of departments (UoN 2009b). Currently (2013) there are a total of 37 directors of institutes, schools and deans of faculties; out of which there are only nine women (UoN, 2011b).

The fact that there are more men than women in all the grades and particularly in senior ranks is an indication of gender gaps at the senior management levels of the UoN. The continuous absence of women from these management positions has implications for the achievement

of gender equity in the UoN, since it could affect the implementation of gender-related policies and programmes. This supports what Kamau (2006b; 2006c) notes that the scarcity of women in senior academic and administrative hierarchies of the public universities hinders their ability to influence the policy and direction of their institutions through gender responsive practices and procedures.

3.4.3 The Numerical Profile of Students by Gender

The students' population at the UoN has grown from faculty-based serving 2,768 (2,584 undergraduate and 184 post-graduate students) in the 1970s to college focused university with a total of 33, 799 in 2005-2006 (27,952 undergraduate and 5,847 post-graduate students) (UoN, 2005b). Table 3.2 gives a summary of students admitted by JAB between 2004-2009 academic years.

Table 3.2 Admission of Students in the UoN in 2004-2009 Academic Years

Academic Years	Men		Women		Totals
	No.	%	No.	%	
2004/05	7,969	(66%)	4,089	(34%)	12,058
2005/06	8,260	(65%)	4,425	(35%)	12,685
2006/07	8,453	(65%)	4,493	(35%)	12,946
2007/08	8,575	(66%)	4,329	(34%)	12,904
2008/09	9,341	(67%)	4,702	(33%)	14,043

Source: JAB, 2009 (Unpublished Data)

Table 3.2 shows the number of men admitted in the UoN being more than that of the women students. For five academic years between 2004 and 2009, men have continued to dominate with 55% and 85% as the lowest and highest respectively in 2007/08. The highest number of women students was 35% in 2005/06 and 2006/07, which is almost half of the men students (85%) admitted in 2007/09. The overall trend of low women enrolment is almost similar, although in 2007/08 there was a drop in the admission of women students as compared to

2005/06 and 2006/07. Table 3.3 below gives a detailed account of gender disparities in the admission of students as per the six colleges in three consecutive academic years.

Table 3.3 Gender Disparities in Admission of Students in 2006-2009 per the Six Colleges

COLLEGES	2006/2007				2007/2008				2008/2009			
	M		F		M		F		M		F	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
CAE	1719	(85)	313	(15)	1817	(85)	318	(15)	131	(84)	365	(16)
CAVS	829	(72)	323	(28)	842	(71)	347	(29)	934	(70)	405	(30)
CBPS	1224	(74)	432	(26)	1233	(74)	424	(26)	1367	(74)	477	(26)
CEES	906	(59)	633	(41)	912	(58)	660	(42)	1191	(64)	656	(36)
CHS	792	(65)	427	(35)	781	(65)	418	(35)	743	(64)	415	(36)
CHSS	8453	(65)	4493	(35)	2998	(56)	2349	(44)	3186	(57)	2386	(43)

Source: JAB, UoN 2009 (Unpublished data)

Statistics in Table 3.3 show the highest gender disparity to be in CAE with an average of 70% in the three academic years and the lowest in CHSS with 12% particularly in 2006/07 and 2007/08. CHSS and CEES are the two colleges offering the traditional feminine courses, yet men students seem to be dominating. The general observation is that there is gender disparity in all the UoN's six colleges. These figures suggest an overwhelming men dominance on campus, within the students, teaching and leadership bodies, which could influence the political, social and economic relations between men and women students, faculty and the management. To be able to understand the gendered nature of the UoN, the researcher located the deeper levels of analysis of critical areas of concern within the discourses of the institutional culture where men outnumber women at every level in the university.

3.4.4 Gender and UoN Curriculums

In making the curriculums gender sensitive, the UoN Gender Policy 2008 section 3.4 advocates a need to 'ensure that the curriculum is designed and developed in such a way that it is gender sensitive in

content and delivery' (UoN, 2008c: 8). Although the UoN has got a wide range of gender studies units across its curriculum, there is an attempt to mainstream gender issues in the university curriculum either as separate units of study or by combining them within the existing units. Information from the UoN Calendar (UoN, 2009c) shows that most of the under and post-graduate gender-related courses and programmes are mostly found in CHSS and CEES. The undergraduate courses offered in the two colleges include CSW 400: Women in Development; CPS 353: Women in the Political Economy of the Third World; KJS 405: Media and Gender; GPR 407: Women in the Legal Processes; PMA 524: Population and Gender; TFD 403: Gender studies; TEC 415: Gender and Early Childhood Education; TCM 414: Women in Management; TSE 404: Women in Islam; TPE 412: Gender Issues in Contemporary Physical Education and Sports; CTO 305: Gender and Tourism; KDC 307: Gender, Communication and Development; NAF 206: Introduction to Gender Studies; NAF 317: Gender in Cross-Cultural Studies; NAF 406: Gender and Development. While the post-graduate programmes and courses are LLM in Gender and Law; Post-Graduate Diploma and MA in Gender Studies; LDP 616: Gender Issues in Development; LDS 515: Gender and Development; CDS 626: Women in Development; Cluster 2: Women in History; CHS 546: Women, Family and Society in Time Perspectives; CHS 533: Women in Islam; CHS 529: Topics in Gender Studies; CHS 543: Women and Armed Conflict in Africa; NAF 620: Gender and Development; NAF 657: Archaeology and Gender; RMA 662: Gender in International Relations; RMA 680: Gender and Conflict; PMA 523: Population and Gender.

All these courses and programmes are electives, except CPS 353; CSW 400; GPR 407; CDS 626; CHS 546; CHS 533; NAF 206, 406, 620; RMA 662 and TEC 415 which are offered as core. Some departments and institutes have chosen to integrate or mainstream gender issues in their programmes rather than make the students study them as separate courses, while others such as post-graduate and MA gender

programmes in IAAGI, LLM in Gender and Law, Women in History allow students to specialise in gender discourses. Although UoN has put great efforts to mainstream gender across the curriculum, the fact that most of the gender-related courses are electives and offered at the post-graduate levels may limit the number of students likely to study such courses. Most of the gender-related courses are mostly in art based degree programmes. Gender mainstreaming in the university curriculum is important since it is a development imperative, a strategy for sustainable, human-centered and rights based developmental approach (FAWE, 1998). In addition, Tibatemwa-Ekirikubinza (2010) contends that mainstreaming gender in teaching and research serves societal needs and ensures that graduates are fit for the job market. Gender mainstreaming facilitates the pursuit of human rights and acts as a catalyst for social change (Tibatemwa-Ekirikubinza, 2010). Thus, students may need to be given more opportunities to study gender-related courses across the curriculum including science and technological-based subjects.

In addition to gender-related degree courses, the researcher identified some unique courses offered only in the UoN and not in any other public university in Kenya by the time data for this study was collected. These courses are unique because of the competition involved through JAB, which requires one to have done extremely well at Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE). The courses include Veterinary Medicine, Pharmacy, Land Economics, Quantity Surveying and Statistics where the students are required to take more than the normal four academic years. The courses are quite demanding in regard to the nature of work involved while their job marketability is far much higher as compared to other courses.

I identified the unique degree courses by analysing the 2007/08 undergraduate degree courses offered in the then six public universities in Kenya: UoN, Moi, KU, Egerton, JKUAT and Masinde Muliro together with their constituent colleges from JAB office. The researcher further made consultations with the Academic Registrar and Secretary

to JAB, UoN who advised and confirmed about the unique degree courses. From the information obtained, I managed to pull out data showing the total number of students admitted in each of the five unique courses offered in the UoN in five academic years 2001/06 by gender. The frequencies and percentages were calculated from the cumulative total number of students in each degree course. The results are summarised in Table 3.4 below.

Table 3.4 Students Admitted in Five ‘Unique’ Courses between 2001/06

Unique Courses	Men		Women	
	No.	%	No.	%
Pharmacy	125	(66%)	65	(34%)
Veterinary Medicine	162	(67%)	79	(33%)
Quantity Surveying	101	(89%)	21	(19%)
Land Economics	90	(73%)	34	(27%)
Statistics	29	(66%)	15	(34%)

Source: JAB, UoN, 2007a (Unpublished Data)

Information from Table 3.4 reveals a wide range of gender disparities among the students in the five unique degree courses. Women students are mostly underrepresented in the five degree programmes but the most striking disparities can be observed in Quantity Surveying (89% men to 19% women), Veterinary Medicine (67% men to 33% women) and Land Economics (73% men to 27% women). The idea of generating gender disaggregated data using the unique courses is in line with the recommendations by various international conventions and organizations, particularly Commonwealth Secretariat, since it provides a base for understanding the extent of gender disparity. The intervention by JAB through its Gender and Affirmative Action Policy 2007 (JAB, UoN, 2007b) and the formulation of Gender Policies of the respective public universities in Kenya shows universities’ firm commitment to narrowing the gender gap. However, the result of the implementation of the policy recommendations as far as students’ access to the degree courses is yet to be realised. In this study, the

researcher's aim was to understand the gendered nature of inequalities within the institutional culture by qualitatively exploring discourses of access to unique degree programmes in the UoN, through a focus on the students' voices.

3.5 Rationale for Selecting UoN as the Research Site

The geographical position of UoN colleges and campuses makes it qualify to be an urban, peri-urban and rural based university (section 3.2). The urban colleges/campuses are those located in the CBD: CAE (Main Campus), CBPS (Chiromo Campus), CHSS (Main Campus) and Kenya Polytechnic University College. Parklands Campus (School of Law), Lower Kabete Campus (School of Business Studies) which are part of the CHSS, CHS at Kenyatta National Hospital Campus and Kenya Science Teachers Campus affiliated to CEES and CBPS are located in the peri-urban area of Nairobi City while CEES (Kikuyu Campus) and CAVS (Upper Kabete Campus) (CHE, 2006), fall under the category of the rural campuses. The different geographical locations of the six colleges/campuses provided a source of rich data due to the influence of the diverse environment. The strategic location of Main, Chiromo and Parkland campuses, where most of the Module II Programmes (Self-Sponsored) are conducted, is particularly convenient for students commuting from Nairobi city and its environments. This is because transportation around Nairobi and its environs is easily available, making the UoN particularly popular with Module II programmes.

Apart from using Module I and II, UoN teaches some of its programmes through distance learning mode (CHE, 2006; GoK, 2006), e-Learning or Module III. By using e-Learning mode the UoN is seen to be responding to the high demand for university education, where teaching is either through distance learning mode or lecturers travel to the centres. The students are taught in twelve strategically located Extra Mural Centres: Nairobi, Garissa, Meru, Mombasa, Kisumu, Kakamega, Nakuru, Nyeri, Thika, Kisii, Lokichogio and Kapenguria located all over Kenya. These centres are responsible for facilitating and managing the

university programmes. Such programmes are friendlier and convenient to the working population, since lectures and consultations take place near the student's working stations and homes. With the creation and expansion of ODEL, aided by Module III, the UoN is able to deliver teaching to far-flung areas of Kenya (UoN, 2005b; UoN, 2005c; UoN, 2007b) through its wide network. The mode of delivery is intended to favour those students who may not be available to take courses on full or part time basis (evenings and during the school holidays) due to nature of their job and family commitments. The open learning diversity encourages shared ideas across disciplines and promotes multi-disciplinary endeavours (UoN, 2011a). The fact that students come from different socio-cultural backgrounds with different ages bring into the university challenges which could impact on the institutional culture of students and staff. Majority of the students enrolled in the UoN under the distance learning mode do so because of the unique nature of the degree programmes and the location of its study centers and campuses.

UoN is the oldest (over 50 years), largest public and 'private' university, 'mother' and 'grandmother' to all public universities in Kenya. From a technical college (1947) up to 2013 UoN has grown to the status of a major international teaching and research institution in SSA with a population of over 30,000 students in each academic year. The 'private wing' of the self-sponsored students alone is larger than any single private university in Kenya. Since its inception (1963) UoN has over the last 50 years continued to produce more than 110,000 graduates in highly competitive disciplines (UoN, 2009d). The graduates provide relevant manpower, making UoN a centre for academic excellence in Kenya and SSA. Therefore, UoN has immensely contributed to national development more than any other university in Kenya (UoN, 2005d). Any new development in the UoN sets an example of the university's considerable resources, creativity and networks which make other universities in Kenya emulate most of its developments.

The 'private wing' of the UoN has broadened access of men and women students to university education. This has led to the opening up

of invaluable opportunities for hundreds of Kenyans who could not have secured admission due to restricted intake into regular programmes usually determined by limited government funding (CHE, 2006). These opportunities have been made available to those on full-time employment and those with other personal commitments who are not able to pursue further studies on a full-time basis (UoN, 2005b). These programmes are governed by the same statutory rules as the regular degree programmes. The nature of the degree programmes has made it possible for more women to enroll in large numbers. For example, in the SCDE which offers its teaching mostly through distance learning mode, in 2009/2010, out of a total of 7,453 students, 3,767 (50.5%) are women and 3,686 (49.5%) are men, a step towards achievement of gender parity (UoN, 2009e). This is consistent with the findings by Wainaina (2011), which shows that Module II programmes attracted 45.3% women as compared to 39.6% men in public universities in Kenya in 2009/2010. The flexible nature of the programs seems to indicate their strength in closing the gender gap, particularly in the enrolment of undergraduate students.

Flexibility means that the study programmes are easily accessible to the working community during their free time, mostly in the evening after office hours, weekends and during the school holidays. This has opened more opportunities for women to join HE institutions. Gender scholars, such as Bunyi (2004), Olakuleni and Ojo (2006), Terhemba, *et al* (2008), Patterson (2009) and Wainaina (2011) points out that women prefer flexible programmes because they provide them with an opportunity to overcome constraints of time, resources, socio-economic disabilities and continue working in their multiple traditional gender roles. Other motivational factors that have made more women to enroll in HE through flexible programmes is that education provides them with avenues for enhancing job security, improve employment opportunities and increase chances of promotion (Thiyagarajan, 2009; Wainaina, 2011). Olakuleni and Ojo (2006), Terhemba *et al* (2008) and Thiyagarajan (2009) found that education is the most effective strategy

of empowering women. Women seem to have realised the need and importance of improving their social-economic status through distance education.

UoN has been a leading institution in a number of developmental milestones. For instance, the introduction of Module II programmes in 1998, the appointment of the current (2013) vice-chancellor through a competitive process, HIV/AIDS curriculum in 2005, a course compulsory to all undergraduate students, staff performance appraisals conducted annually since 2005, the intensive management training and pedagogy programmes for the members of teaching and non-teaching staff (UoN, 2005e; UoN, 2006b), establishment of the Confucius Institute, the first of its kind in the region, while Alumni Association 2005 has over 16,000 graduates of the UoN within and outside Kenya. Policy-based milestones include HIV/AIDS policy 2005, Service Charter 2006 and Gender policy 2008. Other notable developments include the establishment of ODeL (2010), AWSC (2011) and the proposed Alumni Centre (2011).

UoN is one of the few institutions in Kenya that have been ISO 9001:2000 certified, which means the university can now benchmark with the best in the world since it meet international standards. In 2012 Ranking Webmetrics of World Universities, UoN was ranked best among universities in Kenya, and second to Makerere University. Out of 178 State Corporations in Kenya, UoN was the only one rated under the excellent category since the inception of Performance Contracting system in public institutions, thus becoming position one in the 2010/2011 financial year. Because of its unique characteristics and developments, UoN a premier institution occupies a place of pride that is the envy of many institutions of higher learning (UoN, 2006b) in Kenya, and East African Region. As a major centre for university education in Kenya, UoN has normally been looked upon as the yardstick by which university education in Kenya is measured (UoN, 2006b). With all these unique developments the researcher was motivated by the need to understand the nature of gender inequalities

beyond quantitative representation within the UoN's institutional culture by exploring discourses of access to opportunities, space, facilities and experiences of sexual harassment among men and women students.

3.6 Summary

Information from this chapter illuminates that access to education at both the 'public' and 'private' wing of the UoN has expanded since its inception more than 50 years ago. While UoN envisions to be a World Class University in SSA, historical and current evidences show that it is generally patriarchal with men dominating at senior management, faculty and among the students. The domination could be a threat to promotion of inclusive culture, thus hindering the attainment of gender equality. Despite UoN's effort to address gender issues in its strategic plans, policies and programmes, however, there is lack of documented qualitative evidence as regards internalised gendered inequalities in regard to discourses of access and sexual harassment. Furthermore, being the oldest, largest, and premier institution of HE in Kenya, with the largest concentration of scholars and centre for intellectual life, a locus of research activities and key player in the growing global network of scholarship (UoN, 2011a), there was need to understand how the nature of institutional culture challenges the equitable procedures and practices through qualitative analysis of gender inequalities, drawn from students' perceptions of their day to day life experiences in campus at a number of levels. The next chapter addresses the methodological framework of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a description of the research design, methods of data collection, data collection procedures and techniques used for data analysis. Specifically section 4.1 describes the research design, section 4.2 gives details of the sampling design and size, methods of data collection are presented in section 4.3, while section 4.4 outlines data collection procedures. Theoretical approach to data analysis is discussed in sections 4.5. Lastly, ethical issues relevant to this study are discussed in section 4.6.

4.1 Research Design

In order to address the broad research objective on the nature of institutional culture through the discourses of students' access to space, opportunities and their experiences of sexual harassment of the UoN, I used cross-sectional survey design. The design provides a 'snapshot' of the prevalence of a phenomenon, situation, problem or issue and the characteristics associated with it at a specific time (Borg and Gall, 1979; Kumar, 2005; Levin, 2006) as opposed to longitudinal research design. Cross-sectional survey design was best suited to the current study since it provides a picture of the UoN's culture as it stands at a point in time, using a defined population (Kumar, 2005). Thus, the design was useful in assessing features of institutional practices, attitudes, knowledge and beliefs of the UoN students as they were at the time the present study was done. The design allows for in depth exploration (Ahuja, 2003; Oslen and George 2004) of an issue. This gave the researcher an opportunity to use qualitative methods to explore aspects of UoN's culture through discourses of access and sexual harassment.

Qualitative methods acknowledge the complex process of inquiry required in breaking the silence and uncovering the hidden experiences around gendered interactions, especially where these involve sexual harassment (Tlou and Letsie, 1997; Mama, 2003; Kamau 2004). Use of qualitative methods, which encourage interactions, allowed the researcher, men and women students/leaders to engage and establish ethical partnerships which led to generation of insights and deeper understanding (Higgs, 2010) of the challenges UoN students encounter while accessing opportunities, space and their experiences of sexual harassment at a specific time. The participants were able to identify, describe, question and analyse the challenges they experience in their day to day life on campus as per the time of the study. Therefore, I found qualitative methods suited to this kind of research because it allowed for deeper exploration of hidden experiences, perceptions, behaviour, emotions, feelings, meanings, words and voices belonging to the private domain bringing them into the public domain (Lee, 1993; Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Neuman, 2000; Birch *et al*, 2002; Rubin and Rubin, 2005; Museus, 2007; Polkinghorne, 2010). While qualitative methods answer questions about how and why people make sense of the social world, Ulin, Robinson, Tolley and McNeill, (2002) further appreciate its enormous strength of being able to address dimensions of human actions and behaviour, through interaction at a particular time.

Qualitative methods enhance production of discourses, which helps to represent and interpret the reality of the research participants in the social world (Parker, 1987; Mason, 2002). The idea is that all human beings interact, socialise and communicate with each other using different languages in different situations and times. Thus, qualitative methods help generate information in the form of spoken and written language (Polkinghorne, 2010). Burman and Parker (1993) found that language used in research contains the most basic categories that researchers use to understand themselves and others at the time of the study. For instance, language shapes words, concepts and stereotypes of society and, in turn, affects actions, behaviour and expectations

(Brayton, 1997). Throughout the data collection process, the researcher interacted with the students using English language to collect data, without which it would not have been possible to generate relevant knowledge based on the gendered discourses of their perceptions and experiences of access and sexual harassment in the UoN.

Discourse is a Latin word 'discursus' which denotes 'conversation, or speech' (Winsniewski, 2006). Thus, discourse is a set of statements involving words, phrases, or specific sets of feelings about things, language use, ideas or philosophies about the world, behaviour and internal mental states all linked to social practices and realities (Parker, 1997; Radzilani, 2005). According to Johnson (2005) discourses allow human beings to construct and communicate a coherent interpretation of social reality. Thus, discourse provides a framework for debating the value of reality in qualitative methods by giving meaning to the way people understand themselves, their behaviour and social world (Parker, 1992) as it stands when this study was done. In this study, discourse was seen as a means of communicating and conveying messages about the gendered nature of students' perceptions and experiences as a way of understanding and being able to explain their occurrences. The fact that discourses represent a wide area of human life means that the way they are used reflect the norms, values, aspirations, attitudes, emotions and feelings of different members of the society and the processes the society uses to sustain these aspects. Thus, use of discourses is relevant to the current study, since the aim was to explore men and women students' perceptions and experiences through the discourses of access and sexual harassment within the UoN's culture in order to understand the gendered nature of their daily life on campus at that time.

Sociologists and philosophers use discourses to describe the conversations and arguments through written or spoken text (Parker, 1997; Wisniewski, 2006). Thus, discourse represents the total of all written, spoken and recorded thoughts (Parker, 1997). The idea of hearing 'voices' help construct the knowledge of socially silenced or less privileged groups (women) whose opinions, ideas and feelings are rarely

heard or expressed in the public domain, yet women have distinct, unique perceptions and experiences of their social world (Alldred, 2000; Standing, 2000). The idea of constructing men and women students' experiences and perceptions through their 'voices' enhanced my understanding of the hidden gender realities of the UoN's culture.

This was made possible through the use of individual interviews and Focused Group Discussions (FGD). Use of interviews and FGD, the most commonly recognised forms of qualitative methods provided the researcher with a platform for amplifying the silenced voices of men and women students through social interactions (Mishler, 1986 in Alldred, 2000). Thus, the production of written text from the students' voices was important in this study, since it enhanced the process of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is a method for analysing language use in terms of social, cultural and political representations (Griffin, 2007). I was able to translate the private world of women to the public world of academia, politics and policy (Standing, 2000), using discourse analysis (sub-section 4.5 data management and analysis).

Use of cross-sectional survey design allowed the researcher to treat UoN as a complex and multi-layer space, which led to an approach of UoN as a 'case' within HE. Going by Yin's (2003) sentiments case study arises out of a desire to understand complex social phenomenon in real-life situations (Yin, 2003). Thus, use of case study allowed for the collection of multiple forms of data, based on the unique experiences of men and women students from within the UoN's culture, which illuminated the gendered inequalities. In this study, each of the women and men students were treated as separate cases, thus, allowing the researcher to illuminate women's experiences from their personal views rather than generalisation.

4.2 Sampling Design and Size

Fourth year students and student leaders were the target population of the study. A number of reasons made the researcher to use men and women fourth year students/leaders (source of data) against other

undergraduate students (first, second and third years), teaching and non-teaching staff. Most of the undergraduate degree programmes at the UoN take four years, with only a few programmes, such as engineering and medicine, taking five to six years. Therefore, fourth year students represent the most senior students across all the campuses. They are usually on campus for a longer period of time than first, second and third year students. Kelly and Parsons (2000) argue that the length of time one stays at the university does increase the chances of being exposed to more experiences. First years are too new, and as DeSouza and Fansler (2003) argue they may probably not have had enough time to interact with the other students, the teaching or non-teaching staff, so they may not have as much information on the issues under investigation as the fourth year students. In addition, second and third year students are usually too busy with their work attachments/internships, and are may not have enough time to fully participate in the study.

Furthermore, feminist standpoint theorists provide useful reasons that serve to guide and inform the study on the choice of fourth year students against the teaching and non-teaching staff and for considering both men and women students. Nancy Hartsock, a proponent of feminist standpoint theorist, questions the provision of knowledge by those in positions of authority and power. Further, Hartsock (1983) in Westmarland (2001) makes it clear that those in power can only produce partial knowledge. Commenting on the issue of partial knowledge, Brooks (2007) argue that the ruling class (teaching and non-teaching staff) conceals information in order to dominate and exploit the subordinate class (students). Thus, the researcher found it challenging to generate appropriate knowledge using the teaching and non-teaching staff, with the assumption that those with less power are clearer of what inequalities and discriminatory practices are going on around them. That is probably why Wood (1993) suggests that the perceptions of subordinate groups (students) are more complete and better than those of privileged groups (teaching and non-teaching staff)

in the society. The fact that the dominant ideology (teaching and non-teaching staff) tends to get satisfied with the status quo, allow them to construct a distorted interpretation of reality in order to protect their interests and maintain power (Brooks, 2007), thus they may not be willing to provide relevant information for such a sensitive study.

Basing her arguments on the Marxist School of thought, Hartsock (1983) in Mason (2002) is specific that women tend to be in a better position to see the social world of gender relations as socially constructed through their experiences of gender subordination, as compared to men, who try to protect their positions in authority. Hartsock contends that women understand life differently from that of men because they live in different, marginalised social relationships to men's exercise of power, and as such women are able to produce fundamental, more complete and less distorted knowledge (Harding, 1986 in Westmarland, 2001) by uncovering what seems hidden within their daily experiences. In addition, Dubois (1983) in Westmarland (2001) states that what has been named 'universal' knowledge is man's knowledge derived from men scholarships and, therefore, fundamentally flawed. This made the researcher use men and women students in the current study as a way of comparing their different views, perceptions and experiences regarding discourses of access and sexual harassment. By allowing women students to freely 'voice' their concrete unique experiences or what Ramazanoglu and Holland (2002: 64) refers to as '*women speaking their truth*', was an important way of giving 'voice' to women, who probably may have been silenced and ignored by the patriarchal society.

Despite, Dubois' (1993) in Westmarland (2001) arguments, I found it necessary to also include men students in this study. Mason (2002) reporting for the feminist theories, notes the importance of recognising differences in the lives of women and men because what is the same and different about women's experiences requires knowledge of gender relations in specific locations usually drawn from a diversity of perceptions. In addition, Nancy Hartsock makes it clear that patriarchal

knowledge (by men) is powerful since it helps to conceptualise patriarchy and its operation as well as structure material relations of gender, in which both men and women are required to participate. Using diversified concrete gendered life experiences, the researcher is in a position to generate a wide range of social situations, relationships and their interconnections (Ramazonoglu and Holland, 2002), within the context of patriarchal power dynamics. The assumption here was that the gendered knowledge obtained from the perceptions and concrete life experiences of men and women students would help to uncover the in-depth nature of subordination and inequalities existing in the UoN's culture. Such knowledge is likely to transform the unjust gender relations in the society.

Generally, SONU and WOSWA student leaders were chosen because of their diversified experiences both as students and leaders. In addition, they have power to influence the policies that affect the welfare of the students' population, since they serve on important university structures such as Senate, Council and institutional forums (Hames, Beja and Kgosimmele, 2005). In using WOSWA, the only women group in the UoN by the time the study was done, gave women students who are sometimes silenced by the institutional culture, an opportunity to discuss their own issues in a more relaxed atmosphere. Further, Gouws *et al* (2005) argues that with a composition of women's group, one is likely to create a safer environment for women students to share their deeper views, experiences and challenges on important issues affecting them, more directly than when they are in the same group with men.

The selection of the respondents from amongst the fourth year students was done through volunteer and simple random sampling (lottery) techniques. Use of the two sampling techniques was important in that it ensured that the selected respondents formed a representative sample of the population being studied. According to Ahuja (2003) it is also a way of avoiding the bias involved in relying on volunteering sampling technique. The targeted sample was 30 (15 women and 15 men) fourth year students. Volunteering sampling is the idea of requesting

respondents to willingly agree to participate in the research (Ahuja, 2003). In this study the researcher, together with eight volunteer students, (four men and four women) posted advertisements on strategic notice boards where the students frequent most in each of the six colleges/two campuses, that is, in the Halls of Residence, especially those occupied by the fourth year students, libraries, students' cafeteria (MESS) and the Hall Officer's notice boards.

The specific procedures followed in using the advertisement included placing it on the notice boards, giving the students time (mostly two to three days) to put down their particulars (name, gender and cell phone contact), computing the results from the advertisement in a sampling frame and use of lottery method. In this case, I prepared the sampling frame by listing down the students who had written down their names, contact and gender on the advertisement. I did this by writing down the numbers (1, 2, 3, 4, etc) against each respondents' name obtained from each of the advertisement. The name and number were then written down on small pieces of paper. These papers were placed in two containers, each representing men and women students. After mixing up the papers in each of the two containers, I requested my research assistant to pick out one paper at a time (use of simple random or lottery method) until the desired number of respondents was obtained. Use of simple random sampling or lottery method selection process guaranteed and ensured each member of the population an equal and independent opportunity of being selected (May, 1997; Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000; Ahuja, 2003) to participate in this study. Similar procedures were repeated for the six colleges of the UoN (sub-section 3.2 Geographical location of the UoN's Constituent Colleges). The six colleges geographically represent UoN as an urban, peri-urban and urban university, while offering a wide range of degree programmes. The diversified background of the respondents helped in understanding UoN's culture. A total of 30 (16 women and 14 men) participated in the in-depth interviews. According to Ellsberg and Heise (2005), 10 to 30 interviews is a good representative sample in a qualitative research.

In getting the student leaders to participate in the FGDs, the researcher used purposive and volunteer sampling techniques. Purposive sampling was found appropriate because it allowed the researcher to get relevant data (Ahuja, 2003; Rossouw, 2003; Ellsberg and Heise, 2005). Although initially the researcher had planned to use seven FGDs (SONU groups from six campuses and WOSWA), I managed to use four, of which three groups comprised SONU leaders and one WOSWA leaders. Due to the geographical location of the colleges one of the SONU groups had representatives from three colleges, while the researcher found it challenging to organise the fifth FGD due to the nature of the degree programmes, which proved demanding for the students during the week, weekends and public holidays. The student leaders from each of the four groups were requested to voluntarily participate in the FGDs. Each of the four groups was composed of between six to seven members. Ellsberg and Heise (2005) notes that six to ten; or six to seven (Lewis in Cohen *et al*, 2000) participants may be appropriate for inclusion in an FGD. Different scholars have different reasons for considering the number of participants in the FGD which informed the present study. For instance, Ulin *et al* (2002), point out that a group with few members allows the participants to express their norms, values and opinions in a way that can be tracked and developed by the facilitator. May (1997), Cohen *et al* (2000) and Ulin *et al* (2002) assert that the larger the group, the more difficult it is to manage since the multiplicity of voices can make the facilitator lose focus, thus prevent group members from participating effectively in the discussion.

4.3 Methods of Data Collection

In order to understand UoN's culture, the researcher made use of in-depth interviews and FGDs. Use of more than one method enhances triangulation (Patton, 1990; Cohen *et al*, 2000; Ulin *et al*, 2002; Ahuja, 2003; Best and Khan, 2004). Triangulation in a study of the same phenomena is a strategy of strengthening and enhancing validity and reliability of the data collected (Patton, 1990; Frenkel and Wallen, 1996; Cohen *et al*, 2000; Ellsberg and Heise, 2005). Cohen *et al* (2000) points

out that triangular techniques attempt to explain more fully the richness and complexity of human behaviour, by studying it from more than one standpoint. Since each method has its strengths and weaknesses, a combination of the two methods increases the trustworthiness of the data, since the strength of one approach compensates for the weaknesses of another approach (Marshals and Rossman 1989 in Patton, 1990). In this research, data obtained from the FGDs was used to supplement the results from the in-depth interviews, the main research instrument. Thus, triangulation provided for trustworthiness and credibility of data through corroboration of data yielded from in depth interviews and FGDs.

To enhance objectivity of the research instruments, I conducted a pilot study. This was done in one of the six campuses of Egerton University, a public university in Kenya. Egerton University was chosen because it has almost similar characteristics with the UoN (public, campuses/colleges and their locations, diversity of degree programmes etc), the research site for the main study. The pilot study enabled the researcher to determine the extent to which the research instruments would provide the anticipated type of data (Ahuja, 2003; Rossouw, 2003), in addition to increasing the practicability of the research tools and redefining my research skills. After piloting, relevant adjustments, review and modifications were made to the interview schedule/FGDs.

The first problem noted with the interview guide was the overall design, where sections and layout were all mixed up. Cohen *et al* (2000) recommends that in designing an interview guide, a researcher is supposed to translate the study objectives into questions that will make up the main body of the interview schedule. I had to generate the main themes of the interview schedule from the study objectives. Grouping together of items that have to do with specific issues, key themes and sub-themes made the interview schedule shorter and more focused.

Secondly, the specific items in the interview guide were found to be repetitive, confusing, ambiguous, mixed up in different sections,

sometimes contradictory, and not specific to issues under investigation. Such weaknesses may prevent the researcher from eliciting relevant information to adequately achieve the research objectives. In revising the interview guide, some of the items were accepted without change, while others were modified with changes such as rewording, shortening and clarification. New items were added, while others were discarded, depending on various factors (for instance, too easy, difficult or not relevant at all), but above all, I made sure that the revised items fitted well into the study objectives. In framing the interview items, I reflected more on the qualitative characteristics of the interviews, in terms of details, elaboration and clarity of issues under investigation. Most of the qualitative interviews follow a pattern of main questions and probes (Patton, 2002; Rubin and Rubin, 1995 in Ulin *et al*, 2002). This pattern guided the researcher in revising the interview guide. The pattern further allow for flexibility and a more exploratory nature of the interviewing process. In addition, the research instrument was carefully checked by research experts (supervisors) to ensure clarity, relevance and validity in all aspects before using them to collect data in the main study. Since the pilot study was done in a different university from UoN (the research site for the main study), data collected during the pilot study has not been used in this thesis.

In-depth interview usually referred to as open-ended interview or informal conversational interview provides access to what is *'inside a person's head' or 'world'*, making it possible to measure what a person knows (knowledge or information), likes or dislikes (values and preferences), and thinks (attitudes and preferences) (Tuckman, 1972 in Cohen *et al*, 2000: 268; Patton, 2002). By entering men and women students' world made it possible for the researcher to understand their inner perceptions and experiences. The open and loosely structured nature of the interview guide allowed the researcher to expand on ideas and thoughts of the students so as to elicit a clear picture of the issues under investigation. This was particularly important since the researcher was able to capture their exact words, concepts and the importance they

place in their social world through '*conversations with a purpose*' (Mason 2002: 63; Rubin and Rubin, 2005). Thus, respondents were able to demonstrate, reveal and talk about the deeply hidden unique things that concern them directly, expressing how they experience and perceive their own social world. Use of materials from the in-depth interviews and FGDs was significant for a study of this nature which dealt with a sensitive topic. Therefore, interviews provided private opportunities and occasions where individual men and women students were encouraged to share their experiences in confidence.

The interview guide was useful in the present study because it gave the interviewer flexibility to explore issues raised, even where these were sometimes complicated and involved pain and confusion to the interviewee. Overall, the open-ended nature of the interview guide allowed the researcher flexibility to further unearth and expand men and women students' experiences, memories, ideas, emotions, feelings, perceptions, knowledge, practices, actions, activities, interactions, relationships, secrets, opinions, aspirations, attitudes, beliefs and behaviour (Mason, 1996; May, 1997; Patton, 2002; Best and Kahn, 2004; Ellsberg and Heise, 2005). The idea of talking interactively, asking questions, listening and gaining access to men and women students' specific experiences of gendered realities (including sexual harassment and opinions about sexual harassment) is challenging both to the interviewee and interviewer alike, but careful attention to the 'voices' of the respondents gave the researcher an opportunity to document their exact words. Although I was not naive about the meaning of 'exact words' in that there was recognition that all 'words' involve construction of realities, full of subjective positioning and meanings, there was need to value such representations as powerfully generated through students' experiences of the UoN culture of gender and sexuality. This led to theoretical emphasis on the value of the content of what students said in response to interview questions and probes. The interview guide/FGD used in this study contained a list of specific issues and questions that men and women students were required to

respond orally. They were based on specific issues of access to opportunities, space, facilities and sexual harassment (Appendix 1).

4.4 Data Collection Procedures

Data collection procedures were organised into two main phases. The first phase was the preliminary phase or what Patton (2002) refers to as the entry stage of data collection. This involved obtaining official clearance both at the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MOEST) and university levels. The second phase dealt with actual data production.

4.4.1 Phase I: Preliminary Preparation for the Actual Data Production

In this study, the process of seeking permission before actual entry into the field for data collection was done at three levels: MoEST for research authorisation (Appendix 2), Egerton and UoN for pilot and main study respectively (Appendix 3 and 4). This made it possible for the researcher to officially be accepted in the research sites. The need to formalise permission for research through a written approach is recommended by Miller and Bell (2002). I, therefore, used letters, a formal way of requesting acceptance by the authorities before embarking on the actual data production process. The letter of authorisation helped to establish mutual trust and confidence with the institutions where the research was to be undertaken. Consultations with the relevant authorities, as was the case with the present study offers the best opportunity for a researcher to present his/her credentials as a serious investigator, a sign of goodwill and co-operation (Cohen *et al*, 2000) among the research partners.

4.4.2 Phase II: Actual Data Production

Before I began interviewing fourth year students/student leaders (both men and women), I was aware of some of the challenges I was likely to encounter, which included both my 'insider' status as a UoN lecturer and my 'outsider' status as a researcher whose theoretical interests may have been seen as threatening to institutional authorities. As Griffiths

(1998) argues, no one in educational research is a complete 'insider' or 'outsider'. Being an 'insider' means that one has an understanding of the dynamics and social relationships that inform the situation, hence being in a better position to research one's community (Brayton, 1997; Griffiths, 1998). My position as an 'insider' was important in a number of ways. First, it made the students feel less threatened since I was able to locate myself in the social space that the students know and can control. This to some extent did increase the respondents' trust and confidence with the researcher. Secondly, the participants may have felt comfortable to share their hidden and secretive information with their lecturer. The respondents were able to identify themselves with the researcher, which put them in a better position to understand and talk about their perceptions and experiences. Therefore, as much as I wanted to be an 'insider' I more or less tried to be an 'outsider' to avoid any negative influence on the research outcomes, by putting more emphasis on rapport, trust and confidentiality to all respondents. Although, Rubin and Rubin (2005) advise researchers to cross the boundary from being an 'outsider' to being 'insider', I had to approach this with caution in order to be able to generate meaningful and relevant data. Drawing from Muhanguzi's (2005) experiences, I tried to avoid any unwanted display of friendliness and familiarity with the study participants which may interfere with the credibility and trustworthiness of the data collected.

In all the in-depth interview/FGD sessions I used a digital recorder; writing materials such as note books/research diary, interview schedules and name tags. After having identified men and women students using various sampling techniques, my next step was to book appointments with each one of them agreeing on a specific date, time and place for the interview, since this is key to any successful interview sessions. When booking the appointments, I introduced myself, explaining to each of the respondents who had voluntarily accepted to participate in this study the purpose of the study, promising them confidentiality of the data they were to give. This helped to deal with any anxieties the

participants may have had since this was a sensitive study. Re-confirming of the appointments before the start of the interview sessions was important in case one forgot, as it had happened with a few of the students. Due to the nature of the students' study programmes, I realised the importance of being flexible in order to be able to fit into their daily timetable. It was particularly challenging to book the FGD sessions during week days due to the diversified nature of the university programmes.

In conducting the in depth interviews/FGDs sessions I started with informal introduction, a crucial step towards any fruitful interview session. This meant involving the students with a few minutes of small talk or informal chat. The casual chat was meant to create natural, relaxed and informal atmosphere at the beginning of the interview (Parr, 2000; Ulin *et al*, 2002; Rubin and Rubin, 2005). The purpose of the chat was to give the researcher an opportunity to comment on events or situations that are familiar and important to the respondents at the time of the interview. The casual chat also helped create and search for a common ground, in order to build a good relationship with the respondents, a way of developing rapport (Bogdan and Bilken, 1998; Ulin *et al*, 2002), and relaxing the interviewer and interviewee (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). The nature of the chat in this study varied from one student to another and it generally took about three to five minutes. The chats were usually based on the family affairs/matters of the students, university issues based on accommodation, academic programmes and my studies. Sharing such experiences helped develop a close bond that led the researcher and interviewee to a relaxed fruitful conversation. This further helped to generate rich information by establishing credibility and earning respondents' trust (Ulin *et al*, 2002; Gillman, 2003).

After the general introductory discussions where I managed to create rapport, I was able to move into a more formal introduction. I clearly explained the purpose of the study to the men and women students which was to understand the UoN culture using their experiences of

access and sexual harassment. The participants were informed that the findings of the research would only be used, for 'academic purposes', while further assuring them of anonymity and confidentiality of their identities. In all the interviews and FGDs, I encouraged the respondents to participate by showing them that their views, opinions, insights and experiences are important to the present study. After having created rapport and explained to the students the purpose of my study, I kindly requested them to allow me to use the digital recorder so that I could concentrate on our conversations. Obtaining permission before recording is key to successful interviewing process (Bogdan and Bilken, 1998; Patton, 2002; Rubin and Rubin, 2005). Thus, use of digital recorder was important since it allowed the researcher to obtain complete data from the interview sessions (Rubin and Rubin, 2005), since as Patton (2002) noted the recorder permits the interviewer to be more attentive to the interviewee. Although all the respondents in my study agreed to be recorded, at some point, a woman student expressed signs of discomfort with the recording, to a point of requesting the researcher to turn off the digital recorder. I paused the recorder immediately. I took time to reassure her of the confidentiality of her identity. After a while she calmed down and I was able to continue with the interview sessions.

Students' perceptions and experiences were diverse in point of view, depth, and verifiability. They were, however, vital in terms of offering insights into 'what may happen' within the UoN's culture, and in opening up a terrain characterised by silence, stigma, and shame. These narratives are representations of experience, and autobiography of traumatic events (under confidentiality in the interviews) which have often been given special status in feminist literature on sexual violence. Because some of these autobiographies were told under the conditions of stigma, disbelief, and pain, the researcher had to take them seriously since they helped to uncover important aspects of social realities. While the researcher had no 'proof' in the legal sense that the events related actually took place, the choice to take their narrators seriously was part

of epistemology which privileged the voices of those silenced by institutional discourses.

A number of scholars, Ulin *et al* (2002), Patton (2002), Rubin and Rubin (2005) proved useful in my study, since they have provided procedures for researchers to use in managing and conducting interview sessions. The guidelines are very clear on the nature of interview guide and procedures, relationships between the interviewer and interviewee and the process of asking questions. To be able to elicit in-depth and vivid descriptions of the accounts of men and women students, the researcher organised the interview guide by combining the main questions and probes.

The goal of the main questions in my interview guide was to ensure and encourage different respondents to talk about their experiences, perceptions and understanding by covering similar materials (themes and sub-themes). This helped the researcher to remain focused on the main issues under investigation. Use of the main questions in the interview guide encouraged respondents and helped the interviewer to remain free to build conversations within a particular area that has been predetermined, kept the interactions focused while allowing the different perceptions and experiences to emerge from the respondents (Ulin *et al*, 2002; Patton, 2002). Such questions provided a framework within which the respondents were able to express their own understanding regarding their experiences, perceptions, opinions and feelings on the discourses of access and sexual harassment. The sensitivity of the research topic required the researcher to make use of experiences/behaviours, opinions/values, feelings and knowledge questions to help respondents express their own understanding of their social life (Ulin *et al*, 2002; Patton, 2002), by giving them an opportunity to talk about themselves, their personal experiences and what they may have heard.

Probes are techniques which keep discussions going on while providing clarification, by encouraging the respondents to keep talking, in order to

complete an idea, to fill in missing information or requesting for clarification through examples or evidence (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). Use of probes made the respondents to provide more information about their experiences which enabled the researcher to clarify points or pursue new ideas in a more conversational and exploratory way, increasing the richness of the data (Cohen *et al*, 2000; Mauthner, 2000; Ulin *et al*, 2002; Patton, 2002). Therefore, the probes I used were short and simple, all aimed at motivating the interviewee. In this study, the effective use of probes was made possible by my ability to actively listen and hear the interviewees' stories and narratives. Other times I used appropriate facial expressions and nodding to suggest acceptance of the responses given.

Apart from using non-verbal probes, I also made some effort to verbally probe the respondents by sometimes asking for examples, explanations, clarifications of the points already mentioned, in order to obtain detailed accounts of their direct and indirect perceptions and experiences. Some of the verbal examples I used include: '*...what do you mean? what actually happened? I am not clear about what you have said...? what makes them do well? that's very interesting, please finish up the story, any other example...*'. Use of such probes allowed the researcher to deeply explore what was emerging from the interviews. Sometimes I was required to provide emotional support in case of threatening questions, by empathising with them, like was the case with the two women students who narrated their autobiography. Need to empathise with the respondents is noted by Ulin *et al* (2002), Rubin and Rubin (2005). I was able to put the students at ease by briefly talking to them, as a way of enabling them to continue sharing their life experiences without fear by entering into a constructive dialogue or interaction (May, 1997; Ulin *et al*, 2002), through active participation. This facilitated generation of a wide range of data from their 'real life or second hand stories' told in their own words. Such stories gave the respondents a sense of who she/he was in the context of the UoN's culture.

During the face-to-face interviews, the level of students' participation varied by gender. Women students tended to talk more, showing enthusiasm, while giving vivid narratives on their thoughts, feelings, and experiences regarding the gendered realities of access and sexual harassment, as compared to the men. Feminist researchers comment on how easy it is for women to open up to women researchers during the in depth interviews as compared to men (Bogdan and Bilken, 1998). Similarly, while exploring gender dynamics in sexuality in Uganda's secondary schools, Muhanguzi (2005) asserts that girls contributed more information than the boys, with girls tending to make richer contributions by using more diversified ideas. In explaining the issue of gender differences in participation, a number of scholars have come up with different views. For instance, Finch (1984) in Bogdan and Bilken (1998) notes that women researchers get more information from their women informants, in cases where women have had few opportunities to talk about issues central to their lives. May (1997) and Muhanguzi (2005) attributes the low participation of boys during the face-to-face interviews to the gender of the researcher. For instance, there were times during the interview process when women students initially remained silent, while others were hesitant to respond to some sensitive questions in regard to their perceptions and experiences of sexual harassment. But as Ulin *et al* (2002), Rubin and Rubin (2005), argue women's hesitation should not necessarily be interpreted as showing ignorance or fear, but rather that women may be thinking of how to express themselves, probably because they have never been asked their opinions on a sensitive topic before. Going by Rubin and Rubin's (2005) suggestions, I always remained patient with hesitations and silences, thus, giving them time to reconstruct and reflect on their thoughts.

In the case of mixed FGDs, the interaction of men and women students differed, with men mostly dominating the discussions, while the few women who managed to talk avoided going into details, particularly in regard to their perceptions and experiences of some aspects of sexual

harassment. In other studies, Fishman (1990) in May (1997) reveals that men tend to dominate conversations, excluding women from equal participation, especially in mixed sex groups. In addition, Muhanguzi (2005) theorises that use of single sex groups enables boys and girls to express and explore their views in a more flexible way, unlike with mixed sex groups. Similarly, from my experiences, WOSWA leaders tended to express their views and opinions much more freely and with confidence while narrating vivid, interesting stories on how men students and staff sometimes harass women students, as compared to the limited data given by women students in the mixed groups.

Throughout the interviewing process, I was aware of the level of sensitivity when conducting research on sexual harassment, which could make the respondents feel embarrassed and uncomfortable, hence affect their level of participation. I made sure that both men and women students/leaders were comfortable and voluntarily willing to participate. I kept on reminding them of the confidentiality of their identities. By making the respondents feel comfortable throughout the interview sessions they were in a better position of disclosing private data to the researcher.

I concluded all the interview/FGD sessions by thanking the participants for the time taken to share their valuable information, re-emphasising the confidentiality of all their identities. Ending the interview sessions in a positive manner reinforces the respondents coping strategies (World Health Organisation (WHO), 2001), especially in such a sensitive research. I reminded the participants that the data they had shared with me would be used in making important recommendations to help other women facing similar challenges. However, there are times the participants requested the researcher to replay back the recorded interview. According to Wengraf (2004), it is good practice to replay back the interview as a way of checking accuracy of what was recorded and for the participant to confirm their willingness for the data to be used in the research. Further, Onsongo (2005) and Kamau (2009) noted that replaying back the recorded interview is important for the

trustworthiness of the data. After the closure of interview/FGD sessions with students/leaders, I personally conducted a post de-brief session where I reflected on the emerging themes, experiences and ethical challenges which I encountered during each of the interview sessions. Post-interview debriefing is central to a researcher's understanding and evaluation of the interview, as such I noted down everything: Content, feelings and process (Ulin *et al*, 2002; Wengraf, 2004; Rubin and Rubin, 2005). The information was recorded in the research diary while still in the interview rooms and especially where the room was free from interruptions.

Although, Ahuja (2003) and Gillman (2003) suggest that the interview should take between 45-60 and 30 minutes respectively, my interviews with the individual students took about one to one-and-a-half hours. However, because of the high level of conversation and interaction among the student leaders, the FGDs took a much longer period. FGD for SONU leaders from Colleges I, II and WOSWA went for about two-and-a-half hours each (150 minutes) respectively, while for College VI took three hours (190 minutes). The nature of time taken is in agreement with what Patton (1990) points out that FGDs can take about one-and-a-half to two hours depending on the issue under investigation. The interview sessions were mostly held in the offices, tutorial rooms and students' rooms in the Halls of Residence. Three of the FGDs were held in the common rooms situated in the Halls of Residence, while the fourth one was in a lecture room. The venue for the interview/FGD sessions largely depended on the availability of the rooms and the time for the interviews.

I took time to transfer the audio files from the digital recorder to the computer to avoid losing any data. I made sure that each interview session was labelled for purposes of follow-up and ease of retrieval during the transcription period. Following Wengraf's (2004) assertion I labelled the audio files with time, date, venue and the interview code for purposes of quick identification of the data.

4.5 Data Management and Analysis

Patton (2002) theorises that data analysis is heavily shaped by the theoretical approach within which the study is conducted. This being a feminist study, meant sorting and analysing data based on specific gender. Use of multiple gendered discourses helped theorise and understand better the meanings of data collected while considering different accounts of men and women students in their day to day life experiences (Song, 2000; Rubin and Rubin, 2005) on campus. The diversified gendered realities found in the voices of men and women students proved significant in this study, especially in areas where the two genders tended to contradict and agree in regard to their perceptions and experiences of access and sexual harassment. Thus, the voices of men and women were amplified and transformed into theory (Mauthner and Doucet, 2000) through data analysis.

By being able to get internal meanings, motives, feelings and emotions of men and women students, this provided a base which sharpened the researchers' sensitivity regarding how each gender perceives their experiences, explanations and processes in their own unique ways (Parr, 2000). Such information enabled the researcher to understand the complex nature of the UoN's culture by being able to construct rich and more complete stories based on each gender. Use of gender as a category for data analysis, placed the researcher in a position of being able to conceptualise men and women's lives *'in and on their own terms'* (Mauthner and Doucet, 2000: 120). The researcher noted carefully how each gender talks about themselves and others. Thus, use of gender approach gave the researcher an opportunity to engage in a more diversified understanding of the complex nature of UoN's culture.

Data collected in this study was in form of recorded transcripts. In transcribing the recorded data into verbatim transcriptions, I listened to each one of the audio files carefully in order to get what Gillman (2003) refers to as a feel and impression of the whole information. This was followed by careful writing down of all the content from the recorded interviews/FGDs, or what Birch (2000), Patton (2002), Gillman (2003),

and Wengraf (2004) refers to as verbatim, narrative reports or textual representation for each of the audio interviews. Transcribing each interview/FGD word by word was important because verbatim means '*complete*' with nothing left out even the pauses, hesitations, commas, colons and full stops (Wengraf, 2004: 213). In addition, Wisniewski (2006) notes that written discourses depend on the nature of talking which could result in mistakes, repetition, less coherent sentences with grunts, stutters or pauses, and slang. I tend to agree with Wengraf (2004) and Wisniewski (2006) because my interviews were full of laughter, slang, pauses, ungrammatical incorrect speech and at times non-English statements most of which was produced in the written text. A total of 34 narratives (14 men and 16 women students and four FGDs with the student leaders) were written down in preparation for the in-depth data analysis. Before I started analysing data, I read through the written narratives to be sure that what I had produced in the form of text made sense and that my attitudes, values and perceptions were not taking any precedence over what the respondents had said.

I began the in-depth analysis by carefully reading through the written narratives using what Alldred (2000), Mauthner and Doucet (2000), Patton (2002), Griffin (2007) refer to as discourse/content analysis or voice-centred method. Use of discourse analysis enables a researcher to 'hear the voices' of men and women as a way of transforming their 'private lives' into 'public domain' (Alldred, 2000; Mauthner and Doucet, 2000). I found discourse analysis relevant to this study because it offers a way of constructing men and women as active subjects, not objects through emphasis on 'talk' and 'text' as data sources (Alldred, 2000; Mason, 2002; Griffin, 2007), an important aspect of qualitative research. By capturing the voices of men and women students I was able to obtain clear, in-depth understanding of how and why they are for example, involved in different forms of heterosexual relationships, which further explains lack of gendered inclusive university culture. Through content analysis, I identified, coded and categorised the

primary patterns of data in form of words, sentences and phrases from the written narratives. Reading and listening carefully through the narratives gave the researcher a better feeling, understanding and familiarity with the data in regard to the emerging themes or patterns (Birch, 2000; Parr, 2000; Ulin *et al.*, 2002). I obtained emerging themes/patterns by differentiating and grouping topics/statements which seemed to be similar. I managed to categorise data using the three research objectives:

- i) Exploring students' perceptions of their access to opportunities and space within the institutional culture.
- ii) Examining the perceptions of students' experiences of forms and effects of sexual harassment in the institutional culture.
- iii) Analysing students' perceptions of the causes of sexual harassment in the institutional culture.

After identifying data for each of the three research objectives, and going by Bogdan and Bilken (1998) sentiments, I took long uninterrupted periods to read over the 34 pieces of written narratives. Taking this time to carefully read and listen to each of the narrative is important because if concentration is broken by other tasks, one could miss a sense of totality of the data (Bogdan and Bilken, 1998; Mauthner and Doucet, 2000). As I read through each of the written narratives, I carefully listened for the emerging words, phrases and contradictions while beginning to develop a preliminary list of categories or what Wengraf (2004) refers to as names, labels, files and topics under each of the research objectives. I did this by attaching labels or codes to the chunks of written text representing the specific themes. A number of sub-themes emerged from each of the three study objectives. For instance, in trying to understand how men and women students' perceive the causes of sexual harassment, I managed to construct some of the following categories: 'provocative style of dressing'; 'culture of drinking and taking of drugs'; 'men conquering women students as sexual partners'; the effects of peer pressure on students' construction

of unwanted sexual activities, women students' lack life and financial empowerment skills and free campus environment. The categorisation meant grouping, sorting and separating materials using a given sub-topic into meaningful clusters (Bogdan and Bilken, 1998; Patton, 2002). Such categorisation makes analysis of large data easier, and more accurate, since one is able to assemble under one concept/idea many disparate pieces of text materials, which allows one to search for connections among them (Ulin *et al*, 2002). In addition, Mason (2002) notes that coding of data into categories help to get systematic overviews of the data in terms of theoretical, conceptual and analytical thinking.

To come up with data categories (for instance, provocative style of dressing) I read each of the 34 (30 interviews and 4 FGDs) written narratives more than once, trying to detect words, sentences, phrases, recurring themes and relationships in line with the study objectives. This did shed light on the meanings, processes, relationships and contradictions in the narratives (Mauthner and Doucet, 2000). Once a code or topic was identified, I wrote it down at the margin of each of the interview transcripts. As I continued reading the text, I circled key phrases and words, at times under-lining what appeared to be particularly important sections in reference to the identified categories or sub-themes. This data was used to clarify each of the identified categories to develop what Patton (2002), Miles and Huberman (1994) and Clifford Geertz (1973) in Rubin and Rubin (2005) refer to as illumination of 'thick' description for each of the categories. Part of the 'thick' description was characterised with both English and non-English text. The presentation of all non-English quotes was underlined, and the translations in English put in brackets to enable readers to clearly understand the findings.

4.6 Ethical Issues Relevant to this Study

The ethics of feminist research puts a researcher in a challenging and difficult position on how to deal with multi-faceted ethical issues and dilemmas. A study focusing on perception of men and women students' experiences of sexual harassment is indeed sensitive. Being sensitive

means that sexual harassment is surrounded by embarrassment, victimisation, silence, ignorance, secrecy, stigma, threats and discrimination (Lee, 1993; WHO, 2001; Jansen, Hilber and Johansen, 2006), hence the researcher found it necessary to consider ethical issues in this study.

Ethical issues are usually concerned with moral questions of what is right and wrong regarding the research process. By putting ethical issues into consideration, as a feminist researcher it placed me in a position of being able to account for the knowledge produced in this study, since feminist research is all about fairness, respect and promoting the good of others. Being a university lecturer and in keeping with reflexivity the inclusion of my own values, attitudes, beliefs and experiences into the research process, helped in conceptualising better the ethical challenges in the context of the UoN's culture. To be reflexive is the idea of making oneself a visible part of the research process (Birch and Miller, 2002; Mauthner and Doucet, 2000). In feminist study, a researcher needs to examine his/her criteria for making ethical decisions in regard to what is moral while drawing from one's experiences, values and politics (Mason, 2002).

I encountered ethical challenges in different phases of the research process: data collection, analysis, report writing or dissemination of the findings. The specific ethical challenges I had to deal with include: the issue of privacy (confidentiality, anonymity and need to ensure adequate and informed consent); negotiating access to the respondents and dealing with their traumas. Throughout the research process I considered values and beliefs of my research participants while bearing in mind the sensitive nature of the research topic. I, therefore, needed to deal with the ethical issues without hurting any of the study participants, because if not dealt with properly, data quality could be affected. This was crucial because I was generating public or academic knowledge using aspects of the private stories of women students' experiences (Edwards and Ribbens, 2000; Birch *et al*, 2002; Mauthner,

Birch, Jessop and Miller, 2002) on the sensitive topic of sexual harassment.

4.6.1 Negotiating Access and Consent with the Research Participants

Due to the nature of the complex gender dynamics operating at all levels within the institutions of HE, negotiating for access and getting informed consent to conduct research is an ethical challenge to researchers. The gender inequalities are characterised by different forms of processes, interactions, formal and informal power structures and dominant values (Morley, 2001 in Tsikata, 2008) and practices which could affect the researcher's attempt to access the participants and information. Thus, I had to be careful when accessing the study participants.

I had first to make contact with the potential participants before explaining to them the study objectives and then seeking their consent to be interviewed. Informed consent involves respect for autonomy, protection of vulnerable persons (Ellsberg and Heise, 2005), and the participant's freedom to participate. Therefore, I kindly requested them to allow the researcher to interview them. Verbal consent was preferred to written. This is because verbal consent creates personal attachment between the researcher and the participant. Miller and Bell (2002) makes it clear that access to research participants on a sensitive topic need to be based on trust, since use of formal consent could challenge relationships between the researcher and interviewee. Since the present study dealt with a sensitive topic, I avoided coercion of any kind, consequently, voluntary participation was the guiding principle throughout the research process.

Despite my use of negotiation skills, two women students were reluctant to participate in the interviews, even after having met with them. All the men students who were approached for the study voluntarily agreed to participate. Drawing from Birch and Miller's (2002) experiences, I knew that it is important to operate within a

feminist 'ethics of responsibility'. Since feminist study relies on respect and trust, I did respect the two women students' decision, although I continued persuading them to participate in the interview. There is need to avoid putting pressure on a respondent to participate in any research process against their wish (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). Miller and Bell (2002) noted the reluctance of women students to participate in the interview sessions, especially if contact comes from men, unlike in the present study where they were approached by a woman lecturer/researcher. The idea of men prohibiting women from participating in such kind of sensitive research as postulated by Ellsberg and Heise (2005) could probably be a possible explanation for the women students' need to withdraw from the research. This is because many violent partners tend to control the actions of their partners such that even the act of speaking without their partners' permission could lead to more violence (Ellsberg and Heise, 2005). Although the present study did not explore this dimension, it may be an ethical dilemma which relates to women in power (lecturer) and women students.

I explained to the participants the purpose of the research while assuring them of confidentiality of their identity. For instance, I told them that data collected was to be used for 'academic purposes' only, and that I would use codes instead of their names in the report. Giving details regarding the aim and nature of the research makes it easy for a researcher to get the research participants with fewer difficulties (Cohen *et al*, 2000; Mauthner, 2000; Ellsberg and Heise, 2005). This could make the participants know what and why the research is being done, a way of gaining and maintaining confidence and trust. The purpose of the study was emphasised in all the 30 interviews and four FGDs, although sometimes I took a slightly different approach since each case was unique (gender, campus, degree programme, personal attributes), with an aim of achieving the same goal. In the process, I tried to create '*good relationships*' with the participants (Birch and Miller, 2002: 91). I achieved this through the use of 'chat-talks' (sub-section 4.4.2). In creating a friendly relationship, the researcher and the interviewee come to

understand each other well, trust and have confidence in each other which increases one's likelihood of generating the rich data required by a qualitative researcher (Birch and Miller, 2002; Dunscombe and Jessop, 2002). The friendly relationship between the researcher and participants encouraged them to speak freely and to make their contributions without any fear. Emphasising on the importance of establishing human relationship as a key element to researching a sensitive topic, Ann Oakley (1981:58) in Dickson-Swift, James and Liamputtong (2008) states that *'personal involvement is—a condition under which people come to know each other and to admit others into their lives'*. Thus, through my personal involvement in the research process I was able to generate meaningful data.

It was during the interview introductions that I sought permission from the study participants to use the digital recorder. Use of a recorder in this study was significant in ensuring that accurate 'verbatim' data was collected from the interactive nature of the individual interviews. In addition to increasing the accuracy of data collected, use of a recorder permitted the interviewer to be more attentive or close to the interviewee because any successful interview requires concentration. To further ensure confidentiality of the participant's 'voice' in the recorder I promised them that it was only the researcher who would have access to the recorded voice, while I also avoided recording or writing down their names. Kamau (2009), for example, assured the respondents of making anonymous any details that could be used to identify them. All the participants in the interview/FGD sessions willingly allowed the researcher to record their voices using digital recorder.

4.6.2 Gendered Traumatic Experiences

Any social research that involves sensitive issues and emotional topics, can create a potential risk for the researcher and participants, although priority attention has to be given to the participants. Ellsberg and Heise (2005) theorise that, conducting interviews on violence-related incidences could make the victims to relive painful and frightening events. In dealing with this ethical issue before carrying out the

interviews, I alerted the respondents of the freedom to withdraw from participation and decline to discuss a particular topic in case they felt uncomfortable.

During two of the interview sessions, one woman student was reluctant to respond to some of the questions expressing fear, while another one stammered, and at times remained silent causing the researcher to stop the interview for about ten minutes. The two women students seemed to have gone through traumatic sexual experiences on campus. Being overwhelmed by memories of sexual harassment through recalling of terrifying, humiliating or very painful experiences has been reported by Shrandar and Sagot (2000), Shumba and Matina (2002).

Although I had no professional knowledge on how to deal with traumatised responses to my questions, I needed to be creative in order to make myself and the participant 'safe'. I, therefore, applied my limited knowledge of counselling by carefully speaking in a respective manner to the woman student after which I gave her the option of either continuing or stopping the interview. I was careful in the way I approached counselling role, because as Coles and Mudaly (2009) cautions it could have a significant influence on the research interview and data collected, either by limiting or enhancing interaction. In my case, it enhanced the interaction because the traumatised student agreed to continue with the interview sessions, while reassuring confidentiality of her identity. Ellsberg and Heise (2005) report respondents choosing to continue with the interview after emotional debriefing. I was able to deal with some painful experiences expressed by a few of the respondents.

4.6.3 Privacy of the Study Participants and Data

Any research dealing with sexual harassment, such as the present study, requires the researcher to protect and safeguard the privacy of the participants (Nachmias and Nachmias, 2004), together with the data they shared with the researcher. Privacy is a fundamental human right recognised in Article 12 of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, 1948.

Privacy underpins human dignity and other values such as freedom of association and speech. The rights to privacy give participants the freedom to decide for themselves when and where, in what circumstances and to what extent their personal attitudes, opinions, habits, beliefs, behaviour, doubts and fears are to be communicated or withheld from the others (Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada 1981 in Cohen *et al*, 2000; Nachmias and Nachmias, 2004). Thus, violation of privacy remains a concern (United Nations, 1948) in the present study.

To ensure privacy, I protected the participants by not revealing their identities. I separated their identity from the data they gave by making sure it was not identifiable with any particular participant. I used numbers I, II, III, IV, V and VI to represent the six colleges; name tags during the FGDs, for instance 1, 2, 3, 4 etc., to represent different student leaders. Use of name tags is a reminder that a system is in place to protect the anonymity of participants (student leaders) and the moderator (researcher) (Ulin *et al*, 2000). Students leaders were encouraged to refer to each other by the numbers on the tags, for example, ‘...*I agree with number 4 that...*’ etc, during the discussions which helped protect their identity.

Changing certain identifying details in the discussion of the findings was another way in which I managed to maintain privacy of the participants so that anyone reading this report will not be able to identify the person with the data. Throughout my data presentation (chapters five, six and seven) I used a coding system. For instance, with the interview transcripts I used C23F or C10M to represent case/interview 23 woman or 10 man respectively; and FGD4 to represent Focused Group Discussion 4. Use of letters, numbers or pseudonyms is meant to protect privacy of the participants (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). This approach has also been used by a number of feminist researchers: Zindi (1994), Imasogie (2002), Shumba and Matina (2002) and Labedo (2003). Some feminist researchers argue against use of numbers or letters, noting that it is alienating since it breaks the link between the people

and data (Kamau, 2009). In this study, I made an ethical decision to use numbers and letters but with caution by making sure I remained closely in touch with the 'voices' I heard during the interviews, a key aspect of feminist research. By avoiding use of the participants' identities, it assured them of confidentiality.

Apart from assuring participants of confidentiality, privacy also meant meeting the interviewees in places where they felt their safety was not compromised. This presented a challenge since all the students were in session at the time I was collecting data, sometimes making it difficult to obtain a quiet private space, for conducting interviews/ FGDs. Before proposing any venue I first asked the participants to suggest their options. In most cases, the women students gave the researcher the option of using their rooms in the Halls of Residence, unlike the men students who did not seem to have an idea of where we could meet. During the pilot study, I learnt that conducting interviews in public offices posed the problem of disturbances such as telephone calls and people coming in and out. My position as a UoN lecturer further gave me an added advantage of being able to easily negotiate with men and women students/leaders for a quiet space to carry out the interviews/FGDs.

4.7 Summary

In this chapter, the process that guided the researcher in coming up with appropriate research design to understand UoN's culture is presented. Use of cross-sectional survey design guided the researcher in effectively translating theoretical objectives into a workable formula for purposes of sampling, collecting, analysing and interpreting data. The information on the sampling design (volunteer, simple random and purposive) where I used feminist stand point theorists was useful in giving the rationale of selecting fourth year students and student leaders. Work on the development and modifying of the interview guide after pilot study further ensured its objectivity. An account of the information that guided data collection procedures including seeking

official clearance with MoEST, Egerton University and UoN, steps taken in conducting in depth interviews and FGDs with fourth year students and student leaders respectively and use of discourses in analysing data has been discussed. Being a sensitive research that deals with sexual harassment, I encountered ethical dilemmas, especially in relation to access and consent, gendered traumatic experiences and maintaining privacy of study participants and data, which I have also discussed. In the next three Chapters (five, six and seven) I present the research findings.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER FIVE

STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF GENDERED ACCESS TO OPPORTUNITIES, SPACE AND FACILITIES

5.0 Introduction

In this Chapter I present data on students' perceptions of gendered access to opportunities, space and facilities at the UoN. Students' perceptions of access were based on specific discourses: the unique degree programmes, sources of supplementary income, accommodation, catering, health and academic spaces and facilities on campus. These are important support systems for students' daily life on campus, since in combination they enable them to effectively manage their varied academic programmes. It is assumed that by analysing and presenting the responses of men and women students/leaders in relation to the discourses of institutional culture, the meaning of access will be enriched and a profile of gendered realities of access explored in depth.

5.1 The Unique Degree Programmes

The students' (both men and women) perceptions toward the unique degree programmes were based on inadequate information, motivation and mentoring programmes for women, courses 'made for men' and the intimidation of women students. The views and opinions of men and women students/leaders regarding their access of the unique degree programmes on campus will to some extent help us conceptualise the gendered nature of the UoN's culture.

5.1.1 Lack of adequate Information, Motivation and Mentoring Programmes for Women Students

Students participating in the interviews blame high schools, universities, parents and the society at large for failing to give adequate information, motivate, sensitise and encourage them to apply for these courses. On failure by high school teachers, parents and the university to sensitise or empower them on the importance of studying these courses, students

provided various scenarios as captured in their interview excerpts. They said:

*...I think the schools don't do much to market them because like us we didn't know about medicine like you do a course for five years six years emmhh and may be after that you don't even get a job (pause) yah not many people know about them like land economics if you are to report for pharmacy ...they should tell us exactly especially for these courses what is this course I mean what does it entail how does it help you...they should try to market it especially in high school...they need to be told about them before it's too late...(C26F).
...when I came here to do design what I thought I had come here to do turned out to be hearsay...so they didn't give me enough information... it's upon the university to make sure the public knows clearly what is to be done...what these entails...(C3M).*

Some women students felt that high school teachers and parents discourage them from applying for admission into these courses. For instance, C26F observed:

*...like in high school us we were discouraged...ahbaa...haa...(laughter)
...our physics teacher me I didn't take up physics but I knew that we didn't like it our teacher used to scare us and so we got scared ...in a class of 125 people less than thirty had taken up physics...you do physics you need to be careful for you to pass like if you don't have a third eye...(C26F).*

Students spoke of the negative effects some parents and social norms have on their choice of the degree programmes, which could be an indication of society's negative attitudes towards women. Two men students noted:

*...so if you are brought up in a society where you have been put down you cannot become an engineer...because you have been brought up thinking that you don't have that ability or potential...you are told you cannot do medicine you can only be a nurse...(C9M).
...the parent asks the daughter: 'my daughter what do you want to be after you finish school?' she said: engineer; after which the parent continued to tell her sounding like she was surprised: 'what? an engineer? Th at's meant for men...(Man student leader, FGD2).*

C9M and student leader tend to put the blame on women students by emphasising that they lack internal motivation. In trying to give their opinions regarding gender gaps in the unique degree courses C9M further says:

...may be the ladies are not willing to do them... some of the ladies may feel no what is this it is so challenging and probably they would want to take the easy way out or...it makes people feel that it's so hard ladies cannot do them....

Women students are thus seen as wary of physics and mathematics, but the few who enrol in these courses are also stigmatised and 'fear' active participation during the lectures. This can be seen from what C7M said: '*...its only one lady who asks the questions unlike all the jamaas (men) who ask the questions yah I don't know if they are afraid of us guys...*'. Students had views regarding the difficulty of scientific courses for women. C14M noted: '*...they prefer to forgo physics...it's the mentality not anything else that has to do with physics and mathematics is quite hard and a lady cannot....*'. Such ideas spoken by men and women respondents may to some extent show students lacking confidence, an aspect of life skills, which could create an environment of gendered hostility around application for these courses.

In addition, respondents felt that lack of role models and mentors contributed to the low enrolment of women students in the unique degree programmes. C26F was convinced that '*...females can perform better when they are guided...*'. C4M noted the importance of providing women mentors to the students, especially those who have excelled in careers traditionally perceived to be for men. While suggesting what needs to be done to close the gender gap, C4M felt that mentoring should start from high school since '*... this problem starts right from high school...so they can see figures of those who can emulate because all the time you see men...*'. C9M believed that the problem of mentors become worse because '*...people who are at the top you know most of them are male...*'. This is a challenge for women students, especially in their attempt to get someone to emulate, probably due to men's dominance. Commenting on the non-availability of women role models, C9M says: '*...there are no role models in our faculty...there are few female lecturers...you know having such kind of domineering in a faculty they do not have anyone to look up to...*'. These comments show a university system that is dominated by men, with limited role models for women students. This idea was stated as 'obvious' by the respondents

suggesting a widespread acknowledgement of some of the challenges women students could face.

Half of the students 15 (seven men and eight women) interviewed felt that society's attitudes and practices such as, the idea of preferring a son to go to school, the issue of domestic chores, negative cultural practices and natural forces as affecting the performance of women students, making it difficult for them to join the unique degree courses. Although some of the students had similar responses explaining why parents preferred taking boys to school instead of the girls, C26F says:

...the male child is favoured more than the female child such that parents would say that if am to educate them I will have to educate a boy because a girl will be married...there is no way a girl will benefit anyone else's family unlike a girl when you educate her she will go and benefit someone else's family so they concentrate in the boy child educates him so that he will take up the family name... give preference to the boy...(C26F).

This comment shows lack of parental awareness on the need to educate both boys and girls without any discrimination, despite the fact that each child has something unique to offer to the society, irrespective of their gender.

Of the students who talked about domestic chores as contributing to poor performance of women students, which then made it difficult for them to get into the unique degree courses, C1M noted:

...maybe going back to the rural setting where it is the female student who is cooking, fetching firewood water...she has a burden to carry therefore she has to put a lot of effort and work harder to reach the level of a male student....

The 'double burden' regarding the girl child's productive and reproductive roles in the society could have a negative impact on the girls' access to unique degree programmes and academic performance as compared to the boy child.

While commenting on early and forced marriages, an example of society' practices, which could lead to unwanted pregnancy and consequently poor performance of the girl child, two students said:

...ok ...many girls...forced to be married off at an early age again they know about these early marriages so they don't have an opportunity to perform well...(C28F).
...a girl would get pregnant at form three others will be expelled from school but for a man to be expelled from school it would be very difficult...(C11M).

There is a possibility that some students' lack of awareness of the existence of re-entry policy which advocates the need for a girl child to go back to school after getting a child. In addition, there is likelihood that some schools may be hindering access of young mothers claiming that they are 'bad influence' to 'innocent' girls, while those re-admitted could be stigmatised. This area may require further investigation.

While three of the students mentioned the issue of sexual and reproductive biology, like for instance, menstrual periods which sometimes lead to emotional difficulties, they noted:

...emotional issues may be going through monthly period for three days you miss classes so female students go through a lot of emotional fighting than male students...(C1M).
...she has an exam and at the same time you have periods there are some people who get stressed so this one can contribute to failure hence males will end up being at the top...(C28F).

It was clear that the discourses around gendered inequality involving the participation in the unique degree courses are readily naturalised and normalised by men and women students, as being part and parcel of institutional culture. Both social-political realities (such as the impact of choosing a boy rather than a girl to send to school) and those of biological sex become intertwined into seemingly rationalised explanations for students', and to some extent men and women's lack of application to unique degree programmes.

5.1.2 Courses 'Made for Men' and others for Women

Students participating in in-depth interviews and FGDs explained how the unique degree courses are structured around masculinity, which tend to discourage some women students from applying and studying them. Using specific examples, two students said:

*...you can say it's structured more of male it doesn't have any female needs because first of all you have to cut your hair you have to cut your nails...long hair you have to cover it...during operations during inspections ...nature of it it needs a lot of commitment...female students they sometimes don't fit in yab...(C8M)
...I think ladies have a mentality that science like physics and maths are meant for men...you look at a lady who is a dentist and you are like how did you manage...I think ladies have the mentality that those courses are not for women...a lady who is doing those higher courses is seen as a misplaced identity because we have developed the perception that there are courses for men and others for ladies...(Woman student leader, FGD2)*

This suggestion highlights the view that knowledge production itself is gendered, something widely noted in the literature, and that 'masculine' programmes involve questions of demand and rigour which 'women's' subjects (such as Literature and Home Economics) do not, showing men dominance. While, five of the students supported this view, two women students said:

*...as I grew up I was made to believe that some courses are made for men so even if I know I can perform better I still feel they belong to men ok some courses like medicine you were meant to believe that doctors are supposed to be men ok such courses are meant for men...(C17F).
...I guess ladies are not so comfortable they think the workload is too much they can't handle it ...they defer to another course and most of them don't apply at all...ladies felt that the workload is too much...spending the whole night drawing till morning...(C19F).*

In explaining further how masculinity usually seen in terms of the nature of workload discourages some women students from applying for the unique degree courses, C10M noted:

...that's masculine they can't handle so there is that element...they come from high school there is that mentality...whatever they feel looks feminine but the moment they hear about engineering...they think that's male courses....

These comments illustrate the idea that knowledge production is gendered and subjects are structured around masculinity, a social-cultural phenomenon. In addition, the idea that these courses do not seem to be addressing the needs of students is an indication that the few who manage to join them feel uncomfortable. This could affect some

women students' application and participation in the unique degree courses.

5.1.3 Question of Intimidation of Women Students

Out of the 30 men and women respondents interviewed, nine respondents were of the opinion that intimidation, a kind of harassment, which could make some women students feel uncomfortable, such that they sometimes wish to change their degree courses. Commenting on how intimidation is related to women students transferring to other degree courses, C8M says:

...these courses are intimidating the lecturers sometimes are not friendly... there is no that friendly mode ...mostly the female students cannot stand that kind of environment so that's why most of them quit either in first year or second year...the faculty is very unfair it doesn't really cater for the female students....

Although three respondents had similar views from their interviews regarding the intimidation of some women students in class by men lecturers, one explicitly stated:

...there is one who was asking us you mean here in front there are only girls you know he is against the ladies... another day only ladies put up their hands na akasema kwani hakuna kijana anaweza kuinua mkono juu (you mean there is no boy who can raise up his hands)...I also think they are also going to have some harassment from the guys because like they will always look down at you hii course ni ya majamaa (this course is for men) you know it can't be done by ladies...(C23F).

Such kind of intimidation may affect women students' participation in class. C30F expressed this in her interview saying: '*... in our class because there are issues that arise and you realise that the girls wamenyamaza tu (keeping quiet) they are not speaking... you are quiet in the class environment...'* By keeping quiet in class women students feel intimidated, evidence that harassment is a reality on campus. C10M explained this noting: '*...because she will not be contributing she will feel, you know, intimidated in a way...it usually affects the results so of course that issue is a problem...'*

There is an indication that some women students are to some extent disadvantaged in their attempt to apply and participate in the unique degree courses. The low participation could probably be due

intimidation, lack in confidence, awareness of gender friendly policies and programmes (empowerment), the idea that the university programmes tend to favour men and the society's negative attitudes toward women students. This probably calls for a need to reconsider policy formulation and revision in order to make institutions responsive to different needs and social realities of the two genders, since society is made up both men and women.

5.2 Students' Access to Supplementary Sources of Income

The researcher sought to find out students' perceptions regarding their access to supplementary sources of income, a source of students' economic empowerment. Data collected revealed that students get their income from HELB (loan, bursaries and scholarships), MoE (bursaries and scholarships), Constituency Development Fund (CDF) (bursaries), from the government, scholarships, work study programmes and tuck shops. Though scholarships are an optional source of finance which give students an opportunity to advance in their academic careers, this was not explored in this study because of the following reasons: scholarships mostly benefit post-graduate students who were not part of the study sample; fourth year students, who formed the key source of data, lack adequate information since at the undergraduate level few, if any, benefit from such scholarships.

Examples of work study programmes which are given to undergraduate students include: Working as custodians in the Halls of Residence, working in the library, finance departments, catering unit and computer laboratories, procurement office, at the reception (different offices) or the morgue. The needy students are given an opportunity to keep small businesses in the form of tuck shops, laundry, barber shops, saloons, photocopying and printing outlets, as a way of helping them boost their income. It is important to note that although the needy/poor family background is the main criterion supposed to be used in the allocation of supplementary sources of income to students irrespective of gender, it is not very clear as to how this is done and the research suspects gender-bias. The researcher's aim was to find out the students'

perceptions regarding their allocation of supplementary sources of income. In their response, the students' opinions were based on the ideas of favouritism by men students, lack of women friendly working schedules, sexual favours, shyness and fear of competition, in addition to lack of knowledge on 'special funds for women students'.

5.2.1 Favouritism by Men Students

A total of 24 out of 30 men and women students felt that favouritism determines students' access to supplementary sources of income. While giving her perception of what favouritism is, C21F said:

...I think it has to do with whether you know someone because you find that somebody gets those loans and yet they don't need such loans...you find that someone is an orphan and they are getting the minimum...it's about interaction with the staff...

Students believed that there is favouritism in the allocation of loans/bursaries and income generating projects, key to financial empowerment, which, to some extent, tend to discriminate against some of the needy students. While three of the students interviewed talked about this issue, C26F noted:

...loans which are supposed to be given to the poor students you realise they are only given to some not all...I know of a girl who got the full loan 60 thousand and bursary of 8 thousand...her mum is a lawyer her dad is a professor...how you got the full loan and bursary... so I guess there is corruption....

In explaining how this favouritism takes place, a total of 13 (eight men and five women) respondents expressed their disappointments and concern with the way the tuck shops (small businesses) are given to students. Student leaders and administrative staff seem to have a lot of influence in the allocation and management of the tuck shops. C13M said:

...there are some allegations that there was some corruption there is some favourism ab if you want to get the tuck shop you must be well known to may be the student leaders...and maybe some of the administrative staff...it's all about who you know...is not a transparent process...my perception is actually corruption yah....

C7M sees favouritism as a reflection of what is happening in the wider society, usually seen as a norm. Due to the high rate of favouritism

involved in the allocation and management of the tuck shops, C28F noted that the needy students are denied the opportunity of ownership. It seems that men are usually more on the interviewing panels which allocate tuck shops, an indication of their dominance in the university processes. Sometimes panels dominated by men tend to discriminate against some women students. C21F corroborated this view saying: '*...tuck shops like for us girls we don't get tuck shops...we are not in a position to know how to manoeuvre...'*'.

Men students benefit more because tuck shops are usually owned by a 'clique' of men student leaders who know how to get their way around. Two men students said:

*...when it comes to allocation...men are favoured... it's also very controversial...I know of a gentleman who was here he worked since he was a 2nd year until he finished...to the best of my knowledge tuck shops are owned by a very small group of you know...the real beneficiaries are men...like this one here...(pointing at it)... it's actually owned by a guy who leads SONU why he owns it so it's wrong because it's a guy who is able ...so he denies those who are very needy...(C9M).
...you have to go through the hurdles...to start with you have to be in line with the congressman...you have to know at least all of them...you cannot get a tuck shop on your own...like you have to share you still have to share that tuck shop with the congressman...you have to share the profit almost fifty fifty...(C11M).*

Student leaders see the allocation of supplementary sources of income as a 'male game' rather than a needy students' project as one said:

... it is an award scheme for students leaders it has nothing to do with the needy students...students' leaders conspire...it all ends up to be a male game...the backs of all business are for the male students ... (Man student leader, FGD3).

The idea of university structures (panellists) which determines who gets the work study programmes, tuck shops and other related sources of income on campus being dominated by men and lack of negotiation skills on the part of women students could lead to discrimination against some needy students.

5.2.2 Lack of Women Friendly Working Schedules

A few students (eight out of 30) from their interviews felt that the time the work is supposed to be done (during the day or night) could

determine how much work men and women students can do so as to earn supplementary income, which may impact on their economic empowerment. In comparing the time a man and woman student can work, men did not seem to mind working either during the day or night, while women preferred day time work. C9M said:

...I don't know may be the nature of the job...like a man as I told you at times am able to cruise through the night and the following day as long as I take a shower am very fresh...at times the ladies might not be willing to push themselves that much....

That is probably why C10M and C26F recommended the idea of giving women students' day time duties to enable them to equally benefit from the work study programmes. They noted:

*...even a day custodian so that we can be able to accommodate the ladies because since I joined first year I have never seen one lady who would take that job and it's the best paid work study programme after the tuck shop...(C10M).
...I think they should also come up with a programme that caters for ladies for instance may be cleaning during the day so they are not scared like when working at night so that is another problem for the ladies...(C26F).*

Such kind of an arrangement make women students get part-time jobs which they can competently handle well, since as C11M noted: '*...most of the women can't handle like night custodians...*'. Commenting on the jobs majority of women students prefer, nine (five women and four men) students mentioned working in the saloon, library, computer laboratory, reception, procurement office and tuck shops, and especially those found in the women's Halls of Residence. They attributed such responses to availability of part-time jobs which are less demanding in terms of workload and the time one is supposed to work. C11M said:

...you can be a receptionist you can be at the procurement office if you are a female...given the day jobs ...which they can handle well... us men we are given those duties that most of the women can't handle you can be receptionists...

What is central here is that some women students are seen to, attest to and to some extent have a preference for specific jobs usually based on the time one is supposed to be working. This probably tends to limit the type of jobs majority of women students can do on campus, which can

impact on their financial status. The implication here is that men seem to be exposed to more opportunities of becoming economically empowered.

5.2.3 'Sexual Favours' Discriminate against Men Students

While some students believe that men students are probably more likely to get job opportunities than women students, others raised a different point of view. Less than a half of the students interviewed (seven out of 30) in their response to issues regarding students' access to income generating activities they were of the view that sexual favours tend to determine who gets what sources of income, an evidence of how sexual harassment can sometimes affect students access to campus opportunities. C18F noted:

...this guy looks at you like ah... give me something ...sexual favours basically so I think it's unfair it's not fair for the ladies...there is that unfairness for the ladies...

Ideas about how women students use sex traps to get financial assistance can be seen from the following interview excerpts:

...there are ladies who have strings attached to some of these people who are funding them...sugar daddies...they usually struggle ...I feel like everyday these ladies they have boyfriends apart from that they also have these ATMs they call them ATM mmmhh...(C19F).

These comments indicate that some women students are to some extent victims of quid pro quo where they exchange sexual favours for financial benefits and job opportunities, a reality of the existence of sexual harassment and its effect on access to opportunities, which could discriminate against men students.

5.2.4 Women Students are Shy and Fear Competition

Some students believe that women fear competition from men, make them reluctant to take up some of these sources of income. Two students stated:

*...I think females shy away yab...how do I start being a custodian I think it's belittling ...that's why they don't go for it I wish there were better things...(C23F)....
the policy is 50/50 but what happens is again our ladies a lady is needy but she will never come out and apply for that...when it comes to the*

groups like the friends they have and how would my friend's see me am working as a supervisor...(C10M).

Explaining how fear makes women students reluctant to request for the income generating projects, out of the three students, one expressed her views saying:

...ok there is this fear ok ladies fear being intimidated they fear like if you go into an office and find people are rude to you you wouldn't want to go back there...(C17F).

Similarly, data from FGDs reveal that women students' fear gossip and stigmatisation usually associated with the sources of income, as one noted:

...they fear gossip they fear that people will start gossiping this and such a girl...that stigmatization that comes with being poor so most of them don't come out to say that am poor because they think if they come out people will despise them that's why they prefer doing funny businesses to get their money...(Woman student leader, FGD4).

It seems that some women students continue to be disadvantaged by the culture of patriarchy denying them an opportunity to access sources of income. Students fear could probably be due to lack of confidence, an important aspect of life skills. The fear may lead to feelings of insecurity among some women students.

5.2.5 Lack of knowledge about 'Special Funds' for the Needy Women Students

The idea of the UoN being able to start a special fund for needy women students shows its commitment to establishing a gender friendly institution. The fund is meant to help women students complete their studies with minimal financial difficulties (UoN, 2006b). However, only two men out of the 30 students interviewed seemed to have limited knowledge about this fund, which could impact on students' economic empowerment.

When the students were asked about this special fund, generally their responses indicated a lack of knowledge of such opportunities. Two students stated:

...no what I know...what I have heard is half a million in every college set aside for the needy students but not specifically for female or male students...(C1M).

...I have no idea at least for the four years that I have been here I have no idea...(C2M).

Although only three students seemed to know about the existence of this fund, they were not sure of how they are supposed to access it. C9M said: *...it is administered by (name withheld) I don't know how it runs I know that it's there....* The implication here is that probably majority of the needy women students are not able to access these funds because they probably are not aware of its existence. However, I did not explore who in reality gets the funding and how the students use this money, an area which may require further research.

Although majority of women students may be disadvantaged in their access to supplementary sources of income, a total of 28 (15 women and 13 men) students interviewed supported the need to give women students more loans/bursaries and to consider them for income generating projects due to their special financial needs. Three noted:

*... mmbh we have more needs than men so I think ok me I can survive on little money but ladies can't...you feel you don't fit in the society so I think the ladies should get more than the men...(C17F).
...because they have sensitive issues in their lives and so they should be considered more... there is need to consider special cases like the female depending on their background if they are able to subsidise...(C18F).
...they should give ladies a bigger amount as compared to the males since ladies in real sense tend to have more expensive needs than males...(C10M)*

After probing further on what the students think regarding women's special needs, which make them require more money than the men, 10 (seven women and three men) interviewed summarised these needs as follows: Extra shopping, clothes, hair maintenance and buying sanitary pads. Commenting on extra shopping C23F said:

...yah I believe the needs of a lady are more they are more than the ones of a guy...bata shopping unaona tu hapa (pointing at her shopping in the room)...ebee...bee...shopping itakuna mob kuliko kijana...(it will be more than for a boy)...

Eight students mentioned 'special needs' for women students to include physiological, biological and medical needs. Two of them noted:

*...eh...hee...bee (laughter)...ok that's my thought because honestly men can survive on that I think females have more needs ...for example we buy pads men don't ... (C21F).
...consider gynecological problems...many of us can't afford that ...there is need for medical allowance, sanitary allowance for those things that men don't need...money for sanitary towels it's a pity that someone can get a loan and cannot afford to get a packet of sanitary towels...(C24F).*

However, one student felt that there is too much attention on the girl child, hence there is need to start advocating for the rights of boy child who seem to be vulnerable. This is important if gender equality has to be achieved. C11M said:

...everybody is fighting for the right of the girl child where the boy child is now because you are empowering them so much such that the boy child now feels threatened or is dominated and I think that one should not happen so everybody should be given equal chances yab....

Although women students' biological and feminine characteristics sometimes put them in a position where they require more 'special needs' as opposed to men, there is need to advocate for rights of boy child. However, due to the gendered nature of the university environment, characterised by structures (work schedules) that favour men students, lack of confidence, knowledge and economic empowerment, some women students may encounter difficulties in accessing the available supplementary sources of income.

5.3 Space and Facilities for Students

Students' daily lives on the campus are characterised by multiple interactions, overlapping relationships of different kinds and a wide variety of 'meetings'—academic, social, religious and residence-based. These practices occupy space and use of facilities. The support services such as learning, sleeping, washing, provision of food, medication and entertainment are crucial for the students' daily operations on campus, since they directly and indirectly facilitate the acquisition and production of knowledge based economy. In the process of their daily interactions, as they use the limited accommodation, catering, health and academic spaces and facilities, men and women students encounter different experiences and challenges. In this sub-section, the researcher presents

men and women students' perceptions regarding their experiences and challenges.

5.3.1 Inadequate Accommodation Space and Facilities

What emerged from men and women students' responses, are challenges they experience in trying to access the limited and sometimes unsuitable accommodation space and facilities. The challenges are thematically summarised as poor conditions in the Halls of Residence, lack of women friendly facilities and incompatibility of the roommates.

A total of 24 out of 30 students talked about poor conditions in the Halls of Residence. This means lack of cleanliness especially in the sanitation block. The sanitation block has bathroom curtains which are torn, together with dirty and broken toilets. Three students explained this further saying: '*...rooms are in better conditions but the washrooms are in pathetic conditions...(C25F).*' '*...sanitary services are pathetic in the halls of residence especially the loos (toilets)...'(C11M).* It seems like men students are discriminated against in terms of cleanliness. In their response to issues regarding accommodation facilities, C12M stated: '*...you go to the washrooms they are pathetic...the males are living with very serious needs...SWA does not care about the males halls of residence...'*'.

More than half of the students interviewed, (16 out of 30) complained of broken and dirty toilets. Just like women students, men students are too affected, as C11M noted:

...but you come to the halls that we live in here they are so dirty infact if you check on them you cannot sit on that yah you cannot sit on that toilet you either squat or step on it...you know the germs... you either squat or I know most of the people step on it....

Eight of the students attributed the poor state of cleanliness to lack of adequate cleaning equipments, negligence of the custodians, shortage of water and carelessness on the part of the students. Explaining some of these discourses further, C7M says:

...I get worried when I see the equipments that are used to clean our loos or toilets and the ones that clean our washrooms...where we wash our utensils because guys cook...a lot of compromises in terms of levels of cleanliness in the halls....

In addition to the poor conditions in the Halls of Residence, women students face special challenges regarding their use of sanitary facilities. This could be attributed to failure by the university administration to avail and empty the sanitary buckets on time, leading to overflow of the already used sanitary towels onto the floor. This can be a threat to students' health. Commenting on this issue, two students stated:

*...the bins deposits like for sanitary towels they stay here for two weeks they are already overflowing that one looks very bad... proper sanitary facility for ladies like the retonkil you go to some of the ladies halls and I meet with pads on the corridors even the women who clean those halls complain...some ladies are careless...is just they have no place to throw the pads and some don't have bins to throw...(C2M).
...sanitary bins they overflow because of the number of students...student now opt to just wrap the sanitary stuff in paper bags and throw in the bins...(C21F).*

Further, men and women student leaders felt that the accommodation facilities are overstretched because they are few as compared to the number of students in need of the facilities. They noted:

*...there is also congestion...what on earth you just have three toilets three latrines that is for 75 students it is an imaginary...
(Man student leader, FGD3).
...there are too many students in the halls of residence for I think using 4 toilets other times I think 2 toilets on the same floor...they are bound to overflow...because of the number of students...
(Woman student leader, FGD4).*

Apart from poor conditions in the Halls of Residence, 14 out of 30 students in their interviews talked about lack of women friendly accommodation spaces and facilities. Of the three students who identified lack of women friendly facilities in some of the Halls of Residence, C16F said:

...female students especially the fourth years you see that we were given the rooms that were supposed to be for the male...you see the females were given rooms in the basement and those rooms were supposed to be for the male students...it's funny to find the males being given the rooms that are so clean so spacious while the ladies are given the dirty rooms with no facilities...with no sockets you know the male are used to such kind of life whereby they find the sockets they remove the sockets and they use wires...

In a comparative analysis of the conditions in the Halls and Blocks of Residence, C26F spoke of the Halls of Residence having better facilities than the blocks, yet the majority of women students reside in the

blocks. Consequently, some women students feel like they are being discriminated against. C26F noted:

...comparing blocks and halls, the halls are better off in terms of hygiene yet more female occupy the blocks as compared to the halls...we are fighting for a hall the male students they are given three senior halls us we are given one hall...

Five students are of the opinion that sharing the Halls of Residence by the two genders could be annoying, inconvenient, risky and could lead to harassment of women, since they are expected to also share social amenities like toilets and bathrooms.

Speaking about the behaviours likely to affect students' access to Halls of Residence, two women students said:

*...you are passing and the guys are all over the place they are just idlers you know it's intimidating...you don't feel nice you don't feel comfortable about it so I don't like the idea of sharing the halls...(C23F).
...sometimes people get drunk and there is a lot of noise...they would scream all over the corridors...there was a time a first year a guy wanted to go to her room... if you are naïve they can really take advantage of you if you don't know...(C25F).*

However, in contrast to the negative comments given by C23F and C25F in regard to sharing of Halls of Residence by the two genders, C30F was more positive. She expressed this in her interview saying: '*...I don't complain because for one I believe in being able to grow up together as in learning how to live together...it has always been very secure except for one incidence....*'(C30F). The implication here is that both men and women should learn to respect and co-exist in harmony, with each other without conflicts, since society is made up of the two genders. Respect and harmony are values that promote self-identity and friendship. It seems that women students are more vulnerable to behaviour by men students which tend to hinder their access to the facilities, create an unfriendly atmosphere even in their Halls of Residence, where they are supposed to be resting and relaxing after a day's work.

Some students encounter a culture of incompatibility which is usually brought about by different lifestyles or behaviour such as smoking/drinking, annoying behaviour by boy/girl friends, religious

backgrounds, loud music and unwanted visitors. Commenting on how smoking and drinking inconveniences one's roommates, C3M said:

...I was sharing a room with somebody...who was a smoker and a drinker and a womanizer and we are in the same room...does all the three things sometimes he would do this in front of me when I was supposed to study I think it was totally inconveniencing...

Speaking about her experiences, especially when boy/girlfriends decide to engage in unwanted sexual activities in the presence of the roommates, an indication of moral decadence, C30F stated:

...my roommate is one who is very outgoing so especially Friday honestly I don't think it's right and fair when people start doing some funny things in your presence in fact she never used to fear they are unfair you have feelings...almost have sex in your presence...we are a different person... that's violation of these rights...they are always doing funny things in the room...

Commenting on the effect of diverse religious backgrounds, unwanted visitors and loud music as conditions that make some students unable to cope, out of the five students, two said:

...you have been put in the same room you have a Muslim here and you have a Christian here so they tend to conflict in one way or the other...(C28F).

...you get someone who it's very hard to cope with people who will always give you headache...you cannot even study in the room...they have visitors or they are playing music always their friends are always in the room...(C30F).

The challenges men and women students experience, in their attempt to access accommodation space and facilities, for instance unwanted sexual activities, are partly a result of the nature of the university environment, which is dominated by men students and staff; women's biological make up and the nature of students' different lifestyles. Sometimes the different lifestyles bring about conflict and tension among men and women students in their daily interaction on campus.

5.3.2 Inadequate Catering Space and Facilities

Although only 10 (six men and four women) out of 30 respondents reported having used catering facilities and services, the majority of them spoke of poor quality food, small food portions, financial implications, lack of flexibility in the opening and closing times and

harassment of some women students as reasons which sometimes make them avoid using the university catering space and facilities.

The majority of the students 25 (14 men and 11 women) interviewed were in agreement that the poor quality and low quantity of food at the university catering units made them prefer to cook in their rooms. Poor quality food means that the food is not well cooked, not clean, it is tasteless and lacks in variety. Three students noted:

*...other times food is over burnt imeshura 'it has burnt' ... ehee...hee...(laughter) so if they don't make good food we have to cook ... (C25F).
...it is sub-standard, inferior and badly cooked food... (C11M)
...I feel the food is abit sub-standard coz that might be one of the reasons why most people cook in their room's yab... (C17F)*

Although three student leaders supported the above view regarding quality of food, one noted:

...you go there the ugali has lumps you compare to the ugali in the female MESSES it's just incomparable so the male students have been discriminated as far as catering is concerned... (Man student leader, FGD3).

Commenting on the food as tasteless and lacking in variety, C8M stated:

...there is no variety in the food cooked here you might find that...there is no variety at all...many students prefer cooking in their rooms other than going there to find there is no variety....

Out of the seven students interviewed four women and three men who spoke about the issue of food quantity from the university cafeteria, C27F said:

...another thing is the portions you don't like hakuna siku wameenda wamenivekaa chakula nikashimba na siku nyingine mkashiba (there is no day they have given me food and I got satisfied) fine lakini (but) they should put everybody ashibe (get satisfied)...get something that is worth your money...

Sometimes men students tend to feel discriminated against because women students are able to access better food from the cafeteria located in their Halls of Residence.

In addition to the poor state of food, financial status tends to determine the extent to which the students are able to get food from the university

cafeteria as mentioned by 12 out of 30 students interviewed. In balancing the cost of cooking and that of buying food in the university cafeteria, the majority of the students preferred cooking because it was cheaper and affordable as C9M noted: ‘...*food not accessible because of the high cost...*’. C11M states:

...cooking is better than buying food for 30 shillings there instead of cooking instead of purchasing food for 30 shillings you go to a club...club 36 buy mboga for 5 you buy spinach...all those they come up to may be 20 shillings then you cook....

Students relying on HELB loan, a source of their economic empowerment which they get at the beginning of every academic semester, sometimes find it difficult to purchase food up to the end of the academic semester. Consequently, the majority opt to cook, as a way of minimising the expenses. In explaining this further, C10M stated:

... towards the middle of the semester you don't have much and if you are to eat in the MESS you must have that option of cash if somebody is to eat there ...to cook for themselves they would spend around 20 shillings...spend 40 shillings per day in the MESS if you want to eat a decent meal you spend almost double...

Due to financial instability, most students prefer cooking in their rooms, since it seems that food in the university cafeteria is too expensive for them. The implication here is that most students lack financial management skills to guide them utilise their limited finances effectively up to the end of academic semester.

Lack of flexibility in the opening and closing times of the university cafeteria sometimes affects the students' access to university catering services. This was identified by eight out of 30 students where two said:

*...the MESS is only open at specific times and maybe the time they are opening I may be in the library I may be in a meeting... I think it should be run for 24 hours...because most of us would opt to eat at the MESS ... (C7M).
...there is also the convenience and the time apart from one that runs for twenty four hours all the others are open from six to eight ...after that you find either there is no food or its past eating time and even our timetable sometimes they don't allow us to be free from eleven to one...so the easiest thing for you to do is to have your own food in your room... (C21F).*

A notable phenomenon observed here is that both men and women students to some extent are inconvenienced by lack of flexibility in the opening and closing times of the university cafeteria. This may affect their use of the university catering services, and, opt to cook in their rooms with little knowledge regarding their security.

Four students talked about students experiencing harassment due to scrambling and fighting over the limited resources, and especially when there are blackouts, as challenges women students encounter while using the university catering outlets. C2M says:

...when it comes to lining up and pushing the ladies will be disadvantaged because men will push through and get to the counter and the woman will remain there staring because they don't have the muscles....

From what C2M said, it is clear that men dominance can probably be used to partly explain why some women students experience different forms of physical harassment on campus, evidence of the reality of sexual harassment on campus. This to some extent may hinder students' effective utilisation of the available catering facilities and services.

5.3.3 Inappropriate Health Facilities and Services

The UoN has made great efforts to improve students' health facilities. Ten students (six men and four women) spoke of having used these facilities. Information from the Students Handbook (UoN, 2005d) reveals that gynaecological services and fertility regulation, maternity care with the exclusion of delivery and pregnancy-related complications are provided to women students. However, the students (both men and women) talked about a number of experiences and challenges which hinder them from accessing these facilities and services. They include lack of knowledge on the available facilities, harassment of women students by staff and lack of drugs.

More than half (20 out of 30) men and women students said that they had not been able to use some of these services, especially the gynecological and maternity care. Both men and women students,

believe that lack of proper orientation, knowledge on sexuality and health education, important aspects for empowering men and women students may probably result in unwanted pregnancies:

...one of the reasons that lead many to issues of pregnancy is the lack of proper serious orientation for the female students...I would call it health education...should find a way to educate them openly without using proverbs and myths...(C1M).

...I came to realise that so many of our ladies especially here (name withheld) why they get pregnant is they are unaware of their sexuality they are not very much aware of their sexuality...or even if they are aware the kind of knowledge that they have is quite minimal it cannot help them...most of them are not vocal especially they just want to please the guy...they are totally illiterate sexually...(C14M).

At times student mothers (those who become pregnant while in campus) become victims of abusive language by men students, which make them feel uncomfortable. Commenting on this view, C29F said: ‘...they gossip especially men and they make some very nasty comment about yab yab...it takes a very strong person to cope if you are pregnant...to use some of these facilities...’. There is an indication that sometimes abusive language hinders some of the students from accessing health facilities.

Men dominance of the health system tends to limit women students’ access to health facilities and services as two student leaders explain:

...I think it's so discriminative on the ladies because most of them are male staff and they take those ladies who are expectant to be like...they are excommunicated so they don't give them the services they require...if you are a lady who is going through periods and then it extends, if you go there you are looked at funny...(Man student leader, FGD2).

...those male doctors apparently we have only male doctors they look at you like you have so much infection, yeast infection...actually I have heard complains from my fellow students...people have to go to the main campus facility where there are gynaecologists and they are ladies so also you are not received well...(Woman student leader, FGD2).

The fact that health system is dominated by men tends to make women students to sometimes prefer women staff as evidenced by the following remarks:

...if you are a female student and you have a problem you should actually be talking to someone who is senior female...so many female students to keep their problems to themselves because it was actually a male affair...(Man student leader, FGD3).

A total of (14 out of 30) student talked about wrong prescriptions, which probably is a result of inadequate diagnosis. Commenting on how students are given similar drugs for different ailments, two women students stated:

...you go complain you have a headache you always get an antacid you go complaining of any kind of problem you get the same drugs you find someone has gone there with a stomach -ache someone is getting dizzy but you are getting the same drugs...(C30F).

...quite terrible too much negligence carelessness same drugs given to all regardless of the type of sickness...(C28F).

According to C8M, inadequate laboratory facilities can also lead to poor services. He says:

...I believe we can have our own lab where they can do the testing of urine, blood...I think that would improve the situation of having the correct drugs...(C8M).

Talking from her experiences concerning the lack of drugs, as examples of inadequate services offered in the health department, C17F says:

...because of an experience I had there is a time I was very sick I had malaria...my roommate had to take me there...the doctor told me there are no drugs for malaria...

What emerges from the students' illustrations is that, despite the efforts the university has put in providing adequate health care services to all students, there is an indication that sometimes women students are disadvantaged by lack of ante and post-natal facilities and services. Probably this may be attributed to shortage or lack of qualified personnel and harassment.

5.3.4 Inadequate Academic Space and Facilities

While responding to the question on the availability of the academic facilities (books in the library, laboratory and workshop equipments, chairs, space in lecture halls) all meant to enhance teaching and learning process, five students summarised their views as follows: '*...teaching materials are always available, books no problem, cannot be compared to other schools, have improved...'*. However, despite these positive statements, the majority of the students (25 out of 30) spoke about lack of adequate facilities (especially chairs in lecture halls/tutorial rooms) which usually leads to congestion, scrambling, pushing and fighting. Commenting on

lack of such facilities, 17 students, both men and women, talked about lack of computers, public address systems, books in the library and furniture in the lecture rooms, where two men students says:

...the biggest problem is ab when it comes to ab facilities in the computer lab like in ours we have like there are just about 4 comps catering for all the students...(C6M).
...the university does not provide the communication system infact most of the balls don't have it even if it's there it is not functioning well yah...(probe)...I would say very very almost terrible the books that are there...only 2 books in the whole library and the students are five hundred...library is so poorly stocked...(C11M).

Five students mentioned lack of enough chairs in the lecture halls, which leads them to scramble. This could at times disadvantage women students more than the men, where some of them may fail to attend lectures. Talking from her experiences, C15F noted:

...by the time you get...there is no seat so you have to stay in a place where to wait from that makes some girls even not to attend lessons especially common courses...there is a lot of scrambling some girls choose to be torn their clothes there is real fighting there...the real scrambling....

Out of the five students who mentioned congestion, which results from lack of enough chairs and space in the lecture halls, two students made the following remarks:

...it's truly pathetic...because when you are talking students to the lecture halls (pause)...if they didn't fit you are not going to teach you just stand there...you are writing on your laps and then the rooms are too tiny...some sit outside...total madness...(C9M).
... some rooms are too small they were meant for few students but right now...students just stand...when they were designed...the students were few sometimes you find that the lecturer comes to class there is nowhere for him to stand or sit...(C21F).

Lack of adequate facilities to enhance teaching and learning processes is probably a result of rapid expansion of the university programmes. These experiences may affect students' academic performance since sometimes they are unable to attend lectures due to inadequate facilities in the lecture halls. Poor attendance could threaten students' promotion of their academic pursuit, attain excellence in research, a key aspect to making UoN a World-Class African university.

5.4 Summary

Data from students' perceptions of gendered access to opportunities, space and facilities provides a wide range of discourses around the gendered inequalities, which seem to be generally normalised and naturalised by men and women students. The opportunities, space and facilities tend to be structured around the discourse of masculinity. For instance, the pedagogical issues, the prevailing circumstances surrounding students' access to sources of income which sometimes favour men students, and the fact that the unique degree programmes seem to be structured and offered around masculine environment are examples of the gendered inequalities that characterises UoN's culture. Feminine characteristics like biological realities, lack of confidence coupled with societal attitudes, nature of students' lifestyles, lack of adequate information, life and economic empowerment further explains how the students perceive the gendered nature of access in the UoN.

Students seems aware of the culture of masculinity that tends to determine the gendered nature of behaviour, putting women in a more disadvantaged and vulnerable position of being harassed by men students and staff. This, to some extent, becomes a challenge to the women students' attempts to freely access various degree programmes, income generating incomes, Halls of Residence and lectures, and health facilities and services. Data of the students' perceptions and their realities of harassment is scattered and presented in 'pieces of puzzles' in some sections of this chapter. A detailed exploration of the students' perceptions of their experiences of sexual harassment is discussed in Chapters Six and Seven.

CHAPTER SIX

STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR EXPERIENCES AND THE EFFECTS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher presents data generated from in-depth exploration of students' representation on their experiences of sexual harassment in the UoN. The chapter is divided into three main sub-sections: Sub-section 6.1 presents findings about students' perceptions of sexual harassment, including quid pro quo sexual harassment, while the students' representation of non-quid pro quo sexual harassment, as a particular form of behaviour, is covered in sub-section 6.2. Sub-section 6.3 deals with data on what men and women students believe to be the effects of sexual harassment. The findings presented in these sub-sections were separated by gender. This is because most research on sexual harassment dictates that given the idea that women are usually the targets or victims of such harassment, it is important to be clear about how gender influences discursive themes about the meaning of sexual harassment, experiences and the impact of sexual harassment on men and women.

6.1 Students' Perceptions of Sexual Harassment

The researcher sought to find out how men and women students/leaders understand the term 'sexual harassment' in their daily experiences on campus environment. In analysing their experiences, the students were generally responding to issues regarding their perceptions of sexual harassment. Students' responses were based on the language used, the types of behaviour identified as sexual harassment and who the targets of sexual harassment are assumed to be.

6.1.1 Women Students' Perceptions of Sexual Harassment

Ten out of the 16 women students perceived sexual harassment as encompassing verbal, non-verbal and physical forms of behavior within the UoN's culture. However, from their interview responses, women

students perceive sexual harassment as characterised by physical forms of behaviour. Six women students used a wide range of physical behaviour such as rape, touching, hugging and kissing to explain their understanding of the term sexual harassment. Two students were specific that sexual harassment involves use of sexual language and innuendos as illustrated in the interview excerpts:

*...do I have the right words...that is sexually oriented it's like you are proving my sexual ab...hee...hee...(laughter) like can I fuck you you know such kind of a thing language yab...(C30F).
...it's where the females are already being harassed by the you know it can be an action where the male make some innuendos...maybe innuendos even in class you find people making innuendos about stuff ... talking about rape or something...(C27F).*

Regarding verbal forms of behaviour, two students noted:

*...sexual harassment ahmm (pause) now I think hee...hee...eehee... (loud laughter) think it's when ab either advances or words or...heee...heee...(C21F).
...it means provocative talks-arrogant provoking comments on size of your boobs...shape of boobs hee...size of butt or sexy lips...(C17F).
...making comments or all those other things that you may do and may interfere with my comfort ...(Woman student leader, FGD2).*

Commenting on the physical forms of sexual behaviours, she said:

...we have something like rape when someone calls sexy and leads to having sex unwilling I think that's sexual harassment (Woman student leader, FGD2)

There is a general consensus from the respondents that sexual harassment happens without one's consent, willingness, knowledge or use of force. Three said:

*...it means aooob...sexually offending somebody may be (pause) maybe a male student can touch a female student when she is not willing yab those are my thoughts...(C29F).
...invading another person's sexuality and feelings without their consent (C18F).
...we have something like rape when someone calls sexy and leads to have sex unwilling I think that's sexual harassment...(Woman student leader, FGD4).*

Women students tend to perceive physically oriented behaviour particularly rape (unwanted intercourse), touching, looking and use of sexual language as sexual harassment. In their perceptions, use of force

and unwillingness on the part of the victim, who is assumed in most of the findings to be a woman, has been emphasised.

6.1.2 Men Students' Perceptions of Sexual Harassment

Like the women students, half of the 14 men students interviewed, perceived sexual harassment in terms of verbal, physical and non-verbal behaviour. Out of the five men students who explained sexual harassment in terms of verbal sexual behaviour, two noted:

*...verbal in the sense that you are using dirty language towards someone like insulting or talking things against the opposite gender...(C1M).
...talking to the ladies in a suggestive manner...if that can be termed as sexual harassment...(C6M).*

Without specifying the gender of the perpetrator, and victim while still perceiving sexual harassment in terms of verbal behaviour, two students said:

*... or even ooh verbal abuse that is directed to the opposite gender especially from a person of a senior position than you are ab...(C6M).
... sexual harassment refers to situations when one forces individual ...either of the same or opposite sex to engage in sexual activities without her willing to do so...(C3M).*

In his attempt to define the term 'sexual harassment', C1M used specific examples of physical sexual behaviour, emphasising that such behaviour was usually directed at women without their consent: '*...both physical verbal and eeh...it's both physical...I know there are people who have the habit of putting their hands on top of ladies...doing it without permission...*'(C1M).

One man student used non-verbal statements to explain his understanding of the term sexual harassment: '*...I tend to think it's ab any sort of ab maybe gesturers...*' (C1M). It is clear from all these definitions that whatever form of sexual harassment is used: '*...sexual harassment ...is like...violating their sexual rights...*' (C7M). The term 'their' is assumed to refer to women. In explaining further the term sexual harassment using the discourse of violating one's sexual rights, C9M wrote: '*... it is the infringement on a person's sexual rights by forcing her meet your sexual demands through having sex with you...*'

Talking about behaviours they perceive to be sexual harassment, a student leader talked about romantic music and being locked in private room:

...sexual harassment is anyway done by any gender that influences the other person to be sexually intimidated...there are many cases that can sexually influence arouse me, like putting me some romantic music in the room, locking me in a private room ... (Man student leader, FGD2).

From the above definitions, men students tend to base their perceptions of sexual harassment on verbal, physical and non-verbal sexual behaviour, as opposed to the women students whose emphasis is on physical sexual behavior, an indication that sexual harassment defines the UoN's culture. Men students seem not keen on the gender of the perpetrator and usually refer to them as '*person in senior position*', while the victim is a person of '*opposite gender*', but women are specific that the perpetrators are mostly men and the victims women. The discourse of violation of one's sexual rights has been emphasised by men students.

6.1.3 Quid Pro Quo Transactions

Quid pro quo transactions were also raised frequently within definitions of sexual harassment by men and women students and leaders. In this sub-section, I present students' comments, where they are involved in exchanging sex for marks, notes, money, leadership positions and rooms in the Halls of Residence. Those who gave these comments were responding to questions of how they perceive sexual harassment and how men and women students relate with the men staff and students on campus.

a) Women Students' Perceptions of Quid Pro Quo Transactions

More than half of the women students (11 out of 16) participating in the in-depth interviews spoke of women students' involvement in quid pro quo transactions. The students specifically described 'Sexually Transmitted Marks' (STM) where they believed that men lecturers exchanged grades for sexual favours with women students as a form of quid pro quo transactions as seen from the following illustrations:

... some lecturers want sexual favors from girls, there are sexually transmitted grades... (C23F).
...you are a student and then ok you are approached by a lecturer gives you ... ebee... hee... a grade and when he gives you a grade he expects abh sexual satisfaction from you... (C28F).
...sexual harassment refers to for example when a lecturer asks a female student to have sex with him in exchange of marks... (C17F).

Five other students spoke of situations in which men lecturers were involved in similar transactions. On the issue of examination failure, C29F noted:

...so that they can get marks...it's not that they are not capable but I think some of them they don't take time to study they just want to do their other things now when the exam approaches then they panic so they will do anything that the lecturer wants so that they can pass...

Students' interaction with their lecturers is to some extent determined by the nature of the degree programmes. Talking on what usually happens during attachments, C17F said:

...lecturers take advantage of that because after attachment you find so many ladies having relationships with the lecturers and not just casual relationships serious ones...they (ladies) would tell you that they already know their grades because they are already moving out with a lecturer because they know once you relate with the lecturer you will definitely pass....

According to several women students (five out of 16), sometimes men lecturers tend to use threats and intimidation by telling women students that they will fail examinations if they do not submit to sex, which could affect their performance. Since they are desperate to pass their examinations, majority may succumb to threats, thus affect their self-esteem. While five students talked about this issue, two specifically noted:

...if you want your grades to go up in most cases they do it...I want first class...you don't want to fail and then these lectures will save you... there is a lady I know whose boyfriend is a lecturer...she has to do what this guy wants because if she doesn't she will fail... (C18F).
...here if a lecturer says you will fail you will fail...that is one thing that should be looked into it's not nice at the end of the day coz if you really conflict with that person you are going to fail... (C23F).

Out of four women students who spoke about the use of transactional sex in order to obtain money and other material benefits like television sets, three said:

*...mmmbb (pause)...ok abmm (long pause) maybe financial reasons
...I know very well that when I go out with him he would give me
money and buy you a TV for your room...(C22F).
...I have an example of a lady who was proposing to a lecturer like
I want a relationship...because of money...(C17F).
...this girl will go to the extent of seducing this guy sleeping with
him so that he can give her cash...it happens...(C15F).*

In explaining further how women students from the rural areas are usually promised and given money by men making them easy targets of sexual harassment, two stated:

*...will come and tell you I will cater for you here is 15,000 in your
account...every month... I will have helped myself financially and my
family...(C18F).
...a guy will see a chick looking like they say 'mshamba' (village girl)
easily win her with the money, will be bought better shoes hip stars/ mini
skirts but after 2 to 3 weeks it will be over after she has gotten
sex...most of the time they are interested in sex that's all...(C15F).*

Apart from being involved in transactional sex because of money, which probably is an indication of students lack of economic empowerment, other stories suggest that women students are sometimes involved in quid pro quo in order to get rooms in the Halls of Residence and notes. It is clear from the students' interviews that this seems to be affecting Module II (privately sponsored) students, since they are not usually considered for university accommodation. Two women students said:

*...I have heard all sorts of shocking stories you may have to part with
something for you to get a room ...because myself I have a friend who
is living here she is a para a parallel students she has a room and she
went through... you have to be clever ...this other person wants something
from me in return because he doesn't want money...this chick she didn't
give them money...so basically this chic had to part with a few kisses
and going out...(C30F).
...I think sexual so that they can get room like you may find that parallel
students they are not entitled to rooms first priority is regular student and
you find a regular student has missed a room and a parallel female student
has gotten a room and you hear that they have had an affair...(C29F).*

A woman student leader gave an example of how a man lecturer almost caused a student to commit suicide by threatening her with examination failure:

...there is this case of a lady he had harassed to the point of this lady trying to commit suicide she losses her weight she tried to commit suicide ...but her life is so ruined because this lecturer has failed her so many times...this lecturer took advantage of her turned it against her the lecturer almost raped her once...that lecturer is bad...(Woman student leader, FGD4).

C17F extended her analysis of sexual harassment to the way women students' exchange 'cooking food' and 'washing clothes' with notes by the men students, which shows society's attitude towards feminine roles. She said:

...the ladies don't go to class the males go to class they copy notes for them and probably they go explain to them so the lady is left in the room cooks for the guy washes clothes for him yeah like I have a friend who has never attended a lecture this semester so the boyfriend comes to class and copies notes for her and explains her....

In addition, a student leader talked of being asked for sexual favours in order to get into leadership positions, an aspect of masculine nature of university's culture. She noted:

...I think sometimes the girls encourage the men to harass them coz sometimes...(probe)...like during the students campaigns it was rumoured there was one lady who wanted a post so bad and she had to sleep with one ...he is asking for sex in return of giving you a post that is sexual harassment to me....(Woman student leader, FGD4).

Across the data, the experiences of quid pro quo transactions were outlined using anecdotes about friends and, generalisation about norms of processes (such as how to get accommodation, leadership positions and notes as a woman student). This form of sexual harassment was much more prevalent, overall, in the students' perceptions of sexual harassment than any other. The profile of quid pro quo transactions included interactions between men and women students and staff across a wide spectrum of university life, particularly in academic, politics, finance and domestic responsibilities. Students' experience of quid pro quo transactions at different levels could have implications on their academic performance, access to campus politics, empowerment and the attitude of society towards women students.

b) Men Students' Perceptions of Quid Pro Quo Transactions

About 10 men students out of 14 interviewed are in agreement with women students' perceptions that they (women students) do exchange sexual favours for marks, finance and accommodation while in campus. This corroborates the findings of women students, although men students noted that apart from the men lecturers, administrators and examination officers are also involved.

Two men students feel that exchange of sexual favours for marks or other academic opportunities occurs when a man lecturer and a woman student are in a relationship. C14M said: '*...sexual favors consist of ...sexual advance...we know as male lecturers they have been trying to us eh to have a relationship with ladies yab we know...*'. While suggesting that sometimes students are usually in cordial relationship with the students, however, it seems that at times sexual favours are exchanged for good marks:

*... if a lecturer wants to get access to some ladies may be for sexual satisfaction he has to give something may be a good grade because that is what people are after...so for ladies to get good marks they had to liaise with the lecturer infact the student goes to an extent of sleeping with the lecturers...ladies yab they were harassed...(C11M).
... examination last year we had an outcry of sexual harassment... so there is a lot of sexually transmitted first class...(C2M).*

Commenting on how men lecturers take advantage of women students during practical-oriented examinations, especially when a student is alone with the lecturer, two students stated:

*...I have heard my colleagues complain that girls are treated better especially in the oral exams coz of may be the arrangement they have with the lecturer...(C5M).
...the last case of sexual harassment...one of the lecturers in first year you go for like in exams...you are in oral exams he will say and you will always know if there is a leakage for the exam it will come from certain ladies who you know it's like they have an application from the lecturers...you will always see them harsh to the males and lenient on the ladies and there is some sort of kasmall (something small) thing if you want to pass in that subject...(C4M).*

During these practical examinations men lecturers sometimes take advantage of the academically poor women students to manipulate them into succumbing to unwanted sexual favours, which could affect

their academic performance. C6M expressed this in his version of events:

...there were some of the lecturers who were really taking advantage of the female students especially when it comes to examinations ab practical in the lab so ab if some of the girls were then seen weaker in that subject may be they would have failed in their examinations so in return for them passing they would be asked for the sexual favours by some of our lecturers....

Apart from the men lecturers, men administrators and examination officers are also involved in exchanging better grades for sexual favours with women students. C2M in his interview gave an example of what usually happens:

... they want to get good marks so they will just befriend the administrator or the exam officers...I know the student is looking for good marks...and some have human weaknesses so they may succumb to the vice...I know the student is looking for good marks...(C2M).

Men students reported that women students keep more than one man/boyfriend for financial benefits. They spoke about these men being mostly engineers and bankers, usually referred to as 'practical boyfriends' or, 'Automatic Teller Machines' (ATM). What this means is that women students are assured of a reliable source of income. Three men students explained:

...practical boyfriends are very common in the campus since they support women students financially. The campus girls are the best, cheap to keep and exploit sexually because they are not demanding as compared to those women already in the corporate world who will demand their cars be fuelled, house rent paid and school fees to the children etc. With a campus girl you only need 1,000/= per weekend for shopping and pizza ... (C13M).

...if a campus lady needs money they don't go to a campus jamaa (man) they go out and ... just need to hook up with one of their friends...there is a friend who is an engineer there is a friend who is a banker somewhere there is a friend who has a Mercedes...so if a lady needs money they just go...(C14M).

Giving evidence to show the life of a campus girl with an 'ATM', C14M spoke of behaviour which culturally shocked him on campus:

...ATM like when you go to box at around 5 pm...Sunday evening you will be surprised at how many cars are parked...you will be surprised how many girls are being returned...ATM for pocket money...(C14M).

In explaining why women students are after getting money from the 'practical boyfriends' or 'ATM', C2M associate this to lack of enough money from HELB saying:

...because of this money some female students go out to these activities and hook up with fellow students or lecturers because they want more ...but then when we go to the root cause it's not because these girls love indulging in these behaviour it's simply because they have needs that are not met by the HELB and the money they get from their relatives and friends...those are some of the financial reasons....

Apart from women being involved in transactional sex for grades and finance, C9M was in agreement with C29F and C30F concerning women students exchanging sexual favours for accommodation:

...the... officer when he is allocating rooms...there is a time he was told by the boys you know you are on the wrong side so playing with our girls you should stop...whether its rumour or not there must be some element of truth...he is abit of ...skewed when it comes to the ladies... if you want a room you just go and sleep with him...so ladies do it...(C9M).

From the students' responses it is clear that quid pro quo is believed to be common on the campus, especially the 'STM', usually involving men lecturers, administrators and examination officers, and where women students are both beneficiaries and victims. Men students presented their ideas about women students' financial lives as being dominated by the need for multiple opportunities to exchange sex for different benefits, and saw the 'ATM' relationships simply as a version of 'STM' relationship. Men students saw some men in these transactional relationships as perpetrators, taking advantage of some of the women students and using practical or oral examinations, threats and intimidation to manipulate them into unwanted sexual activities, which could affect their academic performance. Most men students, however, saw some women students as actively complicit with the sexual economy of transactions, and saw their behaviour as part of what it means to sustain oneself financially within the UoN's culture. The overarching assumption was that quid pro quo behaviour involves men as those with benefits to exchange, and women as those needing those benefits and willing to use to get them. Quid pro quo transactions occur where there is a concrete relationship, particularly between men

lecturers, men and women students. What seems to emerge here is the existence of a culture of masculinity, particularly heterosexuality.

6.2 Students' Experiences of Non-Quid Pro Quo Sexual Harassment

Data of the students' experiences of non-quid pro quo sexual harassment is presented in two main sub-sections. The first part deals with the autobiographical reports, where women and men students speak directly of their own sexual harassment. In the second part, indirect reports, narratives, stories, myths and anecdotes, which the students have either heard or witnessed are discussed. This second part was further sub-divided into three sub-sections. The first one presented stories women tell about women being sexually harassed, the second part covered information on the stories men tell about women being victims of sexual harassment and, lastly, the stories men and women students talk about men being sexually harassed. The different reports are derived from the students' responses based on the forms of sexual harassment: verbal, non-verbal, physical and quid pro quo.

6.2.1 Women Students' Direct Experiences of Sexual Harassment

The specific cases experienced by women students involved a very broad range of intimidations: peeping, sexually suggestive talk, attempted gang rape and STM, examples of behaviours that characterises UoN's culture. In giving a detailed account of how she became a victim of peeping, C29F gave her life testimony in the following manner:

...ehii yab hee...bee...bee...(laughter)...we have had incidences where male students would peep in the bathrooms where female students are showering, yab it has even happened to me...during the day at around three o'clock three pm then you know when you are showering you put your towel hapa juu ya mlango (up on top of the door) and your pant after you wash it you hang it there so I was showering then I heard some movements so I thought may be its somebody who was going to the loo means 'toilets' ...when I finished and I looked back my pant which I had put there wet it was not there it was missing then I heard kumbe (so) this guy was here he had climbed on the wall then he saw I was looking outside he shukaad (climbed down) and he took my inner wear and went with it it happened to like six women in a span of one week, yab...(probing)...I think they get satisfied sexually when they do

that...may be he doesn't have a girlfriend and he needs to be satisfied on that line sexual yab maybe using that inner wear he will go and do something nasty with it...(C29F).

C29F believes that the perpetrators engage in stealing the underwears and 'peeping' at women showering as a way of satisfying their sexual desires.

In addition to peeping, C26F gave sexually suggestive talk as an example of verbal sexual harassment. She spoke about her experiences with a group of men students:

...one guy stands up and says ab huyo wachaneni na yeye (that one leave her alone) then another one says that girl is so cheap she came to my room we had sex then I dumped her...yah it happens to most of them they see a girl they say like you see that girl I have had her even me so they talk that way and maybe that girl she is so naive so another guy says something maybe he is in the group they talk about another one (probe)...yah they tried to do that to me me I brushed them off...(C26F)

These comments suggest the naive status of some women students, which probably makes them easy targets of sexual harassment by men students.

The third case was that of attempted gang rape, where a woman student narrated her ordeal with three strangers on the roadside, while she was walking to campus in the evening. However, she narrowly escaped with the assistance of some passers-by, who stopped to rescue her. She spoke of her experiences as she was trying to explain why she cannot go jogging in the evening. The following is an account of C30F's ordeal:

... I can't be going jogging everyday in the field ... (probe)...to be careful about what time you are going there... (probe)...like me I have an experience with this road I cannot use this road past 5.30 I cannot never...yes I had an experience if I wasn't raped I almost got killed...yes I was alone nikashukia (I alighted) it was not so much late mchana kufika bapa nilibebwa juu (when i arrived there I was carried shoulder high) I don't know where those people came from nikabembwa juu (I was carried high'... (probe)...they were three men the next moment you see these flower beds which are here I was on those flower beds (pointing out at the flower beds)... (probe)...am a tom boy so am abit sporty so hao watu hawakuweza kunishika (those people they could not get hold of me) am on flower bed ok am very jumpy am very jumpy so they are shikain (holding) me they are vurutarina (pulling) me towards the

bridge so I ran I ran I don't know who they were looking for I just threw everything that I was carrying... (probe)... yab... vehicles were passing... I saw some gari (car) but this gari ikadivert ikakuja ikasimama hapu (I saw a vehicle coming, it diverted and then it stopped) and then these people ran away ...they just came wakaninurse (they came and gave me first aid)... (C30F).

The traumatic experience could have left the victim frightened, limiting her movements at certain times of the day and also making it difficult for her to go for jogging.

The fourth is a case of 'STM', a form of quid pro quo sexual harassment, where C22F told a story of how she almost became a victim of sexual harassment. She was responding to the question of whether she had heard of or knew a colleague who had been sexually harassed on campus. C22F narrated her own case:

*...you know sometimes like me personally I have experienced it... (probe)
...you know this lecturer wanted to pack up... like to bow down and all that and me I couldn't do that... (long pause) ok like we really 'sucked up' with him you know... (probe)...sucked up as in ni kama you means 'it's like you' (pause) you really want to please him you know so that he will do a favor for you some of them used to do it... (probe)... so he dated me for an exchange ... (probe)...you know ...it likaad (reached a point) I thought that he would mark my administration admission yab and when he is marking he is seeing and failisha (fail me) me you know but I thank God I actually prayed I really prayed that God would just do something that he doesn't see my number and when the results came out I was like the second best ...*

The idea of the lecturer wanting to mark the woman students' administration number makes her afraid of sitting for the examinations. The story shows the extent to which the man lecturer attempted to fail the woman student because she had refused to grant sexual favours, which affected the student. In an emotional state marked by tears C22F continued:

...yah passing...I used to cry (emotionally expressed...tears falling down)...by the time you come out of that class you feel like the world is just against you yah I had cried cried cried ...I talked to my friends ... they used to see me crying...be looked at the results and he looked at me and he is like are you sure that's your number no...that really put me down I cried I cried in his face by the way coz the other times I used to cry in after wards...I couldn't talk all I could do is cry I cried a lot then he is asking me if I have wronged you forgive me...do you need someone to talk to I can take you out ...so I thank God I ...I actually thank God that lecturer went for masters....

The fact that these activities were taking place in a classroom is an indication that sexual harassment can occur in ordinary academic spaces. There is an indication that women students are at times left at the mercy of men lecturers. This shows the extent to which some women students are vulnerable to sexual abuse on campus, while making it difficult for them to attend to extra curricular activities like jogging.

6.2.2 Men Students' Direct Experiences of Sexual Harassment

A fifth case was narrated by a man student, a victim of non-verbal sexual harassment, by another man. The perpetrator used to send him messages via email. He said:

...I remember I don't remember who was ...but there is a time (pause) there was a time actually there was somebody who texted me no actually wrote an email I mean wrote me an email...(probe)... a male I guess because the kind of stuff that I was getting it had to be a male ah it was so gross...the way you walk I like the way you dress...eh...hee...hee... (laughter from both)...and then you know its things like I like the way you laugh you know...(C9M).

C9M's mentions such words like '*...I like the way you dress and I like the way you laugh...*' which have some sexual connotations. Probably this kind of intimidation is what C9M was referring to as sexual harassment.

What emerges from the stories told by men and women students is evidence of the reality of sexual harassment within UoN's culture, where some women students are victims. It seems that some women experience sexual harassment while going about their normal daily activities like showering, studying, jogging, walking in the university compound. It is important to note here that only five (four women and

one man) out of 30 students interviewed talked about their personal experiences. However, given that this is an exploratory study, the researcher accepted without attempting to extrapolate from their representations of sexual harassment.

6.2.3 Students' Indirect Experiences of Sexual Harassment

The information discussed in this section was largely drawn from the students' responses to the question of the different forms of sexual harassment occurring in their respective campuses.

a) Stories by Women Students about Women Being Sexually Harassed

A total of 10 out of 16 women students gave examples of how some women are victims of sexual harassment. The types of sexual harassment mentioned by women students were peeping, pornography, rape, attempted rape, attempted date/gang rape, date rape, suggestive touching, kissing, stalking, looking or ogling and suggestive remarks. Out of the 10 women students interviewed, only four spoke of peeping. Two narrated their experiences as follows:

...jammās (men) will come to visit the ladies in this hostel they will find a lady bathing and they will peep there is a time they used to pass along the bathrooms they come and just start peeping at the ladies ...at times when ladies are brushing their teeth in the morning they just put on their towel so the jamaa (man) comes starts staring at them yah...(C19F).

...it was over the vacation...you are showering funny enough you are showering and you are getting to wash its gone...the pant is gone...they are only interested in inner wears...it's irritating you are showering and your underwear just go...its bad...(C30F).

Looking, ogling and staring, an example of non-verbal sexual harassment usually happens to some women students' on the staircase in the lecture halls, at the swimming pool or when walking near where men students are sitting. Two women students said:

...like you are going upstairs halafu (then) you are putting on a mini skirt then the jamaa (men) will just stand down because they want to look at what is inside your skirt something like that or you are just walking maybe you were seated halafu a jamaa (then a man) is just staring at you at your breasts...(C19F).

...to be stared at you know me I hear most men go 'there' to just to look at how are you jumping how are your thighs (...haa...haaa...

ha-ha...laughter) later you hear stories from class that discourages people from going there (swimming pool)...(C20F).

Date rape was also included in narratives. One took place in an estate, while another one was in the students' Halls of Residence. This is illustrated by the following interview excerpts:

*...there was an incident that happened this jamaa (man) took a lady a first year he pretended to be a very good friend and he was a finalist he took her to a friend house in the estate on reaching there he locked the room they were only two of them then he raped her yab they just wanted to use this lady but in a way the ladies are also blind because they just start thinking this guy is rich he is a finalist something like that...(C19F).
...yes the two of them but the boyfriend is actually drunk...she is telling the guy where is my stuff the guy tells her it's in my room and they were out drinking the girl says no it can't be so she starts saying me am not going with you to your room me I know my stuff so the guy starts like pushing her...(probe)... she looks like she doesn't know what is happening so we get to learn later that this guy raped her practically he raped her...I think she was raped her clothes had been put back on but you could tell that she was not the one who put them on it yab then she was taken to the sick bay...she had been drugged she was drugged ...he just raped her...often I hear many cases there was another one who was about who was raped in hall...another time at night...(C18F).*

A unique story involved gang/date rape where a boyfriend of a senior student was said to have organised her rape by his friends. The following is what happened:

...abmm ...maybe inviting the ladies to go out like at night that's when they have the ladies so drunk maybe she never used to drink but now has been convinced to drink after like she is so much into it that's when she is brought back to the room then several men they are lined up they do their stuff then they leave her there...(probing)...yab and the lady doesn't know because she is drunk yab she will only wake up in the morning when she is there lying and the jamaa (man) is no longer there and you know these are finalists they have nothing to do with you...(C19F).

Out of the five students who spoke about attempted rape/attempted date rape by men students two said:

*... abmm I heard of one case last year but one where some students dating and then ab the lady decided to leave to quit the relationship then this man was so annoyed that he just came and it's from what I heard I think he had something so he came tried to rape her but ab some girls came to the room and she was rescued something like that...(C21F).
...yeah...I think when we were in second year...or third year there was a student, a male student who was almost raping a female student...(C16F).*

Touching of the women students' breasts was mentioned by four students. In their stories there is an indication that sometimes the

touching takes place either in the shop or in the Halls of Residence, especially when there are no lights and students are scrambling to get out of a building. Three students stated:

... a lady went to the shop at around 8pm and as she was leaving the counter the shop keeper touched her... (C17F).
...ok in (name withheld) this campus I think, there are many ab...ab...ab...(both laugh together) even from my friends ...ok there was supposed to be a party ...so she was given the responsibility of collecting money and you know you have to go from room to room so she went to this room then this guy was like... it's like he wanted to touch the lady's breast then he tells her please don't tell anyone am not doing anything am sorry ab...ab...ab...(laughter)...(C17F).
...maybe you are scrambling maybe you are going to maybe there is no lights people are scrambling to get out then you find that a jamaa (men) is just pressing close to you so that he will have that opportunity so touch you maybe your breast or yab...(C19F).

Apart from the physical and non-verbal forms of sexual harassment, of the 10 students who mentioned the use of verbal abuse, C18F said:

...he comes to your room maybe your roommate is not there and then beste yake anakuja kukambia (his best friend has come to camp here) he tells you 'oh I like you the way you look maybe we should go out you know and then there are those who have the guts they just come and tell you I like your boobs...(C18F).

These indirect reports, the number and types of sexual harassment described provide an insight into the frequency with which sexual harassment occurs, sometimes affecting students' access to lecture halls and swimming pool. The narratives were, of course, elicited by the interviewer, but no interviewees seemed surprised or confused that there were stories to be told. In addition, the types of events described corresponded with those in the personal reports, and were told in details with a general sense that the discussion was not taboo, even where the story involved rape.

b) Stories by Men Students about Women being Sexually Harassed

Eight out of the 14 men students interviewed gave a variety of different forms of sexual harassment which they had either heard about or witnessed on campus. Out of the three men students who mentioned the use of sexually suggestive remarks did so in reference to politics and accommodation of women students on campus. Two students noted:

...aamb like "you you are a woman you can't make it" this happens especially during elections where someone would comment like "I can't be led by a woman" and sometimes you are saying this openly before ladies and telling them that they have no part in that I think that's harassment because you are making this person feel inferior just because of her gender factor...(C1M).
 ...ebm sometimes especially in the (name withheld) the male custodians they tend to tooo to talk to the ladies in a suggestive manner...in regard to rooms...so they will if that can be termed as sexual harassment yes they do that...(C6M).

The remarks usually refer to specific parts of the women's bodies, for instance legs and breasts which tend to irritate and annoy the victim. In reference to this they said:

...yah abit of teasing from the male colleagues like they tease about her skinny legs...(probe)...just a friend of mine...(probe)...it was a male student who was telling this girl that ...eh...ebee...bee...(laughter)... then again it can be really irritating...(C5M).
 ...they comment badly they don't care that they hurt these female students like when they say this one has sexy legs this one has nice breasts...(C7M).

In addition to verbal harassment, two men students interviewed mentioned 'peeping', where C4M attempted to define this type of behaviour, saying it is an abnormal while referring to it in Kiswahili as *kuchunguza kuchungulia kwa bathroom* (investigating, checking through the bathroom). He spoke of a peeping incidence he witnessed:

...we have this issue of peeping and some men especially there is one we caught he is not a student here in KMTTC *alibepa tu kidogo* (he escaped in a small way) from the students but he was caught peeping at ladies she was showering and *na yeye amesimama hapa* (and she was just standing there) he was not the only case we met quite a number of them but you know we also have a lot of *eh nini leeway's za kubepa* (this lee ways of escaping)...(probe)...this is a general thing and even if it occurs it will just be there maybe *jamaa akabepa* (the man escaped)...(C4M).

Men also filmed naked women in the bathrooms. C14M said:

... infact we have a case where a gentle man was recording through the video tapes and I think this *nini* (this) toilets bathrooms like in our bathrooms they were on the other side trying to record they want to take the photos and what...yah video tapes they are desperate...(C14M).

Four men students said they are also exposed to physical sexual harassment. Two students narrated a story of how innocent first year women students are manipulated by the senior men students as a way of

fulfilling their sexual desires. Commenting on the issue of rape, which sometimes happen due to the influence of alcohol C2M said:

...ok we have a case where some of the 1st years have never gone to a disco so they innocently go to dance but the 3rd and 4th years take advantage and buy them beer so you think if 1st year is given beer she will be taken to her room? No. She will be taken to seniors room for sex even there are case when some people had sex just outside (name of the hall withheld)....

In his story, C9M gave an example of a rape case:

...there is one guy who I hear is very notorious you must have heard this guy called (name withheld)...(probing)...it's very painful... (probing)...have ... spooky and crooked behaviour...it's not easy to understand I mean it's not admissible so it becomes painful...(C9M).

Gang rape, attempted gang and date rape was mentioned by three men students in their stories about women's vulnerability:

...Ok ok I have heard of some I think ...at the bridge yah ...I remember...I think there are two or three female students who are sexually raped there you will be giving a push to one of their friends they are raped or something...(C13M).
...o.k. I remember one case ... was the campus rep. there were students who had gotten drunk and then they tried to...yah I think the way I don't know whether it was rape but they mishandled...I consider that as attempted rape...(C1M).
...there is another case where a female student went into a male student room to do some assignment then this guy wanted to take advantage of her but the lady did not agree with the advance of the young guy so I think he was frustrated the lady was standing at the door the guy was lying on the bed she was pleading for him to open the door for her the guy had refused with the keys she had to stand there until around four in the morning...(C11M).

Like C19F who mentioned that women students are at times harassed through looking or starrng, this corroborate with what C10M says that such harassment could hinder some women students from accessing library:

...I think the female gender... find it hard even to walk into the library because there are some benches that are meant for relaxing outside the library and the male students have nicknamed it that place DSTV where they just sit there they watch female students...so it's an issue that female students are actually harassed...(C10M).

From the stories told by men students about non-quid pro quo sexual experiences, women students seem to be victims of non-verbal, physical and verbal sexual harassment, although physical harassment tend to be more common within the UoN's culture. This usually takes place at

particular spots on campus, for instance, in the Halls of Residence, mostly in the rooms and bathrooms; and during their daily activities such as, while escorting a friend, working on assignments, walking to the library and during the electioneering period on campus. This may hinder some women students from participating in their daily activities. In all these stories, the implication is that the perpetrators are usually senior men students, staff and sometimes outsiders, while the victims are mostly women. The idea that *'I can't be led by a woman'* is an indication of a patriarchal ideology that seem to characterise institutional culture and which tend to discourage some women students from vying for leadership positions.

c) Stories by Men about Men Students being Sexually Harassed

Of the 30 students interviewed, only one man talked about men being victims of sexual harassment through sexual provocation. The story reported by the student interviewed is that of a man lecturer who gets sexually aroused or provoked at the sight of women students in class until the students nicknamed him *mwalimu pono* (someone who likes pornography). C4M gave his story as follows:

...I think some didn't like some of the characters of some of the lecturers who I may not mention...it was just bad because this is somebody he is a lecturer and when a female student enters you know he stops teaching us so serious looking at her and infact people branded him a name named him 'Mwalimu pono'...because this is a man who he is very obscene and gets erect so what he would do he would put his hands in the pocket...yes he even tried to sit on a table funniest character he would stop to teach when a lady enters you know those stairs the way you walk like when you are wearing a skirt so he would stop to teach and all the attention would shift to this person...he was just bad...(C4M).

What this story implies is a completely different meaning to 'sexual harassment' than the ones ascribed to the term in other data. Here 'being sexually aroused' by women students is seen as both a form of 'sexual harassment' by the lecturer, and simultaneously as a source of intimidation and discomfort of the other students in class.

C4M went further to give a story of how one woman attempted to sexually assault a man by hugging and holding, behaviour which culturally shocked him when he first joined campus. He said:

...it was during orientation we were being told the stories that were going around of a lady who attempted to rape eh a man here a student and that student was a first year... I could not just cope up with something like a lady comes to hug me coming to hold my hand in public...(C4M).

It is clear that this story has the status of an 'orientation myth' designed to control and disturb first year students; however, the student who retold it was convinced that may be true.

Student leaders are in agreement with C4M on men becoming victims of unwanted sexual harassment. Two said:

...female students...they went drinking at a party and having escorted this boy to his room of course they were three girls and he was just one boy you can imagine how uncomfortable he was but he was forced to have sex with them and definitely it was not safe because he might have been exposed to so many things... (Man student leader, FGD3).
...you meet and you are forced with a hug you cannot handshake me I need a hug and sometimes you don't even miss that hug...you will have to hug her you are forced so that's harassment... you have sexually him... (Man student leader, FGD2).

Generally, from the direct and indirect stories told by men and women students/leaders it seems that to some extent, the UoN's culture is at times characterised by a variety of unwanted sexual behaviours, where some men and women are victims.

6.3 Students' Perceptions of the Effects of Sexual Harassment

In the process of analysing and presenting data on students' perceptions and experiences of sexual harassment, both men and women students mentioned a wide variety of the effects of sexual harassment on women students. The effects presented in this sub-section drawn from the students' interviews are largely based on fear, withdrawal, emotional trauma, feelings of discomfort and embarrassment to those related to biological discourses.

6.3.1 Women Students' Views on the Effects of Sexual Harassment

More than half (nine out of 16) of the women students interviewed agree that the victims of sexual harassment tend to develop fear of the unknown. But in addition, they suggest that some women students at the UoN could develop this fear because of the prevalence of stories told about the unfriendly institutional culture, which is partly as a result of unwanted sexual activities. The fear prevented some women students from accessing facilities like the cafeteria, bathrooms, rooms/toilets in the Halls of Residence and the swimming pool. Speaking about what she had heard about using the cafeteria, C20F said:

...you are told you can't go to the MESS alone you have to go with a man that's what my colleagues were being told I think that's why I have an attitude of not going to the MESS...

Sometimes, women students fear being visited by or visiting their men colleagues. What this implies is that there is probably lack of adequate security, especially where women and men students share Halls of Residence. According to the interviewees, first year women students sometimes get so scared that they feel they should not talk to anyone. They are reluctant to open the doors when someone knocks. The following story explains this further:

...when I was a first year I never went out of my room I kept it locked...when I saw a crowd of guys coming...I think when people are in first year they are ever scared because they hear so many stories like me when I was in first year I never went out of my room I kept it locked if they will come they will do this and this (demonstrating with the hand how they used to knock the room)...stories that someone can come into your room and rape you and there is nothing you can do...(C26F).

Sometimes fear is said to limit women students' movements in the Halls of Residence to such an extent that they avoid using the toilets, especially at night. C30F raised this point when she was asked to comment on the issue of women students sharing the Halls of Residence with their men counterparts:

...they will go drinking they are so excited you can't walk along this corridor (pointing at the corridor) I don't think it's very safe especially for students after one in the night student are just drunk around... like me when I get to the room especially that period I cannot get out atiniende loo kukojoa simenzi (I go to the toilet to urinate I can't)...

you feel insecure...at night there are men all over you are not sure you can't be very sure...(C30F).

Similarly, but under different circumstances, two women students said that they are afraid while passing in front of men students. In their story they noted:

*...what I know is that when I was coming to campus I was not very social I used to fear people ok...mmmhb...bee...hee...ok for me since I was young I never used to interact with people I used to keep quiet... it was a shock to find so many boys...yab... I was scared of them...was withdrawn...(C17F).
..first they are all boys who are big ok most of them are big so definitely when they are approaching you fear...ebee...bee... (laughter) they drink...over drink then...they also don't respect women coz when a woman pass they say checki huyo (look at this one) you know is bad...especially for women they don't care they can beat you up... (C24F).*

The implication here is the naivety of women students expressed in words such as 'young' 'interaction' which to some extent makes them afraid of the 'big boys'. Thus, masculinity and women's lack of assertiveness, an aspect of life skills education are some of the gendered cultural representations that feature on campus.

Out of the three women students who reported that men students attempt to instill fear and scare them when using the swimming pool, C20F said:

...because of the fear to be stared at you know me I hear men go there just to look at how you are jumping how are your thighs...ba...haa...haha...(laughter)...how your figure are your hips you will then hear stories in class like nani (this one) has like this like this so it discourages people from going there....

Commenting on the use of swimming pool, a student leader said:

...the University of Nairobi has a weird group of male students... (someone is laughing ...hee...ehee...hebe...) you have carried your bag even maybe you don't want to swim you enter the swimming pool area like this you just see people making tours (ehee...hee...ehee...laughter) looking at you they want to see you walking out of that room dressed up in a swimming costume...when my friend was almost getting into the pool the male started screaming she was so scared...she said she would never swim in her life and they scream out of the rooms...(Woman student leader, FGD4).

Some victims of sexual harassment scream, probably to draw attention or alert people that they are in danger and maybe in need of help. Screaming is an expression of fear. This was mentioned by three women students while referring to different incidences. Two stated:

*...you find a guy just peeping you you can't see him you are just bathing so the lady ended up screaming she thought this was just a rapist...(C19F).
...some lady was going to the washrooms at night then she met a guy who was drunk and then I think the guy harassed her she made a lot of noise and was rescued by the custodians...(C29F).*

This fear was presented as a generalised condition of some women students' daily lives at the UoN, regardless of whether a woman had experienced sexual harassment or not.

Apart from fear, four women students talked of having scratches on the body, evidence of physical abuse. C30F noted:

...so they were... pulling me from the street that is what scares me most so these people helped me nilikuwa nimekwaruzwa kwaruzwa huku (I had been scrapped scrapped here)....

Other effects of sexual harassment on women students include discomfort, withdrawal and silence. Commenting on the issue of discomfort two students said: '*...that makes me feel very uncomfortable ...*' (C19F) or '*...all that so I wouldn't feel comfortable...*' (C17F). 'That' in these two statements is assumed to be behaviour associated with sexual harassment. C17F spoke directly about withdrawal and silence while responding to a probe question as to why she thought women students are more prone to sexual harassment than men. She said:

...once a lady is harassed she will not come out and confess easily so even if she is harassed she will keep it to herself so most guys take advantage of that...the guy thinks he has a right over you...(C17F).

Physical sexual harassment, usually in the form of rape, is understood to lower the dignity of the victim. This was described by C16F while attempting to define the term 'sexual harassment':

...sexual harassment is whereby the dignity of the woman or rather the female is not respected...like may be rape or rather mishandling, being mishandled by the male students...(C16F).

Only women students talked about the long-term traumatic effects of sexual harassment. This is an indication that these effects could be affecting women students more than the men, particularly when accessing space and facilities on campus. There is evidence to show that sometimes women students seem to bear the burden and cost of sexual harassment.

6.3.2 Men Students' Views on the Effects of Sexual Harassment

Out of the 14 men students interviewed, only six mentioned the effects of sexual harassment on women students, where there was concentration on the biological aspects in their ideas. Issues of unwanted pregnancy, abortion, Sexually Transmitted Infections (STI) were highlighted, as examples of biological aspects. However, only a few men students noted the possibility of sexual harassment lowering self-esteem and feelings of embarrassment among the women students. Talking about unwanted pregnancy, which sometimes come as a result of rape, C9M said: '*...it's very painful some girls have become pregnant...due to forced intercourse...*'. Men students narrated how some victims of rape may decide to procure abortions which can have disastrous effects. Although this was mentioned by four men students, two specifically stated:

...do abortion something that will remain with you for the rest of your life it's even more hurting than giving birth...abortion is rampant but I know it happens...(C1M).

...they procure an abortion which may go bad and they die...(C5M).

Three students said that unwanted pregnancy and abortion may lead to psychological and emotional trauma. This point emerged when three students were responding to the question of how women students are disadvantaged by sexual harassment. Out of the three men students two said:

...it's the girl who suffers...she is psychologically tortured... at the end of the day the guys says I don't know so the girl is left psychologically tortured so she ends carrying the burden of that child...has to stay out of campus...(C2M).

...it's the female I would say it's the female...because for example if pregnancy occurs during harassment you see for the female student it might be psychologically traumatizing...it's more traumatising for the female student than the male students...(C12M).

Apart from unwanted pregnancy, the spread of STIs' emerged as another effect of unwanted sexual harassment, where two men students said: '*...I believe it might not be AIDs it might be Sexually Transmitted Diseases...*' (C9M) or '*...contract diseases like STD cases like syphilis...*' (C1M). However, it is not clear as to whether STI's affects both men and women students.

Only two men students are of the view that sexual harassment lowers the victims' self-esteem. This was expressed in the following ways:

*...females are more vulnerable...it lowers self esteem because at the end of it you feel you have been used as an object it makes you feel unworthy if you can offer your body at cheap price and someone buys it...(C1M).
...sexual harassment like for example talking in a manner to reduce one's dignity a lady's dignity or a guy's dignity in some issues...(C12M).*

Although two students seem to have similar ideas regarding the issue of embarrassment, C10M, while answering the question of why women students are more disadvantaged by the occurrences of sexual harassment, said:

... a lady will only open up to very close friends who she will tell to keep it as a top secret whereas it is not a secret yah so they don't get to open up so...you know we don't have counselling services here...no counselling services and maybe they could be more open to counsellors...they can't just open to any other person...(C10M).

The responses from men and women students point to the opinion that sexual harassment affects mostly women students, although women were specific that sometimes it affects their access to campus space and facilities. The effects are also felt physically and psychologically. Few of the 30 students/leaders interviewed mentioned sexual harassment as affecting men, particularly in lowering their self esteem.

6.4 Summary

The students' perception of sexual harassment is represented by a wide variety of verbal texts characterised by myths, stories and anecdotes of what they had heard, witnessed and personal experiences. The responses from the students have revealed sexual harassment as a reality within the UoN's culture. This is depicted by the students' direct and

indirect perceptions and experiences of different forms of sexual harassment ranging from verbal, physical, non-verbal to quid pro quo transactions, which sometimes contribute to an intimidating, unfriendly working environment for some women.

The students' views on the types of sexual harassment, which they described in their direct and indirect stories, and the widespread consensus about 'STMs', and the shape of sexually coercive gender realities revealed a set of norms in students' talks regarding the nature of discrimination some women students encounter within the UoN's culture. To a large extent, data from a broad content analysis of their talk indicated the students' knowledge of culture of heterosexual patriarchy that dominates some women students' sexuality on campus. The state of insecurity and lack of respect for students is a reflection of how women students are sometimes disadvantaged by the UoN's patriarchal culture.

Generally, the fact that both men and women, believe that sexual harassment aims to silence and intimidate some of the women students suggests an existence of a section of campus which is hostile and continues to make it difficult for women students to successfully obtain their degrees, access available opportunities, space and facilities. Thus, from their opinions, some women students seem to have 'normalised' the unfriendly culture as being part and parcel of the UoN's culture, and talked fairly easily of a very wide range of unwanted sexual behaviours (for them).

CHAPTER SEVEN

STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE CAUSES OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT

7.0 Introduction

The main focus of this chapter is to present data on the students' theorisation of the causes of sexual harassment in the UoN. Data in this chapter will throw light on the ways in which men and women students/leaders perceive 'sexual harassment' within institutional 'events', 'traditions' 'situations', and on the ways in which they integrate it within the UoN culture. Students' ideas are presented under the following sub-themes: Provocative style of dressing by women students; culture of drinking alcohol and taking drugs; ideas about men 'conquering' women students as sexual partners; free campus environment for students; the effects of peer pressure on students' construction of unwanted sexual activities and women students' lack of life and financial empowerment skills. The perceptions of each gender will be presented separately, in order to compare how gender influences their opinions regarding the causes of sexual harassment.

7.1 Provocative Style of Dressing by Women Students

Half of the women students interviewed suggested that sexual harassment is facilitated by the nature of dressing styles. Giving a description of provocative style of dressing, out of the four women students, two stated: '*...these ladies who wear ladies dresses like their tops have reached here all the back is just outside...the skirts are very short...*'(C19F); '*...one going almost naked...*'(C23F).

While four other women students used either the term 'provocation' or specific description of the ways in which men students are 'encouraged' to pay attention to women's self-actualisation, two women respondents made the following remarks:

*...the jamaas (men) are intrigued and I am looking at what is behind that...you are raped balafu (then) their dressing contributes....(C19F).
...you find yourself exposing some things and then you will go aiii am looking classy and that time men will come flirt around with you you are looking good heee...you see you are provoking some of them I think that is what causes such harassment...(C26F).*

These women students believe that a provocative dressing style could lead to sexual harassment. In response to probe questions as to why women students choose such type of dressing, yet they know it facilitates sexual harassment, three women students suggested the idea of either wanting to be fashionable or to look 'good'. One woman student pointed out that dressing in a fashionable way prevented her colleagues from being labeled *washamba* (*those from the village*). In trying to explore what this means C27F said: '*...washamba...don't have this fashionable fancy clothes I can say they are very conservative they put on long dresses...the way they dress...*'. Women students said that at times friends, family background and peer pressure could influence one's style of dressing, while noting: '*...my boyfriend wants me to dress that way and to show off that my lady is pretty...*'(C19F); '*...some of us come from areas where we are not allowed to put on a trouser...*' (C20F).

Women students blame the university for lack of dress code as another possible reason which probably make women students dress in provocative manner. C27F narrated her story as follows:

...men should have no business complaining about how female species dress because in this university there is no dress code, the female can dress the way they want

Although the UoN has a dress code covering one campus, only one man student seemed to have any knowledge about it. A total of five men students confirmed that a provocative style of dressing leads to sexual harassment. While answering a probe question on whether the dressing style can lead to sexual harassment they said: '*...there is need to dress carefully...*' (C12M); '*...one either dresses decently in different kinds of trousers or jeans depending on the body size...*' (C3M).

C4M seemed concerned about women students' style of dressing when he said: '*...others dress in a provocative ways...these are immorals and liars...*' (C4M). While three men students tried to substantiate what they saw as provocative, two noted:

*...tighter clothes on the female students...some of them wearing tighter clothes skimpy tops...(C6M).
...dressing in a mini skirt or in a dress that is well up to expose what we call anatomy...clothes reaching beyond the knees...(demonstrating with his hands)...(C4M).*

Explaining how a provocative style of dressing could make men students sexually harass the women students, they said:

*...those who dress in ...revealing outfits then something are bound to happen...(C3M).
...you find that if a female dress in a manner that exposes her too much you will find that male students will start talking about it or even touching her...(C12M).*

In addition, a student leader stated:

...some ladies harass men you will see ladies wearing kinky skirts you know aabb I mean skirts with funny slits and funny tops you wonder why she had to put it on and it's so suggesting so candy, covering one part of the body and the other body left like that...so the kind of fashion you wear can also lead to sexual harassment...(Man student leader, FGD2).

Judging from the views of men and women students interviewed, one can conclude that a substantial portion (half of the interviewees) were of the view that suggestive dressing (which is described as showing the skin, skimpy, tight, revealing or exposing) provokes men. From the students' opinions, one can, to some extent, conclude that the occurrences of sexual harassment due to the 'provocative' nature of some women students' dressing styles, suggests presence of heterosexuality culture in the university. It seems that both men and women students seem to have limited knowledge about the dress code. However, the idea of how women students consider men dressing styles and how it affects their expression of sexuality may require further investigation.

7.2 Culture of Drinking Alcohol and Taking Drugs

While responding to the question of what students thought were the causes of sexual harassment on campus, half of the women students interviewed suggested excessive drinking. Commenting on the behaviour which shocked her, C19F noted:

... ladies drinking too much they drink until they are brought by people to the hostel falling on the stairs she can't even go to her room they are shouting all over in the corridors you can't sleep...

C28F was of the opinion that influence of drinking could lead to unwanted sexual activities without one's consent. In the students' opinion, it becomes difficult to separate drinking and unwanted sexual activities as two stated:

*... people get drunk and they start to misbehave at the end of the day someone will be harassed... (C25F).
...those drugs had had targeted her...so they dragged her...do whatever with her so they are feeling good about it...they drug...just drug you...and they do whatever they want with you...it will be late when the person finds out the truth...(C18F).*

While explaining why students drink alcohol and take drugs, three women students were of the opinion that drinking helps to get rid of academic stress. C23F said:

...some courses are too difficult...when you fail in one paper you have to wait until the next academic year...for one to do a supplementary...that's a whole year wasted...I believe the workload is too much yaani (so) you even feel for them...well with the lecturers your life becomes hard, maybe they would fail you... your mum is calling telling you your brother amefukuzwa shule (has been suspended from school) yet I need to concentrate with my studies...

A total of 11 out of 14 men students interviewed supported the eight women students' ideas, noting that drinking alcohol and taking drugs led to date rape or unwanted sexual harassment. Four men students described excessive drinking as a 'norm', an aspect of institutional culture. They said:

*...in campus drinking is like a norm...its fun on campus...drinking is the state of art in campus...(C13M).
...I was shocked by the level of drinking that goes on here student can drink until damn...(C10M).*

...high rate of drinking and going to clubs was a shocking behaviour... (C8M).

...guys on campus drink a lot they drink and drink until they drop (ehee...hee...ehe...hee...laughter)... (C12M).

Eight men students out of 14 agreed that alcohol and drugs lowers one's inhibitions, which can lead to unwanted sexual activities. One student found this to be morally 'out of order', but several described the pattern without judgement:

...drinking is a major contributor to immorality here... drinking doesn't end the harassment hence people end up having sex or you are forced...so basically drinking is the issue...I have seen people drink and they engage in such behaviour and the following day they can't recall...because they were drunk... (C13M).

... alcohol plays a major role in contributing to sexual harassment because when one is drunk...yab I think most of the gents here do drink and when they do they do weird things they really harass the ladies because there is something you couldn't want her to do even if she is your girlfriend yab they have ways of manipulating the ladies...so I think alcohol and drug abuse creates some loop holes... (C14M).

Men students gave two main reasons as to why students engaged in excessive drinking on campus: Availability of 'bhang' and a way of getting rid of stress: academic and financial. 'Bhang' is a type of narcotic or stimulant that causes addiction. Commenting on the availability of 'bhang' C14M said: '*...bhang is common here...*'. Of the four men students who mentioned the idea of using alcohol to get rid of stress, two said:

...eehmm (pause)...why it's because of stress either from books sometimes also if you are in a financial stress ab also due to relationships ...other times from occasional drinking which arises to a level that you are an alcoholic so you can't even do without it even some cannot function... (C6M).

... some cannot cope with their work load...they don't have time to socialise they feel they better risk because of the workload that they have yab... (C7M).

Explaining how alcohol influences students to engage in unwanted behaviours unknowingly, one student leader said: '*...when somebody is taking the alcohol I think something happens to your brain so it means that you are doing something you do not know...*' (Man student leader, FGD1).

The students' responses shows that they believe drinking alcohol and taking drugs by men and women could lead to sexual harassment in many forms, but especially through non-consensual sex. In this case, some students seem to be using alcohol and drugs to justify their gendered norms of heterosexuality on campus.

7.3 Ideas about Men 'Conquering' Women Students as Sexual Partners

A total of 11 women students out of 16 interviewed talked about the culture of men 'conquering' sex partners as a possible catalyst that facilitates the occurrences of unwanted sexual activities. These women students are of the opinion that the culture of 'conquest' involves a rapid exchange of sex partners, and an explicit sense among men that women students are a form of sexual quarry. Three of them said:

...what really shocked me is the way people exchange partners today she is with this person next day somebody else that is what really shocked me...(C29F).

...is to go out with as many chicks as they can afford...most yab they have several girlfriends it's like today if we went to a class the guy might have several of you so there is a lot of infidelity sleeping at the gents place mmhh coz the gent has many girls even at eleven he has a girl even if it's a friend she may just decide to sleep here if she suspects this gentleman this makes her sleep there ok...(C15F).

...most of them keep on sleeping with different men...a case in point was my roommate...we used to wonder who the man was, ok tonight there is another man coming, tomorrow another man coming it was a case she was almost beaten up by some men...after which men go on gossiping saying this one is bad why you don't go try it...(C16F).

Sometimes men students are believed to participate in the culture of 'conquest' for sexual satisfaction, easy availability of condoms and the idea that having sex with women is part of the campus norms for them. On sexual satisfaction C19F said: '*...I think it's just for sexual satisfaction...the men just want to satisfy their sexual desire yab...*'.

Out of the six students who mentioned an active sex life on campus as being part of the normal culture, emphasising that it is 'natural' for men (and for women) to be heterosexually active, two noted:

*...sex is a normal thing here it's just normal...(C23F).
...it's the nature of men...they want new experiences ...if they have
had sex with you what more do they want...there are many other
ladies why they can't chase these others...(C30F).*

It seems that use of condoms tends to facilitate the active sex life on campus. That is why one student equated what she saw as the high rate of sexual immorality with the wide use of condoms by men. Ready access of condoms seemed to have really shocked C30F, who says:

*...sexual condoms...you would wake up especially Saturdays ...
and find condoms all over the floor...there are all these condoms
you are hearing stories of all these people who are fucking in the
room...and then you are wondering...*

Once the young women students are 'captured' they are just as easily 'dumped' according to C28F:

*...they end up dumping the ones in their class...you know their
age matters a lot when it comes to relationship...more so it's hard
to cope with an age mate so they decide it's better to cope with the
small ones yah...*

In almost similar circumstances like the women students a total of 11 out of 14 men students interviewed attempted to give reasons for the culture of 'conquering' women as sex partners. Most men are involved in the construction of women as 'chicks'. There is evidence to show that sometimes masculinity at the UoN requires successful, visible, and multiple-partnered heterosexuality. C4M confirmed this while giving an example of the behaviour by the student leaders, which he thinks, can lead to culture of 'conquest'. He says:

*...he is lying to you by telling you he loves you yet he is moving around
with other chicks and you are still hanging on him especially the students
leaders who don't have morals they thrive on that...because they have
money and they can keep several girls around them...(C4M).*

The notion of being seen to be a super/real man came up several times as a motivation for men's sexually aggressive heterosexuality, where two said:

*...there is this culture of conquest the more ladies may be you managed
the better man you may be yah so that's what happens...(C6M).
...you know people think you have become a man by how many people
you sleep with... in first year they tried all these girls...and as you
continue you will probably do away with that thinking that this girl
is 'hot' you are thinking you are the star...(C9M).*

What seems to facilitate men's sexual aggression toward women students is the 'easy availability of cheap girls' on campus. C14M said:

...getting a girl in campus is not hard and most ladies are desperate to have boyfriends and that where the gentlemen take advantage because it's an easy catch...it's quite easy to hook up with a lady...

What this means is that, there is a belief that '...cheap sex is easily available...' (C14M). Of the three students who mentioned the theory of 'using and dumping' two noted:

*...most of the objectives here are sex oriented and for the girl she should be asking what I am going to get from this relationship is it money is it sex...but for a guy its sex they sleep together and sometimes when they have had sex 3 times or 4 times the girls are discarded...(C2M).
...a classmate who was cohabiting with the girlfriend then funny enough the guy has now moved on to another lady...they lived together...later they left each other and the guy picked another one...the lady was taken by another guy...they are now moving around...(C7M).*

There seems to be a certain status of masculinity which sees women as 'sexual prey' and 'easily available' for men on campus, while some women see it as 'normal' and 'natural' culture for one to engage in sex. This makes some women students become victims of sexual harassment by men without their consent.

Confirming further on how the university culture shaped their sex life on campus, two men students while responding to question of behaviours which gave them culture shock said:

*...the university culture had an impact on my sex life as where I came from sex is taken to be after marriage but in campus is the main thing... hence being a person to be influenced made me to have a different definition of sex...abb... 'a real' man must have regular sex in campus...(C10M).
...ebee...I was forced to acquire new negative attitude towards female students who do not hang out with men...(C13M).*

Sometimes men students are probably victims of culture of aggressive heterosexuality due to the nature of bedding facilities as C7M says:

...the culture that is so strong here is sex...there is too much sex anyway...you are sharing a room with someone and you are sleeping on the upper bed, then they bring their girlfriends then have sex there in your presence...this decker thing of ladies has a negative impact...(C7M).

Men and women students' views about the culture of 'conquest' tend to be similar. The men students, however, emphasis more on the idea that for a man to be *'real, better, super-star or sexually active'* he should be able to manage, control and sleep with as many women as possible, where the practices of *'using and dumping'* are seen to be part of the relationship cycles. However, it would be vital to find out whether women have similar power of *'using and dumping'* men students after getting money or sex. Although some women students also discuss the idea of exchanging sex partners as a norm, they argue that sometimes it could lead to 'infidelity' and 'immorality'. More women than men students are concerned that having a rich sex life in campus is part of the 'normal' institutional culture. Although active sex lives do not imply that women or men are sexually abused, the discourses through which these lives are presented position some women and men as 'cheap' and 'aggressive hunters' respectively. This means that some men and women students may be sexually abused as part of men's 'natural' sexual aggression to prove that they are in control through their multiple-partnered heterosexuality. Such discourses tend to normalise the practices of 'sexual harassment' within the UoN environment.

7.4 Free Campus Environment for Students

Nine women students out of 16 interviewed suggested that excessive 'freedom' on campus facilitates sexual harassment. C18F believes that *'...the freedom we have here in campus is the one that spoils us...'*. In explaining what this means C18F further said: *'...you can go out anytime sleep wherever you want nobody is asking you if where you are you want to go to class or you don't want to go all that kind of freedom...'*.

While talking on how excessive freedom gave them culture shock, thus, making them re-examine what they were actually supposed to do, two women students noted:

...there was a lot of freedom because you are not restricted in doing anything... (C19F).

...university culture provides too much freedom to over indulgence which forces the student to examine themselves and determine what they came to do in campus...(C21F).

This kind of freedom is presented as viewing the campus as a place where there are no boundaries, and where one can do what he/she wants without restrictions. That is why C24F says: ‘...there is a lot of freedom... coz we don’t have that rule for hostels...’. What this means is that: ‘...once in the campus you are being told that you can do what you want to do if you want to go to class if you don’t want to go to class...’(C16F). Comparing the nature of freedom on campus with the home environment, two women students said:

...they were being pressured by the parents not to go out not to do such and such things it’s like they were in a cave...but now...in the university nobody is following them, they have the freedom they end up misusing the freedom...(C16F).

...students who come from a home where they are not allowed to greet or even hug your neighbour if he is a man you are seen doing that it’s either a kimboke (beating stick) or else matusi (abuse) you don’t give a person to interact with the men and know how men and when they come here they find there are men in the society now they don’t know how to handle them they don’t know like some may even be just joking around with your mind and they just want to I think that’s why it happens...(C20F).

Women students leaders believe that excessive freedom without boundaries or restrictions could make men and women students misuse it by engaging in unwanted sexual activities. She stated:

...this is a university and there are mature people... it’s not like a high school where there are under 18 years everybody is responsible for his/ her own life...there is a lot of freedom there is no one to monitor or control your life who is getting or coming out of your room people have misused the freedom....(Woman student leader, FGD2)

Although excessive freedom leads to unwanted sexual activities, some students did appreciate the freedom and used it in responsible ways in order to cope with the university culture. Three students noted:

...I think it had a positive impact on me as I met many good people who were out to assist me get to know the place and also appreciate the freedom that comes with being in university...(C16F).

...the unlimited freedom...gave me enough reasons to consult with myself on the limits of everything I want to do...(C27F).

...I was overwhelmed by the freedom but of course I had already planned on how to cope with the changes this made me to hold off from on the spot friendship for a while...(C26F).

A total of 10 out of 14 men students interviewed agreed with the views of women students that excessive freedom facilitates the occurrences of sexual harassment. Generally, for the men students, 'freedom' simply means being 'idle', 'bored' and 'having almost nothing to do'. Two students said:

...behaviour happen at the beginning of a semester when there is no much to do people are just free there is a lot of laxity...able to craft evil things...(C5M).

...over the weekends and night that's when students are not so busy with their studies there are no lecturers they can afford to stroll around this is the time people are mostly free...(C6M).

This freedom also encourages interaction between men and women students. A few interviewees saw this in itself as a reality in which sexual harassment could go unchecked, where two noted:

...it's a society where you can go to class when you want ...a contrast between life in campus and that at home and high school...(C2M).

...people are so free you can do anything without being asked by anybody ...can wake up when you want you can sleep when you want you can visit...(C11M).

In explaining how excessive freedom can lead to unwanted sexual behaviour, men students are of the view that lack of discipline on campus easily confuse the students to the extent of making women easy targets of sexual harassment, and encouraging men who are predatory.

C2M says:

...I was brought up by a mother who would not condone such... irresponsible kind of behaviour...even when holding hands but when I came here I found that's the way of life...

Some men students noted that excessive freedom made them realise the need to understand that men and women have different interests vital for healthy co-existence saying:

...the freedom in campus taught me to be more careful in life because there can never be freedom without obligations...(C5M).

...it put me a feeling of hope and taught me a lot about co-existence with different people...(C2M).

...I changed my views about sexual matters I got to know that people could express their sexual interests quite openly...(C6M).

There is a consensus between men and women students that excessive freedom especially during the weekends and at the beginning of the academic semester, could facilitate the occurrences of unwanted sexual behaviour in the university, since the students are left to interact freely. However, while some students feel that excessive freedom was more of advantage since they learnt the importance of healthy co-existence regardless of one's gender, a few students seem to have limited knowledge on how to use this freedom responsibly.

7.5 The Effects of Peer Pressure on Students' Construction of Unwanted Sexual Activities

More than half of the women students (10 out of 16) interviewed felt that peer pressure on constructions of unwanted sexual activities, which include permission to use alcohol, cultivate active heterosexual lives, and particularly ideas of attractive 'femininity' and 'masculinity' and how they influence the institutional culture. In their conceptualisation of the term 'peer pressure' C27F said: '*...it is the group that you associate with in one way or another that will influence you in one way of the other and you will end up doing what they are doing...*'. The implication here is that members of peer groups are usually 'close friends' (C16F). According to C27F, *washamba* is an example of women peer group, which means 'people from the rural areas' who know almost nothing about campus life.

Peer pressure may influence their colleagues' dressing styles, drinking habits and their sexual activities. Speaking about the dressing styles, they said:

...you came from a humble background but when you get here you stay dressing like you are going to Koinange Street...you come to campus... start aping...way of dressing...(C20F).

... I had not gotten used to seeing ladies dressed in trousers I was used to wearing skirts but now am wearing...(C21F). ...on the side of dressing I was forced to put on trousers and shortskirts...(C18F).

In trying to describe how peer pressure influences the drinking of alcohol and taking of drugs, which could lead to unwanted sexual activities, two students stated:

*... influence like from other friends because maybe you come and you have found like five friends they all drink you are the only one who doesn't drink they will advise you and you will also start drinking ...you find a boyfriend he convinces you because he wants to take advantage of you then he will make you drink yab...(C19F).
...my classmates used to go drinking in the evening as a group so you find that somebody drinking because the others are also drinking yab its peer pressure...(C29F).*

Three women students spoke of how peer pressure also influences the acquisition of boyfriends, as they tend to blame men students for using force to demand sex or what is usually referred to as 'date rape'. They said:

*...some ladies really change some of them will really influence you... they will ask you do you ever had a boyfriend if you don't have they will be like you...this is the in thing it's classy it's fashionable to have one...(C27F).
...so far those who don't have a boyfriend they might end up finding boyfriends for you...(C28F).*

In contrast to remarks by C27F and C28F, and while responding to the question of culture shock, it seems that having a strong Christian background and 'right friends' could help overcome negative peer influence. Two students noted:

*...there was also the issue of boyfriends but thank God I had a strong Christian background that helped me overcome this issue...(C19F).
...first it was shock but I learnt to choose what was best for me and this was helped by having the right friends...(C16F).*

A total of seven men students interviewed agreed with the 10 women students that peer pressure leads to sexual harassment. C1M defines peer pressure as:

...the company you get into...sometimes you get a roommate who has grown up in town and so she is doing those things that young people do around in town and so you want to copy what she is doing so that you can fit ...

Although two men students gave 'Us guys' and 'goons' as examples of peer groups or 'cliques' of men students existing on campus, 'goons' are more popular, and influential among the student community as compared to the 'Us guys'. The 'goon' is a group composed of men usually referred to as 'goons', women or 'goonless', new recruits or 'goonlets'. The members have strong physique, they are reckless, arrogant, noisy,

carefree, bullies, have a don't-care attitude, and they go round banging doors, play loud music, using large stereo-systems and they take charge during the campaigns and elections of student leaders on campus. 'Goons' usually use the 'Sheng' language. While 'Us Guys' group is composed of people usually from the city and most probably from financially stable family backgrounds. Like the 'goons' they also drink and are always smartly dressed. To confirm the role of 'goons' in campus politics, C9M says:

...I want to add that male student's political leaders they encourage the taking of drugs in campus there is the issue of campaigning people we call 'goons' ...these people we call them drug peddlers...

While showing how peer pressure provokes men into aggressive sexual activity, which may result into unwanted sexual behaviour and lowering of Christian values, two students stated:

*...where I stay one guy with the girlfriend who is pregnant ...the other side there is a guy with a girlfriend and at night when everyone is asleep what you hear happening in both sides might make you go look for a girl the next day so that you be in the same level with them so crowd mentality pushes to do things that they have not planned to do...(C2M).
...I can confess it has lowered the Christian values that I adored in the beginning...at the university you are always under pressure for alcoholism and sex...(C13M).*

Like C27F and C28F, similarly C1M and C2M feel that peer pressure impacts on the boy/girl friend relationships, which is a 'norm' on campus. Commenting on this issue they said: '*... you are seeing everyone walking with a man so you don't want to be left behind...campus is full life...*'(C1M). '*...campus life forced me to get a girlfriend since it is the order here to have one...*'(C2M).

Although peer pressure influences some men students towards engaging in unwanted sexual activities, however, there is evidence to show that some students manage to get 'good' friends who help them cope with the unfamiliar UoN culture.

Two stated as follows:

*...I felt like engaging in sex because of my friends...I learnt to handle women to ensure her safety, true love waits is a bitter lesson...(C9M).
...I never got to bad company...the common male-female sexual relations... because I got good friends who directed me till I was able to stand on my own principles...(CAM).*

The experiences given by men and women students highlight the cultural impact peer pressure has on campus students. The idea that some men are encouraged into masculinities which promote aggressive stances towards women as 'prey' was clearly described by men and women students. In addition, some women students tend to blame men students for using force to demand sex from their girlfriends, an aspect which may lead to unwanted sexual behaviour. However, it is important to note that not all interviewed students were influenced into unwanted sexual behaviours, there are 'good' students who seemed concern about the welfare of their men and women colleagues on campus. The idea of having a strong Christian foundation could empower students to cope with the dynamic challenges presented within UoN's culture.

7.6 Students' 'Lack' Life and Financial Empowerment Skills

In this study, the idea that students lack empowerment skills was raised often in their responses. In the context of this study, empowerment skills are taken to mean both life skills (such as negotiation, assertiveness, conflict and managing sexually difficult situations) and financial resources.

7.6.1 Women Students' Views on 'Lack' of Empowerment Skills

Out of 16 women students interviewed, the majority, 14, mentioned lack of these skills and inadequate financial resources as factors that could place women in vulnerable positions of becoming victims of unwanted sexual activities, and sometimes hinder their access to available campus opportunities. The students mentioned this when they were asked to suggest reasons that make first year women students become victims of 'gold rush'. Out of the three students, C23F spoke of the need to sensitise campus students:

...when you come to the university and you didn't have someone to tell you there was something like this, no one is there to educate you and tell you there is this in campus...you are going to find these men and then when you come to campus you look the guys are so big you are afraid...one is left to wonder whether there is need for awareness need to be sensitized...(C23F).

Out of 14 women students who mentioned lack of skills, 11 were of the opinion that 'gold rush' is one of the ways men students use to identify women who become targets of their sexual aggression. Three out of 11 women students are aware that senior men students play key role in 'rushing' and 'hooking' first year women students. C23F said:

...the fourth years who are coming out and they don't have ladies they feel bad they need a woman ...so they do it like hit and run ...it's more of I just want ...to get a lady and play with her and go...first years feel abit secure with this one you know you don't want to talk to everyone you are scared you know these are fourth years students they are going to do this....

The techniques/ways women interviewees believe men use to trap first year women students include enrolling women into clubs/organisations, providing them with electronics and long mirrors, promising them material items and also knocking on the women students' doors at random. Of the three students who talked about use of clubs/organisations, C17F explained how Bible study group is believed to provide the senior men students with the opportunities of getting 'good girls':

...other people ... say that good girls are found in church so you find someone going to Friday fellowship bible study and you know bible study we go to different rooms so the next we are going to fresher's room the guys also goes but finally ends up picking the 1st year ...woow...woo...wow...hoowo...(exclamation)...

Students believed that secular clubs (which are either tribal, district or constituency-based) encourage immoral behavior, sometimes hindering their access. In explaining how this takes place without women students' knowledge, C19F said:

... during those bashes the jamaas (men) come that's when they hook up with you and things like that they invite you to their rooms you go there they do what they want with you and in five minutes time you are no longer their friends....

Students are of the opinion that senior men students trick first year women students by promising them material items like gifts, books, past papers, resources and movies, with little knowledge that they are being led into a trap. Two students said:

*... he feels he can do anything after all he has taken you to town out and the few gifts he has bought for you so he thinks he has a right over you...I have the materials for example am doing economics ok he will come and tell you by the way I have enough past papers for economics from 1st year so you can come for them so you will be going for a paper after using you return like that until you get closer to them...(C17F).
...others can use resources, books...you're doing the same courses...so there are times I will tell you I have these books come for them...by the time they grow close yeah...(C16F).*

Out of the 11 women students who spoke about 'gold rush', four mentioned that men students are able to access women students' rooms where they knock aimlessly at their doors. Men students tend to utilise the limited experience first year women students have about life in campus to sexually manipulate them. In their support, two said:

*...they have too much access to our hostels like some even come in the late night and the rules are not followed well...is a place where rules are not followed... is worse like men they go there anytime...(C18F).
... the men ...will just come there at the reception they will just leave their IDs write the room any room number and go in so they just go there so on the way they just meet first years they talk they talk ... what follows: ... just end us telling them I would like to know where you stay they go to their rooms they sit they talk they talk until you feel that they are together...they are taken to town ...first years are not exposed town...they will just follow ...fall into the trap...ehaa...haa...haa...(laughter)...(C28F).*

In regard to men students knocking women students' rooms in the Halls of Residence, C25F and one student leader gave a detailed account of what usually happens when the first year women students report on campus:

*...they come around the halls knocking the doors saying: '...oh am looking for so and so...but in reality they are not looking for anyone he continues: ...by the way what's your name...' it leads on from that conversation... (C25F).
...they would just come to your room and knock and they say they are looking for Jane or Mary or whoever...it's like no my roommate is not Jane am not Jane so I think you are in the wrong place...it's ok and I can get to know you then...if you don't have enough guts to tell them no...they will just sit there if you entertain them laugh with them they make it a habit of coming to your room depending on the*

level of your naivety... These are some of the men who hover around hostels knocking in people's doors looking for Mary bee... eebee... bee... (all laugh). Having been in the game for long they know what works and what doesn't... (Woman student leader, FGD4).

Four women students interviewed reported that senior men students are able to sexually manipulate first year women students because of their naivety and innocence. In explaining this further, two stated:

...he convinces the girl that he is rich, he gets her number, she is taken out, the lady will be taken to friend telling her 'let me take you to the estate then will come back tomorrow'... there was an incident where a lady first year was taken to the estate on reaching there the friend locked the room and he raped her... (C19F).

...most of 1st years come from the rural areas and are just innocence so they are misused, so the male 'benefit' at the expense of the fresher by sleeping with the 1st year female students and having sex with them... (C17F).

It appears that the current 8:4:4 system of education has to some extent failed to equip school leavers with life empowerment skills. In her support, C29F says: '...the 8:4:4 system of education does not prepare students in many ways for campus life that is mostly the work of the parents to advice a child my parents played such a big role...'. Apart from lack of life empowerment skills, students lack simple financial management skills as C16F says: '...lack of skills on how to manage their money which leaves most of the victims without money for food even before the middle of the semester...'

Lack of financial empowerment of first year women students sometimes causes them to go to the men students' rooms in the Halls of Residence because of the availability of electronics and long mirrors. When in the senior men students' rooms they seem less aware of the risks involved. Commenting on electronics, two students stated:

...most guys when they reach fourth and third year... they have screens... ok TV and DVDs and you know ladies love soap operas and when you like ... you can't go all the way to the TV room coz it's like you can't go changing to another channel guys will be like... so the best option is to go to the male rooms... watch until it's late sometimes till one am... those men have many girls... (C17F).

... it's like maybe the fresher she's so surprised to see that guy has a TV the guy has a DVD the room is so nice nice... they're using their money to lure to lure them... (C16F).

Use of electronic gadgets for cooking in the Halls of Residence encourages some women students to invite men students to help them repair these gadgets after which they take advantage to sexually harass them. C17F noted:

...in the rooms we use coils and sometimes they spoil and so you have to get this guy to come and repair for you because you don't know how to go about it ...like iron box so guys use that to get to girls...yeah...

C15F believes that availability of long mirrors in the men students' rooms attract first year women students unaware of the consequences. She noted:

...of late they have even big mirrors like I have one then I gave it to a friend so this friend...he says this one is for attracting the girls this by the way girls love mirrors I have come to prove that...the gents have bought the 700 one...they like mirrors for ladies to...look at themselves...(C15F).

The responses by women student reveal that their vulnerability to unwanted sexual harassment could be as a result of their limited life and financial skills which enable them to confidently resist unwanted sexual manipulation, exploitation, access the 'right' clubs/organisations and sometimes be able to cope with unfriendly situations on campus.

7.6.2 Men Students' Views on 'Lack' of Empowerment Skills

All the 14 men students interviewed were in agreement with 14 women students who spoke about lack of empowerment skills among women, as a catalyst likely to lead to unwanted sexual behaviours. Sounding like he was warning the victims and giving a recommendation to the university on the need to sensitise students joining the university, C2M said:

...they think it is high school mentality when even harassed they don't know where to go and who to turn to and I want to request that one recommendation...that first week they be sensitised their rights sensitised on sexual harassment sensitised...

However, men students seem to have more knowledge about 'gold rush', which specifically explains women students' lack of life skills on campus. This was evidenced by the wide range of terms they equate 'gold rush' with. For instance, using the promotion of cell phones, C4M

spoke of: ‘...ponyoka na pick up or ponyoka na fresha (rushing out with fresher)...’. Ponyoka is a term usually used during the Safaricom Company⁶ promotions, which means ‘to win’ a ‘pick-up’. Commenting on the sale of shares, C5M says: ‘...that thing about gold rush makes me happy...IPO that is ‘Initial Public Offer...’. ‘IPO’ refers to sale of shares to the public and the new ‘pick up’ are being equated with first year women students. In a different context C10M equated ‘gold rush’ with the animal kingdom. He said:

...bee...bee...(laughing loudly)...it's the animal thing or kingdom... am trying to put man as an animal whereby the male would want to look at the new one who has come ...and they way to capture for the kingdom yah so the technique...(C10M).

In this case ‘animals’ are used to refer to first year women students. The idea of ‘capturing animals’ is synonymous with ‘gold rushing’. It shows how some men exert their ‘power’ over women while attempting to construct their masculinities.

In addition to the stories given by women students regarding the techniques used to trap and sexually manipulate the naïve and innocent first year women students, men students reported on how they pretend to be showing women student’s direction, giving academic advice and inviting them for meals in their residential rooms. Of the nine men students interviewed, two said:

*...students volunteer to orientate....you know ...they are not genuine ones who are really out there to show the first years their way about campus...they are scrupulous ones who their main agenda ...is to get first year students...(C6M).
... a student wants to be your guide they want to show you this is the library...they have all the time to take you around the environment and one of the environments is to show you where he lives and how he lives...he can even tell you by the way you don't have to go to the mess I usually cook here you can come for the meals before you settle...you know that's a trap...baa...bee...bee...(laughter)...this continues before the lady notices she is trapped...(C10M).*

Commenting on how senior men students trap first year women students by pretending to give them advice on the best subjects or

⁶ Safaricom is one of the leading mobile or cell phone companies in Kenya

courses they should study on campus, C10M gave the following suggestions:

...I start using all the jargon ...that I know applies here...I start talking about finance ... reading about finance...advice so it's the main technique here that the students use yah...that's why during the orientation you will notice something very funny people....

In using the Bible study groups and 'imaginary clubs' to sexually manipulate first year women students, out of the eight men students interviewed C14M said:

*...when first years come they are very very religious like you change your religion after two months or three but for the first one or two months they are very very religious so you find the men also become religious they even go to...all those meetings for the church...Christian ehmm organisations but majority it's for getting girlfriends...
...we just take a group and we call it Kiambu students association and then we post all over that they are having a meeting and people comes...majority of those who come are first years...so when they come they are told this is the association meeting that never existed before so when they come ... they will have put your name down write your number down and then from there they can start harassing you...(C14M).*

The habit of men students knocking on the women students' doors aimlessly, as a way of getting first year women students, was reported as a sign of masculine behaviours. They said:

*...they don't just go knocking doors they go to the female first years door that's where they will literally bang until morning...(C10M).
... I can decide to rank myself as someone who is looking for someone and in the floors might just go knock and ask where is so and so and you are proceeding into the room you are not just there at the door knocking and asking...you are already in seated...this lady cannot push you out ...you are a man and she has to listen to what you are telling her...(C7M).*

Lack of financial empowerment skills was mentioned by three men students. They were responding to a probe question on the reasons behind women students' financial problems. Two said:

*...most of them would find it's so hard to go through an academic year so it's all about the management of the money...most of the students tend to misuse that money in just a week then the rest of the semester they result into begging stealing...may be unwanted sex...(C6M).
...I want to talk about sex in relation to drinking...one the reasons that people get money from HELB some of them get money from their parents as they have never had that money getting 20K (twenty thousand) yeah first time I mean if I don't have any training prior how to use definitely am going to misuse them drink buy big radio and TV and lure girls that's it...some female students go out to these activities and hook up with fellow students or lecturers because they want more...(C2M).*

Lack of financial management skills for women students is probably what made C1M say: ‘...I think we need financial empowerment for the female students...’. Eight men students out of 14 interviewed believe that first year women students are easily manipulated, sometimes by being promised money and being taken out by the senior men students. Two students stated:

... most people are gullible the female students they are very gullible they are very easy to convince and easy to manipulate than the older students...(C8M).

...manipulate these first years who have come manipulation through money manipulation through being taken out and then manipulation of the mind...(C2M).

In addition to what C17F said concerning use of electronics to lure first year women students to their rooms, two men students summarised their ideas as follows:

...senior students have electronics in their rooms...young female students might be tempted to go to that room and hence the harassment might take place...(C12M).

...when you walk into a guy's room and he has a Sony TV Sony radio and you like feeling you've fikaad (reached)...(C1M).

Like C29F, two men students in their response as to why women students are easily manipulated, mentioned failure by the 8:4:4 system of education and the university administration to equip women students with life skills:

...just collapsed, they don't really tell you what happens on campus ...they really want to discourage in the process you may discover you are in the wrong path you are inside the pit so I think the system is not very clear they don't tell you what happens in the real world you are left to learn on your own you find alcohol you are carried away by it...(C13M).

...I think the administration is not aware of it...because the administration believes the students have representatives for the other students so even if there some information from the students it's the students leaders who will be called...so it's the students who will be asked about their fellow students...(C12M).

Both men and women students interviewed spoke of the link between women students' lack of empowerment skills and inadequate financial resources as reasons likely to lead to unwanted sexual behaviour. However, it could be vital to probably explore the possibilities of existence of non-exploitative masculinities who tend to 'protect' and

‘respect’ women students, and how sexually wise first year women students manage to cope with the practice of ‘gold rush’.

The whole debate on ‘gold rush’ as a control mechanism seems to be centred on the ways in which senior men students are able to express their masculinity to sexually manipulate and exploit innocent first year women students, sometimes hindering their access to opportunities and space. The idea of sometimes ‘hitting’, ‘rushing’, ‘running’ and ‘hooking’ of the first year women students by the senior men students to some extent demonstrates clearly women students’ lack of life skills for them to be assertive and have confidence in claiming their rights and in making sound moral judgments. They seem to have limited experience about life in campus to enable them cope with the dominant masculine heterosexual culture. Lack of appropriate and adequate sensitisation, especially during the orientation period, on the nature of campus’s culture, is likely to make some first year women students become easy victims of ‘gold rush’. The question remains: Who is to blame for failing to adequately empower first year women students for life on campus: University, society (parents, religious groups), primary or secondary education? Both men and women students interviewed tend to put the blame on the current education system (8:4:4) for failing to empower them, and failure by the university to sensitise them on how to particularly negotiate, manage conflicts and sexually aggressive difficult situations. However, it was beyond the scope of this study to evaluate the extent to which the 8.4.4 system of education empowers students with life skills, an area which may probably require further exploration.

7.7 Summary

The ideas from men and women students about the reasons that cause sexual harassment presented in this chapter show the complex nature of gendered discourses operating at the UoN, where the hierarchical nature, together with patriarchal cultures among the men students, continue to provide challenges that make some women victims of sexual harassment. This can be seen in the deeply rooted culture of masculine ‘conquest’ and ‘gold rushing’, where some senior men

students are trying to construct their masculinities to prove that they are in control, sometimes hindering women students' access to 'right' clubs and organizations of their choice. In the process, they are seen by some women students, and sometimes by men students, as manipulating and sexually exploiting some women students, through their aggressive sexual behaviour. Both men and women students spoke of sexual harassment as being part and parcel of the 'normal', 'natural' campus life. The fact that some women believe that sometimes men are able to manipulate the naïve innocent first year women students into sexual objects, shows their influence in shaping the gendered terrain of the university culture. To some extent, lack of empowerment skills for women students could make it difficult for them to manage and negotiate for their sexual rights on campus.

These ideas describe a culture of patriarchy, which tend to encourage the construction of gendered norms of heterosexuality, where men and sometimes women attempt to justify men's engagement with sexual harassment through blaming some women students for dressing within the constructions of 'powerful femininity'. This encourages a particular way of dressing, acceptance of alcohol and 'freedom' to interact regularly with men. The ideas suggest use of heterosexuality as part of institutional culture, but simultaneously one in which some 'women' are seen as both victims to blame for the sexual abuse that they experience and one in which 'men' are expected to act out sexually aggressive masculinities to be seen as powerful. However, some men and women students seem to have benefitted from excessive freedom and peer influence since it provided them with skills and opportunities to cope with the dynamic UoN's culture.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

8.0 Introduction

In this Chapter, I will discuss and interpret the main findings presented in chapters five, six and seven based on the operation of gendered discourses, at different levels of the UoN's culture. While chapters five, six and seven presented findings which were generated through separate discourses of (access and sexual harassment), this chapter seeks to theorise the data as a whole in order to conceptualise the nature of the institutional culture. The analytic approach does assume the prevalence of constructions of masculinity as more powerful than the constructions of femininity, which translates easily into clear and transparent gender inequalities. The discussion demands re-engagement with literature and theories capable of conceptualising discourses about students' perceptions as a route towards understanding the contradictions, tensions and areas of 'consensus about reality', which may begin to allow for theorisation of UoN's culture. The findings will be discussed under the following themes: men's dominance in university structures and programmes; society's negative attitude toward women students; empowerment of women students; students' representations of sexual harassment and the negative effects of sexual harassment on students.

8.1 Men's Dominance in University Programmes and Structures

The analysis of the men and women students' opinions regarding their gendered experiences reflect the meanings of men's dominance in different levels of the university structures and programmes which tends to favour men more than women students. These 'meanings' are generated through different domains. For instance, content across academic disciplines, the nature of workload, which appears gendered, and men's dominance in key decision-making processes were some of the discourses used by men and women students in their attempt to

normalise the patriarchal nature of the UoN's culture. This further explains the nature of gender discrimination. This could be supported by the radical feminist theory, which perceives gender oppression as a system of patriarchy that structures the inequalities existing in the society (Measor and Sykes, 1992). However, there is evidence to show that women are capable of, competing favourably with men students in 'masculine programmes'. For instance, in 2010 the UoN's best woman architect scored an overall of 86 points in a course ruled by men, while Dr. Pegotty Mutai became the first woman in Kenya and one of the three women in Africa to be awarded the prestigious *L'Oreal-UNESCO For Women in Science Award* in 2012. The L'Oreal-UNESCO award recognises exceptional women who have made great advances in scientific research. However, the absence of women students in science/technological related courses has implications for gender equity, and achievement of Kenya's Vision 2030. This is because their absence has Onsongo (2007) notes reinforce inequality in terms of the kind of jobs women choose, could impact on their position in the society.

The idea of women students having limited role models and mentors or what Odejide (2007) refers to as 'limited women agency' for students especially in science/technological courses, is a reflection of the patriarchal nature of the UoN. This could disadvantage some women students, usually seen as a norm. UoN students' discourses revealed the importance of mentors and role models in one's career. Similarly, Bunyi (2008) notes that limited role models for women students either discourage them from pursuing these fields or sometimes participate half-heartedly. However, men and women students in the UoN believed that this problem could become more complex because the few women mentors who avail their services to students are usually inaccessible. Researchers such as Gaidzanwa (2007), Shackleton (2007), Tsikata (2007), Odejide (2007), Bunyi (2004; 2008) and Mabokela (2003; 2011) do recognise the importance role models and mentors can play if there has to be gendered change in any patriarchal society.

In particular, Shackleton (2007) reports that role models provide examples for others to follow, and as such, there is a reinforcement of the roles being modelled. Such mentorship needs to be represented as available, as well as present. The discourses of men and women students in the present study did reinforce ideas raised by Tsikata (2007) and Odejide (2007) where women seem to prefer being mentored by women. This can be explained by Tsikata's (2007) research findings, which suggest the possibility of women becoming victims of unwanted sexual relationships. Given the role women play in attending to the personal needs and concerns of men and women in different spheres of their life, strategies and interventions need to be put in place to strengthen their position on campus. However, the current findings have shown that men can mentor women students successfully. Drawing from the *State of the World Girls Report 2011*, achievement of gender equality is about understanding the role of boys and men in order to have a positive impact in the society.

Men and women respondents in the UoN showed the importance of being able to access supplementary sources of income if they have to excel in their academic pursuits. The students' discourses further portrayed a culture where men dominate in key panelists (forums), which determine the issuance and management of supplementary income. The masculine constructs found in different university structures and practices reflect a kind of gendered favouritism toward men students, which sometimes go against the interests and needs of women students. Students' discourses about this reflect such discrimination as a 'norm' in the UoN. The research findings by Tamale and Oloka-Onyango (1997), Imam *et al* (1997), Kwesiga (2002), and Mulinge (2002) complements students' discourses at the UoN. Mulinge (2002) reports that the idea of men monopolising power and decision-making positions makes it challenging for women to effectively participate in important matters pertaining to their lives. This can be explained by the ideologies of patriarchy which tend to be structured in ways that usually place women in subordinate positions, sometimes

denying them opportunity to negotiate for their political, economic and social rights.

The sentiments found in students' discourses is what probably make women students get involved in quid pro quo transactions as a way of succeeding in the UoN politics, an indication of masculine nature of university culture. Such discourses could make some women students in the UoN feel inferior, thus discouraging them from participating in campus politics. These findings complement those by Odejide (2007) who observes that women students are often discouraged from participating in campus politics as evidenced by statements such as '*what can a woman do?*' The society expects women to be in need of men's protection, but not women to take on leadership positions (Masinjila, 1997; Hagedorn, 2000 and Timmerman, 2003). In using the patriarchal discourse of power to justify the political inequalities, Nzomo (1992) and Masinjila (1997) argues that men possess the 'appropriate natural' credentials for leadership tasks such as decisiveness, self-confidence, competitive, assertive and being clear about their goals and objectives, while women are passive, dependent, internal-oriented and submissive, which places them in a more inferior position.

The patriarchal culture predominantly characterises the operation of practically all structures in society usually based on the premise that men are biologically superior to women (Masinjila, 1997). Such ideologies continue to place women at a more politically disadvantaged position. Kamau (2010) asserts that gender inequality in political leadership contributes to women's issues not receiving enough attention. However, experience has shown that given an opportunity, women can excel in the highest level of political space (for instance, the current Presidents of Liberia, Malawi, Brazil and Argentina). Such women have been able to effectively articulate issues affecting men and women, as compared to men who sometimes tend to ignore women issues. Similarly, Kamau (2009) observes that although men are not against gender equality, however, they sometimes do little to change the situation.

Findings from the present study reveal that the idea of sharing of Halls of Residence by both genders sometimes create tensions and conflicts among some men and women students in the UoN. Mama (2009) explains these occurrences by noting how the African colonial universities (including UoN) were not meant to accommodate women in equal numbers with men, because the structures and systems were designed by men, to be used by men. Hames, Beja and Kgosimemele (2005) observes that the integrated residences or communal ablution facilities offer an environment which sometimes encourage the occurrences of sexual harassment like peeping, pornography, video-taping and raping of women students. Hames *et al*, (2005) and Bunyi (2008) are of the view that use of integrated residences by men and women students is a cause of concern in terms of the safety, security and dignity of some women students. Zindi (1994) observes that 99% of women students feel unsafe in college, while participants in Gouws *et al*, (2005) study expressed their concern about the safety of women students. Mama (2009) points out that lack of adequate accommodation facilities for women students, which forces them to share such facilities, is a possible cause of the ongoing struggles among men and women students. Findings from the current study are significant in that some women students expressed positive sentiments with the idea of sharing Halls of Residence, while noting that it could make the two gender live in harmony, promote positive attitudes of mutual respect since society is composed of men and women with different interests and needs. This will go along towards achieving nationalism, patriotism and promotion of national unity, one of Kenya's National Goals of Education.

Both men and women respondents in the UoN spoke of the struggles and tensions usually found in the culture of incompatibility. The respondents gave examples of the behaviour or lifestyles which bring about conflict among the students. For instance, annoying habits by the boy/girl friends, expressed in statements such as *'almost have sex/funny things in your presence; always doing funny things in the room'*, pushing and scrambling. The gendered discourses characterised with unfriendly

behaviour toward women students is a reflection of an institutional culture that sees discrimination and oppression as a norm. Further, such tensions and conflicts could threaten the promotion of a gendered inclusive culture. That is probably why Endeley and Ngaling (2007) reported that for a gender inclusive culture to prosper cooperation between men and women is required in all dimensions of life (political, social and economic).

Both men and women students talked of men being perpetrators of sexual harassment (particularly quid pro quo). From their responses, men students seemed reluctant to talk about the gender of the perpetrator. Instead, they used indirect terms such as '*opposite gender*', '*senior person*'. In their attempt to explain who the persons in '*senior positions*' are, men students gave examples of men lecturers, administrators, examination officers, senior students, engineers and bankers, whereas women students talked of men lecturers, Halls Officers or custodians. The implication here is that sometimes the domination of men in different university structures places some women students in vulnerable positions of becoming victims of unwanted sexual harassment. Although, these findings complement Gouws and Kritzinger (1997), Tlou and Letsie (1997) and Simelane's (2001), who in addition refers to perpetrators as 'supervisors and old professors', they, however, did not specify their gender. Similarly, Adedokun (2005) supports the idea of non-teaching staff, especially those in admissions, registration, record keeping, students' disciplinary committees and examinations officers as being perpetrators. However, men and women students from UoN went further to show that sometimes the quid pro quo transactions depend on the nature of degree programmes (usually practical-oriented where a lecturer has an opportunity of attending to one student at a time) and the existence of concrete relationship between women students and men lecturers.

From their perceptions, men and women students in the UoN refer perpetrators as men holding senior positions in the university and the society, a reflection of how power as a discourse could be used by men

in constructing their masculinity which then lead to occurrences of unwanted sexual behaviours. The culture of power dynamics and seniority as noted by Dube (2003), Bennett (2005b), Tsikata (2007) and Bennett *et al* (2007) which seems to be deeply entrenched in the university becomes critical in understanding the gendered discourses of an institutional culture, which tends to expose women to sexual harassment. To Bennett *et al* (2007) this culture of seniority is brought about by the hierarchical nature of the university, where multiple zones of seniority operate, putting those considered junior (women) in positions where they can easily become victims of sexual harassment by those senior to them (men). The underlying assumption is that sometimes men in senior positions may harass women. The ideology of seniority has further been advocated by theory of patriarchy, where sexual harassment is viewed as a mechanism under which men in positions of authority dominate women by keeping them under their control.

8.2 Empowerment of Women Students: Knowledge, Finance and Life Skills

Men and women students talked of limited information on issues related to their life, especially those dealing with sexuality and health education, type of jobs, how to handle excessive freedom, finance and particular 'special funds' for the needy women students. The students' discourses suggest that the patriarchal nature of the UoN could expose men students to more ideas regarding the gendered realities, which sometimes limit women students from accessing and benefiting from the available opportunities and facilities on campus, like part-time jobs. Commenting on the special fund, Bunyi (2008) and Republic of Kenya (2006a) noted that this fund usually known as J.B. Wanjui Education Trust Fund, is a personal initiative of the current (2013) UoN Chancellor and is meant to provide financial assistance to bright women students in Science, Mathematics and Technology. While men students in the UoN spoke of needy women students not being able to access

these funds, women students did not seem to be aware of the funds, yet they are supposed to be the direct beneficiaries.

However, it seems that the needy women students in the UoN have limited information about this 'special fund', which tends to contradict Mulugeta's (2007) findings where the University of Addis Ababa, in collaboration with a Rotary Club have been able to provide a monthly stipend to the needy women students, an important step toward women's financial empowerment. The importance of giving women student's financial support has been recorded by Bunyi (2003), Degefa (2006) and Mwiria *et al* (2007). Mwiria *et al* (2007) found that the financial support could increase the participation of women students in the various university programmes. It is clear from the UoN students that inadequate knowledge regarding the existing funding and health opportunities could make some women students continue to encounter financial and health-related constraints, which could affect their normal day to day activities and interactions on campus.

It emerges from the diverse responses of students in the UoN that in addition to women students being involved in the quid pro quo transactions for financial gains and academic rewards, they also obtain material rewards like notes, electronics, gifts, accommodation in the Halls of Residence, and support in leadership positions. Financial gains is partly evidenced by what men students talked about in regard to the perceptions of women students' lives being dominated by the need to keep multiple boyfriends usually referred to as '*practical or ATM*' where sex is exchanged for economic benefits. In addition, men students in the UoN spoke about cars which are usually parked at women student's hostels on Sundays. An important finding here is that some women students seem to be more actively involved with the sexual economy transactions with the 'outsiders' than with the men students in the UoN. Use of '*practical or ATM*' boyfriends is similar with what Hallman (1994), Omale (2000) and Odejide (2007) refers to as '*sugar daddies*', or '*older working men*' (Okiria, 2007), or what Pereira's (unpublished) notes '*triple c*' meaning use of boyfriends with '*cars*', '*cash*' and '*cell phones*'. Although

some of these observations complement those by Pereira (2007) and Mama (2009), men students in the UoN specifically spoke of economically empowered men (for instance, bankers, engineers, lecturers) as examples of those usually involved in sexual economic transactions with the women students which enable them cope with the sexual and reproductive realities of life on campus. These are men usually in careers seen by the society as economically powerful and which tend to assure women students of financial stability. However, from what the UoN students' discourses show, it is clear that in most cases the assumed concrete relationships are usually short-lived, which could sometimes disadvantage women students.

Men and women students from the UoN talked of having experienced financial stress which makes them to sometimes engage in excessive drinking and taking of drugs, leading to unwanted sexual activities. Speaking about 'gold rush', students' discourses show lack of adequate financial base as part of what influences women students to become easy targets of sexual harassment from senior men students. Lack of economic empowerment, especially for women students, is a pointer that universities and HELB need to review their programmes and structures to enable men and women students get the necessary and relevant skills for purposes of effective financial management, and giving women students more loans as suggested by Cheron (1999). Limited financial support which sometimes make women students vulnerable to abuse further confirm earlier claims by Wanjala (2000), Karanja (2003) and Kamau (2003).

There is a need to develop a comprehensive guidance and counseling program to help students deal with stress which they get from their daily encounter with the emotionally difficult situations while considering giving students supplementary income to cater for their catering and 'special needs'. Women students in UoN mentioned clothes, hair maintenance and buying of sanitary pads as examples of their special needs. This can be attributed to women having concrete needs that traditional economic theory has failed to plan for (Maina and

Mbugua, 1996). Due to the essential subordination of women in the patriarchal societies (Maina and Mbugua, 1996), women and men students in the UoN spoke of the '*need for financial empowerment for female students*'. Thus, empowerment programme as Onsongo (2005) found would go a long way in making women students avoid devising survival tactics (assumed to be sexual favours), which is partly a result of inadequate funding of subsistence expenses for their life on campus.

It emerges from the remarks of men and women students, that women students lack adequate life skills (negotiation, confidence, assertiveness and being able to manage conflicts, tensions and cases of sexual harassment), and that they seem to have limited knowledge and experiences about campus life. Men and women students spoke of men senior students using the naivety and innocence of first year women students to sexually manipulate and exploit them through 'gold rush' without their knowledge. From their comments some men students seem more knowledgeable on how to spend their free time as compared to women students. Men students are familiar with the practices under which they operate in campus as evidenced by the many ways (for instance, use of secular and religious clubs, pretending to show them direction and academic advice), which they sometimes use to sexually manipulate and exploit some first year women students. That is why men and women students in the UoN probably spoke of the need for women students to be made '*aware*', '*sensitised on sexual harassment*' and '*sexual rights*'.

Although the current findings supplement what researches like, Zindi (1994) and Omale (2000) found about students' lack of life skills and self-management skills, findings from the present study specifically reveal that some women students seem to be more affected, with men students being at an advantage because they tend to have more knowledge regarding life on campus. Lack of assertiveness could make women students develop feelings of inferiority, loss of self-confidence, which makes them to depend on others (usually men) (Mabokela, 2003; Melese and Fenta, 2009). Although, Gouws *et al* (2005) points out the

importance of empowering women students, particularly on ‘coping mechanisms’, and giving them the necessary skills to be able to handle the freedom they experience in campus, the current findings revealed that some men and women students did benefit from excessive freedom and peer pressure. For instance, some students talked of having made ‘good friends’, and learnt to be more careful in life especially when handling sex related matters and getting new friends. From their stories, it seems that having strong Christian principles could help men and women students in the UoN be able to navigate the challenging university environment.

In the present study, the discourse of campus freedom was reported by men and women as a possible reason which could make women students’ become easy target of unwanted sexual harassment. This has further implications in regard to accessibility and effectiveness of extra-curricular facilities (for instance, swimming pool) as one of the ways of helping students be able to control and manage excessive freedom in the most constructive and meaningful ways. Zindi (1994) noted that 27% of the students expressed the need for women students to be educated on their sexual rights, for them to be able to differentiate between a decent proposal and sexual harassment. Like Zindi (1994), Tidimane and Mosarwe (2005) points out the need to educate individuals on how to handle a perpetrator, and report cases of sexual harassment. This observation as shown in the current study could have implications on the activities conducted during the orientation programme for the first year students, and the relevance of the curriculum at all levels of education (primary, secondary schools and university). Orientation programme should be seen in terms of the provision of life-based skills, a way of empowering some men and women students if they have to cope with the wide range of challenges they experience in the UoN.

8.3 Society’s Negative Attitudes towards Women Students

It is clear from the men and women students’ discourses in the UoN that the society and educational institutions (schools, university) are

partly responsible for the gender inequalities existing in the institutional culture. The idea of masculine traits found in their stories tend to discourage some women students from accessing and participating, for instance, in the unique degree programmes, which could impact on gender equality. Findings from UoN, partly confirm earlier claims by some of the contributors to the gender differentials in science/technological subjects, among them Karega (2001), Bunyi (2004), Lewis (2006), Ogunyuyigbe *et al* (2008). Bunyi (2004) particularly notes that the socialisation process help women and men learn gender stereotypical notions of femininity and masculinity, which determines their ability and choice to participate in different programmes. Although the society's negative attitudes toward some of the university programmes affects application by some women students in the UoN, it is significant to note here that men students talked about lack of internal motivation, which could sometimes make women students develop negative mentality towards some of the 'male courses'. Thus, there is need of the educational institutions and society to take a leading role in sensitising men and women students on the importance of enrolling and participating in these programmes, if women have to equally benefit from the globalised knowledge economy. Improved enrolment and effective participation of men and women in science/technological courses could have implications for the ongoing implementation of Kenya's Vision 2030.

Both men and women respondents in the present study attributed certain aspects of the masculine and feminine traditional cultural practices, such as the issue of boy child preference, and domestic chores (cooking and washing clothes) to the gendered realities of their application and access to the degree programmes. This, to some extent, explains the nature of gendered inequalities in the society. It seems that social and cultural norms, value women less than men, (Akpo, 2008), thus creating a situation where gender equality is threatened. The idea of negative cultural norms complements findings by Kaino (1998), Onokala and Onwah (2001), Bunyi (2004; 2008), Odejide (2007) and

Ogunjuyigbe *et al* (2008). While, the idea of women students being in traditional professions is considered to be an extension of the natural roles of wife or mother, like nursing, teaching and administration (Kaino, 1998). Ogunjuyigbe *et al* (2008) further found that, because of the societal norms, boys are destined to carry the family name and lead the nation.

Similarly, what happens in most African countries, as Bunyi (2004) reveals is that most communities are reluctant to invest in girls' education. Brooks and Carmish (1997), Yahya-Othman (2000), are of the view that education of girls is irrelevant and most parents treat girls as an investment to receive bride price. Further, Onsongo (2005; 2007) observes that women stand to lose in terms of economic empowerment because the courses (humanities and social sciences) majority take do not have attractive remuneration, which means that they will earn low salaries upon employment which then puts them in a more inferior position. This can be explained by Susan Moller Okin, a liberal feminist theorist, who noted the importance of distributing the resources and opportunities, if gender equality is to be achieved. It is important to note here that adequate scientific/technological knowledge and skills for men and women are crucial for social-economic transformation of the society.

8.4 Students' Gendered Representations of the Reality of Sexual Harassment

Men and women students' insights, regarding their perceptions of sexual harassment as highlighted in their direct and indirect stories provide evidence that confirms the reality of sexual harassment at the UoN, reflecting a general state of insecurity and unfriendly learning environment, for some women students. The reality of sexual harassment helps conceptualise the normality of the nature of inequalities and discrimination of women students in the UoN. The students' discourses seem to be in agreement with what Bennett (2005b) and Mama (2009) found regarding sexual harassment as being one of the most powerful routes into understanding institutional culture and

largely responsible for the inequitable cultures existing in universities. Therefore, the 'voices' of men and women students/leaders found in diverse narratives in the present study are vital in opening up debate that could help uncover the sexual realities of those silenced by the culture of heterosexuality and which continues to dominate the university environment. The domination is characterised by men using their sexuality to exert, and control women (Thomas and Kritizinger, 1997), at most levels of university life, thus reinforcing ideologies of patriarchy.

The culture of dominance and control seem to have been normalised and naturalised to an extent that it has become part of the university culture, where sex with or without consent is seen as *'cheap and easily'* available for men. It is important to note that the nature of consent (whether non-consensual or consensual on the part of victim) is problematic, given the differences in the gendered political, economic, social status and UoN's statutes of those involved. Although, Mama (2009) clearly stated that sexual harassment appears to be a common occurrence on African campuses, the manifestation of the complexity of gendered discourses regarding its nature and occurrences largely differs from each university, due to the context in which the studies are located. Thus, issues pertaining to the characteristics of sexual harassment as a reality in the context of the UoN's culture and factors explaining its occurrences will be presented in this sub-section.

8.4.1 Students' Gendered Characteristics of Sexual Harassment

Across the data, the discourses from the men and women respondents show the meaning of sexual harassment as being based on the masculine and feminine aspects, particularly in reference to the types of behaviour identified as sexual harassment (verbal, non-verbal, physical and quid pro quo), the controversial and complex issue of consent, gender of the perpetrator and victim. From their remarks the way men and women respondents perceive sexual harassment illustrates how some men students have attempted to normalise this behaviour on campus, as women students saw them in terms of men being active

sexual aggressors. Gouws *et al* (2005) supports these differences given by men and women respondents, while noting that women are more willing to label certain behaviour as sexual harassment than men, probably because they are usually the victims. Being victims means that such behaviour tends to create some kind of discrimination against women students (Omale, 2000), which, to some extent, continue to make the university environment unfriendly for women students. This could have implications in regard to the state of security of some women students inside and outside the campus.

From the accounts of men and women students drawn from their direct and indirect stories, there was evidence to show that students' experience of sexual harassment as being in form of verbal, non-verbal, and physical to quid pro quo transactions where men and women students, teaching and non-teaching staff and sometimes outsiders are involved. From their direct experiences, women spoke of a broad range of sexual harassment mostly in form of attempted gang rape, STM, sexually suggestive language and peeping. In addition to attempted gang rape derived from direct stories, both women and men students, through their indirect stories reported of the regularity with which physical sexual harassment occurs in the form of date and gang rape, attempted and date rape. Findings from the present study are in agreement with those of feminist researchers, Gitobu (1999), Naidoo and Rajab (1999), Simelane (2001) and Imasogie (2002) who reported women's experiences of rape or coerced sexual intercourse, actual kissing and fondling of genitals.

In their indirect reports, women and men students spoke of their experiences concerning verbal abuses, in reference to specific private parts of women students' body '*boobs*', '*breasts*' and '*skinny legs*'; use of romantic music. In their findings Gouws and Kritizinger (1997), Omale (2000), Simelane (2001) and Gouws *et al* (2005), observes students' use of sexist verbal comments, jokes, sexually suggestive noises and wolf-whistling. Gouws *et al* (2005) found men '*rating*' women students according to their appearances as they walk past them in certain public

places, while Omale (2000) reports men making catcalls, especially when women are wearing short dresses. It is clear that both men and women students in the UoN seemed to have normalised the behaviour to be part of their daily life. This revelation tells us a lot about how patriarchal society perceives sexual harassment as normal behaviour, and which seems to be part of the institutional culture.

Peeping and ogling of women students and sending obscene messages through email are examples of non-verbal sexual harassment men and women students talked about in their direct and indirect reports. Although in women's description peeping took place in the bathrooms and sometimes in the toilets, which seems normal, this contradicts men students' view where they perceived peeping as 'abnormal'. A unique finding was stealing of women students' under-wears in the bathrooms, as men students talked about the perpetrators filming and photographing naked women. The behaviour is explicitly gendered and could disadvantage some women students more than the men. This could be a pointer to the UoN regarding the state of security of women students. Could the problem be with the students or university management? Sharing of Halls of Residence by the two genders? The observation has implications for SWA's Strategic Plan 2008-2013 on the need to implement some of its strategic objectives, especially the idea of separating Halls of Residence for men and women students. This is a challenge to the UoN of the need to sensitise men and women students to live in harmony as people who are morally mature, an idea reinforced by one of the women students.

A number of feminist scholars Hallman (1994), Gouws and Kritizinger (1997), Hames *et al* (2005) found students experiencing peeping in their respective campuses. Hames *et al* (2005) calls it Peeping Tom, while Gouws and Kritizinger (1997) reports about '*panty raids*' where under-wear of women students are taken from their residential rooms, after which they are dragged into men residences and are forced to shower while dressed. The information by Gouws and Kritizinger (1997) differs from what women students in the present study revealed about the

disappearance of their pants while showering. Britwum (2005) notes women students being exposed to pornographic materials which, according to Omale (2000), could be lewd graffiti and pictures of naked women posted or drawn on the walls. Similarly, Gouws *et al* (2005) observes students using electronic communication (cell phone and email) to sexually harass each other. What emerges from men and women students' talk was a range of challenging behaviour women students sometimes experience in the UoN which position them in vulnerable position of becoming victims of unwanted sexual behaviours. Similarly, researchers such as Gouws and Kritizinger (1997), Shumba and Matina (2002), Gouws *et al* (2005) and Britwum (2005) reports of more women students complaining of sexual assault. It seems that some women students experience more sexual harassment and were more willing to talk about it than men, which further confirms findings by Muhanguzi (2005).

Sexual harassment seems to have been normalised into a gendered culture probably because such behaviour as men and women said occur daily and in familiar surroundings. This is partly in agreement with what Imasogie (2002) found that violence against women occurs both within the public and private spheres, especially Halls of Residence. However, students from UoN specified places in the Halls of Residence (rooms, bathrooms and toilets), in addition to lecture halls (along a staircase), outside the library, cafeteria, shop, roadside, swimming pool, university compound, and sometimes in residential houses outside the campus. Sexual harassment is theorised as part of the normal life in campus occurring naturally in public and sometimes private places, involving some men and women students. 'Public' and 'private' dimensions are aspects of patriarchy ideology, which help us understand and normalise sexual harassment as part of the UoN's culture. It seems that the internalised aspects of campus life makes some women students conceptualise unwanted sexual behaviours as deserving, hence accepting it as normal behaviour.

8.4.2 Students' Gendered Discourses on the causes of Sexual Harassment

The university, an institution characterised by hierarchical and patriarchy and culture of masculinity creates opportunities and circumstances, which consciously or unconsciously put some women students in risky positions of becoming victims of unwanted sexual advances. The analysed men and women students' discourses regarding the occurrences of sexual harassment to some extent agree with findings by Bennett (2005a). Bennett (2005a) found that the complex realities concerning gender and heterosexual culture create opportunities for abuse of women students. The vulnerability of women students tend to be as a result of direct power relationships, where men effectively tend to implement their interests which continue to reinforce their control on women (Mannathoko, 1999). Although men and women students in the UoN theorise these factors differently, the factors can generally be perceived in the light of culture of heterosexuality on campus and the question of morality regarding students' behaviour on campus.

Men and women students spoke about excessive drinking and taking drugs as a norm or '*state of art in campus*'. The students saw excessive drinking and taking of drugs as morally 'out of order'. This is evidenced by what one man student said that '*drinking is a major contributor to immorality*'. It is clear that excessive drinking is a cause of immoral behaviour among the students. But what makes students unable to drink in a more responsible manner? However, men students spoke about having normalised excessive drinking, with the clear understanding that it leads to 'non-consensual sex'. The present findings partly complement those by Gouws and Kritizinger (1997), Yahya-Othman (2000), Chogonda (2001), Gouws *et al* (2005) and Hames *et al* (2005), who found that excessive drinking leads to sexual harassment. Abuse of alcohol seems to be part of the students' institutionalised culture which could lead to the highly sexualised campus environment (Gouws and Kritizinger, 1997). Gouws *et al* (2005) found that at least 90% cases of sexual harassment occurred due to alcohol.

In a study by Gouws and Kritizinger (1997), 13 women students reported perpetrators being intoxicated during rape incidences. This highlights alcohol as a potential 'risk factor' associated with the occurrences of sexual harassment, which shows a high rate of correlation between alcohol and sexual harassment (Gouws and Kritizinger, 1997; Gouws *et al*, 2005). The idea of alcohol lowering peoples inhibitions (Gouws *et al*, 2005) provides ground for one to be sexually harassed since the perpetrator might not be conscious of his/her actions. However, men and women students in the UoN further mentioned academic and financial stress, domestic responsibilities, easy availability of 'bhang' and peer pressure as possible reasons likely to make students engage in excessive drinking of alcohol and taking of drugs. This has implications on the effectiveness of guidance and counselling, status of men and women students' in terms of moral development, financial empowerment and level of security on campus. Data about drugs and substance abuse inform SWA on the need to continue encouraging responsible and positive living among students as outlined in Strategic Plan 2008-2013.

In explaining the nature of 'provocative' dressing, men and women students talked about a range of discourses, an implication that women students sometimes tend to walk around almost naked. This is clearly reflected in their specific statements such as '*short*' '*tighter clothes*' '*skimpy tops*' '*mini-skirt*', '*kinky skirts*', '*skirts with funny slits/funny tops*' or '*clothes reaching beyond the knees*'. Such 'provocative' style of dressing is what Pereira (unpublished) refers to as the modes of presentation of women's bodies. Although findings by Omale (2000), Imasogie (2002), Hames *et al* (2005), Odejide (2007), Bennett *et al* (2007), Mbugua and Mutoro (2007) complements findings from the current study, while noting that women students tend to invite violence by their 'provocative' dressing, however, men and women students in the UoN gave specific examples to further explain the meaning of 'provocative dressing'.

Odejide (2007) blames women students for being responsible for sexual harassment through their '*indecent dressing*'. The idea of sexual

provocation of men students and staff by women is similar to findings by Omale (2000), Imasogie (2002), Gouws *et al* (2005) and Britwum (2005). Britwum (2005) argue that improper sitting posture, indecent dressing, and the idea of women students sitting on beds belonging to men students as likely to provoke men students/staff. While Imasogie (2002) report on how men lecturers are provoked by women students by being sent letters and cards, men students in the UoN talked about '*mwalimu pono*' a man lecturer who gets sexually aroused at the sight of women students. However, the feminine characteristics regarding the suggestive nature of dressing has been normalised by the society in order to give men an opportunity to sexually harass women students. The idea of provocative dressing tend to form part of a complex gendered institutional culture, which, according to Mama (2009), continue to privilege and protect masculine norms of behaviours at the disadvantage of women students.

A key finding from the present study is that women students spoke of wanting to be on 'fashion', 'looking good' and influence of peer pressure as reasons for dressing in a provocative way, but the question still remains: are men students unable to control their sexual urges? To some extent, this finding partly complements that of Sutherland (1994) and Hames *et al* (2005) who reported that in the process of women 'looking for attention' they become victims of sexual harassment. Although, some feminists suggest that women in popular culture equate power with beauty and sexuality, patriarchal notions of seeing women as objects to be ogled and men as having 'mainstream cultural power' (Charles, 2004; Albury 2002: 91 in Charles, 2004) could be used to explain this phenomenon. The debate on the nature of dressing styles as contributing to sexual harassment could provoke questions such as: Are students lacking moral principles? Are women aware that they 'provoke' men? Fayokun, Adedeji and Oyebade (2009) agree that in-decent dressing is likely to lower university students' moral standards. The ideology of women students making themselves attractive by dressing in 'provocative' ways in order to seek men's approval is a manifestation of

culture of heterosexuality. Ronald (2000) supports this view while noting that hetero-sexualisation of women's bodies may include a demand for attractiveness for one to be heterosexually desirable. However, Bennett (2005a) points out the need to challenge the debate of 'women harassing men through sexual provocation' by trying to understand the politics of sexuality and gender, an area not explored in this study.

Men and women students spoke about men being sexually active, aggressive 'partners/hunters' usually involved in the construction of women students as 'chicks', an evidence of culture of heterosexuality. The women students specifically talked about the ideology of rapid exchange of sex partners and having a rich sex life on campus as part of the heterosexual culture. It seems that being heterosexuality is normal occurrence as shown in what some statements by women students: '*sex is normal thing*' '*majority of people have sex in campus*'. In addition, women students saw the practices of 'capturing' and 'dumping' and to a large extent 'gold rushing' as part of the widely normalised heterosexual relationship cycle. Men students spoke of being successful, visible and having a multi-partnered heterosexuality relationship as characteristics that make them qualify to be '*real, better, super-star or sexually active man*' since '*the more ladies you have the better man*'. Men have used these discourses to prove their masculinity status, an aspect emphasised by patriarchal ideology. This sometimes make men view women as '*sex preys*', '*easily available*' and '*cheap*' for their sexual satisfaction and tend to normalise the practice of sexual harassment in the UoN.

The discourses of the culture of heterosexuality found in the UoN reinforces the points raised by Chogonda (2001), Pereira (Unpublished, 2004), Gouws *et al* (2005) and Okiria (2007) who argue that the construction of masculinity tend to be judged by the number of sexual partners a man is able to control. Although, Pereira (2004) is clear that violence needs to be seen as a key feature in the construction of masculinity, where senior men students express their powers through sexuality, women students in the present study revealed that men tend

to rely on the ideology of *'using and dumping'*, as a way of satisfying their sexual desires. This is further evidenced by availability of used condoms over most of the weekends. According to Ronald (2000) the ideology of sexuality is used to dominate and oppress women.

The idea that this is the period (age while in campus) when men and women students are at the peak of their sex drives and where men use sexual harassment as a tool to socially, sexually and materially control women students was reported by men and women students in the UoN. This can be explicitly explained by power as a discourse where sexual harassment is seen within the context of men dominating women and which is characterised with expressions of masculinity, and thus, tend to encourage men to sexually exploit women, through their 'uncontrolled aggressive sexual behaviour'. The fact that sexual harassment is largely and widely experienced within heterosexual interactions and relationships is a pointer of the dominant discourses of heterosexuality that reduces women to passive victims of uncontrollable and potentially violent men's sexuality (Bennett, 2000a; Charles, 2004). Basing these findings on power as a discourse, it seems that men's abusive behaviour is based on their strength and power, while women are supposed to be attractive and in need of men (Hagedorn, 2000; Timmerman, 2003) at the expense of their social, cultural, political and economic lives.

8.5 Negative Effects of Sexual Harassment on Women Students

Across the data women students spoke of fear, threats, intimidation and risky behaviours by men students and staff, which create unfriendly situations and environment, thus leading to feelings of insecurity. There is an indication that this could affect some women students as they attempt to access supplementary sources of income, clubs and organizations, use common university facilities (accommodation (rooms/toilets/bathrooms), catering, health, library, shops and swimming), apply and participate in the various degree programmes in the UoN. Mama (2009) found that fear tend to impinge on the freedom and mobility of women students on campus. Similar to Naidoo and Rajab's (1999) findings, women students in the UoN talked of women

victims expressing their fear by crying, making loud noises, a way of drawing attention that they are probably in danger. The emotional state of fear and need for protection defines the feminine characteristics usually associated with women, and which sometimes shows the unfriendly nature of university environment. By issuing threats to some women students, men students and staff want to be in control of the structures and practices on campus, which sometimes tend to deny women students access to opportunities and facilities on campus. These findings have further been highlighted by Tlou and Letsie (1997), Naidoo and Rajab (1999), Phiri (1999; 2000), Omale (2000), Imasogie (2002) and Mulugeta (2007). Omale (2000) reports on how women students preferred cooking and eating in their rooms and avoided social functions on campus. While Omale (2000) and Mulugeta's (2007) findings complement what men and women students from UoN said, on how some women students use the library sparingly because they fear being pestered by men students.

Further, UoN women students reported of not being able to participate in jogging and campus politics due to fear created by experiences of sexual harassment. An important observation from the current study was that none of the men students talked about fear, or women students not being able to access campus opportunities and facilities, probably because they tend to conceptualise sexual harassment as 'normal' and 'natural', thus not affecting them negatively. The fear could affect participation of some women students in different university programmes.

Sexual transactions for grades or STM is another area where men and women students spoke of men staff making use of the academically 'weak' women students to threaten and intimidate them with examination failure if they do not submit to their sexual demands, which could sometimes affect their academic performance. This usually happens during the practical examinations where lecturers have to deal with one student at a time. Feminist scholars refer to STM in different ways '*sexual corruption*' (Pereira, Unpublished, 2004; 2007), '*sex for*

certificates' (Hallman, 1994; Imasogie, 2002), '*sexual economy*' (Barnes, 2007) and probably that is why sometimes universities are known as '*sexual supermarkets*' (Ouendeji, 2000). While Ndlovu (2001) and Labeledo (2003) noted that 'weak' students are usually desperate for academic awards, Pereira (2004) sees this as an attempt by men to re-assert their masculinity by taking advantage of women. 'Weakness' is a feminine characteristic used by patriarchal society to achieve their objective of dominating and sexually exploiting women students. Such threats of women students by men lecturers as revealed from UoN could make women feel frustrated, thus eroding their self-confidence. Such a scenario can be understood in reference to what Shumba and Matina (2002) notes about use of patriarchal powers by men to victimise and instill fear in women students as a way of making them comply with their sexual needs and desires. But, are the lecturers failing to adhere to their professional ethics? This observation could be a pointer to the UoN about the state of security of the women students in their attempt to for instance, getting rooms in the Halls of Residence, of which it is the responsibility of the university to give them protection.

In accessing space and facilities men and women students in the UoN spoke of lack of women friendly spaces, facilities and schedules (for instance, sharing Halls of Residence, inappropriate sanitation facilities like torn bathroom curtains, dirty toilets, overflowing sanitary buckets and presence of urinals in women's Halls of Residence) and physical harassment (fighting, pushing and scrambling). Although the data to some extent unpacks what Karega (2001), Onsongo (2005) and Bunyi (2008) refers to as inappropriate sanitation facilities for women students, it sometimes does affect students' access to Halls of Residence, lecture rooms and catering facilities. Similarly, Gaidzanwa (2007) and Pereira (Unpublished) reported of toilet doors that do not shut properly, while others have no doors, are dirty and unpleasant to use. Data from the present could have implications on SWA's Strategic Plan 2008-2013 objective 1.2, that of achieving World-class accommodation status. Men students from UoN attributed

inappropriate facilities to lack of cleaning equipments, negligence of custodians, shortage of water and carelessness on the part of the students.

Apart from students not being able to access opportunities due to unwanted sexual behaviours and other related challenges, responses of men and women students' from UoN differed in regard to psychological and physical effects of sexual harassment on women students. Women students spoke of developing feelings of discomfort, diminished confidence, signs of withdrawal and silence. The psychological and emotional trauma which men students spoke about could probably be as a result of low self-esteem and feelings of embarrassment. The current findings complement those of Britwum (2005), who reports about victims lacking status and dignity, while Gitobu (1999) and Phiri (2000) notes that only a few victims have the courage to speak or open up about sexual harassment. What this means is that the majority of victims tend to suffer in 'silence', probably implying a lack of confidence among some women students. Gitobu (1999) and Wanjala (2000) further reveal that the victims are completely traumatised, crippled with emotional pain and distress. The question is, does UoN have proper and effective mechanisms, for instance, counselling programmes, to assist victims of sexual harassment cope with traumatising challenges? The effectiveness of guidance and counselling programmes, an example of intervention strategies which can help victims of sexual harassment was beyond the scope of the present study, thus an area that may require exploration.

In contrast to what women students in the UoN said, men students concentrated on the reproductive and biological aspects of women students, an indication that sexual harassment tend to largely affect women students more than the men. Sexual harassment, as Imasogie (2002) noted is not only a serious problem in its own right, but has implications for women students' inability to successfully pursue their studies and careers in a friendly environment. Although similar findings were recorded by Gitobu (1999), Omale (2000) and Adedokun (2005),

they however, relied on the views of women students only. Yet, by enabling men students, like was the case in the present study, to, for instance, acknowledge the effects of sexual harassment is significant, since it provides a glimpse of hope for a possibility of developing empathy among men students upon which their participation in formulating and implementing strategies can be envisioned.

8.6 Summary

What emerges from the analytical presentation is a reflection of a university culture which sometimes is characterised by a range of gender dynamics drawn from the struggles, conflicts and tensions men and women students experience, and which tend to suggest that patriarchal ideologies carry social, economic and political dimensions within the UoN. The perceptions of men and women students depict a range of discourses which show the extent to which the UoN culture is sometimes discriminative and unfriendly to women students. The gender discourses drawn mostly from the ideology of masculinity, femininity, patriarchy and heterosexual traditions and practices tend to shape UoN's culture. The discourses serve to reinforce, sustain and reproduce unequal power relations likely to affect the establishment of a friendly learning environment for some women students. Yet, according to Cortina, Swan, Fitzgerald and Waldo (1998), a friendly institutional environment is meant to play a critical role for women in fostering academic, professional and personal development. Therefore, any kind of subordination and marginalisation against women students at all levels (political, economic, cultural and social) means denying them an opportunity to enjoy their basic human rights and achievement of democracy, as outlined in the international, regional frameworks and declarations, most of which Kenya has domesticated.

Men and women students' discourses based on gendered perceptions show masculine and feminine attitudes towards various structures and processes which are largely a result of the nature of a patriarchal culture and that make men and women continue to view the inequalities as 'normal' and 'natural'. The 'normalisation' of behaviour leading to

gender inequalities can be seen in the profiles (political, economic and social) where most of the struggles occur, and which tend to cut across a wide spectrum of the students normal daily lives on campus. The complexity of gendered aspects of the university culture tend to determine notions of gender stereotyping, which places some women students in a vulnerable discriminative position of becoming victims of sexual harassment. However, lack of empowerment and confidence by some women students could probably make them afraid to question and challenge the existence of the gendered discriminatory behaviour and sexual practices on campus.

The dominant masculine culture tend to construct femininity as powerless and voiceless (Mannathoko, 1999; 2008), consequently this has made it possible for men to succeed in their mission of 'conquering' and exploiting some women students culturally, sexually and materially, thus leading to their marginalisation on campus. To Mannathoko (1999; 2008) discrimination involves constant reinforcement of the dominant masculinities that encourage men to perceive women as socially inferior and weaker sex, which sometimes tend to limit their full participation in various structures and practices in the society. Discourses revolving around the occurrences of gendered realities experienced by men and women students are outlined in detail. Inferences generated from the analytical chapter are discussed in the next chapter, where appropriate conclusions, recommendations and new theoretical questions generated from this research are presented.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.0 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to theoretically establish the gendered nature of inequalities through an integrated approach of discourses of access and sexual harassment, a way of understanding UoN's culture. Based on the overall research findings regarding the nature of institutional culture, this chapter provides conclusions based on the culture of masculinity and, patriarchal traditions, which shows how heterosexual practices sometimes define the inequalities and injustices in the UoN. Recommendations for good practice/capacity building and suggestions for further research are also given.

9.1 Conclusions of the Study Findings

The UoN's culture depicts a society dominated by men, which has been seen to privilege men as a group as they try to justify their continued exploitation of women students. Such an institutional culture may tend to encourage preferential treatment of men. Commenting on the differential treatment of men and women students, Kitetu (1998) reaffirms that cultural norms are responsible for defining what masculinity and femininity entails in an institution. For instance, men may tend to receive more attention and encouragement in important areas of students' life on campus including curriculum/teaching (study subjects that are more market-oriented), accommodation (favourable to men), and financial matters (more sources of income given to men). The discriminatory practices may be an advantage to some men students, since it enables them to acquire relevant and adequate skills, knowledge, attitudes and experiences which strengthen their position in the society, and eventually use it to control some women students on campus. This is partly responsible for the gender inequalities existing in the UoN.

The UoN culture tends to place some women students in vulnerable and disadvantaged situations and positions of being sexually harassed and discriminated. The study has shown that the hidden context in which sexual harassment occurs on campus is an indication of the state of gender inequalities where some women students are considered victims and men as perpetrators. Such a culture has the effect of depriving some women students their ability and freedom to participate in various university programmes and activities effectively and to access available opportunities and facilities. The discriminatory practices are, to some extent, dominating and oppressive. This could affect successful participation and performance of some of the women students in various university programmes and processes, as compared to men. Thus, since the study has shown that social, economic and political challenges found for instance, in the discourse of sexual harassment, usually belong to the private domain, therefore, as Kamau (2009) notes, that space and action in the public discourses that inform policy and practice could be necessary.

Although UoN has made great efforts to provide relevant and adequate information to students through diversified programmes and structures, it seems like UoN has not been very effective in providing knowledge based on life-based skills (sexuality and moral education), financial management and sometimes academic and political related matters. This tends to put women students at the periphery of a disadvantaged position where men students and sometimes staff may take advantage of their innocence to sexually manipulate and exploit them. The idea of men students appearing more exposed and informed about issues related to life (for instance, pedagogy, politics, finance) in campus, could be an indication of the influence UoN culture (usually marked with masculine behaviours) has towards favouring men, and eventually making it challenging for some women to compete on an equal footing with men at different levels on campus.

The idea of some women students lacking self-confidence and internal motivation, thus becoming easily influenced (for instance, through peer

pressure, practices of 'gold rush'), makes them depend on support structures and systems as compared to the men students, for them to be able to cope with the dynamic challenges within the university environment. The support systems are sometimes not friendly. Consequently, some women students tend to develop symptoms of fear, embarrassment and emotional trauma. Such symptoms could make them shy and afraid of competition, while wanting to withdraw from some of the programmes, which put them at a disadvantaged position on campus, likely to affect their access to various opportunities on campus. This could also compromise the security of women students on campus.

9.2 Recommendations

The following recommendations based on the conclusions of the study could have far reaching implications on pedagogy, empowerment of women who seem to be lacking confidence in social, economic and political matters, establishment of gender friendly university programmes and policies in the UoN. Such recommendations are important if a gender supportive environment is to be realised where all parties may benefit equally, thus creating a better future for women and girls. Establishing an institutional culture where men and women students are acknowledged as equal partners in the developmental process, is key to attaining gender equality, a human rights issue enshrined in national and international conventions and declarations.

The benefits of gender responsive pedagogy, a model developed by FAWE which seeks to revolutionise the teaching and learning processes in order to make it gender friendly cannot be overlooked. The model can be used to sensitise and empower the students with relevant and adequate life skills that could challenge gender imbalances, deal with forces of oppression, discrimination and unequal treatment (Mlama, 2005; FAWE, 2006). The knowledge, skills, and morals acquired through such a model could be critical in helping some women students competently negotiate for their rightful place in the society. Through such a model, men and women teachers/lecturers may be in a

better position to develop and use gender responsive methodologies that ensure equal participation of men and women students in the teaching and learning processes without fear of intimidation and threats. For the model to be effective, teachers need to acquire empowerment strategies and learn how to handle issues of sexual harassment (FAWE, 2006) in and outside the classroom. The university may need to sensitise its staff on how this model can effectively be used in the teaching and learning processes.

The current education system (8.4.4) seems to be lacking an important component of life skills and moral values, an important aspect of promoting sound moral and religious values, one of the national goals of education in Kenya. Having a life skills component in the curriculum could help students acquire knowledge and attitudes to aid in adopting healthy behaviour through critical thinking, decision making, problem solving, self-management and interpersonal skills (UNICEF, 2004). By helping women students, for instance develop skill of assertiveness this could make them manage their interpersonal, academic and conflict situations more effectively (Melese and Fenta, 2009). The idea of life skills based education being inter-active could allow young people analyse beliefs about their culture, thus, enable them to effectively negotiate for healthy relationships. Students may need to be educated on moral principles and values through moral education, since it focuses on what the society considers right and wrong, norms or standards that usually guide and regulate people's behaviours. These dimensions may need to be included in the curriculum for teacher training institutions, colleges and universities.

University lecturers play a vital role in the implementation of the curriculum and in playing the role of mentors and models. It has been observed that the behaviour of some lecturers/administrators/exam officers is wanting, yet they are supposed to be role models for their students. Such people, whether men or women, who are not appropriate role models or mentors, become shackles. According to Kitetu (1998) teachers/lecturers play a role in encouraging their

students to resist gendered notions that tend to interfere with their learning if a supportive institutional culture is to be enhanced. There may be need for university to challenge unsavory behaviours through forums where teaching and non-teaching staff are sensitised on the importance of adhering to set professional ethics. This could be realised if some lecturers refrain from issuing negative statements and getting romantically involved with students, which reinforces symptoms of discrimination and inequalities. This becomes important to the UoN, whose mission is to be a centre of learning, scholarship and professional development, fostering an institutional and intellectual culture that bridges theory with practice.

The need to minimise the inequalities may require the university to address the hidden gender discourses responsible for the occurrences of these inequalities by revising, modifying and setting up support structures. This could probably transform the university culture by making it hospitable and conducive to all the stakeholders. UoN may need to develop appropriate and relevant comprehensive empowerment programmes for men and women students. Through the empowerment programmes, the disadvantaged women students may be in a position to challenge the attitudes, beliefs and practices that continue to perpetuate, and sustain different forms of gender inequalities, while changing the negative attitudes and beliefs men students and staff may have in regard to how they treat them. The program could be used to teach men to respect women irrespective of year of study, ethnic affiliations and degree programmes. Consequently, students may be more willing to accept gender equality as a human rights issue (Mlama, 2005).

The comprehensive empowerment program should attempt to deal with all dimensions of students' life (political, social and economic). This is important, since women will be in a better position to challenge the power imbalances and the patriarchal ideologies that encourage men to use violence to sexually dominate women (Larkin, 1994). The program should target particularly first year women students, especially before

and during the orientation week, since they are usually the victims of such practices as 'gold rush'. This will enable women students develop potential abilities if they have to make the right decisions, negotiate for their sexual rights in confidence, become self-assertive, and especially when confronted by sexually aggressive men students and staff. This is important if women are to realise their full individual development and self-fulfillment, one of the national goals of education in Kenya. The empowerment of men and women students in all dimensions of development (political, social and economic) is key toward the achievement of gender equality clearly stipulated in goal three of MDGs 2000. That is why Mlana (2005) notes that for there to be any meaningful gender transformation, efforts need to be made to eliminate gender inequalities through the empowerment of women.

Use of specific gender focused programmes and intervention is vital. Feminist researchers such as, Mabokela (2003), Adekunle (2005), Endeley and Ngaling (2007), Diaw (2007), Odejide (2007), Pereira (2007), and Shackleton (2007) acknowledge the importance of having support networks for women students and staff. Such support networks, as Endeley and Ngaling (2007) points out, could place women students in a position of being able to directly tackle issues related to their subordination and discrimination. It has been observed from this study that mentoring and networking is important for the attainment of gender equality. The study findings provide a new sense of direction for developing a formal mentoring and networking structures and programmes, particularly through WOSWA, the only women organisation in the UoN. Consequently, this could make it possible for WOSWA to achieve its goal of educating, mentoring and capacity building. For instance, through WOSWA the victims of sexual harassment would be in a position to effectively make use of Student Sexual Response Assistance (SSRA), a student hotline meant to help get women victims to safe places, provide them with relevant information and assist them get medical support. Such structures would also help some women students cope with the diversified gendered challenges

they encounter on campus, while attempting to promote peaceful coexistence among wider students community. This will eventually enlighten and sensitise women students if as stated in the UoN Newsletter (2008a) they have to realise the role educated women play in the society, while creating a community of men and women who want to share their experiences, knowledge, talent and resources with others for personal and professional development.

The existence of different forms of sexual harassment has implications in regard to the effectiveness of the UoN's guidance and counselling programmes, especially in dealing with the students' emotional difficulties, conflicts and tensions which are a result of drugs and alcohol, relationships, academic and financial stress and other challenges related to sexuality in campus. Having a comprehensive counselling program which the students trust in, it may help the perpetrators and victims of anti-social behaviour while showing them the importance of living in harmony. Establishing counselling centres to deal with cases of sexual harassment is one of the recommendations stipulated in the UoN Gender Policy 2008, which partly shows the university's commitment in assisting victims of sexual harassment. Such interventions could be seen as a step toward achieving one of the interventions stipulated in Kenya's Gender Policy in Education 2007 that of strengthening guidance and counselling departments at all levels of education.

The reality of sexual harassment in the UoN has implications on the need to strengthen the security of women students on campus, since, as Kwesiga (2002) points out security seems crucial for effective teaching and learning processes for all students. Learning how to live and respect each other's values, encourages and develops respectful, equal relationships and peaceful coexistence. This could be a step towards reinforcing and sustaining a gender friendly environment. Issue of secure environment for all has implications for the implementation of recommendations, spelt out in SWA's Strategic Plan 2008-2013. Safety of students is of paramount importance given the location of the UoN and its constituent colleges within and at the periphery of Central

Business District, Nairobi County. SWA management needs to implement strategic issue 6, giving clear guidelines regarding security issues pertaining to the lives of women students on campus, particularly in the Halls of Residence, where sexual harassment was found to be paramount.

There may be a need to encourage students to make use of the suggestion boxes to place their complaints without victimisation. The effective use of the suggestion box should be seen as a step toward eliminating the challenges students encounter on campus (for instance, culture of silence) since it becomes difficult to design appropriate interventions without an update of the nature of gender-related challenges. However, confidentiality of such information should be maintained if the students have to use the facilities effectively. Such an intervention could be important, especially when one considers the gendered discourses surrounding the normalisation of inequalities which help to explain the complexity and nature under which gendered realities operate within the university's culture. This is important if a gender friendly environment has to be sustained, since it is crucial to successful teaching and conducting research, which are core functions of the university. This becomes critical in achieving the goals stipulated in the UoN's policies and strategic plans. A supportive campus environment advocates for cooperation among the members of an organisation rather than conflicts, competition and struggles (Endeley and Ngaling, 2007).

The conclusions have implications on the implementation and appropriate revision of policies and documents, such as the UoN Gender Policy 2008 and Students handbook, Gender Policy in Education 2007, Sexual Offences Act 2006 and the Bill of Rights stipulated in New Constitution (2010). Marphatia (2011) points out the need for international and national policy efforts to address the myriad inequalities which continue to keep some women in subordinate positions. With the launch of the Gender Policy 2008, the UoN could be in a better position to deal with gender issues effectively; hence there

is urgent need for the students and staff to be made aware of the policy and its content. However, looking at this policy and student handbook (although the aim of the study was not to evaluate the policy and handbook), one wonders about the UoN's commitment in dealing with issues of sexual harassment. This is because sexual harassment has not been clearly spelt both in the policy and student's handbook. For instance, sub-section 3.10 of the policy only covers general dimensions of gender violence, while the issue of 'gold rush' and dress code is not well articulated in the student's handbook. Dress code in universities is meant to promote and embrace important values of neatness, modesty and decency which reflect dignity through which students represent their personal and professional status (Fayokun, Adedeji and Oyebade, 2009). There is need to re-evaluate the issue of sexual harassment in the policy and make a follow-up of its domestication in UoN campuses. Alternatively, the university could develop a sexual harassment policy (Larkin, 1994; Simelaine, 2001; Kayuni, 2009), and revise student's handbook. Such a policy and information in the handbook need to clearly show what behaviour constitutes sexual harassment (Kayuni, 2009), identifying them as unacceptable.

By developing, revising and implementing policies and documents dealing with sexual harassment, this would help achieve the recommendations made by the Public Universities Inspection Board 2006 and Gender Policy in Education 2007. The two documents advocate the need to develop and implement anti-sexual harassment and gender-based violence policies at all educational institutions. A sexual harassment policy will show the UoN's commitment in promoting an institutional culture conducive for learning, teaching and conducting research clearly spelt out in Strategic Plan 2008-2013. Such a policy could provide a basis for accountability and collective responsibility in regard to gender-related issues, and consequently help maintain a learning environment conducive for all. Mabokela (2011) supports the importance of creating an institutional culture that values

and embraces diversity, as key to attracting men and women in different programmes on campus.

Overall, UoN needs to strengthen its gender mainstreaming strategies as specified in SWA's Strategic Plan 2008-2013, to ensure that the available opportunities and benefits are equally accessible to students if gender equity and equality is to be realised. Gender mainstreaming strategies provide a framework for good practices and overall promotion for gender equality, since it ensures that both men and women are fully involved in setting goals and programmes by considering the priorities and needs of all in the society. It is everyone's hope that with the establishment of UoN's AWSC in 2011, the unspoken experiences and innovations of women which have remained outside the mainstream of academic institutions will find their way into academic and policy debates through the gender mainstreaming process as a way of improving the social, political and economic lives of men and women students. Need to design more effective interventions and prevention strategies have further been informed by Nayak, Bryne, Martin and Abraham (2003). Policies and structures are likely to create a safer, more hospitable environment for women students in which they can develop their full potential and lead productive lives according to their needs and interests (Cortina *et al*, 1998; Kamau, 2010).

9.3 Suggestions for Further Research

The idea of using access and sexual harassment, with a sample of fourth year students and student leaders to unveil the hidden gender dynamics, calls for a need to undertake studies in the UoN, using other discourses and stakeholders for a broader understanding of the institutional culture. This is because the present research has not provided absolute and conclusive answers to all questions related to the complex realities of the institutional culture. A close evaluation of the structures and interventions the UoN has put in place to address gender issues and particularly sexual harassment requires in-depth research. Evaluating such interventions will inform UoN on the need to change, improve or

look for alternative strategies if gender friendly culture has to be enhanced.

The present study raises pertinent issues revolving around gender discourses of access and sexual harassment, but given that the study was done only in the UoN, calls researchers to undertake a larger study in other universities in Kenya and Africa. Therefore, the results of the current study are only applicable to the UoN, any broad generalisation can only be made with caution. For purposes of comparison there is need to undertake research in private universities in Kenya and other African countries since the current research was done in one public university in Kenya. It would be useful to see how their perceptions differ or complement each other.

The study draws attention for further qualitative research to be conducted to find out the extent to which teaching and non-teaching staff, other under-graduate (1st, 2nd and 3rd years), and post-graduate students think about discourses of access and sexual harassment because the present study used the perceptions of fourth year (undergraduate students) and student leaders. Insights given could be useful in understanding the perceptions from a different dimension. Such broader studies will further help validate the findings of the current study in order to assist the university systems in Africa in terms of policy formulation, revision and implementation if a gender responsive culture has to be instituted. Findings from the diversified studies will go along in making a significant contribution, towards adding to body of knowledge in African universities.

9.4 Summary

The chapter has provided the main conclusions based on the gendered nature of institutional culture, with emphasis on patriarchal, masculinity, femininity and heterosexual aspects of the UoN, specifically drawn from the discussed findings of this research. Appropriate recommendations based on pedagogy, empowerment, formulation and implementation of gender friendly policies and programmes have been presented.

Suggestions viable for future research based on a need to evaluate programmes dealing with gender-related issues, conducting qualitative research in private universities for purposes of comparison, putting into consideration post-graduate students, teaching and non-teaching staff have been outlined for scholars interested in gender and HE. Overall, findings could have implications for the need to undertake further research to help gain broader insights of gendered discourses of the institutional culture particularly in Kenyan and other African universities. It is hoped that fruitful knowledge will be obtained from this research to act as a step towards promoting and sustaining gender equity and equality if a just and democratic society has to be established.

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University of Cape Town

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: In-Depth Interviews/Focused Group Discussions for Students/Student Leaders

Introduction: Welcome the participants, introductions, explain the purpose of the study, assure the student of confidentiality and anonymity, inform them about the use of the tape recorder, ask them to kindly switch off their cell phones, ask them whether they have any questions/to make comments.

1. Background Information

Date:
Gender:
College/Campus/School/Faculty:
Degree Course:
Number of respondents: F/M

2. Gender parity in access

Loans/Bursaries

What are your views regarding the allocation of loans/bursaries given to male and female students? *(Any special funds set aside to help needy female student; work-study programmes; tuck shops)*

What do you think influences the amount of loan/bursary given to male and female students?

In your opinion, do you think male and female students should get the same amount of loan/bursary? *Give reasons*

Student's admission into 'unique degree courses' *(Vetinary Medicine, Pharmacy, Quantity Survey, Land Economics, Statistics).*

What do you think influences the admission of male and female students into these 'highly specialised courses'? *Challenges they encounter when taking these subjects?*

In your view how can gender parity in student's enrolment in these subjects be achieved?

3. Gendered space, facilities and services

What are your views regarding accommodation, catering, health, academic facilities and services to male and female students? *Probe on the appropriateness_(suitability), accessibility, gender differences in the payment of accommodation.*

Any suggestions on how each of these facilities and services can be improved to make them more gender friendly?

4) Perception and experiences of sexual harassment

In your view, what do you consider to be sexual harassment?

What types/examples of sexual harassment exists in your campus/college?

(rape; attempted rape; date rape; impromptu sexual intercourse; gold rush; nanking, peeping, stalking etc).

What do you think influences the occurrences of sexual harassment in your campus/college. *Probe on the factors/causes?*

Where does sexual harassment usually take place? *Why?*

What time of the academic semester (month/week/day/night) are students likely to experience sexual harassment? *Give reasons?*

How do the harassers get their victims? *Probe on the techniques used and Why?*

Are there times when male students are victims of sexual harassment? *Probe on how and why?*

What behaviour did you dislike as a 'fresher' in this campus? *Probe on the sexual experiences/behaviour which lead to 'cultural shock'*

How would you rate the relationship existing in the campus? *Between male and female students; male staff and female staff; male staff and female students; female staff and male students.*

What encourages students and staff to engage in these relationships?

Who do you think is more disadvantaged by sexual harassment/relationships, male or female students? *Give reasons?*

Conclusion: Thank the participants, showing appreciation of time, energy and information they have given, reassure them of confidentiality, and ask them whether they want information replayed back, any comments, questions or recommendations.

Debrief session: Take 30-60 minutes writing down what I can remember (the reactions, feelings, thoughts, ideas, challenges etc).

Appendix 2: Research Authorisation from MOEST

MINISTRY OF SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

Telegrams: SCIENCE TEC", Nairobi

Fax No.
Telephone: 318581
When replying please quote



JOGOO HOUSE
HARAMBEE AVENUE
P. O. Box 9583-00200
NAIROBI
KENYA

MOST 13/001/37C 187/6

19th April 2007

Juliet Njeri Muasya
University of Nairobi
P.O. Box 30197
NAIROBI

Dear Madam

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on, '*Gender and Institutional Culture: A Case Study of the University of Nairobi Kenya*'

I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to carry out research in Nairobi for a period ending 31st December 2008.

You are advised to report to the Provincial Commissioner and the Provincial Director of Education Nairobi before embarking on your research project.

On completion of your research, you are expected to submit two copies of your research report to this office.

Yours faithfully

B. O. ADEWA
FOR: PERMANENT SECRETARY

Copy to:

The Provincial Commissioner
Nairobi

The Provincial Director of Education
Nairobi

Appendix 3: Research Authorisation for Pilot Study

Tel: (051) 62183
Fax: (051) 62213
P.O. Box 536,
Njoro, Kenya
E-mail: dveaa@wananchi.com
Website: www.egerton.ac.ke



DEPUTY VICE CHANCELLOR
ACADEMIC AFFAIRS

DVC/AA/44

4th May, 2007

Juliet Njeri Muasya (Mrs.)
University of Nairobi
Faculty of Education
P.O. Box 30197-00100
NAIROBI

RE: REQUEST TO CARRY OUT A PRE-TEST IN EGERTON UNIVERSITY

Reference is made to your letter dated 2nd May, 2007 on the above subject.

Permission is hereby granted for you to carry out a PRE-TEST in Egerton University as part of your preparation for Ph.D data collection.

It is noted that you have acquired authorization to conduct research from the Ministry of Education.

Thank you.

Prof. E.M. Wathuta, Ph.D
DEPUTY VICE-CHANCELLOR (ACADEMIC AFFAIRS)

EMW/cm

Appendix 4: Authorisation to Collect Data for the Main Study



