

**Gender Inequity in Academic Profession and  
Higher Education Access:  
Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States**

**Research Institute for Higher Education**

**Hiroshima University**

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and post-PMI periods] (2006), in RIHE, Hiroshima University (ed.), *Kakkoku ni okeru Gaikkokujin-ryugakusei no Kakuho ya Gaikoku no Kyoiku-kenkyu-kikan tonon Renkei-taisei no Kochiku no tameno Torikumi ni kansuru Chosa Kenkyu* [Comparative Research on Governments and Institutional Strategies to Attract International Students and Promote Collaboration with Institutions in Other Countries: English Case], an interim research report commissioned by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology.

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**Mary Ann Danowitz Sagaria**, Professor and Director of the Higher Education Program at the University of Denver, USA. She has served on the faculty of the College of William and Mary as well as the Ohio State University where she was also Interim Director of the School of Educational Policy and Leadership. Mary Ann has been a Fulbright Scholar to Indonesia and a Visiting Scholar to Edith Cowan University in Australia and Cornell University in the US. She will be a Fulbright Scholar at the Vienna University of Economics and Business Administration in 2007. Her research and scholarship focus on leadership, higher education human resources policies and practices, and gender and racial equality.

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participation and experiences of Asian American and Pacific Islanders. Dr. Teranishi recently completed a University of California Office of the President funded study in residential shift patterns of African American families in California, assessing the changing postsecondary opportunity structures for African Americans.

**Atsunori Yamanoi**, Chief Professor of the Higher Education Program and Professor of the Research Institute for Higher Education at Hiroshima University, Hiroshima, Japan. He has served on the faculty of the State University of Shimane, Yasuda Women University and Kanazawa University and so on. He was a Visiting Scholar to SUNY at Buffalo, USA in 1986-1987 and he has been a visiting fellow of the Center of University Research at Tsukuba University and at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies. He earned his Ph.D from Hiroshima University in 1985. His major publications include *The Study on the Mobility of Faculty Members in Japan* (1990), *Comparative Study of Academic Profession* (1996), *The Study on the University Evaluation* (ed.) (2004), and *The Study of Japanese Academic Marketplace and The Study on Japanese Academic Profession* (2005). He has served as a member of Trustees and Committees, of the Japanese Association for Higher Education Study, the Association of Higher Education, Japanese Association of Educational Sociology and the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. His research and scholarship focus on the academic profession, marketplace and university reforms and policies.

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## Preface

The Research Institute for Higher Education (RIHE), Hiroshima University, was established in May 1972 with the approval of the Ministry of Education as the first national institution for research in higher education. With its commitment to academic research, RIHE has developed since then to make significant contributions to higher education research both inside Japan and overseas. It celebrated its thirtieth anniversary in 2002.

This anniversary coincided with a decision of the Japanese government to establish its policy of support for research excellence, the "21st Century Center of Excellence program". RIHE's project "Construction of a System for 21st Century Higher Education and Quality Assurance" was selected as one of 20 programs in the field of humanities and 113 programs in all disciplines. This formal recognition of RIHE as the sole COE in higher education identifies both its unique achievement and its capacity to contribute significantly to the future development of higher education. Its achievement reflects the dedication and commitment of many colleagues over the past three decades, transforming the status of research in higher education from a curiosity into the substantial position it now occupies. Those of us now working in RIHE are privileged to stand on the shoulders of the giants who established this reputation. They provide us with a continuing challenge to sustain their pioneering spirit.

The current COE program extends for five years in order to enable the project to develop fully. Specifically, the program will intensively address five aspects: institutionalization and assessment of the quality of faculty development and staff development; quality assurance in the academic research system; arrangements for and quality assessment of academic organization; construction of an international reference data base of academic systems; and training of younger researchers in higher education. In addition, in order to develop the international research network centered on RIHE, we shall be publishing COE research publications in English as well as Japanese. The style of publication adopted in this volume reflects our intentions in this regard. Its aim is to place on record aspects of research already completed that are related to the COE program and to make it accessible internationally.

As the leader of the COE program project, this opportunity to provide useful information and new material to readers concerned with developments in higher education gives me particular pleasure. In turn, within RIHE, we shall be pleased to receive support, co-operation and comments from readers so that our work may be strengthened and that the function of the research network can be promoted.

March 2003

Akira Arimoto  
Professor, R.I.H.E., Hiroshima University  
COE Project Leader

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## Foreword

Gender inequity can be understood in relation to power, privilege, structure, and conditions which endure and regenerate the society favored by a particular group – men – in opposition to the other group – women. Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* (1977; 1984) can explain such social reproduction. *Habitus* is 'a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions' (Bourdieu 1977, p. 83). *Habitus* encompasses belief, dispositions, and non-discursive knowledge which can be operated beneath ideology.

The continuity of gender imbalance, as seen in many countries, observed in higher education access in particular disciplines and doctoral programs, senior academic and managerial positions, and organization culture, notably in elite institutions, can be explained by men's *habitus* against women. Men's *habitus* continuously informs 'fields' or sets of relations in the world, which condition *habitus* through practice; therefore, men-oriented cultural structure continues.

The new contexts, such as rising political debate and agenda on gender issue at international arenas (Sagaria and Agans, and Yamanoi in this book), the marketization and expansion of higher education (special issue of *Higher Education Quarterly* 56(4) edited by Pritchard), the rise of evaluation culture (see Morley 2003 for gendering performativity and gendered division of labor), and new managerialism (see for example, Deem 2003) could have some implications for *habitus*, changing the traditional mode of cultural capital. The questions to be investigated include: can market efficiency, equity, and excellence be compatible? What is the implication of higher education expansion quantitatively and qualitatively in terms of gender balance at system, institutional, and unit levels, and gender-related organizational culture? What is the obstacle to gender equality despite state and institutional gender-specific or diversity approaches in some countries? The book answers some of these questions.

The primary aim of this book is to provide theoretical, conceptual, and empirical perspectives and insights on the theme of gender issues. Each chapter has different focuses and approaches within the theme. Accordingly, the book does not intend to bind up theoretical and empirical accounts derived from individual chapters to reach fixed points of the book as a whole.

The book selects advanced capitalist, democratic countries – Japan, the UK, and the US, with reference to other countries such as Germany, a collective regional entity, the European Union, and non-European and North American regions. A comparative investigation of women academics and students discloses some of common trends in quantitative gender disparity and diverse differences at political, institutional, organizational, and individual levels.

The book approaches gender inequity in higher education in two dimensions, upon which the organization of the book is based: (i) women faculty and (ii) women students. The first half of the book (Part I: academic profession) has four chapters. Rosalind Pritchard provides comparative approaches to the study of equity and gender justice, identifying differences in career structure and legislation for gender equity between the UK and Germany. She also identifies that the gendered patronage systems for sponsored mobility bring about the disadvantage of women in both countries.

Arwen Raddon is concerned with the issues related to the gendered academic career pathway in the UK context. She argues that women take diverse career journeys, entering academia and taking career breaks at different stages of their working life. Such career journeys differ from men's traditional linear career model, in which senior academics' sponsorship and support (see also Pritchard) are significant at least in sociology and social studies disciplines.

Mary Ann Danowitz Sagaria and Lyndsay J. Agans examine the relationship between gender equity and diversity, and 'quasi-corporate' universities, which attempts to respond to market force and improve competitiveness. They argue that the shift from social good goals to "quasi-corporate" institutions explains the uneven progress towards equality. Taking the case study of Ohio State University, they have found that the outcomes of gender equity are not easy to bring about when excellence and competitiveness are the core agenda, pushing against equality.

Atsunori Yamanoi examines the effect of government and the Ministerial-led structural reform on the representation of women faculty at the institutional level in a Japanese context. He finds that the initiatives of SCJ (the Science Council of Japan) and JANU (the Japanese Association for National Universities), rather than the Ministerial-led reform, have been significant in terms of the enhancement of gender equity in the university sector. He also identifies that the commitment to gender-related issues differs between national universities to a significant degree. He explains that such institutional differences rely upon the existence of women's leadership and groups on campus, university (vice)-presidents' values and leadership, and the degree of university autonomy.

Part II of the book focuses upon women students' access to higher education. Gigi Gomez, Shaila Mulholland, and Robert Teranishi present the case of the US ethnic minority, Hmong (a minority hill-tribe group, who originated in Southern China) Americans, in terms of their college choice process. They examine how parents and siblings shape Hmong women and men's aspirations for college education. On the basis of the identification that "parents and siblings are critical individuals in a student's social network and play an important role in providing knowledge and information to navigate the college choice process", they argue that women do not have substantial 'push' from parents. They explain that a range of family obligations and cultural expectations hamper their aspirations.

Makoto Nagasawa offers a macro-level analysis on gender inequity on women students' access, incorporating the South and examining the pattern in it, cross continentally and regionally. Analyzing empirical data from UNESCO's publication, *The Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2003/4*:

*The Leap to Equality*, he identifies the different patterns of gender disparity in ‘vertical’ (levels and types of programs) and ‘horizontal’ (fields of study) dimensions by regions.

Akiko Nishio analyzes the quantitative effect of the Prime Minister’s Initiative in the UK (1999) – a newly introduced Prime Minister’s policy to attract international students – on the issue of gender equity of international postgraduate students. She finds continuity of women’s under-representation at the doctoral level and in science-related subjects, which subsequently bring about the men’s advantage in the labor market. She assumes that the former could be related to scholarship, which men students tend to obtain.

Keiko Yokoyama examines the rationales behind the deficiency of the government’s gender-related access policy agenda, rhetoric, and practice (especially the issue of scholarship) in the 1990s and the 2000s in England and Japan. The paper focuses upon the relationship between efficiency and gender equity, and market and gender justice.

Finally, as editors of the book, we would like to express our gratitude to the contributors of this book.

Atsunori Yamanoi

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# **Part I**

## **Academic Profession**

## **Academic Women in the United Kingdom and Germany: Policies and Practice**

Rosalind Pritchard\*

Gender inequality is a ubiquitous and omnipresent problem within higher education. Typically women are under-represented in professorial grades, in senior management and in the highest echelons of administration, but are over-represented at lower levels where employment is often temporary, the monetary rewards small, and the job position precarious. Brooks (1997) shows that feminism takes different forms in different countries and Deem (1981) shows that the position of women is linked with state policy and ideology. Why do particular elements work well or badly, what are the barriers to the achievement of greater gender equality, and what can be disseminated in the way of good practice? The purpose of the present chapter is to study two countries of the European Union, the United Kingdom (UK) and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) with the following intentions:

- to compare facts and figures relating to the position of academic women
- to consider the reasons for these trends, and relate them to concepts of equality and gender justice
- to present the main characteristics of remedial national legislation pertaining to gender equality, and to comment critically upon it.

The author is a British national with a research background in comparative and international education, a long-standing interest in Germany and knowledge of the German language. The British and the German models are internationally seminal, therefore worth studying. The UK higher education system is sometimes referred to as the 'Anglo-Saxon model' and in recent years because of its vigorous espousal of neo-liberalism has aroused worldwide interest. The German model, often referred to as 'Humboldtian' after Wilhelm von Humboldt, co-founder of the University of Berlin, is the model for many countries in East Central Europe and for some American universities like Johns Hopkins.

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## Approaches to the study of gender

Concepts of gender equality and the obstacles to it have changed over time from broadly-specified macro indicators, such as salary inequality or under-representation, to more fine-grained indicators, such as patterns of male and female communication or gender preferences for particular functions within higher education. As Heywood (1992) points out, historically, the First Wave of feminism drew inspiration from the extension of the franchise (voting right) to women. Female suffrage was the principal goal, and it was believed that if women could vote, all other forms of discrimination would disappear and women would be emancipated. Most British and all German women were granted the vote in 1918 after the Great War, and in the United States the Nineteenth Amendment of the Constitution granted it in 1920. Most major powers extended the franchise prior to World War Two with the exception of France and Japan, which did not allow women to vote until 1945. However, the achievement of female suffrage did not solve the ‘women’s question’, and the intellectual basis for emancipation changed. In the 1960s, a Second Wave of feminism began, aiming to break down the divide between the public man and the private woman, and claiming that the personal is the political: female oppression originates in family life itself. The ideology of social democracy and welfare provided the ideological framework for the discussion of women’s role in the labor market, including higher education. The more personal domain also began to be addressed. Writers like Betty Friedan in *The Feminist Mystique* (1963) conveyed the frustration of women at home who were confined to the role of housewife and mother, and analyzed why this did not necessarily bring happiness (Heywood 1992, p. 240).

In more recent years, the discussion of gender politics has moved to linguistic and cultural levels in which discriminatory patterns of social interaction are being studied. Thus, writers like Thorne and Henley (1975) and Spender (1980) have demonstrated that women and men have different patterns of communication, and are differently socialized. In mixed-gender conversations, men often deny women the non-verbal signs of encouragement that would allow them to continue speaking; women have difficulty in establishing or changing conversational topics (usually set by men); despite the gender stereotype of the ‘talkative’ woman, men in mixed-gender conversations tend to speak for much longer than women. In working life, there are patterns of same-sex social interaction which women find difficult to penetrate, and this syndrome has been termed ‘male homosociability’ by Morgan (1986). It works to the disadvantage of women in professional situations where networks, sponsoring, and mentoring are important in ensuring upward mobility.

Sex used to be regarded as an ‘unalterable biological factor’ that distinguished men from women, whereas gender was ascribed by society and distinguished between masculine and feminine types (Heywood 1992). The notion that ‘biology is destiny’ has currently become unfashionable because it is ‘essentialist’, this term having been defined by Bradley (1996, p. 91) as “a particular social category marked by unchanging qualities.” The distinction between gender and sex is nowadays regarded as somewhat untenable because advances in embryo and fertilization technology have made us realize

that sex is not as fixed as we used to think, and that we cannot take for granted our assumptions about 'natural' biological phenomena (Bradley 1996, p. 82). Some even argue that gender is an outmoded idea, but Oakley (2006) claims that social science still needs the idea of gender, because the structures of gender relations, heterosexism, and masculine power are persistent features of social systems.

Theorists distinguish between a number of approaches to the study of gender, of which the main ones are liberal feminism, socialist/Marxist feminism, and radical feminism (Bradley 1996; Heywood 1992). Liberal feminists focus on the relationship between education and the state, relying on legal and institutional arrangements to promote equality, but doing little to question the social assumptions underneath (Bradley 1996, p. 86). They believe that all individuals are of equal worth, and should enjoy an equal opportunity to participate in public life, but they seek to open up competition rather than challenging the nature of society itself (Heywood 1992, p. 230). Socialist or Marxist feminists focus on economic aspects of inequality, in particular the exploitation of labor within a capitalist mode of production, and regard gender domination as subordinate to other forms of domination such as class. They do not believe that giving equal rights will necessarily abolish inequality, because they regard inequality as being rooted in the social and economic structure itself which nothing short of a revolution will change (Heywood 1992 p. 231). East German academic women in the formerly Communist part of the Federal Republic were socialized into society and academia under this dogma. Gender acquired a different meaning in the East, and East German women had to learn to re-build their personal and academic lives within a different regime after the fall of the Wall, having been accustomed within the Communist regime to expect working motherhood and lavish child-care facilities (Pritchard 2003). Radical feminism is preoccupied with male violence and societal domination, and seeks to develop a theory of sexual repression by uncovering the influence of patriarchy on personal, social, and sexual existence (Heywood 1992, p. 235ff). In its more extreme form, this philosophy regards men as the enemy, and calls for revolutionary change involving the destruction of the family: to be truly equal, women need to be liberated from childcare and child-bearing. Critics of radical feminism point out that gender inequality obscures other forms of injustice, such as racial and class inequality, and Jones (1993, p. 161) asserts that the social order within which femininity is constructed cannot be seen as 'uniformly repressed.'

### **The pathology of gender inequality in higher education**

It is difficult to make exact British/German comparisons of female representation at various levels of academic life because the career structures are different. The United Kingdom has a structure of Lecturer and Senior Lecturer with the Professorship as the highpoint of a career. A grade of 'Reader' also exists for which the financial rewards are usually about the same as for Senior Lecturer (SL). Whereas an SL is normally required to demonstrate a fairly balanced portfolio of achievement in teaching, research, administration, and, more recently, academic enterprise, a Reader would not necessarily be expected to have excelled in administrative or management responsibilities but would

be excellent in research. Some of these posts, notably at Lecturer grade, may be temporary, and contracts may be renewed as required. At lower grades there are also part-time and temporary workers, sometimes called ‘contract research workers’, and the number of these temporary workers tends to increase with the academic status and success of an institution. British universities are under great pressure to perform well in research and teaching, and the most successful in the league tables have been able to ‘land’ research and enterprise monies enabling them to buy in academic services. This is the main reason why the most prestigious universities have the largest numbers of contract researchers. Promotion within the British system depends much less than the German system upon qualification or credentialism. It is possible to become a Vice-Chancellor without a doctorate, and even possible to be a professor without a doctorate – provided that one shows sufficient academic merit through publications. Increasingly, universities are conscious that teaching excellence, and academic management too, need to be rewarded at the highest level if they are to be taken seriously within the system, so not all promotions are research-related.

Traditionally, the main career grade in Germany has been that of full professor. This is not, as in the UK, the apogee of one’s career but it signifies a tenured post and the end of a long period of academic preparation and apprenticeship. The system relies very much upon qualifications for the job. The normal requirement for promotion to a Chair has been not just a doctorate (*Promotion*) but also a post-doctoral thesis (*Habilitation*).<sup>1</sup> This is usually not completed until about age forty, with the result that German academics embark upon their mainstream career at an age much older than in other countries. The payment categories for the professoriate have been organized in ‘C’ designations, with C2 as fixed term, then C3 and C4, with the latter as the highest category of all. As the result of a recent law, new ‘W’ designations have been introduced, and the career structure has been modified. More will be said about these changes towards the end of the present chapter.

It is pertinent to ask what the criteria of equality in academe are. They vary according to one’s perspectives, usually including pay, promotion, numerical representation, and tenure of employment. In Brooks’ 1997 study, equality was often defined as gaining a permanent post. It could also be defined as a step up to the next rank once tenure has been achieved, but there seems to be a consensus in the literature that the ‘gold standard’ of equality is the ability of women to reach professorial grade (Färber 2001, p. 144). Some statistics on the position and achievements of female academics in each country are as shown in Tables 1-4 below. Since this paper is to be published in Japan, figures for that country have been inserted in Tables 2-4 for comparison, but will not be discussed in detail as they do not form the main focus of the paper. As might be anticipated, the UK and the FRG collect their statistics differently, and it has not always been possible to match figures cross-nationally. For example, no figures in Germany were available for pay differentials between men and women academics, though these are available for the UK and are clearly very relevant to equality issues.<sup>2</sup> Conversely in the UK, the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) could not give the percentage of female holders of secondary school certificates qualifying for entry to university, though it *has* been



calculated in Germany as 53.5% (BMBF 2001). The figures had to be culled from several sources which are listed underneath the tables, and because of this diversity, the years upon which they are based are variable. Some figures were supplied directly as a result of the author's request to statistical and research agencies.

**Table 1. Women as a percentage of aggregated genders (%)**

	UK	FRG
Female students at universities (2002)	53.8	47.4
University graduates (2004)	58	48.7
Female academic staff at higher education institutions (2004)	41.2	29.1
Full professorships (UK) / C4 and W3 (FRG highest grade) 2003	15.3	8.6
All grades of professorships (2003)	15.3	12.5
Senior lectureships (UK only)	26	N/A
Management	46	15.2

Sources: AUT, October 2005; HESA data request 2006<sup>3</sup>; Centre of Excellence Women and Science, Bonn, data request 2006 and <http://www.cews.org/statistik/>.

**Table 2. Women doing technical and mathematical subjects (%)**

	UK	FRG	Japan
Female students doing science, mathematics, and computing (2002)	39.2	33.0	24.7
Female students doing engineering, manufacturing, and construction (2002)	15.9	18.9	11.6

Source: Eurostat 2005.

**Table 3. Women obtaining top academic qualifications (%)**

	UK	FRG	Japan
Women doctoral graduates	41.5 (2003)	37.9(2003)	22.8(2001)
<i>Habilitation</i> (post-doctoral thesis) 1999-2001	N/A	17.8	N/A
<i>Habilitation</i>	N/A	22.0(2003)	N/A

Source: Eurostat 2005.

**Table 4. Women doing doctorates: subject groups**

	UK (2003)	FRG (2003)	Japan (2001)
Humanities and arts	45.9	49.5	46.6
Science, mathematics, and computing	41.9	29.9	17.2
Agriculture	45.2	54.3	23.4
Health and social services	50.0	43.5	91.5
Engineering, manufacturing, and construction	19.6	11.4	8.5
Social sciences, business, and law	42.2	34.5	33.0
Total	41.5	37.9	22.8

Source: Eurostat 2005.

Despite the fact that in Germany 53.5% of female school leavers are qualified to enter higher education, the percentage of female university students was under 50% in 2002. The proportion of female university graduates is about 10 percentage points higher in the UK than in Germany. Though female students currently constitute a high proportion of the student population in both countries, the top management positions are not feminized. Female students are clustered in a small number of

fields, and numbers in the hard sciences are small. It is likely that future academics will come from the cohort of doctorates, and it is clear that the UK had more female students and PhDs in science, mathematics, and computing than Germany (2003); also, the UK had more in engineering, manufacturing, and construction. These figures are broadly in keeping with European trends: a study entitled 'Women in European Universities' (Zimmer 2003) reports that female students are clustered in a small number of academic fields and disciplines, particularly in the humanities and social sciences. The choice of academic discipline has far-reaching implications for the status and life chances of women in academia, and will be further discussed below. It is notable that the UK has a female proportion of 26% of senior lecturers. Though these staff do not bear the title of professor, they are in a tenured and promoted grade by comparison with the German C2 grade. They could be regarded as approaching, though not reaching, C3 positions in Germany and constitute a helpful 'ladder' in upward mobility.

In the UK, almost half the women in 'pre-1992 universities' are on the most junior lecturer grade, and only 14% of professors are women.<sup>4</sup> The proportion of professorships varies according to institution. Thus, Morley (2003, p. 151) points out that only 6% of professors at the highly prestigious University of Cambridge are women. Some, especially in 'new' (post-1992) institutions, receive the title of professor without the remuneration, and Halvorsen, (2002a; 2002b) estimates that it will take 68 years at the present rate of progress before half the professoriate is female; also, that an immediate cash injection of between GBP 200m and GBP 400m would be required to eliminate the salary differential. According to the British Association of University Teachers (AUT), men are 1.5 times more likely to be awarded discretionary pay (AUT 2006b; Hunt 2006).<sup>5</sup> The average female academic will earn 4-5 years less salary than the average male colleague for the same number of hours worked. This is largely because women are at lower grades and a disproportionate number are in untenured or part-time positions and are located in post-1992 ('new') universities (Bett Report 1999); but *within* grades the pay difference is slight (AUT October 2005; West and Lyon 1995, p. 53). In Germany, the proportions of women in the highest professorial grades have been rising continuously since 1990, and doubled between 1993 and 2004. However, a notional target of 20% female professors, and 40% female management by 2002 (see BMBF 2001) had still not been reached in 2006, and the proportion of women in leading positions within the free-standing research institutes was only 7.7% in 2004 (BLK 2005, p. 8). The pursuit of an academic career is demanding and all-absorbing, to the point that in Germany, as in the UK, many women are without partners and children. Thus Bagilhole's UK research (1993) showed that only 56% of women academics were married or had a partner, and only 30% had children.<sup>6</sup> German studies too (*e.g.* ZUMA 2004) demonstrate that the higher a woman's academic qualifications, the less likely she is to be a mother. Färber (2000) quotes research indicating that in the FRG, 53% of female professors did *not* live with a partner, and over half of these women had no children whereas only 12% of male counterparts were childless, so *women* make the sacrifice of not founding families whereas *men* do not.

Accompanying these statistics is a syndrome of female underachievement. Men are twice as likely to be entered in the UK Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) as women, and of the 43,000 academics recorded as 'research active' in the 2001 RAE, only 25% were women (AUT 2005). Women in the UK submit fewer research grant applications (Loder and Eley 1998). Wilson (1986, p. 80) discovered that 42% of women academics had not presented conference papers in the previous three years. Brooks (1997, p. 43) found in her study that British academic women are not as productive as men: fewer of them had PhDs, and fewer published. Women have various strategies for distancing themselves from the rat-race. Thus, West and Lyon (1995, p. 65) claim that those who refuse to compete in a meritocratic culture may be putting up a form of resistance. They also speculate that competition between the genders may be a zero-sum game: if marginalized groups are to be fully incorporated, there must be a relinquishing of power and control by those in less favored positions. In the gender research conducted by Wilson (1986), 68% claimed that they were not subject to any form of discrimination, but Wilson nevertheless believes that discrimination is often insidious and difficult to diagnose, and that decisions are still made in a hierarchical, undemocratic way; in a similar vein, Morley (2003, p. 155) quotes research indicating that women need to be two-and-a-half times more productive than men in terms of publications to achieve the same ratings as men for scientific competence. Be that as it may, an attempt must now be made to explain these indices of inequality and under-performance. The following section will discuss the reasons for the pathology of gender inequality in epistemological and social terms in keeping with the more recent approaches to study of feminism.

### **Possible reasons for gender inequality**

*Epistemology and gender* It is, of course, dangerous to make generalizations about gender and ways of knowing. For this reason, Luttrell (1989) cautions against an essentialist approach which claims that women all share a singular developmental experience; and Walkerdine (1989, p. 205) argues that patriarchy is not a monolithic force in the socialization of girls. However, an important body of scholarship postulates links between gender and academic discipline which can be distilled into the four tendentious postulates set out below.

Gender-related ways of 'knowing' exist It is argued that different personal attributes are needed for different disciplines, and that these attributes may be gender-related. Reybold (2002) proposes an association between psychology and the culture of knowing: cognition is situated in a context of race, class, and gender. Wolffensperger (1993, pp. 38-39) believes that the supposed female attributes of conformity, passivity, and submission contrast with the detachment and rivalry needed for the pursuit of science. The theme of competition is also emphasized by Kraiss et al. (1997) and Kraiss (2002) who, following Ong (1981), uses the word 'agonal' to describe it (from the Greek *agon*

meaning contest). These concepts are linked with work ethos by Belensky et al. (1986) who distinguish between ‘connected knowing’ and ‘separate knowing.’ The former involves an empathetic orientation towards reasoning, whereas the latter involves challenge, doubt, and critical thinking. It is a more individual, independent form of reasoning, compared with ‘inter-individual’ patterns which are in women’s ‘comfort zone.’ However, particularly in Germany, there is a conviction that female academics have better chances to progress professionally if they are in subjects where there is a strong methodological core, and clear concepts of what constitutes excellence and rigor (Löther 2006, personal communication).

Men make the rules and feminists challenge them Jackson (2002, p. 20) points out that men still hold the vast majority of senior research and senior lecturer posts, and that it is mostly they who determine what is ‘good’ research and set the rules. She claims that what determines “good research practice” is guided by a male academic culture and institutional discrimination against women. The traditionally male-dominated disciplines, such as medicine, engineering, and the physical sciences, receive disproportionately large allocations of funding; this operates to the disadvantage of women, many of whom are drawn to interdisciplinary research. She states: “The gatekeepers of the academy ensure that the work of women academics remains undervalued, with severe effects on their career opportunities and development” (Jackson 2002, p. 20). Yet there are different ‘knowledges’ about the same thing, for knowledge is always grounded in point of view, and the feminist framework derives its distinctiveness from the context and frame of reference employed. Feminist theory is critical of the claim of traditional knowledge to neutrality. Jackson (2002, p. 28) quotes with approval the statement of the barrister, Helena Kennedy: “the very conceptions of knowledge and excellence have to be challenged.”

Men tend to occupy the high status and women the low status subject areas As we have seen above, women are conspicuously under-represented in science, technology, and engineering both in the UK and the FRG. This leads to patterns of vertical segregation. Entwistle (2005, pp. 77-79) points out that because of their interpersonal orientation, women tend to cluster in the Social Sciences and Humanities, which are ‘contested’ knowledge. The disciplines in which many women are located do not have a stable epistemic core like Maths and Science, and those academic domains that shift from knowledge to the development of skills may have the concomitant effect of reducing the academic prestige of their proponents. The interaction between low status fields and high levels of what he calls ‘peripheral participation’ (e.g. placement or networking) can lead to female neglect of research and to a downward spiral for women within academia. Yanoshak and Delplato (1993, p. 287) believe that endorsing the traditional disciplinary categories replicates their old hierarchical value, and “fails to dislodge the privileging function of grand metanarratives about great Western men.” They challenge the methods used to construct and name knowledge, as practiced in the traditional academy,

and they seek to politicize interdisciplinary study by claiming that women's oppression is visible in all aspects of society (Yanoshak and Delplato 1993, p. 287). Though their stance is frankly 'oppositional', other scholars (e.g. Jones 1993) believe that the construction of new subject positions that resist the dominant forms will lead to an increase in the number of "ways of being" available, especially for girls.

Women are subject to the 'curse' of caring It has been noted by Hey and Bradford (2004) that females find it difficult to let go of being 'caring', and may 'do femininity' in the service of the corporate university (Hey and Bradford 2004, p. 699). In the evaluation of HE teaching staff by students, there is evidence (Carson 2001) that 'sexist' students expect women academics to adopt a feminine style in order to be acceptable. This is necessary for respectability and popularity but, paradoxically, being 'approachable' sometimes leads to a loss of academic credibility; and devoting a large amount of time to teaching-related issues causes a neglect of research and thus a failure to behave strategically. Women HE teachers have to work hard to prove academic authority that is taken for granted by male lecturers; but they often carry heavier loads of teaching, research, and counseling responsibilities than their male colleagues do (Carson 2001, p. 351). The expectation of typical femininity has also been highlighted in European comparisons of women in science, where a key research finding is that the combination of being tough, but at the same time charming, is essential to professional success. In order to be accepted in the department, and also in the scientific community, women have to fulfill a 'gender contract' by being 'nice and charming' (Zimmer 2003, p. 14). But being 'caring' can be important for men too, and Walsh (2002, p. 38) believes that men's competitive behavior, as expected of their gender and sexuality, interferes with "their abilities to do their jobs in a caring, responsible and skilful manner."

Since women seem to gravitate towards subject areas and organizational activities that result in lesser prestige and expectation of success, it is very important to attract them towards science and technology where the potential rewards are greater. Both the UK and Germany have designed arrangements for this purpose: for example, the Athena Project (Bebbington 2002) and SET Fair (Greenfield et al. 2002) in the former, and in the latter, programs like 'Femtec' (<http://www.femtec-network.de/>).

### **The social dimension: Structures and sponsors**

In both Germany and the UK, it is pointed out that the patronage system for sponsored mobility within the HE system operates to the disadvantage of women, and at department level can be a crucial barrier. Heward (1994, p. 260) claims that it is a source of discrimination to those who seek promotion to senior academic status. Male scholars tend to feel more comfortable with other males, be they staff or students, and many bonding opportunities are associated with sport, drinking, pubs, and the Senior Common Room where women may feel uncomfortable. Bourdieu asserts that such

activities are crucial to society. They are ‘games’ of honor and war or, in advanced societies, the prestigious fields of the arts, politics, business, and science, and they are *all-important* because they involve ‘world-making’ (Bourdieu 1994, p. 137; Kraus 2006). Women have less good networks and role models than men, and this fact alone can militate against their advancement (Bagilhole 2002, p. 50). Morley (2003, p. 158) claims that they are more vulnerable to bullying, manipulation and the extraction of compliance. In Germany, sponsorship interacts with a daunting career structure to eliminate many women long after they have launched themselves upon the road – they hope – to a professorship. We have seen above that only 7.7% of free-standing research institute leaders are women. The most important of these institutes are the Helmholtz, the Max-Planck, the Fraunhofer and the Leibniz Societies, and it was women’s failure to progress in them that prompted Kraus et al. (1997) to research into the reasons for such a state of affairs.

Kraus et al. (1997) performed a qualitative and quantitative study involving nine Max-Planck Institutes (MPIs) where there are very few women in senior positions. Though the MPIs are outside the university system, the researchers regard their results as valid and typical for German academe as a whole. They attend particularly to the social dimensions that result in the ‘disappearance’ of promising women from the senior positions. Social action follows its own logic, and when it seems or feels like second nature, it has become a ‘habitus’ in the sense propounded by Bourdieu. Judgments made about whether or not a person has the right habitus result in a cooling-out process that excludes a disproportionate number of women. For promotion, the aspiring academic needs sponsorship by a professor who may be a director of an institute, and Kraus points out that the personality of the director is of decisive importance. His *persona* is in the mold of the Great Man (rarely Woman) upon whom the younger scholars are dependent and upon whose goodwill they rely for mentoring and support. In their own career interests, those who are dominated may sometimes collude with that domination. They live in economically precarious circumstances until their 40s, and during this protracted period of dependence, they work up to 10-14 hours a day. Many females pay the penalty of renouncing or postponing family life and children, though this is less likely with men. For all the scholars, both male and female, time, space, and money are all in short supply, and this ‘culture of scarcity’ too has a selective function. The intermediate rungs on the career ladder, such as associate or assistant professor, are missing, and as Kraus (2002, p. 410) points out, a woman (or a man) has to ‘leap’ from a position of relative dependency to the top rank. There are, she states, “no formally regulated transparent structures for junior academics”. There is no possibility of progressing step by step and minimizing the risk of career failure. It is all or nothing. Kraus et al. (1997, p. 30) write:

The doctorate is the last possible ‘point of no return’ for a decision to get out of research. Only up to that point are other professional options possible. After the PhD, far-reaching life-course decisions must be made and, in terms of time, these pressurize women more than men in a structural career constellation over which they themselves have almost no

control. The unpredictability and the high danger of failure of an academic career in Germany affect women much more than men.

The *Habilitation* is the eye of the needle through which all must pass. But women in the MPIs often feel that what they say is disregarded or not taken seriously. They may even be subjected to ‘symbolic violence’, deprived of their proper titles, made to feel that they do not belong, until finally they vote themselves out and disappear. Kraiss et al. (1997) call for the abolition of the *Habilitation* and the introduction of more modest, less well-paid posts (*e.g.* assistant professor) as stages on the road to the big professorship.

The career structure in German academia is indeed changing, and the ways in which this might affect the academic profession will be discussed below. The next section will be devoted to legal attempts to promote equality and reduce discrimination. It is true, as Walsh (2002, p. 41) says, that “The philosophical, political and ethical questions raised by equal opportunities are incapable of being illuminated or much advanced by legislation”, but though the law may be a blunt tool for ameliorating the situation, it is still important. Progressive legislation is the product of majority public opinion that has developed in the past and has the function of bringing about social change in the future.

### **Legal provisions for gender equality**

Gender law-making needs to become embedded within higher education and the success of that embedding depends on factors at different levels: legal, cultural, economic, and political (Färber 2001, p. 147). Each country has different strengths at different levels, and Heward (1994, p. 257) claims that it is the interaction of process and structure that explains the perseverance of the ‘glass ceiling’ preventing women’s promotion. In what follows, an outline will be given of recent legal attempts to combat inequality.

*The United Kingdom* Curiously enough, for a province with sectarian problems, it is Northern Ireland (NI) that has blazed a trail in national equal opportunities legislation, and the rest of the country is doing today what NI did yesterday. This progressiveness has been made possible not so much despite as *because* of its political problems. Religious discrimination was all too frequent, hence equality issues were the subject of special scrutiny, and in the Northern Ireland Act of 1998 (arising from the Belfast Agreement), provision was made in Section 75 for the establishment of an Equality Commission for Northern Ireland. This covered Fair Employment, Equal Opportunities, Racial Equality, and Disability, so was very broadly based; it replaced the pre-existing equality directorates which were merged into a common entity. Many people at the time believed that the mergers would be an error as the sensitivity and experience of the specific directorates would be lost in a more generic, more ‘coarse-grained’ body, but at least the new arrangement negates the need for complainants to make multiple complaints if they have been subjected to discrimination on more than

one ground. Section 75 of the Northern Ireland Act 1998 requires public authorities to have due regard for the need to promote equality of opportunity:

- between persons of different religious beliefs, political opinion, racial group, age, marital status, or sexual orientation;
- between men and women generally;
- between persons with a disability and persons without; and
- between persons with dependants and persons without them.

This covers nine different categories of potential inequality so it is all-embracing. The new duties on public authorities to promote equality of opportunity and good relations in the Northern Ireland Act 1998 grew out of attempts to make the earlier non-statutory Policy Appraisal and Fair Treatment (PAFT) guidelines legally binding. This involves checking all of their written and unwritten policies to ensure that they do not discriminate against any of the nine designated categories and a commitment to train staff on equality issues. At each stage of the process there is an obligation to consult with the general public. A public authority is also required to have due regard to promoting good relations between persons of a different religious belief, political opinion, or racial group.

In Great Britain, a new Equality Act gained Royal Assent on 16 February 2006. As in Northern Ireland, it will eventually subsume the existing equality commissions, and will cover England, Scotland, and Wales. It provides for the establishment of a Commission for Equality and Human Rights (CEHR), a single integrated body to underpin legislation on race, gender, disability, religion or belief, sexual orientation, age, and human rights. The Equality Act will require public authorities to pay due regard to promoting gender equality and eliminating sex discrimination. This means that Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) and other public sector employers will have to take account of the different needs of men and women to ensure equality of opportunity when preparing policies or providing services. HEIs will need to set their own gender equality goals in consultation with their employees and service users and take action to achieve them. Equality targets are set by comparing monitoring data with expected figures based on labor availability, catchment areas and levels of qualifications, and are agreed with the Commission(s). There are no sanctions in terms of fines.

The Act contains a ‘gender duty’ that requires public authorities to eliminate discrimination and promote equality of opportunity between men and women. The detailed proposals, drawn up in consultation with government departments, the wider public sector, and external stakeholders, center around three main components obliging public authorities to:

- identify and implement specific gender equality goals;
- develop and publish an equal pay policy statement; and



- assess the impact of new policies and changes to services on men and women – allowing negative effects to be mitigated.

Initially, education was not covered within the proposals, but after campaigning by education unions, the Government announced in December that the specific duties would be extended to the education sector. The Association of University Teachers (AUT 2006a) wants the Higher Education Funding Councils to take responsibility for ensuring compliance within the sector and fixing penalties if institutions do not comply. It has called for a strategic approach based on enforceable duties that prompt priorities and coordinated action. It insists that the CEHR needs to be well resourced to ensure it can carry out its duties, and that it must clarify how successful implementation will be monitored: *e.g.* by the number of published gender equality schemes?; or by outcomes such as a significant closing of the pay gap over the next five years? Equality Impact Assessments are already carried out in Northern Ireland by commissioning and/or monitoring information and community consultation, and similar arrangements will be introduced into Great Britain. If a policy, service, or project is identified in pre-screening, it will undergo a more wide-ranging assessment but, though many universities do have equality officers, crucially there are no sanctions to punish non-compliance or rewards to recognize achievement.<sup>7</sup>

*Germany* In Germany, equality goals are enshrined in the Basic Law (tantamount to a Constitution) of which Article 3 states that all are equal before the law, that men and women have equal rights, and that the state is to work towards the removal of existing disadvantages (see Grundgesetz 1998). No one is to be privileged or disadvantaged because of his or her gender, genealogy, race, language, home, origins, belief, religious, or political views; and no one is to be disadvantaged because of disability. Article 33 (2) states that all Germans have equal access to public positions according to their aptitude, ability, and subject-related achievements. Article 31 (para.1) of the Unification Treaty (Deutschlandvertrag 1990) states that it is the task of all German law-givers to enact laws for equality between men and women. In keeping with these provisions, the Federal Framework Law for Higher Education (Deutscher Bundestag 2004) also contains equality goals. The Higher Education Institutions are enjoined to strive for the removal of inequality between men and women, as the Basic Law states, and the federal *Länder* (the sixteen States of the FRG) are to enact legislation to this effect. Having due regard for suitability, aptitude, and subject competence (as stated in the Basic Law, Article 33, Para. 2), women are to receive favorable consideration.

The concept of ‘mainstreaming’ equality is explicit government policy in Germany (see BMBF 2002). Mainstreaming moves beyond ‘equal treatment’ and ‘positive action’, where both have their downsides, to one in which equality is no longer perceived as being in the interests of a marginalized group, but as being the responsibility of the whole university community (Färber 2001, p. 262). It is concerned with both men and women, and is not just a way of ‘getting women on’ (Dalhoff et al.

2002). As Rees (1998, p. 30) explains, equal treatment “simply removes the more obvious structural barriers to individuals’ access to systems which themselves are shaped by [patriarchal] patterns of dominance and oppression.” Equality of opportunity does not necessarily lead to equality of outcome, and it is quite possible for organizations to reproduce their cultures even when equal treatment policies of various strengths are in place (Rees 1998, p. 34). Positive action and positive discrimination also have deficiencies. They rely on stratagems such as quotas, assertiveness training, and all-female shortlists in order to create a level playing field at the start, but the systems, values, structures, and the very notion of merit itself are left unquestioned. Yet ‘merit’ is not really objective or value-free; after all, it derives from the values of those in positions of power. Mainstreaming, by contrast, is an attempt “to make equal opportunities the basis of entire policies and the task of those in positions of responsibility” (BMBF 2002, p. 20). Concern with equality issues needs to be ‘owned’ by everyone within the institution, and embedded at all levels from top to bottom. It involves a paradigm shift in culture, rules, and operations, and involves identifying “those hidden, unrecognized and unremarked ways in which systems and structures are biased in favor of men” (Rees 1998, p. 189).

Under mainstreaming, equal opportunity thinking needs to be integrated from the very beginning. One way in which this is done in Germany is by means of Women’s Representatives (*Frauenbeauftragte*) who operate differently to Equality Officers in the UK.<sup>8</sup> Various models exist: the University of Göttingen, for example, operates as follows. There exist central University Women’s Representatives and local Women’s Representatives who are elected, one per faculty; they come together collectively for consultation in a university-wide Women’s Committee; there are about sixteen such representatives across the University as a whole, and they are paid a modest sum of money to do the work. To an outsider, a surprising aspect of the setup is that a Faculty Women’s Representative could be a senior student, specially trained for the task (though she might also be a serving academic). Part of her power relates to the appointment of professors. She can influence the text of a job specification, view job applications, be present at interviews, and has the right to check all the job offer recommendations. If there is reason for concern (lack of transparency, injustice, misuse of power), she will take the matter to a more senior colleague (the University Women’s Representative) who can formally object to the Senate’s decision to offer that job to a particular person. It is a statutory requirement that the success of the German HEIs in promoting women be regularly evaluated and in most *Länder* this success in achieving equality targets is linked to formula funding.<sup>9</sup> If the universities miss their equality targets, they may lose money. This is a powerful sanction and it is one called for in the UK by Sanderson (2006, p. 194) who believes that policy-makers should clearly designate accountability from an HEI level through the funding councils to government level and impose penalties where breaches occur.

The Centre of Excellence Women and Science (CEWS), an independent though government funded institution, specializes in research and data collection on women in academia. It has produced a ranking or ‘league table’ of German HEIs according to their gender equality achievements (CEWS

2006). This exercise was carried out for the first time in 2003, and involved evaluation of performance in relation to doctorates, *Habilitation* theses, students, and academic personnel. The top *Bundesländer* were Berlin, Hamburg, Lower Saxony, and Brandenburg. The top-ranking universities were the Free University of Berlin, the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University of Frankfurt am Main, and the Georg August University of Göttingen. These are all large institutions; it had been half expected that large universities would perform poorly in these equality ratings, but this turned out not to be the case. Equal opportunity policies can be carried out just as effectively in large as in small universities.

### **Concluding observations**

There are obvious differences in orientation between the British and German legislation. Both countries want and need women's expertise to be an important contribution to the labor market. But as Brooks (1997, pp. 56-57) points out, there is a huge gulf between policy and practice, and there is no guarantee that equal opportunity legislation will improve the quality of academic relations. She writes: "[T]he existence of an equal opportunities policy without an accompanying set of practices is merely a public relations exercise." Bagilhole (2001, p. 197) states that the guiding principle of the British initiatives is persuasion. In Germany, however, the formula funding link to equality targets contains an element of compulsion, and the legislation moves beyond prohibiting discrimination against women to actively promoting their welfare and achievement. A set of criteria for judging equality measures could be proposed as follows:

1. There should be an explicit concept of what equality means, which form of equality legislation is being espoused, and what the indicators of success are.
2. There should be statutory requirements which result in a number of measures to promote equality.
3. As far as possible, equality measures should be understood and 'espoused' by the employees at all levels within an institution.
4. Resources of time, money, and personnel need to be devoted to the promotion of equality goals.
5. The extent to which equality measures are successful needs to be monitored.
6. Success needs to be rewarded, failure sanctioned, and achievement promoted in the pursuit of equality.
7. There should be feedback loops within the system to ensure that HEIs benefit from institutionalized learning, and use their experiences of success and failure to improve their practices, and even influence other HEIs or lawmakers.

Although Tables 1-4 above seem to indicate that British female academics are progressing better than German female academics in the career stakes, there are many respects in which the German

strategies conform to good practice. Gender equality is based upon a clear concept, that of ‘Gender Mainstreaming’, and is associated with sanctions to encourage compliance. The concept of ‘mainstreaming’ is also used in the UK (see Rees 1998): the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) has adopted mainstreaming as its central strategic approach to the development of EO in Britain (ibid. p. 190); but it is not as strongly and explicitly promulgated as in Germany, and British approaches tend to be more pragmatic and piecemeal. In fact, Saunderson (2006, p. 194; 2002) claims that, though the Higher Education Funding Council for England asserts mainstreaming to be a fundamental principle, it is a nebulous concept for many academic workers. It would certainly strengthen EO to be based on a rational, well-grounded philosophy clearly distanced from flawed forms of ideology like positive discrimination. In the FRG, although HEIs vary in their commitment to EO, equality for female academics is rooted in fundamental social and constitutional values that in turn are embedded within the institutions. It is espoused by the government at the highest level and cascades down to grassroots levels within HEIs. All the major advisory and decision-making bodies have policies and publications on the promotion of women. The claim of ‘democracy’ for all includes equality for women – which in many respects has turned out to be quite a radical demand. Färber (2000, p. 262) in her case study of equality within the Free University of Berlin (FUB) concludes that the leadership and decision-making structures at the FUB all mesh satisfactorily with senior management, Senate, Council/Court, subject departments, faculties, and Women’s Representatives to create favorable conditions for the promotion of equality.<sup>10</sup> The pursuit of equality goals is backed by very considerable resources in Germany. Financial support packages for higher education like HSP II (BLK 1991) adopted promotion of female academics as one of the most central goals, and HSP III allocated 20% of the total sum for women’s equality of opportunity and research on women (Kahlert 2001).<sup>11</sup> The amount spent on the promotion of equality has increased from DM 3.2 million in 1985 to DM 21 million in 1997 (BMFSFJ 1998). Currently, under the HWP program (2001–2006), 30 million Euros are being spent on EO (Loether and Muhlenbruch 2004). The state exercises an important leadership and steering function in pursuance of equality targets. Färber (2001, p. 152) believes this state role to be very important, and hopes that it will not be dislodged by marketized de-regulation.

Yet despite everything, the results in terms of the number of females at the highest academic and management levels are still not very impressive in Germany. Counter-reform forces are strong within the system. Equality is championed in the Basic Law – but reality is very different. The Federal Government and public opinion made a great issue of gender equality in academia during the nineties, but due to the resistance of universities, neither *Länder* governments nor the Federal governments fully succeeded in implementing equality policies. When the financial programs, such as HSP, stopped, the universities in general did not continue their content. Overall, many professors are hostile to any forms of affirmative action in favor of women, arguing that this would be against the principle of academic excellence (*Leistung*) as the only acceptable criterion for access to a professorship. The institution of *Frauenbeauftragte* tends to be rejected as controversial if she is influential; only if she

has *no* influence is she welcomed as giving the veneer of equal opportunity! There may be single universities where, as a result of historical conditions, the situation for women is slightly better. Such a specific historical case is the FUB which has a distinctive history of democracy among German universities. The same is true for the University of Frankfurt. Both universities have been Leftist in political orientation, and centers of student activism. These characteristics are important in influencing equality policies both at HEI and at *Länder* level.

However, the most important reasons for inequality have to do with career structure and credentialism. As we have already seen, it is possible to rise to the very highest level within the British system on the basis of proven competence rather than qualifications. The German system is the polar opposite in its insistence upon the pre-requisite qualification for each job level. The reunified Germany lacks permanent middle-ranking posts such as Lecturer or *Dozent* that give security and help retain female academics within the system. It is ironic that the former East German HE system actually *had* such a career structure and that it was discontinued after reunification (Pritchard 1999, p. 201). Recently, however, major changes have been introduced in academic employment. The requirement for the *Habilitation*, so long a stumbling block to women in their child-bearing years, has been weakened and the career structure has been changed to include ‘junior professors.’ They are independent and are permitted to apply for research grants in their own right, rather than being subordinate to senior professors. They are the government’s attempt at last to break free of the syndrome whereby its career academics only begin their jobs at age 40+ (Pritchard 2006). These junior professors are allowed to hold posts for six years, and if they have not attained full professorships by the end of this period, they will have to leave the university. The introduction of junior professors is intended to benefit both men and women, but the attempt at remediation is still based on temporary employment which is vulnerable to financial cuts; and in order to create the new-style professorships, restructuring may do away with existing assistant posts and full professorships. The career reform is likely to be a palliative rather than a cure for the ills of German HE, and may not in the end do much to reduce gender inequality. Moreover, many young scholars are still doing their *Habilitation* as an ‘insurance policy’ to help them compete in the job market. What Kraiss et al. (1997) advocated almost a decade ago – a new staff structure – has still not arrived although the government has tried hard to introduce it. The ladder for which she and her co-authors had hoped still has not got enough steps and people still have to ‘leap’ rather than climb from relatively low to high positions – a recurrent problem for all and most especially for women.

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## Notes

1. Some subjects, for example, the Humanities, demand a *Habilitation* more than others, e.g. Engineering. It is possible to be given a Chair in Humanities or Social Sciences without having done the *Habilitation*, but this is exceptional.
2. Up to now, in the FRG the differences only occurred for the top-ranking ('C4') professors as the others did not have the opportunity to negotiate their salary.
3. HESA formal disclaimer: 'HESA cannot accept responsibility for any inferences or conclusions derived from the data by third parties.'
4. The pre-1992 universities are those that existed before the polytechnics were upgraded to university rank in 1992.
5. The AUT has now merged with another association, NATFHE, and the new merged entity is called the University and College Union (UCU).
6. UK maternity pay is one of the lowest in Europe (*The Guardian*, January 16 2003).
7. For the 2008 UK Research Assessment Exercise, an Equality Assessment is already being carried out.
8. It should be noted that these representatives have been used in German universities since the 1980s and are not the direct result of Mainstreaming.
9. Zur Gleichstellungsrecht an Hochschulen, [http://www.cews.org/cews/files/60/de/pdf\\_public3.pdf](http://www.cews.org/cews/files/60/de/pdf_public3.pdf). Bonn: CEWS 2002 (accessed 3 April, 2006). Theoretically, the link between funding and gender equality is a powerful one, though models vary and sometimes attract only 'lip service.' Usually the proportion of funding earmarked for equality is about five per cent.
10. It should be pointed out that she was the Women's Representative there so she was personally involved in what she was writing about.
11. The UK too spends on Equality. As Halvorsen (2002b, p. 17) points out, HEFCE, the Committee of Vice Chancellors and Principals, and the Standing Conference of Principals (SCOP) were set up to operate an Equal Opportunities Action Group in 2000 and had funding of GBP 2.5 million for five years.

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## **Academic Journeys and Gendered Stories: Careers in UK Higher Education**

Arwen Raddon\*

### **Introduction**

UK Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) have gone through a series of major changes over the last few decades. Different authors have asked what changes such as widening participation (Anderson and Williams 2001), changing management and audit practices (Deem 1998, Morley 2003), and relationships with the world of work (Jarvis 1997) mean for academic careers and the university. One notable change has been the continuing growth in the number of women working and studying in UK higher education. It could be argued that we are now seeing the incremental improvement in the gender balance that will inevitably result from women's greater representation in the academy. As Walsh (2002) remarks, it was thought that bringing more women into academia would change the balance of power in HE. However, while women are here in numbers, they tend to dominate the lower ranks of the universities. In terms of academic jobs and structure, women make up 40% of academics in the UK, but only around 14% of the top professorial positions (AUT 2005).

If we examine the culture of higher education in the UK, this tends to both reflect and maintain the relative positions of women and men in the academy. Feminist research continues to play a vital role in highlighting the impact of gender and other power relations in academic careers, despite the wider view of academic meritocracy (Howie and Tauchert 2002; Anderson and Williams 2001). And while the number of women working in HE continues to grow, women can still face major challenges and deeply embedded social practices. Elsewhere I have explored some of the micro practices that sustain the male-biased discourse of the successful academic who is focused, aggressive, puts their academic career before everything else, probably doesn't have a family (or has a non-career-minded partner that cares for the children), and has a very planned, linear career pathway (Raddon 2002). As such, the "silhouette" of the academic (Marchbank 2005), or what we expect the academic to be, look or act like, remains heavily gendered. The fact that the majority of women working in HE continue to dominate the lower 'ranks' in many ways reflects the persistence of this gendered silhouette. As Marchbank notes, "...it is not so much that discrimination is overt, nor even sneakily covert, but that it is culturally so strong that it appears nonexistent" (2005, p.142). As such, experiences that are deeply gendered come to be seen as natural, rather than being recognized as something that requires

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reflection, critique, challenge and transformation.

This paper draws on interviews with a small group of women and men academics in the UK to explore how gender can be seen to shape individual career journeys. This includes a focus on journeys into HE, developing a career and more specific gendered tensions experienced in the academy. The paper concludes that there are a number of areas of experience that are shared by both these women and men within their academic careers. However, it is highlighted that certain aspects of the academic journey remain particularly gendered. It is vital to explore the areas in which there are specifically gendered experiences in order to counter their acceptance as natural or simply ‘the way it is around here.’

*Method: Telling tales about academic journeys* The research on which this paper draws is set out to explore individual journeys to becoming and being an academic. A biographical approach was taken, focusing on individual's stories about their academic journey. Underpinned by a subjectivist ontology, a biographical approach starts from the position of the individual in order to form an understanding about the social world (Chamberlayne et al. 2000). Indeed, such an approach is not merely a means of collecting data, but ultimately aims to develop social theory by drawing on that individual-level data (Rustin 2000). In other words, a biographical approach focuses on the micro level in order to explore how relations at the macro level impact upon, and are shaped by, the individual, and what this can tell us about the interactions between individuals and wider social structures. This approach was judged particularly useful in exploring the journeys that individuals have taken through their career in HE, the way that wider relations have impacted upon these, and the values individuals attach to their profession. By placing an individual's story within a wider social and historical context, it enables us to explore changes over time and the impact of the past on the present.

Indeed, perceptions of higher education practice and policy can be quite different between those new to HE and those with established careers (Deem and Lucas 2004). In order to consider some of the changes that have occurred in UK higher education over the last 40 years or so, the sample of respondents included different “generations” of academics based in both pre- and post-1992 universities in the UK who entered HE between the 1960s and the 2000s. This is part of on-going research, which aims to expand both in terms of sample and in terms of academic disciplines covered. Thus, this current paper draws on interviews conducted with 20 academics ranging from individuals who were just entering academic careers through to those that had retired. As a qualitative and biographical study, this research does not aim to be representative, but to gather a range of in-depth, individual stories from which we can learn about a specific issue and draw contrasts and comparisons between individual experiences and meanings. As such, any conclusions drawn from this data are not intended to be generalized to the wider population, but to highlight issues raised within these

individuals' stories and which may have resonance with others' experience, further support existing research findings, or can be followed up with further research in other settings. As Eisner notes:

The generalizations derived from qualitative case studies are essentially heuristic devices intended to sharpen perception so that our patterns of seeking and seeing are more acute. We don't use the generalizations drawn from the specific case to draw conclusions about other situations but, rather, we use them to search those situations more efficiently (2001, p. 141).

The academic journey can also differ quite considerably across the disciplines (Deem and Lucas 2004). So, to provide some point of comparison, the research at this initial stage has focused on academics in education and sociology/social studies areas. In order to ensure confidentiality, any identifying aspects of individuals' stories are removed or substituted and names are replaced with pseudonyms. Table 1 below provides general information on the groupings of interviewees by discipline and 'generation.'

**Table 1. Numbers of interviewees by discipline, 'generation' and sex**

<i>Generation and Discipline</i>	<i>Number of interviewees</i>	<i>Sex</i>
<b>Retired/retiring (3)</b>		
Education	1	F
Sociology/social studies	2	M
<b>Senior (6)</b>		
Education	3	F
	1	M
Sociology/social studies	2	F
<b>Mid-Career (7)</b>		
Education	3	F
Sociology/social studies	2	F
	2	M
<b>Early Career (4)</b>		
Education	0	
Sociology/social studies	4	F
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	

Interviewees were identified using a 'snowballing' technique. This involves using leads from interviewees or other contacts within the field in order to identify potential interviewees and can be a useful means of accessing a large and dispersed group of people. One downside to this approach is that it is not a means of gaining a representative sample or matching the exact plans that the researcher sets out with. For example, I set out with the aim of interviewing similar numbers of people in each 'generation' but this was not always as straightforward as it might seem. Some interviewees were in

the process of a job change at the time of the interview, for example, and therefore were not in the anticipated generation. Equally, I planned to interview similar numbers of men and women, but the outcome at this stage is that 15 women and 5 men out of those contacted agreed to be interviewed. Nevertheless, the aim of this research is to explore a range of biographies, as opposed to seeking a representative sample. The interviews were semi-structured and in-depth, using a standard set of fairly broad questions to guide the discussion, but being open to new issues, alternative foci, and following up on issues raised in response to the questions. Each interview took between one through to three hours, depending on the individual respondent, and produced a wealth of data on a range of issues. The interviews aimed to explore the journeys individuals have taken towards an academic career, spanning from their earliest experience or memory of higher education as an environment or a notion, to considering an academic career, critical incidents that led to this pathway, experiences of building a research reputation, teaching, management and administrative responsibilities, the forms of support they have had in their career journey, any barriers encountered and aspects of HE that have changed over time.

It is worth noting here that the research on which this paper draws aimed to explore the idea of academic journeys, with gender forming one of the key dimensions but not the sole focus. Rather than asking respondents directly about issues of gender, class and ethnicity within their journeys, my approach was to let respondents talk about these within the context of their individual journeys, reflecting to what extent these issues were important to them; although I did note my interest in a range of power relations at the outset.

Gender and gendered relations can be a difficult and complex area to research, since they are often so deeply ingrained in our everyday life and experience. So when we are asked to draw out a specifically gendered experience or issue, even if we have the theoretical tools of feminism or gender theory to draw on, it can be difficult to articulate such experiences. Again, as Marchbank reflects:

A couple of years ago I was interviewed for a U.K. government sponsored project on discrimination in higher education, in the course of the interview I was asked to describe any instances of discrimination or disadvantage I had experienced. This was very difficult to do – I could not produce a single example of any occasion that I could cite as a *prime facie* case of overt discrimination. However, I could reflect upon the structure of the values within academia to illustrate where my silhouette, this time my academic silhouette, worked to my detriment (Marchbank 2005, p. 143).

Similarly, Goode notes that, unlike ‘structural’ aspects of discrimination, such as an individual’s contractual status, it can be difficult to identify ‘hard evidence’ of discriminatory or alienating experiences that are embedded within the wider ‘culture’ of higher education, such as biased or exclusionary practices (2000, p. 269). Indeed, gender can be so intertwined with other relations of

power in our lives that we cannot ‘extract’ that one dimension of our experience. Is the way someone treats me in a particular situation because I am a woman, because I am considered junior, because I work in a particular role, or because that’s just part of the culture? As such, it is these embedded micro practices that are often overlooked or accepted as ‘the way things are around here’ when we cannot quite link them to overt structures.

An interest in gender is often read as an interest in women and something that is irrelevant to men. The centering (rather than marginalization) of women’s experience has been an important aim in feminist work. Nevertheless, particularly with the influence of poststructuralist thought, it is increasingly recognized that gender is a dynamic relation and that women’s positions and experiences and the wider notions of femininity need to be understood in relation to men’s positions and experiences and the wider notions of masculinity (Flax 1990; Ramazanoglu and Holland 2002). By considering both women’s and men’s experiences, we can begin to build a more complex appreciation of areas of commonality, areas of difference and areas of overt and covert discrimination.

### **Academic journeys and gendered stories**

Three key themes within these academics’ stories about their individual journey toward and through their career are now explored. I start by focusing on the two more general themes of how individuals came into HE, and their experiences of developing a career and the support they felt they had in doing this. This leads to the third theme of gendered tensions in the academy. These three themes highlight both the shared elements and the deeply gendered aspects of women’s and men’s stories about their journey to becoming and being an academic.

*Journeys into HE* The common view of the academic career journey is shaped by the traditional linear male career model, involving a fairly straightforward pathway from education through to retirement (Blaxter et al. 1998). However, this highly gendered pathway positions as ‘other’ the career journey of women who take career breaks to have children, and overlooks the diverse ways in which people enter or leave academia at different stages of their working life. Indeed, like most modern organizations, jobs in UK HEIs are increasingly dominated by short-term and flexible contracts (Bryson 2004). As such, the linear academic career path is becoming less of a reality for most academics. Indeed, respondents in this research came into academic careers through a variety of different routes. There are some gendered patterns in these journeys, however, these tended to differ most noticeably according to discipline. I had expected to see different career patterns within different disciplines, but was quite surprised by the gender patterns evident across disciplines.

As we might expect, the women and men working in the discipline of education tended to enter HE after some training and gaining experience by working as school teachers. For a number of respondents, the opportunity or potential to change careers occurred once they had reached more senior levels of their teaching career, with the opportunity to take up a period of postgraduate study.

The move to higher education was not immediate, but returning to study was recognized as having raised their awareness of the possibility and attraction of working in HE. This later led them to consider applying for academic posts. There tended to be many similarities here between women's and men's stories.

For example, Hugh, a senior male academic, enjoyed his undergraduate days, but left university after completing a degree feeling "ready to move on." After some time developing his career in school teaching and gaining promotion to senior positions, he was offered the chance to return to university to study for a postgraduate qualification.

I was one of those very lucky people who got a year's secondment to go back into HE as a student...What that did was introduce me to academic ways of thinking about teaching in school...at that particular time I was keen to get back to school, so it wasn't that I was then looking to move. But, with hindsight, I think that year was quite important when the move finally arrived.

Although this return to study did not lead immediately to a career change, it did shape Hugh's choices when he eventually became very dissatisfied with his school teaching career.

Penny, a senior female academic, was "born into an academic family." After some indecision as to what to do after her undergraduate degree, Penny "turned [her] back on" an academic career to train as a school teacher. Penny's time as an undergraduate had not been a positive experience, with an atmosphere of overt sexism and discrimination in a male-dominated discipline. Like Hugh, after a number of years in school teaching and working her way rapidly up the ranks, she returned to higher education to study at postgraduate level.

...because what I knew was that I didn't want to be a school Head...so I thought well, I'd better get some qualifications. So I did an MEd...part-time, which the LEA paid for. Which was wonderful really. And it was just really exciting and I got interested in academic work again in a way that I hadn't been really since I finished my degree.

For both of these respondents, enjoying the return to studying in HE and later experiencing dissatisfaction with working conditions in their school teaching careers, led them to look at other opportunities. Both applied for research posts in higher education. Interestingly, while Hugh took up a post paying half of his existing salary, Penny's post matched her existing salary, which she later realized was "massive money for an academic researcher...I didn't realize it was very good money but I could see that I could afford to take this job." Hugh, on the other hand, took a risk, balancing his ability to support his young family as "the only breadwinner" with a very strong need to change



careers after a period of dissatisfaction and depression. As he reflected, “it shows you how determined I was to get out at all costs, really.”

Both Penny and Hugh found being on temporary contracts difficult at times, with limited options open to move to a permanent position within the same institution. As Penny noted, researchers can be ‘marginalized’ within academic departments, having different working conditions and rights, and relying on permanent members of staff for continuation of contract:

...one of the things about being on rolling contracts is you’re only as safe as the favor of the current head of department.

Nevertheless, both respondents found the move into HE an exciting and positive time. Indeed, Hugh remarked that he felt like a young man starting his career all over again.

In some respects these two respondents had a fairly similar journey into HE, although for Penny there was a strong sense of gendered discrimination in her student experience of university life. This shaped Penny’s earlier choices about pursuing an academic career. Equally, Penny’s story might have been quite different had she made the same career change with a young family in the way that Hugh did. Hugh worried about his ability to support his family on a lower wage, but he did not face the simultaneous expectation of being the primary care giver, as is the case with mothers in the academy (Raddon 2002).

What appear to be more overtly gendered patterns are evident for those working in sociology and social studies disciplines. While there is a need for further research in order to confirm whether these patterns can be seen more widely, some interesting differences were apparent within the stories of this particular group of academics. Women respondents had worked for a number of years in different fields such as childcare, administration, education, social and health care and leisure before entering higher education. They had all entered HE for the first time as mature students and subsequently progressed through from studying to taking a research or teaching post in higher education. For example, Becky, an early career academic, entered HE as a mature undergraduate after some years working in the service sector and in community work. Her lecturers encouraged her to take on part-time teaching whilst studying. Although her time at university was “fantastic”, she commented, “I never thought I’d stay in academia.” After leaving university and going into a full-time job outside HE, Becky got involved in a university-based research project – an extra alongside her “real job” in community work. It was only after some years of involvement in research projects that an opportunity arose to become a full-time researcher and she began to think about an academic career. Interestingly, Becky, like a number of respondents, had never really thought about her academic journey in terms of a ‘career.’ Instead, it had been about doing research which might “make a difference” and help her earn a living:

I've just thought about what job am I going to get with whatever qualification I've got to maintain my family and live and still be able to go shopping, you know. I have this thing for shoes and clothes and, you know, I like to go and get my hair done, you know <laughing>. That's my life. So I never really had a career plan.

Similarly, Lynnette worked for a long time in the social and care field before entering higher education as a mature undergraduate. She soon realized that she did not want to leave the HE environment:

When I was doing the undergraduate degree I just knew that I liked it so much I wanted to carry on, I just wanted to keep going, so the next thing I did was I had an opportunity to apply for an internal grant to do a PhD, so I did that and I got it. And alongside the PhD I did some teaching. And then again, when I was doing the PhD I then knew that I didn't want to stop really, I didn't want to give it up.

After completing her PhD, Lynnette took a part-time teaching job before getting her first lectureship at another institution.

These women's stories reflect the growth and experiences of women 'returners' entering HE in the late 1980s and early 1990s (*e.g.* Edwards 1993). Even for those with potential to go to university when they were younger, these women had not considered university as an option for them, or had been guided by careers advisors away from academic studies towards work considered more suitable for young women, such as secretarial and care work.

The men, on the other hand, all entered HE for the first time as 'traditional', young, full-time students; a number being the first person in their working-class family to go to university. After a short time working elsewhere, they were encouraged by academics from the department where they had studied to return as lecturers or postgraduate students and presented with an opportunity to develop an academic career. After this, they settled into what is perhaps viewed as the classic academic career journey: progressing through different, usually permanent positions, generally within the same institution and being guided by a senior academic to do so.

Adam, a senior retiring academic, left university after finishing his undergraduate studies. After spending a year in industry, he was offered jobs at two universities:

And I had the chance of going to [University 1] when they were developing a school there, or... that's right, or [University 2] because they'd offered me a job as a lecturer and they said they would use my one year's experience in industry as a substitute for a higher degree. And so I went to work with this bloke [well-known professor] for a year. And so from leaving [industry] I finished up with a full lecture course to give...the year after I'd graduated.

Similarly, Haydn, a mid-career academic, left university after his undergraduate studies. He was strongly encouraged to continue to a postgraduate degree, but decided to “have a year out” to think about it. After working for a year in the service sector he returned to study for a postgraduate degree. As he reflected, he had enjoyed his job, but:

...somehow I always felt like I was missing out on this cathedral of knowledge...I was always missing out on this university life.

During his time as a PhD student, Hadyn was encouraged to take on teaching responsibilities and was then to apply for a lectureship within the same institution. He felt that a number of lecturers and his peers had encouraged him to develop his career, and that he had benefited from a “very collegiate environment.”

Interestingly, Daniel, a retiring professor, commented that he had never had to fill out a job application in his entire career. Opportunities had presented themselves and in his early career senior academics had “sponsored” him, encouraging him to put himself forward for posts or take up opportunities.

[T]he Head of Department. Well I mean he was virtually certain that he'd have more lectureships after one year...I didn't get one until a year later. I was guaranteed it, there was no...you know it was sponsorship...I mean it was an interview where...it was a thorough interview, there was no cheating.

As we can see here, there are quite distinct differences in the journeys that these women and men took into sociology and social studies disciplines. Whilst the majority of respondents felt they had been supported in some way to develop an academic career, sponsorship is a particularly important element of these men's experiences of entering the sociology and social studies disciplines. It could be argued that this model of sponsorship is related to the type of institution and the generation of the respondents. However, the men in this disciplinary area were from both pre-1992 (old) and post-1992 (new) universities and had not trained in the Oxbridge model – which we could argue is more likely to be supported by a traditional sponsorship system. Equally, they included both retiring and younger male academics, so it is a model that exists here for both older and younger generations. In the case of the women, they were trained and working in both old and new universities with, again, no experience of Oxbridge systems. I explore these issues a little further as part of the next theme.

*Developing an academic career: Luck, support and sponsorship* There was a strong narrative among respondents of being ‘lucky’ in their progression through an academic career and this was seen across the different ‘generations’ of academics. Many talked about getting their first post in

HE due to a lucky break, and described themselves as lucky in the progress they had made. A particularly important aspect of this 'luck' was the support of others, including colleagues, mentors or former lecturers who encouraged them to progress within their academic career. Where the respondent would not necessarily put her/himself forward for a post or a promotion, others had encouraged them to do so. For example, Theresa, a mid-career academic, was surprised when managers suggested putting her up for promotion. As she reflected, she felt lucky in the support she had been given by a range of people along the way:

And there were other people as well like professors, both men and women, who supported me and opened up opportunities for me. I mean starting with my supervisor, my tutors when I did my MA but later on my colleagues and even my senior managers. So to be honest I feel a bit lucky, I haven't felt that I was undermined.

However, the idea of being lucky was also associated by some respondents with being a "fraud." The fear was that, somehow, through sheer luck, they had found themselves on a journey through an academic career, but were just waiting to be "found out" and told that they shouldn't really be there. In many ways, these narratives reflect the classed and gendered narratives often heard among women academics and women learners entering HE. As Morley notes:

The academy, with its claims to authority and knowledge production, provides perfect preconditions for feelings of fraudulence. The hierarchical nature of its organization reinforces social class hierarchies to provide potent feelings of self-doubt (Morley 1997, p. 115).

Becky, for example, remained surprised to find herself in an academic career, and reflected that she had simply considered herself lucky throughout her journey, rather than recognizing any particular skill:

I think I always thought I really was just only there because I was lucky and playing at it and never really believed that I was there because I was becoming an academic, an academic career or anything like that. I was just lucky...it's quite interesting, you know, I have to pinch myself sometimes to think "what am I really doing here." I felt a bit of a fraud, I did...I always thought I was just doing it because I was lucky to do it and I'd have to get myself a proper job really, because no-one was really going to give me a job within HE because they're not – somehow I never thought that was going to be the stepping stone to opening up my academic career... So I didn't ever think it was on merit or anything like that, it was just that "right place at the right time" sort of syndrome.

Such feelings of fraudulence or self-doubt do not necessarily disappear as the academic journey progresses and could be seen in some other women's and men's accounts about their working-class background as well.

We have seen that the practice of sponsorship from a senior academic to a young, promising student is particularly evident in the above accounts of men entering the sociology and social studies disciplines. Academic sponsorship provides a great deal of social capital, giving the 'trainee' access to the right people, knowledge and opportunities. The sponsored career journey seems to reflect Bourdieu's (1988) notion of academic reproduction, through which *homo academicus* ensures succession and the reproduction of current practices (and power relations) in the next generation of academics. Unlike Bagilhole and Goode's (2000) research, male respondents were not reticent in talking about the support they received from others in developing their career. Rather, this support was recognized as one of the positive aspects of their career journey. Indeed, Daniel stressed that sponsorship is vital to the academic career journey, providing young academics with opportunities to expand their development. As he reflected, this was something that he had not fully appreciated until later on in his career.

But I mean sponsorship, mentorship, these are the things. And you have a kind of apprenticeship...I think I was lucky. That's to say I was sponsored. They obviously saw something in me...at the time, I just thought "hey, bloody hell, this is interesting, I like this!"

In some senses, this also reflects Turner's (1960, p. 858) notion of "sponsored mobility." At as early a stage as possible, individuals with the desired attributes (*e.g.* 'with some training they could be one of us') are selected and initiated into the club:

Elite recruits are chosen by the established elite or their agents, and elite status is *given* on the basis of some criterion of supposed merit and cannot be *taken* by any amount of effort or strategy. Upward mobility is like entry into a private club where each candidate must be "sponsored" by one or more of the members. Ultimately the members grant or deny upward mobility on the basis of whether they judge the candidate to have those qualities they wish to see in fellow members...[favoring] a controlled selection process... Individuals do not win or seize elite status; mobility is rather a process of sponsored induction into the elite...sorting people into their proper niches (Turner 1960, p. 859).

This is distinguished from "contest mobility", in which prizes or status are gained solely through the individual's own efforts within an open competition (Turner 1960, p. 858); although as Turner notes, these ideal models often overlap in reality. For my respondents, there is a combination of these two

models of mobility, with traditional sponsorship being seen within the experiences of men in sociology and social studies disciplines, but also contest and individual effort for all academics, and more general support from colleagues and managers for most.

This kind of sponsorship to develop an academic career under the close and long-term tutelage of a specific person did not appear in *quite* the same way for the women respondents. Rather than overt sponsorship and initiation, for most women there tended to be a more general kind of support from colleagues and managers once in posts or during their time as students. Penny noted that, once she had secured her first post, she was lucky to be “very much sponsored by particular people then.” Above all, she felt that her first Head of Department provided a lot of support in ensuring her continued employment as a researcher, and a colleague “taught me how to write.” However, when another respondent, Clare, applied for her first academic post in the department she had studied with, some of her lecturers strongly discouraged her from applying. On reflection, she felt they probably considered it a better career move to work in a different institution after the academic ‘training’ of the PhD. Nevertheless, Clare found this a difficult and disheartening experience. Although Clare’s lecturers were encouraging her to compete in the wider academic labor market, recognizing her value more widely and seeing her future development outside the institution, this apparent lack of sponsorship into her first academic post was a blow for her confidence. This illustrates the importance of support from others when developing and moving through an academic career, and the personal and emotional impact that a lack of sponsorship can have.

It may be that the women academics in this disciplinary area did not experience the same kind of transitional sponsorship because they entered their careers as adults with experience in other fields. Equally, however, this kind of sponsorship is viewed as one of the ways in which the male-biased culture of HE has been preserved (Bagilhole and Goode 2001). Closed systems of sponsorship clearly require critical examination, nevertheless, sponsorship can also be a positive experience and a key element of a successful academic career and developing the confidence to ‘self-promote’ (Bagilhole and Goode 2001, p.168). The question remains as to whether women should more actively make use of the traditional systems of sponsorship to support young women students and academics. This may not sit comfortably with feminist ideals due to its emphasis on reproducing the elite through use of closed networks. Feminist and women’s academic networks provide some of this support in a potentially more open way. Nevertheless, in my own experience of participating in and running such networks there can be some resistance among women (particularly when networks are seen as feminist and, therefore, political) which also raises questions for the means through which women can access these essential forms of support as they move into and through their careers.

*Gendered tensions in the academic journey* We have already seen a number of ways in which gender has weaved through individual journeys into and through an academic career. I now consider some of the ways in which respondents talked – or did not talk – more directly about the ways in

which they felt gender had impacted upon or shaped their journey and some of the gendered tensions that were evident.

The impact of gender within the academic journey was directly commented on by the majority of women respondents, who reflected on the general environment or culture of academia and some of the difficulties of being a woman academic. However, male respondents made very few comments directly about gender and their career journey; although, as we have seen above, gender is as evident within men's as within women's stories. As mentioned, this research did not set out to ask direct questions about gender, and responses may have been different had it done so. However, in research where I have asked women and men directly about their views on the impact of gender in their lives, I have found a fairly similar response, with men commenting that gender probably would have been an issue 'if I was a woman with kids.' As Haydn embarrassedly commented when asked about any barriers he had experienced in his career, "Well I'm a white, middle class male so I haven't got any grounds for complaint or anything." The fact that gender relations are widely seen as being relevant to women and irrelevant to men makes it easier to overlook the centrality of gender within our everyday lives (Flax 1990), and easier to ignore the reasons why we should challenge the power relations around this. In effect, the gendered nature of men's experience is perhaps best seen by its apparent silence within their accounts.

Reflecting Marchbank's (2005) experience, many women commented that, although they were very aware of the gendered environment, it could be hard to pin down or clearly identify the exact ways in which gender had impacted on their careers. This reflects the subtle ways in which gender and other power relations are embedded in daily practices in HE. More common was a general feeling that decisions had been made, opportunities and perceptions of them as an academic shaped, by the fact that they were women in a male-dominated or male-biased environment. Rather than open sexism, it was a case of things "going on behind closed doors", as Anna, an early-career academic, commented; noting that she felt this had been compounded by her ethnic minority background. Indeed, whilst I have focused here on gender relations, these can interact with a range of other social and power relations to shape academics' career journeys.

Importantly, senior women academics remarked that one of the biggest changes that had occurred during their time working in HE was the shift from an almost all-male environment to having many more women colleagues and senior staff. Two of the senior male academics also pondered very briefly on the fact that, in their early days as academics, it had been a very different, primarily male environment. Several women emphasized that senior male colleagues had been important in supporting their career, however, there was also a strong feeling that the working environment was substantially improved with the growth in the number of women colleagues and managers.

Indeed, the growth of new managerialism within HEIs, and new audit measures such as the Research Assessment Exercise and Quality Assurance, have simultaneously opened up opportunities for women's careers in HE whilst creating new tensions and pressures (*e.g.* Deem 1998, 2003; Morley

2005). As Morley's (2005) research with 18 women academics in the UK found, the audit and quality culture is perceived by some as providing the legitimacy required to succeed in management positions, as well as supporting their work in positive ways, such as opening up spaces in which to openly raise and tackle equity issues that were sidelined in the past. Within my own research most women and men admitted that administrative roles were the least enjoyable part of their job, even when they felt they were "good at it." Nevertheless, there was recognition amongst a number of the women that taking on these roles – sometimes under duress – had a positive impact on their career overall, appearing to help them to progress more quickly than they might have. Equally, however, they reflected on the demanding nature of these roles, and the negative impact they could have on their time and opportunities for research and publications activities. As Morley notes:

It is questionable whether the quality industry is providing a new organizational space for women's influence in the academy, or whether it represents a form of exploitation of women's socialized patterns of responsibility (2005, p. 420).

Interestingly, Barbara, a retired academic, reflected on both the very negative and potentially positive elements that she could see in the current environment of UK HE. On the one hand, she emphasized that managerialism was 'the worst thing about higher education...the constant audit and putting people into boxes doesn't do anybody any good at any level.' On the other hand, she underlined that it was equally positive to move away from 'individual choice and individual's having power, indeed control, over other individual's development and careers.' In particular, she saw that the traditional approach to academic career development – with promotion and development decisions resting in a few people's hands – had damaged the career opportunities of anyone that did not fit the white, male, able-bodied silhouette of the successful academic. As such, Barbara also emphasized that the audit and management systems could bring about positive changes, if the emphasis of the system was redirected towards learning from evaluation and transparency, rather than using it to restrict or control individuals:

I think that the trouble with the kind of evaluative culture that we are part of is that we construct it so that we only get strokes and we hide the critiques and I don't think we can learn that way... So if you stopped putting such weight on the measurements I think people might be able to relax and listen and learn better. That's the optimist speaking!

Theresa, however, reflected on women's negative experience of management, expressing concern about the particularly "harsh" impact that working with an inadequate system could have on women managers when they were unable to meet demands. If things went wrong, she felt that men were judged in an objective way based on skills, whilst women were judged in a much more personal way based on being women. Notably, Theresa had worried about the same thing happening to her when



she took on a difficult administrative role, making these kinds of roles a very daunting prospect for women:

...this is where human relations become problematic because then somebody has to knock on people's doors and ask them to do things and they don't want to do...And I can totally see that this system is inadequate and it is particularly destroying women...women, when they become bad managers, are judged on the basis of their gender not only on the basis of their management abilities as men are. So the way they are judged and the way they are treated touches very personal elements. And these processes can crack them down very easily because...you feel it happening, you feel it when there is a judgment about your inability as a woman to deliver and not just as a good or a bad manager.

Indeed, research shows that this kind of treatment occurs for women in leadership positions more widely. Ryan and Haslam (2005), for example, emphasize that whilst men in such positions are offered a 'glass escalator', women are often offered precarious posts in which success is likely to prove more challenging, providing women with a 'glass cliff' (p. 87). Moreover, as Penny reflected, getting a promotion within the academic career requires women to (re)present themselves in a way that is at odds with the way they are socialized. In essence, to be successful, women academics have to adopt what are seen as more masculine ways of being, knowing and working, creating tensions with what we are expected or feel we should be like as women:

...so you're writing a sort of bullet-pointed thing about how incredibly clever you are. Well this is *not* what we are taught to be like! This is boasting...this is what you get expelled from the group for [at school]. So you've got to be able to deal with that in yourself to get anywhere as an academic. And you've also got to be very *sure* of your ideas.

Equally, Bagilhole and Goode (2001, p. 168) note that women are often more reluctant than men to engage in "the game" of selling themselves as academics, particularly since such behavior is seen as unfeminine or "pushy." Indeed, this reluctance to claim knowledge contrasts quite strongly with Daniel's stories of the academic "rivalry" and "heated discussions" that he enjoyed watching among senior male academics in his early days as an academic. He found these "debates...really kind of civilized", and an exciting part of academic knowledge-building; although he later discovered there was "real animosity" underlying these debates.

As with other studies, a particular and highly gendered area of tension for women was between their roles as carers and partners on the one hand, and as academics on the other. Such tensions reflect

much of the research on women academics and the tensions with the linear career model, the 'silhouette of success' (Marchbank 2005) and the competing demands of home and work. These tensions are compounded by the fact that strong social expectations of what a 'proper' or 'good' mother or carer (or partner) should be doing often counteract with expectations of a successful academic (Raddon 2002), and the view that, with increasing pressure on departments to raise their Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) recognition, women with children are 'a liability' when it comes to research contribution (Bagilhole 2002, p. 48). The competing demands of academic career and family/caring may well impact on men, however this research found little evidence of these tensions occurring for men.

Two of the women respondents' career journeys had been particularly shaped by their relationship with their husbands and their caring responsibilities. Essentially, when their husbands moved jobs and locations, they moved too. This pattern reflects fairly traditional gender roles and could have some impact on respondents' careers. However, the way in which we individually experience and read such impacts is shaped by our context and our view of gender roles in the family. Thus, Irene considered that moving had worked for her, as she had never had a particular focus on developing an academic career, and family life came first. Deborah, on the other hand, felt that while there were important reasons for moving, and primarily for the family, on balance her career opportunities and promotions had probably been affected by the need to follow her husband's career journey. Rather than moving institutions and countries for her own career development, she had moved to different institutions when her husband moved offices. More recently, Deborah had decided to place some emphasis on her career and had not moved jobs when her husband relocated again. An important factor in this decision was that the children had left home, meaning that Deborah's caring responsibilities and her priorities had changed over time.

The tensions between women's caring and academic roles can mean that many women academics decide against having a family in favor of their careers (Bagilhole 2002). Patricia, an early career academic, had thought long and hard before deciding there was actually "no right time" to start a family as an academic, and that she would simply have to find a way of having children and an academic career. Indeed, some women felt that, in some ways, academic work provided elements of flexibility not available in other jobs (*e.g.* term times, some ability to work at home), although these were not actually designed to enable work-life balance. Indeed, Lynette felt that (although not necessarily by choice) part of the reason she had been able to "catch up" in her career after entering HE as a mature student was because she did not have children or career breaks. Notably, whilst Lynette had a caring role for her partner, who suffered from a long-term illness, she found that focusing on her work helped her to deal with this:

...if anything I know lots of people say that their work life takes away from their family life, but because my family life has been a bit difficult at times, work sometimes brings a

bit of release from it. I would say though, I would say that I'm very guilty of letting work just take over every aspect of my life.

Indeed, investing time and energy in a career or paid work can be a temporary escape from the demands and pressures of caring and domestic roles, but it can also provide an important sense of identity beyond caring and domestic roles (Hochschild 1997; Raddon 2002). Nevertheless, these gendered expectations also extend into the academic workplace, and a number of women noted how gendered discourses of caring shaped the kinds of expectations that were also laid on them in providing pastoral care for students because women were viewed as being "good at" student support, again supporting the wider literature on division of labor in the academy.

## **Conclusion**

This paper has drawn on interviews with UK academics to explore some of the ways in which gender can be seen to have shaped these academics' journeys toward and through their career. Within these individuals' stories a range of issues were raised, highlighting both areas of similarity between women's and men's career journeys, as well as what appear to be quite strongly gendered pathways into higher education, and tensions experienced within HE.

The third theme of gendered tensions particularly highlights that, whilst there are aspects of these gendered journeys which can be examined on an institutional basis, such as biased views of women managers or how sponsorship operates, some aspects require a much wider transformation of gendered expectations and relations. This includes experiences, views and expectations of parenting, care-giving, motherhood and work-life balance practices. Nevertheless, although there were strong criticisms of the current environment of HE (*e.g.* increased pressures for researching, growing student numbers), and the gendered nature of HE culture, the majority of women respondents – like men – felt that they enjoyed their jobs overall, and would not want to work in another area. As Theresa commented:

There are horrors...But of course there are nice things in it as well and I would never have been here if there weren't these things that I really love. And one thing I really love is that universities, bad as they are, still create space for intellectual thinking and they do support you when you want to do things.

A range of feminist research has highlighted gendered experiences of HE and women's experiences in particular. This kind of in-depth research on the individual journeys that women and men have made as academics can add further to this discussion. Exploring such stories does not, in itself, bring about change. However, it does provide a basis for critical reflection on the kinds of practices that underpin

our profession, how we can draw on or reshape these in our own environment, and some of the shared and differentiated experiences that women and men have of working in higher education.

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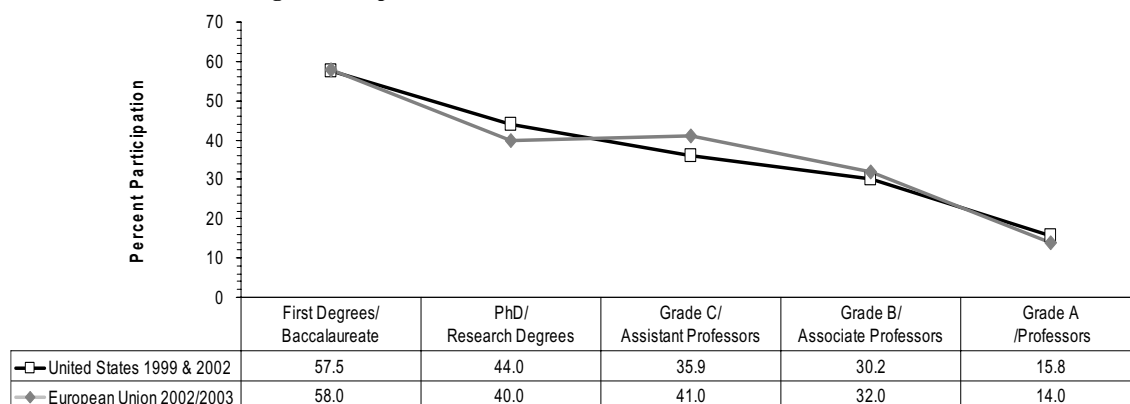
## Gender Equality in U.S. Higher Education: Inter/national Framing and Institutional Realities

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### Introduction

Most undergraduate students in the United States and Europe are women. In 2002, women accounted for 57.5% of baccalaureate graduates in the United States and 58% of first degrees graduates in the European Union (EU) (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES] 2005; European Commission 2005). With female student representation approximating their percentage of society, policy makers may no longer perceive gender as an issue in higher education (Morley, in press). Beyond student enrollment, however, women's presence decreases at each career phase. Moreover, a majority female representation does not assure that organizations will make decisions in the interests of women (Kelly and Newman 2001) nor that organizational culture will be more responsive to women (Hindera and Young 1993). Recent studies of institutions of higher education and gender audits on both continents – such as those at Duke and Princeton Universities in the United States, the University of Bonn in Germany, and Oxford University in Great Britain – indicate that the lack of gender equality continues to be a serious problem. Women faculty earn less than their male peers, are being promoted at a lower rate, and receive fewer prestigious prizes and awards. Faculty appointments continue to demonstrate gender stratification. The descending lines of Figure 1 suggest

**Figure 1. Representation of women in universities in the EU and US**



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that within both the United States and the European Union few women will have the opportunity to be taught by women or to have female role models or mentors. The decreasing percentage of women with academic careers also represents losses, both in terms of opportunities for individual women and in institutional potential for solving problems and increasing economic performance.<sup>1</sup>

In this chapter, we focus on gender equality in the United States and beyond, mainly by considering gender equality in universities in the United States and the European Union. We begin by describing gender equality and its legal and policy underpinnings. We then highlight gender mainstreaming as the core concept of gender equality globally in order to show how the United States is a special case not conforming to widely held policy perspectives. Drawing on the new volume, *Women, Universities, and Change: Gender Equality in the United States and European Union* (Sagaria, in press), we touch on the contextual factors reshaping U.S. research universities into ‘quasi-corporate’ institutions. We follow with a case study of the Ohio State University to illustrate the tensions and consequences associated with efforts to enhance competitiveness in the knowledge market and improve women’s status at the institutional level. Finally, we apply the ‘mainstreaming frame’ to Ohio State to show potential issues of gender relations and to raise questions that, although absent from the diversity frame, might have further enhanced the status of women at the university.

### **Gender equality framing**

We define ‘frame’ as the perspective and principles developed by society or an institution that shape decision making for group and individual behaviors. Thus, different equality frames have different strategies and structures. We recognize that framing includes particular aspects of a phenomenon and leaves out others. The term ‘framework’, which occurs within a greater frame, represents and categorizes the concepts and rationales underlying policies, legislation, and initiatives intended to improve equality. In this chapter, we consider national and supranational frames and their influences on women and higher education.

From the mid-1960s to the mid-1990s, the United States and the European Union approached equal opportunity in a somewhat similar fashion – through positive action and affirmative action, respectively. Proactive measures were established to change policies and procedures. In the United States the equal opportunity frame laid the base for the creation of affirmative/positive action measures to remedy past discrimination. Fair treatment on the basis of sex was incorporated into employment antidiscrimination law in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act (1964). In the European Union, the principle of equal pay for equal work for women and men was endorsed in Article 119 of the 1957 Treaty of Rome. On both sides of the North Atlantic, legislation calling for equal treatment of women unlocked opportunities, but failed to provide a means of creating equal representation and intended policy outcomes. Stated differently, equal opportunity frames have enabled gender-based inequities to be identified but they lack measures to remedy inequities. In the 1990s the approaches began to diverge: the United States identified diversity as its legal remedy and the European Union incorporated



mainstreaming as its principal strategy to increase equality. Beneath the policies, however, there have been and continue to be differing assumptions and values. In the United States the approach has been to remedy past discrimination (Rhoads et al. 2005); in the European Union the approach has been to ensure a human right, enhance human talent, and, in turn, increase economic strength.

### **Gender equality in the United States**

The changing dominant political and social perspectives in the United States provide lenses for understanding the policy and legislative shifts from equal opportunity to affirmative action and, most recently, to diversity as the justification for equality in higher education. The Civil Rights Act (1964), fulfilling the social contract promise brought about by national social movements in the 1960s and 1970s, provided the legal basis for enforcing the ban on race- and gender-based discrimination in all institutions receiving federal governmental funds (Rhoads et al. 2005). Affirmative action as a gender equality frame created conditions that allowed for equal employment opportunities and treatment that does not discriminate on the basis of race, creed, color, national origin, and, since 1967, sex (Glazer-Raymo in press; Rees 1998). Affirmative action in higher education was formalized through the pivotal legal case, *Bakke v. University California Board of Regents*. A white student, Allan Bakke, sued after twice being rejected by the University of California Davis School of Medicine (Rhoads et al. 2005). Bakke argued that the race considerations used in the admissions process of the school were a violation of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment (the equal protection clause of the U.S. Constitution). This challenge to affirmative action policies resulted in a more specific definition of the role of affirmative action in higher education. The U.S. Supreme Court found the quotas inappropriate and rejected specific awards structures, reinforcing the requirement that affirmative action policies be “narrowly tailored.” Nevertheless, the Court supported race considerations as a compelling interest of the state to overcome a history of social inequality (Rhoads et al. 2005).

The political shift away from a welfare state orientation in the United States reduced social programs and placed increased responsibility on individuals for their education and labor market mobility. The result was increased opposition to the recourse legislation allowed for by affirmative action.

Diversity, the current frame for gender equality in the United States, emerged in the 1990s during the backlash against affirmative action. The origins of diversity can be traced to the *Bakke*<sup>2</sup> decision. The approach represented a shift from the deficit-based affirmative action rationale for equality in higher education. Affirmative action provided special consideration for underrepresented persons, whereas the diversity frame is intended to benefit those who have historically been included as well as those who have been excluded. Its reasoning stems from the desirability of including different cultural characteristics, such as values, language, customs, skills, and behaviors of individuals and groups (Sagaria 2003). Mary Jae Paul (2003) explains the intended consequences of diversity for higher education:

In the context of an educational institution, the intended outcome of multicultural or diversity initiatives is purported to be the reduction of prejudice, discrimination, and bias against persons of various races, classes, ethnicities, and other underrepresented groups. Such outcomes are currently sought by increasing the populations of persons of color and offering them the equal representation they have historically been denied (p. 6).

The Supreme Court has determined that diversity as an equality frame is not legally binding. In *Gratz v. Bollinger*<sup>3</sup> (2003), a case of contested undergraduate admissions at the University of Michigan, the courts struck down the use of affirmative action measures that gave underrepresented applicants a certain number of points for their minority status in the university's numeric-based admissions process. However, in *Grutter v. Bollinger*<sup>4</sup> (2003), the Supreme Court upheld affirmative action policies that used race in University of Michigan law school admissions. Consequently, the current frame for gender equality rests on precarious ground. The state's dismantling of equality measures and its shifting emphasis from providing for the social good to providing for economic enterprises are causing U.S. research universities to redefine their priorities.

### **Gender equality in the European Union**

In the European Union, the underlying principle for gender equality is that equal opportunity is a basic human right. This treatise is also central to the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997), in which the European Union confirmed its commitment to the Council of Europe's European Convention on Human Rights (1950). Gender mainstreaming as an equality strategy recognizes the inherent relationships between human rights, equal opportunity, and the strengthening of women's role in the labor market for Europe's economic security.

Applying a neoliberal frame, the European Commission recognized that women serve a critical role in economic competition and security. Thus, the current official policy approach to gender equality seeks to include the talents and skills of historically underrepresented populations in the labor market:

There are sound economic and social reasons for a reinforcement of efforts of Member States to promote equal opportunities in the labour market. While the employment situation of women has improved over recent decades, unemployment is higher for women than for men (12.6% as against 9.7%) and their rate of participation in work is lower (50.2% as against 70.4%). Within work, women are over-represented in some sectors and professions and underrepresented in others. These labour-market rigidities, which impede Europe's capacity for growth and job creation, must be tackled (Commission of the European Communities 1997).

The shifts in the EU frames can be seen through the various policy strategies employed in the European Union: equal treatment, positive action, and mainstreaming policy. Rees's (1998) work on tinkering, tailoring, and transforming offers an accessible lexicon to explore differences among the

gender equality frameworks. Equal treatment (tinkering) has sought to augment equal access for women but has had limited success because of a lack of mechanisms to reinforce its application and measures to monitor effectiveness. Positive action and positive discrimination (tailoring) have sought to alter the status quo quantitatively and provide interventionist measures to ensure changes in outcome. However, although providing for equal access, unchanged structural and attitudinal barriers have continued to reinforce gender differences, placing expectations on women to assimilate into a male-dominated organizational culture in order to advance. Mainstreaming (transforming) shifts the responsibility for gender equality from individual women to organizations. As a policy approach it represents a key strategy in tackling embedded societal constraints as well as countering discrimination in organizations. The European Technology Assessment Network (ETAN) expert group, commissioned by the Council of Europe (Osborn 1998), defined gender mainstreaming as “the (re)organization, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages by the actors normally involved in policy-making” (p. 15). Following this approach, universities are expected to bring about structural and cultural changes within their organizations by incorporating gender equality into all policies, procedures, and budgeting. Rees explains, “The transforming agenda is predicated upon the argument that opportunities to participate in education, training, and employment should not be enhanced or restricted by membership of one group or another” (1998, p. 46).

This approach guides policies throughout the European Union, especially in the higher education sector, designed to tackle deeply rooted organizational cultures and the practices within which inequalities are embedded. As Sylvia Walby (2004) notes,

One feature that is often included within definitions of gender mainstreaming is the practice of making visible the way that gender relations are significant in institutional practices where they had previously been seen as marginal or irrelevant, in order to facilitate the implementation of a strategy for both gender equality and for the improvement of the mainline policy (p. 3).

The current EU approach to gender equality takes on a ‘twin-track’ strategy with the long-term goal of gender mainstreaming concurrently working with positive-action measures, such as employment and training policies and domestic violence legislation (Rees 2005). Consequently, gender equality frames may overlap and interact to create change.

### **A global approach to gender equality**

The development and legislation of gender mainstream policy in the European Union is intertwined with a larger international movement of women policy makers working in concert with feminist activist groups in Europe and internationally. Its most visible origins are in international

development. In the 1950s and 1960s there was a shift away from a gender-blind development orientation to, first, a 'women in development' (WID) approach, that identified women as a special or separate interest group, and then, later, to a 'gender and development' (GAD) approach, that identified gender as a central part of development strategies. Thus, women's situation was no longer analyzed separately but in relation to men. The two dimensions of GAD – 1) the centrality of women in development strategies and 2) comparisons between women and men – are crucial to understanding, operationally defining, and measuring mainstreaming. The development and implementation of this approach can be traced to the 1984 directive to the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) to incorporate gender into UN activities. Soon afterward international forums created political and social opportunities to realize the new policy agenda. The Third World Women's Conference of 1985 advocated "effective participation of women in development should be integrated in the formulation and implementation of mainstream programs and projects" (*Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies*, paragraph 114, cited in Hafner-Burton and Pollack 2002).

Gender mainstreaming became a core concept in international public policy in 1995 at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, when it was featured as part of the Platform for Action, which committed the United Nations and its agencies to systematically integrate a gender perspective into policy making (Hafner-Burton and Pollack 2002). In 1997, the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) provided formal clarification:

Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in any area and at all levels. It is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women as well as of men an integral part of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres, so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal of mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality (International Labour Organization 2006).

The EC Gender Equality Commission participated in the Beijing Conference where it adopted the United Nation's Fourth Programme platform on gender equality. The EC Commission's formal pronouncement in support of gender mainstreaming was delivered in 1996 through the "Incorporating Equal Opportunities for Women and Men into All Community Policies and Activities" (Commission of the European Communities 1997) wherein the commission made gender equality in policies a priority (Hafner-Burton and Pollack 2002). In 1997, the Amsterdam Treaty fully endorsed and incorporated gender mainstreaming as the official policy approach (Rees 2005). In 2003 the European Union established gender mainstreaming and gender equality measures as one of the guidelines for member states' National Action Plans (NAPs) (Walby 2005). At the same time, equality policies in the

United States and its universities were moving in a different direction. The rationale for affirmative action as a compensatory form of social justice was being weakened in favor of the positive effects of diversity as a ‘compelling interest’ (Rhoads et al. 2005, p. 199). The current context and local realities of universities also are changing in profound ways.

### **Quasi-corporate university**

Universities are emerging into an economic sector characterized by a quasi-corporate model of production that demonstrates responsiveness to market forces and demands for relevance. Thus, they are expected to increase their prominence as competitors in a knowledge industry through research, grants and contracts, publications, and scientific accomplishments (Gumport 2000). As Dill and Sporn (1995) explain, universities wanting to function successfully in an international market must develop the capacity to employ university personnel, resources, and programs in a more flexible, efficient, and adaptive manner.

Concurrently, universities continue to strive to maintain their standing as social institutions by preserving ‘essential educational legacies,’ such as improving equality in society, socializing citizens, increasing students’ chances for upward social mobility, and cultivating interest in the general social welfare (Gumport 2000, p. 71). In the past, the ‘social good’ argument had been the most important legitimizing claim for universities. Their existence was linked to their record for improving people’s capacity to fully engage as citizens and therefore contribute to the sustainability of the country as a democratic society (Gurin et al. 2002).<sup>5</sup> Thus, efforts to achieve gender equality and greater racial and ethnic diversity within universities have been linked to the good of society. Despite the scientific and sometimes legal argument that equality and diversity are compelling needs in a democratic society, few external requirements or incentives now exist to infuse a social good orientation, such as incorporating measures to achieve equality, into institutional agendas. The shift in the legitimizing rationale from higher education as a social good to higher education as a quasi-corporate entity provides a perspective for explaining why there has been uneven (or limited) progress towards equality and diversity, although they have been incorporated into university goals, endorsed as major priorities, and approved as official institutional policies. The case study of the Ohio State University illustrates the realities of one university’s attempt to enhance its competitiveness through academic excellence and improving women’s status.

### **Ohio State University: Tensions between academic excellence and equality<sup>6</sup>**

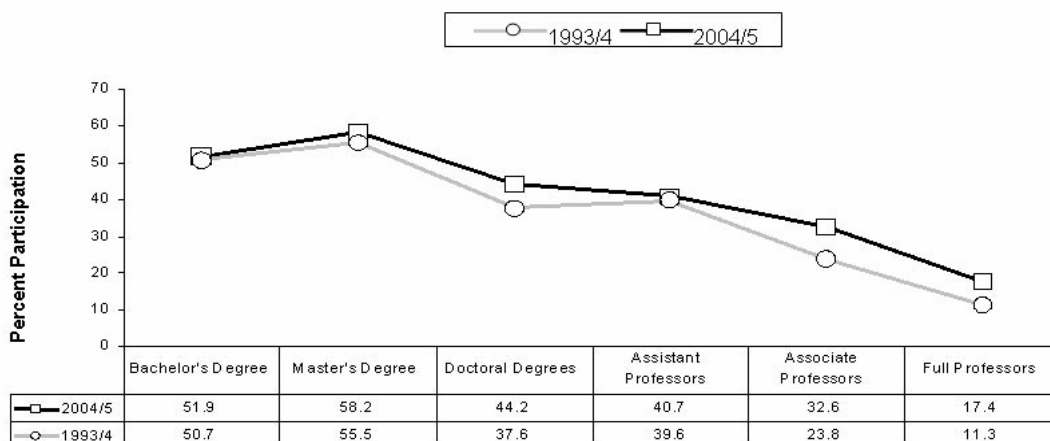
The university was founded in 1870 to benefit the state of Ohio and its citizens.<sup>7</sup> Ohio State University in Columbus (OSU), the main campus, is the second largest in the nation with 50,504 students. Women comprise 49.2% of the student body, and students of color<sup>8</sup> account for 15% (Ohio State University [OSU] 2005).

Like other U.S. institutions of higher education, OSU has been adapting in order to align with the dominant legitimating expectations to generate revenue,<sup>9</sup> establish its preeminence in research and innovation, and shift its overall direction to compete more effectively with other research universities. Since 1990, OSU has had three presidents and in 2002 Karen Holbrook became the first woman to be named president. Because of this turnover at the top, different and at times conflicting leadership priorities have affected the direction of excellence and equality.

### Representation of women

A comparison of the percentage of women graduates by level and faculty rank in 1993–1994 and 2004–2005 shows that the representation of women has increased slightly. As Figure 2 shows, women students have comprised the majority of bachelor's and master's degree earners since 1993 (OSU, Registrar 2005; OSU, Office of Human Resources 2005). The largest increase in representation was a gain of 6.6% at the doctoral level. Among the faculty, the percentage of women has increased only slightly, with the number of associate professors and full professors increasing by 8.8% and 6.3% respectively, and the percentage of assistant professors remaining virtually unchanged. Women full professors now account for 7% of the total faculty whereas male full professors make up 33% of the faculty. In short, women students have achieved parity in representation for the first two degrees and appear to be moving toward equal representation at the doctoral level. Nevertheless, men continue to predominate in the faculty, with women having made modest gains but by no measure coming close to achieving equality. It is the full professors who decide most policy matters, who act both as gatekeepers for hiring and promotion and as evaluators for awards and grants, and who shape the institutional culture. Moreover, they maintain the institutional patriarchal support system (Bagilhole

Figure 2. Representation of women students and faculty at The Ohio State University



and Goode 2001) as well as the networks (Morley 1999; Currie et al. 2002). Although women's faculty representation remained steady between 1993 and 2005, women have made progress in administrative leadership positions. Most noteworthy is the fact that women hold the top two posts: the president and the vice president for academic affairs/provost.

### **Policy discourses on women, gender, and racial equality and excellence**

Since 1970, OSU women have studied their situation and described not only the weaknesses and achievements of OSU's affirmative action programs but also the need for the university to recognize women's abilities and achievements. In 1991, when OSU was heavily engaged in affirmative action strategies, including the appointment of a senior administrator to lead those initiatives and the funding of studies on the conditions of women and minorities, the chair of the Commission on Women wrote to the president:

The major and most general finding of the Commission is that the campus climate for women at The Ohio State University is virtually unchanged from that described in the Report of the 1977 Ohio State University Commission on Women. Indeed, for women of color, the climate may well have worsened. Women still confront an environment that ignores critical gender differences, places impediments in the ways of women striving to reach their full potential, and fails to recognize and respect women's professional abilities and achievements (OSU, President's Commission on Women 1992, p. 23).

In 1996, as diversity was framing the national discourse on equality, similar changes were occurring at OSU. The infrastructure for monitoring and advocating for equality radically changed with the creation of a Diversity Committee to address all aspects of equity at OSU. The group combined the University Senate Committee on Women and Minorities with the President's Committee on Diversity<sup>10</sup> to monitor OSU's nondiscrimination policy and recommend ways to foster civility, tolerance, and mutual respect as well as advise the president and other senior administrators on climate, issues, policies, and priorities.

In 2000, three major documents for equality were released.<sup>11</sup> These reports received little attention as they were dwarfed by the launch of the primary strategic initiative, the Academic Plan, in October 2000 (OSU, Office of Academic Affairs [OAA] 2000). The Academic Plan proclaimed strong support for all the goals of the Diversity Action Plan, yet it included only two of the Diversity Action Plan's goals in a weakened version: to recruit, support, and retain to graduation more qualified minority students, and to hire at least 5 to 10 women and 5 to 10 minority faculty at senior level ranks with a commitment of \$250,000 to \$500,000 per year for five years. This was half the number of hires proposed in the Diversity Plan.

## **Structures for gender equality at Ohio State**

OSU's innovative programs, activities, and structures for gender equality and diversity have been incremental, additive, and on the sidelines. For example, in response to campus activism, OSU began providing child care to the campus community in 1972. In 2002, under President Karen Holbrook's leadership, OSU implemented several recommendations of gender and diversity campus studies. For example, a new parental leave policy enables a faculty member to delay a tenure decision by up to two years. This option has been used by men and women. A flexible workload policy and a dual-career hiring policy are now in place. In 2000, OSU launched a highly visible initiative to improve the status of women through the creation of The Women's Place (TWP). It has consolidated and expanded resources and support systems for women as an action-oriented information resource center, a catalyst for networking, and an entity for identifying problems and finding solutions (OSU, TWP 2005). An exception to these kinds of changes has been the curriculum. Women's Studies evolved from a small center to a strong department that now offers a doctorate and has 13 tenure-track faculty members and more than 55 associated faculty members.

## **Selective investment**

Two initiatives redefined OSU's priorities and academic core while silencing gender and adversely affecting faculty women's representation and status. In an effort to boost the university's academic stature by strengthening its strongest departments, OSU launched a six-year Academic Enrichment Program in 1995 and a three-year Selective Investment (SI) Program in July 1997.<sup>12</sup> Each unit chosen for Selective Investment was awarded funds from reallocated continuing university funds. Like an earlier Academic Enrichment Program, which was intended to encourage, identify, and strengthen areas of excellence through investments in academic and non-academic programs, the reallocated funding was generated by returning an additional 0.5% of the base budget allocation for each department each year beginning in 1995. Those dollars were then redirected to SI units. The central funding was matched with college and departmental funding. Thus, each of the 11 SI units received \$1 million in annual continuing funds. Several of the units also received Academic Enrichment funds for program development (OSU, OAA 2004).

The SI plan reallocated funds between 1997 and 2000, which produced substantial organizational change, both structurally and budgetary, through internal reallocations. University faculty widely supported the SI program and the committee's decisions, in part because they were perceived as legitimate, having been made by a faculty peer review process rather than by administrators (The Nation 2002). Also, the president and vice president/provost became a guiding team that communicated with the faculty in order get them to agree to the change and to create momentum for a short-term win or accomplishment.<sup>13</sup>

Selective Investment has been more beneficial to men than to women and has not contributed in making progress toward gender equality.<sup>14</sup> During the SI program, 11 units hired 79 faculty members



and 37% of those hires were men appointed as full professors, whereas only 0.5% of the total hires were women at the most senior rank. Thus, the SI program, which was designed to improve the research output of OSU, has furthered a male-dominated professoriate, particularly at the full professor level. It has also created a system of male faculty stars, or established distinguished scholars who have increasingly different reward and work conditions from their colleagues.<sup>15</sup>

Considering another gender outcome of SI hiring, women were less likely to be hired through that program than through a regular hiring process.<sup>16</sup> Only 17.3% (13) of the SI faculty hires were women compared to 34.5% of the faculty hires between 1993 and 2004 (OSU, President's Council on Women's Issues 2005).<sup>17</sup> One explanation for this discrepancy is that many SI faculty appointments were made as a result of targeted searches wherein the position was not publicized and applications were not solicited. Thus, these procedures differed from the normal open search in which a position is advertised widely in disciplinary and professional publications. Furthermore, targeted searches run counter to affirmative action and diversity principles (Morley 1999).

### **The academic plan**

In 2002, OSU implemented its ambitious academic plan, guided by the vision "to become one of the world's great public research and teaching universities" (OSU, OAA 2000, p. 1). OSU administrators, deans, and faculty worked on the five-year plan for more than two years. The core elements of the plan are outlined in 6 strategies and 14 supporting initiatives. The strategies are to (1) build a world-class faculty; (2) develop academic programs that define OSU as the nation's leading public land-grant university; (3) enhance the quality of the teaching and learning environment; (4) enhance and better serve the student body; (5) create a diverse university community; and (6) help build the State of Ohio's future.

In its efforts to create a diverse university community, the Academic Plan incorporated priorities and reaffirmed recommendations of the 2000 Diversity Action Plan:

To create this rich learning environment, The Ohio State University must recruit and retain greater numbers of women and minorities into faculty, staff, and administrative positions, especially senior positions. Such senior faculty arrive with tenure and serve as role models and mentors for their junior counterparts. . . . We must be sure that all groups are represented in campus diversity policy and that the newly established Women's Place receives adequate support. . . . Finally, we must ensure that deans, department chairs, and other leaders are held accountable for their part in increasing campus diversity (OSU, 2000 p. 14).

As one of its initiatives under the diversity strategy, the Academic Plan included the hiring of least 5 to 10 women and 5 to 10 minority faculty members at a senior level each year for five years through

the Faculty Hiring Assistance Program (FHAP). Funding was made available to departments on a ‘first-come, first-served’ basis to support three years of salary.<sup>18</sup> A provision allowed departments to request funds without a national search, as might be the case with a dual-career hiring appointment for the second partner (Snyder 2004). This program has been helpful, but unlike the SI program, that offered high salaries, reduced teaching loads, and research support, units receiving Faculty Hiring Assistance Program funds have had limited success in attracting white women and women and men of color (OSU, Council on Diversity 2004).

### **Policy discourses and institutional priorities**

OSU articulated a commitment to both academic excellence and diversity in order to become one of the world’s great public universities. The university has pursued quasi-corporate and social good goals, the former through SI strategies and the latter through special programs such as The Women’s Place. The strategies and initiatives associated with academic excellence have increased research output, income generation, and improved reputation rankings (OSU, OAA 2004), suggesting that OSU is becoming more competitive in the knowledge market. The plans have not enhanced equality.

By prioritizing knowledge areas, OSU has institutionalized a quasi-corporate discourse of selective efficiency and effectiveness. Every faculty member at OSU, by virtue of his or her unit, has been taxed to support targeted departments. However, colleges with larger numbers of women faculty members and students and with strong linkages to the public good, such as Nursing, Education, Social Work, and Human Ecology, have not been on the receiving end of these centralized funds.

The SI program has been agenda-setting by producing substantial organizational change in both structure and budget through internal reallocations to increase market responsiveness and competition. The program changed OSU’s social structure by creating highly differentiated work conditions, work structures (Hall 1977), and cultures for SI units, and by modifying its membership patterns to hire heavily at the senior ranks with processes that lacked transparency and altered work patterns. The budgetary changes also radically redefined the criteria for allocations of university funding, reallocated funds, and redefined entrepreneurial activities as core activities.

Although the discourse of the Academic Plan linked increased hiring of white women and men and women of color with creating a more diverse faculty, senior administrative leaders have shown little commitment to mainstream gender and diversity in hiring practices. Programs, such as the Faculty Hiring Assistance Program, have been additive, layering diversity concerns on existing practices through short-term cash allocations without challenging the fundamental nature of hiring practices. As a result, the social good objective associated with diversity and equality has produced minimal change compared to the SI program. When the Diversity Plan was launched in 2000, faculty women comprised 27.7% of the tenure-track faculty positions. Five years later, the target year identified to increase the numbers of white women and women and men of color, women had increased their representation to 28.6%, a change of less than 1% (OSU, Office of Human Resources [OHR] 2005).

Presidential leadership and the high turnover in leadership have been crucial factors in changing the university (Sporn 1999). OSU presidents have had different approaches and degrees of commitment to equality and diversity. President Gordon Gee (1990-1997) began the financial reallocation without incorporating equality and diversity into excellence. This consequently marginalized equality and diversity and other actions, significantly exacerbating the situation. Initiatives to improve the status of white women and people of color were additive, bringing about minimal change in the nature of faculty work or OSU culture. The one exception was that deans were expected to annually report diversity statistics and activities. There were no consequences, however, if conditions of equality in a college remained stable or deteriorated.

When President Karen Holbrook assumed the presidency, the academic plan was in its second year of implementation. She embraced the academic plan, and much of her public approach to diversity and equality focused on two much-needed changes: increasing the enrollment and retention of students of color and implementing policies to reduce family-work tensions for faculty and staff. The focus on students and reducing tensions for faculty and staff is very much within the diversity frame but those initiatives have neither changed the core activities of the organization nor directly affected the nature of academic workplace. They do, however, have the potential to benefit younger scholars and thereby reduce the leaky pipeline through professorial ranks over time. The women in the top two senior administrative positions at OSU have legitimized the idea of women as leaders and have brought about incremental change. They have spoken publicly about the need to advance women's careers, given The Women's Place more prominence, and stressed audits and efforts to uncover hidden gendered and racist protocols. In the fall of 2005, President Holbrook, in a major speech, highlighted university goals and priorities, referenced diversity in relationship to The Women's Place, and discussed the need to increase the representation of students of color and international students (Holbrook 2005). These long-term conditions and measures have the potential to change the picture of inequality, however slowly, by making the culture more women-friendly.

Also in 2005, OSU announced that \$50 million in central funds would be invested over the next five years for targeted investments in excellence for "program[s] capable of achieving recognition as one of the top in the field and impact . . . likely to have a significant impact on the university's academic standing" (Snyder 2005). Thus, another agenda-setting opportunity has been created to incorporate equality and diversity and to realize the goals and promises of a quasi-corporate university for the social good. There is hope that, with incremental additive changes toward equality and diversity and the presence of a highly committed and effective university president, the institutional culture is shifting to accommodate this initiative, which could link diversity and equality with excellence and increased competitiveness.

### **Reanalyzing Ohio State through a gender mainstreaming frame**

Although we reported some of the gender consequences of OSU's efforts to increase its competitiveness in the knowledge market and progress toward gender equality, we did so by looking at agenda-setting activities and additive measures and their impact on gender equality. However, in reconsidering the case through a mainstreaming frame, we critically analyze organizational structures, policies, and procedures in order to identify any potential discriminating effects and to promote gender equality and diversity. To guide our analysis we take a functional or instrumental approach to mainstreaming by examining processes associated with OSU's core activities to question the status quo of structures and cultures. We are guided by six questions from the *Manual on Mainstreaming in Universities* (Stevens and Van Lamoen 2001) that are relevant to aspects of the policies, programs, and conditions of the OSU case.

*Do the data reveal gender (in)equalities?* When equality in participation is examined, the data on equality in access and opportunities across degree levels and academic ranks in Figure 2 show that there is considerable underrepresentation of women in the progression of academic careers at OSU. The question that emerges to explain this pattern is: *What is the percentage of women for new appointments?* Between 1993 and 2004 only slightly more than one-third of the hires were women, but among SI hires that percentage dropped to 17.3%. Thus, recent hiring practices are restricting entry of women into faculty positions. This returns us to the larger question: *How were gender and diversity incorporated into the decision-making structures of Academic Excellence and Selective Investment?* We begin by disaggregating the gender statistics for membership on the Selective Investment Evaluation Committee, which for three years made recommendations to the president and vice president/provost. The ratio of women to men on the committee was 1:6 in 1998, 1:7 in 1999, and 3:5 in 2000 (OSU, OAA n.d.). Only during the third year did women make up more than 30% of this influential group that reallocated approximately \$13 million in continuing funds. The Academic Excellence policy does not mention equality, gender, race, or diversity, and the SI policy includes only a minor reference to diversity as the last of five criteria for funding consideration. Consequently, the gender neutral approach actually resulted in a gender bias in the strategies of many departments. There were some, such as Law, English, and History, that incorporated diversity considerations into their strategies.

*What has been the impact of the Academic Excellence and Selective Investment on eliminating potential discriminatory effects and promoting diversity?* When this question is directed to financial allocations or money-flows (Stevens and Van Lamoen 2001, p. 47) towards different faculties or departments based on their rate of male/female academics, considerable inequities emerged through the allocation process of the SI program: seven of the 11 SI departments

have less than 28.5% women, the benchmark for female faculty representation (OSU, Office of Human Resources [OHR] 2005). A similar pattern appears to exist for the Academic Excellence allocations. The absence of data about the Faculty Hiring Assistance Program precluded conducting a financial flow analysis.

*What kind of ownership is there for gender equality?* The development of specific structures concerning equality contributes to sustainability of actions and initiatives (Stevens and Van Lamoen 2001, p. 52). Using the presence of structures, such as the Department of Women's Studies and The Women's Place, as indicators having the potential to contribute to sustained cultural change, OSU is doing well. Moreover, the development of human resource policies, such as the faculty hiring assistance program and those concerning flexible workloads and dual-career hiring, are important steps that indicate an incorporation of gender equality and diversity into the university, as does the appointment of a highly respected senior faculty member who serves as Associate Provost for Women's Policy Initiatives. Also, the presence of women in the two senior administrative leadership positions, who frequently speak out publicly for equality and diversity, is notable.

*What kind of accountability is there for gender equality?* The Diversity Committee and The Women's Place conduct regular audits of participation and assessments of the climate for white women, and men and women of color, and deans annually report numbers and activities in their respective colleges. Despite extensive and detailed data collection (with information available on OSU's web site), there is no managerial performance accountability or significant rewards at any level of the organization for progress towards equality or diversity.

Posing questions from a mainstreaming frame identifies areas where OSU is making progress towards gender equality and diversity. It also points to areas and activities that need to be addressed and the kinds of policies and measures that must be checked for their impact. In sum, mainstreaming gives focus to the reality that progress toward gender equality "consists of various, mutually attuned actions, which can and should be measured separately" (Stevens and Van Lamoen 2001, p. 40). It also offers tools to analyze conditions as well as strategies for progress towards diversity when many indicators and initiatives associated with affirmative action are no longer viable or relevant at quasi-corporate universities within a neoliberal context.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has explored and described gender equality in the United States and beyond by highlighting the similarities and differences between the United States and the European Union. We have discussed the changing construction of national frames that reflect shifting social, political, and economic ideologies. Within these frames, higher education frameworks, such as policies, initiatives,

and programs, represent the reification of the greater frame. In juxtaposing US and EU principles and approaches to gender equality, we see that both have employed a form of affirmative action or positive action. But in the United States the approach was backward-looking, to remedy past discrimination, whereas in the European Union the approach was forward-looking, to ensure a human right. Both have since been supplemented or replaced by divergent principles and strategies. The United States has substituted affirmative action with diversity, which teeters on the principle that multicultural environments can reduce prejudice and, therefore, are in the interests of the state.

As a social institution, universities must adapt to the parameters of external frames, while working to maintain integrity with their established internal frameworks. The supranational frame of neoliberalism is reconstituting national frames, that in turn are changing universities into quasi-corporate entities from institutions for the social good.

Policy discourse becomes real through the enactment of individual institutional priorities. OSU is an organization in the process of far-reaching changes in order to be competitive in the knowledge market and improve its position in the state and the wider economy as it maintains and enhances its commitment to equality and diversity. The shifting frames from affirmative action to diversity that have taken place at the national level are mirrored at the local institutional level. The diversity agenda, however, has shifted from faculty to students. Actions intended to improve the status of white women and women and men of color have been moved to the sidelines and have been additive and incremental. In contrast, shifting institutional resources and redirected priorities have focused on enhancing academic excellence, improving the institution's reputation, and increasing OSU's resources. Thus far, the equality and diversity agendas have not been linked to the core agenda. The public leadership of the two senior administrators has made equality more prominent by their presence as women and their success in enacting policies to improve the status of white women and women and men of color. However, the lack of improvement in representation of women faculty demonstrates that equality outcomes are difficult to bring about when the dominant economic and political forces are pushing against long-held values of equality and social good. Substantive improvement in gender equality will necessitate a reframing in which diversity and excellence are linked regardless of the bases upon which equality is anchored.

By focusing on the gender consequences of organizational structures and policies of a US university, the gender mainstream frame provides a way of understanding institutional and human actions that impede, and those that further, gender equality and diversity. Although the importation of strategies from the gender mainstreaming frame to the diversity frame may not always be suitable or supported through legal decisions, the state, or institutional agenda policies, mainstreaming analysis does offer a means of accessing and monitoring institutional practices that normative approaches to organizational change and diversity can not provide. Through such insights, developed through the efforts of many nations, we can gain a better understanding of what will be necessary to bring about greatly needed progress toward equality in the United States.

## Notes

1. Definition of grades: A, the single highest grade/post at which research is normally conducted within the institutional or corporate system; B, researchers working in positions not as senior as top position (A) but more senior than the newly qualified Ph.D. holders; C, the first grade/post into which a newly qualified Ph.D. (ISCED 6) graduate would normally be recruited within the institutional or corporate system (European Commission 2005, Annex 1.1). Sources: U.S. Department of Education, NSOPF (99) and IPEDS (2002); European Commission, 2005.
2. *University of California Regents v. Bakke*, 438 U.S. 265 (1978).
3. *Gratz v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 244 (2003).
4. *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 306 (2003).
5. Research on university students and adults has supported this position by showing that universities improve individuals' motivation and capacity to participate in a pluralistic and complex society (Gurin et al. 2004). Furthermore, court decisions, such as *California v. Bakke* (1978), have also found diversity in education to be fundamental to developing the skills necessary for success in an increasingly complex labor force even though, as Judith Raymo (in press) notes, this perspective has not been the dominant position of recent major judicial decisions.
6. This case study draws upon institutional policies and research, committee reports, and the first author's accounts as a participant-observer to provide a picture of OSU's responses to growing market pressures and their implications for gender equality between women and men in OSU community.
7. OSU is one of 105 public universities and colleges established under federal legislation to provide practical knowledge and information based in scientific research to citizens in rural and urban areas. These universities are associated with the democratic model for openness, accessibility, and service to people, especially in agricultural research (retrieved December 26, 2005, from <http://ohioline.osu.edu/lines/grant.html>).
8. In this chapter, people of color are defined as born or naturalized U.S. citizens who identify racially with one or more of the racially and ethnically underrepresented groups in the United States. Typically, this definition would include people of African, Latino/Hispanic, Asian, and Native American descent. Faculty whose citizenship is outside the United States are not included under this definition. Nevertheless, their status within U.S. higher education is important and has received attention (Smith 1992).
9. In 2005, OSU ranked 19th in the country in fundraising, having generated \$203 million the previous year with \$72.8 million (36%) of those funds coming from corporations ('Counting gifts: new rules Irk fund raisers' 2005). That same year, OSU directed \$123.5 million to research (OSU, Research Foundation 2005).

10. Although members of the longstanding Committee on Women and Minorities of the University Senate opposed dissolving their group for fear that OSU would lose its focus on women and minorities to broader issues, the Board of Trustees created the Diversity Committee to end overlapping activities of the two previous committees.
11. Among them, *A Diversity Action Plan for The Ohio State University* stressed that OSU had taken insufficient action to achieve diversity, gender, and racial and ethnic differences:

A diverse environment at The Ohio State University is central to the mission and to the academic goals that have been set. This belief has long been professed, but the university has not acted aggressively and consistently on this belief. Some progress has been made, especially in the recruitment of women faculty, but, overall, the campus community is not diverse. The profile of faculty, staff, and students is not as diverse as the state of Ohio or the nation (OSU 2000, p. 2).

To deal with this critical assessment, the Diversity Action Plan proposed a strategy of accountability designed to improve the campus climate for women and men of color, white women, and gay and lesbian students, faculty, and staff.

12. Departments were selected if they (1) were central to the academic mission of the university; (2) built on areas of existing strength and held promise of substantial future benefit; (3) showed cross-disciplinary potential; (4) had plans to monitor progress and evaluate achievement; (5) served a larger social good outside the university; and (6) demonstrated commitment of resources from the department and its college (OSU, OAA 2004). The initiative was intended to support competition, emphasize benchmarking, and create academic and research profit centers that exploit OSU's core competencies (Pralhad and Hamel 1990). As such, it was designed to reflect the efficiency and effectiveness of OSU resource allocations (OSU, Office of Institutional Research and Planning 2004).
13. Thirteen units were funded. We report on 11 of the 13 recipient units and exclude the units in the College of Medicine, because they were collaborative efforts involving newly established units that operated differently from traditional departments, where the vast majority of faculty work. Eight of the 11 SI departments grew in size during the period, yet only 5 departments increased their representation of women faculty members. One unit, Psychology, decreased by 14 faculty members (including 1 woman) but increased its representation of women. Three departments that increased in size (Electrical Engineering, Materials Science, and Economics) decreased their representation of women. Mathematics decreased in size along with its percentage of women. Chemistry did not increase in size, but it significantly increased its representation of women from 2.9% (1) to 11.7% (4), hiring them through regular rather than SI lines, as were the 2 women hires in Physics.



14. In 2005, women accounted for approximately 28.5% of the tenure-track faculty at OSU (OSU, OHR 2005). Using 28.5% as the benchmark to determine each department's share of female faculty representation at OSU and the presence of horizontal segregation, 7 of the 11 SI-funded units were below the benchmark for female representation.
15. For example, in 2001, the average salary of full professors was \$92,000. Individuals hired through the SI program were given salaries as high as \$220,000; in addition, these hires had lighter teaching loads and, in some cases, start-up packages of more than a million dollars each (Wilson 2001).
16. Although the available pool of women in physical science disciplines (*e.g.* Chemistry, Physics) and engineering fields are lower than disciplines such as English, History, and Psychology, the *2005 Status Report on Women at Ohio State* indicates that women have been underrepresented in hiring in the physical sciences and engineering in relation to the national pool of women scientists.
17. It is worth noting, however, that several SI units with significant female representations (*e.g.* English and Law) have become university leaders in addressing diversity issues through curricular change and efforts to attract a more diverse faculty and student population (OSU, Council on Diversity 2004).
18. For example, in 2004, the provost's office allocated, from that fund, \$25,000 for each assistant professor, \$30,000 for associate professors, and \$40,000 for full professors, with the hiring college or department paying the remainder of the salary and benefits for that year and assuming the full cost after three years.

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# **The Historical and Political Context of Gender Policy in Japanese Higher Education: From Inter- and Intra-national Perspectives of the Frameworks of Gender Policy**

Atsunori Yamanoi\*

## **Introduction**

This paper seeks to examine the historical and social context of gender policy within the process of the structural reform of Japanese higher education. Its discussion is based on both a framework and a hypothesis of gender policy and gender topics in relation to the effects on structural reform of higher education. The analysis seeks to clarify the present situation in regard to issues and the process of gender policies implemented by the Japanese government, various buffer organizations and individual institutions of higher education. A hypothesis of Japanese gender policy is established: initially, in the 1980s gender policy in Japan was influenced by an American model but in the 1990s and subsequently it has tended to follow a European model. Differences in the social and political contexts between structural reforms of higher education and gender policy in Japan are examined by using the triangular framework of state, marketplace and institutions. Central government has taken the main role in structural reforms of Japanese higher education. For gender policy a different pattern for the important roles and leadership is demonstrated. Finally, by using as case studies the experiences of several research universities, it has been possible to study the context of gender policy within universities.

## **The historical and the present situation of gender issues**

As is well known, Tokyo University was established in 1877 (Meiji Era 10) as the first modern university in Japan. Subsequently, seven Imperial universities had been established prior to World War II. But few women students had been admitted. Among the Imperial universities, initially only Tohoku Imperial University, founded in 1913, admitted any women students: by 1923, 10 years after its foundation, it had admitted three women students. Of the other old Imperial universities, some women students were admitted to the Department of Medicine at Kyoto Imperial University in 1919 and 1938-1945, at Kyushu Imperial University in 1925, and at Hokkaido Imperial University in 1930. After some private universities had been re-established as 4-year colleges in 1918, universities, such as

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the Liberal Arts and Science University in Tokyo and the Liberal Arts and Sciences University in Hiroshima, admitted women students to study Japanese higher education history in 1929 (each University Website 2006). Similarly, it was very hard for women members of faculty to be hired at Imperial universities. One of the first was a foreign woman teacher at Kyoto Imperial University. The first Japanese woman faculty member earned a PhD in Japanese higher education in 1932. It was very difficult for Japanese women to develop careers in higher education before World War II. The first woman professor was recruited in 1954 at one of the national universities re-established after World War II.

One of the characteristics of the Japanese academic marketplace is that foreigners and women faculty members are small minorities (Yamanoi and Kuzuki 2005; Yamanoi 2005a). Table 1 shows the proportion of them in higher education in Japan in the years following World War II.

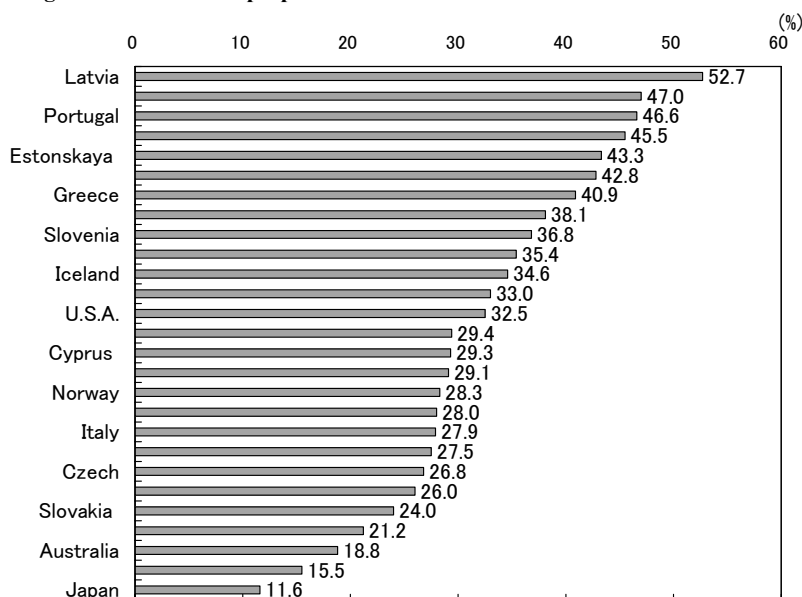
**Table 1. The proportion of women faculty by sector (%)**

	1953	1963	1973	1983	1993	2003
National Universities	2.8	4.1	4.7	5.2	6.6	10.3
Public Universities	6.6	7.0	9.2	9.4	11.1	21.9
Private Universities	9.2	11.7	11.6	11.5	12.6	18.1
Average	4.8	7.2	8.2	8.4	9.9	15.3

Source: MEXT, *Report of School Basic Survey* in each years' versions.

In 2003, the proportion of women faculty was 15.3%. Of course, the variation among university sectors, academic fields and grades was also wide. A logic of “the higher, the fewer” applied. The number of women faculty drastically decreases with seniority: the proportion of women full professors in 2003 was only 9.6% of the total. There were big gaps between the 31.8% of women full professors in home economics (associate professors 55.4%, lecturers 69.2%, research associates 88.3%) and 1.2% of women full professors in engineering science (associate professors 3.8%, lecturers 8.4%, research associates 8.2%) (Cabinet Office, Government of Japan 2005).

The situation of gender issues in Japan was similar to that in developing countries from an international perspective (see Figure 1). In data published by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, the proportion of women faculty in Japan ranked 27<sup>th</sup> in the world (Cabinet Office, Government of Japan 2005). According to the Human Development Index, which the United Nations Development Program publishes as an indicator of the level of education, life and welfare, Japan is placed 9<sup>th</sup> in the world. The same agency has also developed a Gender Empowerment Index for each country, which seeks to indicate the proportion of women’s participation in professional jobs, congressional representation, the political world and economic bodies: in this Index, Japan ranked lower than 30<sup>th</sup> in the world in 2002-2005 (Cabinet Office, Government of Japan 2005).

**Figure 1. The relative proportions of women researchers in selected countries**

Source: Cabinet Office, Government of Japan, *White Paper on Gender Equality Project* 2005.

### **The structural reform of higher education and the characteristics of gender policy in Japan**

Speaking generally, structural reform of Japanese higher education began with the relaxation of the University Accreditation Standard in 1991. As an immediate consequence, Faculties of Liberal Arts and Sciences in the National comprehensive universities have been restructured and their faculty members relocated to other departments within the universities. In the early 1990s, the University of Tokyo, Kyoto University, Tohoku University, Hokkaido University, Nagoya University, Osaka University, and Kyushu University (the former Imperial universities) have undertaken further improvements and expansion by the creation of Graduate School Courses at these research universities (Jutenka in Japanese). At the same time, many national medical colleges have been merged with another national university within the same prefecture. The total number of national universities has now decreased from 99 to 87 institutions. In 2002, the Ministry of Education, Sports, Science, Culture and Technology (MEXT) implemented its 21<sup>st</sup> century COE (Center of Research Excellence) and GP (Good Teaching Practice) Programs as competitive funds. In the COE Program, 274 national, public and private universities have been supported by MEXT so far. Then in 2004, the 87 national universities became incorporated autonomous institutions, and at the same time, professional graduate schools have been established. These structural reforms of Japanese higher education have been rigorously performed under the strong leadership of state control. MEXT has aimed to lead university governance towards a market-based orientation by its own strong leadership and by direction of the buffer agencies. The structural reforms of higher education are intended to change the politics and dynamics of control of the National university sector as indicated in Table 2.

**Table 2. Gender policy of individual sectors in Japan**

Sector	Policy
State Control: Coordination among Ministries	Reforms: committee reports, legislations Policy: relaxation of regulation, globalization, marketization Budget: foundation system and evaluation Personnel: non-public servants type/treatment/grades
Market Control: Market Response	Marketization: teaching/research/budget/personnel(faculties/students/managers) Academic Marketplace: mobility/personnel affairs/ academic productivity
Institution Control: Institutional Strategy	Mission/Function/System/Evaluation: teaching, research, social services Management: faculty meeting/meeting of the board of trustees, teaching/management
Buffer Agency Control Autonomy	Formation of Consensus: Science Council of Japan/Japan Association of National Universities and so on. University Evaluation Organization: Japan University Accreditation Association/Japan Institution for Higher Education Evaluation/National Institution for Academic Degree and University Evaluation Competitive Fund: Ministry of Education, Japan Society for the promotion of Science, Foundation Association: Creation, Interaction and Publication of Knowledge, Gender Issues

One of the objectives of this paper is to examine the difference between the political context of the structural reforms of higher education and that for gender issues. Which sector exercised leadership in improving gender issues in higher education? Occurring at the same time and within the same framework as the structural reform of Japanese higher education, to what extent have they achieved improvement? In order to clarify the processes of reform of gender issues in higher education we have to refer to the development of gender policy in Japan.

A second objective is to examine how the differing models of gender policy in the USA and European countries have affected Japanese gender policy. Mary Ann Danowitz Sagaria of the University of Denver prepared Table 3 for the ASHE 2005 Plenary Session: Mainstreaming and Affirmative Action in Higher Education. By examining this it becomes clear that there are two types of gender policy: an American and a European type. The former is identified with affirmative action or equal opportunity; the latter with a viewpoint of equality of men and women. Japan has a long history of importing elements of advanced civilizations from overseas and creating a fusion of them with Japanese culture. Notable examples are provided by Sui of the Tan Chinese dynasty in the Nara or Heian era, the Netherlands in the Edo era, Western countries in the Meiji era and the USA following World War II. In the case of gender policy, Japan might well have been expected to be affected by overseas gender policy. Initially, Japanese gender policy was influenced by American gender policy. But the American higher education system is markedly different from all other national systems (Clark 2005). So a change in Japanese gender policy to the European approach would not be unexpected. In practice, American gender policy had been supported by the equality of resources and diversity that had been applied to minority issues (Kawashima 2004). In contrast, the European approach had



developed in an environment of equal treatment, compensatory equality and gender equality. As governance of Japanese higher education had been controlled by central government, Japanese people and, in particular faculty members, had not developed the strong responses to gender issues that were familiar in America. This suggests that Japanese gender policy might conform more closely to a European type of gender policy type than to an American type.

### **The agenda and assessment of gender policy in Japan**

The faculty members and students in Japanese universities were exclusively men for a long time. In 1913, the first President of the Imperial University of Tohoku, Seitarou Sawayanagi, for the first time admitted women students: Miss Kuroda and Miss Tange in the Department of Chemistry and Miss Makita in the Department of Mathematics for the first time. He explained that he admitted them because, unfortunately, they had to live independently, without their husbands. Elsewhere, two women students were admitted to the Imperial University of Kyoto in 1919, and about a further 5 students in medical fields over the period 1938-45; the Imperial University of Kyushu had admitted women students for the first time in 1925. Other higher education institutions, such as the Liberal Arts and Science universities already noted and some private universities, had admitted women students instead of leaving student places vacant.

As members of faculty, Mrs. E. Lilienfeld (1929-1936) and Mrs. Anna Miura (1932-1957) had been recruited as lecturers in the Faculty of Agriculture and the Faculty of Letters, at the Imperial University of Kyoto. Miss Michiyo Tsujimura earned the first PhD from the Imperial University of Tokyo as a Japanese woman in the field of agriculture. The first woman professor in the National universities was Miss Masako Shoji at Hiroshima University, who had become a naturalized citizen of Japan: she and another female student had been admitted as the first women students at the Liberal Arts and Science University of Hiroshima in 1935; she was recruited as an assistant in 1943 and promoted to be an associate professor in 1949. She was the first woman in Japan to earn a PhD in the field of letters and was promoted to become the first full professor in 1954 (Shoji 2006).

As noted above, the status of women in Japan in the prewar era was low. In accord with the values of the Confucian tradition, the central government had made no move to grant women's suffrage. Following World War II the American GHQ had strongly recommended this be changed and women's suffrage was implemented by the Japanese government. Even so, it remained very difficult for women to participate in the society in leadership roles. In 1975, the UN, as part of the program of the International Year of Women, recommended up-grading of women's rights at all levels of society. Several of the Ministries of the Japanese government had been asked to make arrangements for ratification of the international treaty of women's rights. Japan finally adopted the treaty in 1985. The Association for Women's Study had been established in 1980. As part of the process of ratifying the international treaty, the Japanese Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare had established the Project of Women in the Ministry. The Law of Equal Employment Opportunity of Men and Women was finally

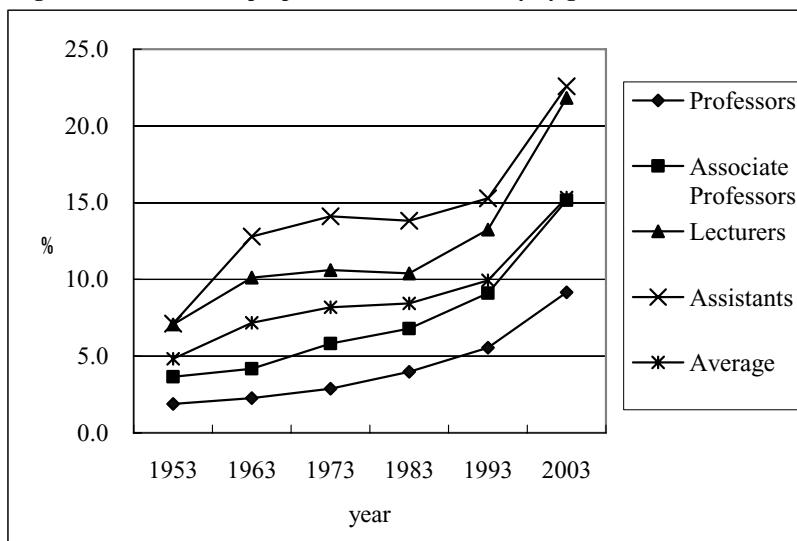
Table 3. Policy of framework for equality: European Union and United States

	European Union			United States		
	Equal Right	Positive Action	Gender Mainstreaming	Equal Opportunity	Affirmative Action	Diversity
<b>Main Purpose</b>	<b>Equal treatment</b>	<b>Compensatory Equality</b>	<b>Gender Equality</b>	<b>Fair Treatment</b>	<b>Recourse Equality</b>	<b>Equality of Differences</b>
Major focus	Legislation formal rules and procedures	Specific problem area, wherein women are underrepresented or occupy disadvantaged positions	The organization as a whole with all its structures values, customs, and policy practices	Legislation, mandates, roles and procedures	Addressing formal areas of discrepancy and establishing protocol for positive discrimination	Intentionally in organizational composition and attention to points of access
Sources and Agents	Legislative authorities, policymakers	Special units, committees or officers for equal opportunities	Actors normally involved in policy making (e.g networks), supported by specialized units, centres, or offices with specific tasks	Social movement, Executive orders judicial decision-making	Interest groups, legal precedent, enforcement authorities/agents	State interest as identified by the highest court, interests groups, specific organizational units
Policy Examples	1957 Treaty of Rome, called for equal pay for men and women	Equal Treatment Directive of 1976, for protection and positive action for women and women	Gender-Mainstreaming at the University of Dortmund Applied Sciences Program, establishment of peer review system and reform of equality policies -1998	Title of the Civil Right act of 1964, and other measures ensuring prohibition of sex-based discrimination	Higher Education Act of 1972, Title IX, no exclusions on the basis of sex to education al programs or activities receiving federal funding	University of Michigan Law School admissions standars upheld in Grutter v. Bollinger, 2006 Michigan Ballot

Source: Prepared for ASHE 2005 Plenary Session: Mainstreaming and Affirmative Action in Higher Education. Mary Ann Danowitz Sagaria, University of Denver

legislated by the Japanese government in 1986. The Japanese Ministry of Education recommended that girl students should study home economics with boy students in junior high school in 1993 and in senior high school in 1994. The Fourth World Congress, held in Beijing in 1995, adopted a resolution that participating countries should approve the Gender Mainstream Policy in a number of specified fields. The Japanese Cabinet approved the Basic Law for a Gender-Equal Society in 1999, but as the data of the Human Development Index showed, estimations of quality of life, knowledge, average life expectancy, level of education, per capita income and so on, Japan achieved no higher than 9<sup>th</sup> position by these international perspectives.

**Figure 2. Trends in the proportion of women faculty by grades**



Source: MEXT, *The Report of School Basic Statistics* in each years' versions.

The Gender Empowerment Index, from estimates of income, the percentage of female administrators, congressional representatives, memberships of professional, and technological professions, showed that in a decade Japan had fallen from 30<sup>th</sup> to 44<sup>th</sup> place.

As shown in Figures 2 and 3, the proportion of women members of faculty has gradually been increasing and reached over 15% in 2003. But in the 1950s, as a proportion of all faculty members, women provided less than 5%; in particular, the proportion of women faculty in the National universities was only 2%. Moreover, the logic of “the higher, the fewer” ensured that few of these were in senior positions. In the most recent decade, the ratio of total women faculty has risen from 10% to 16%; but internationally the proportion of women researchers leaves Japan no higher than 27<sup>th</sup> in the world. And the Japanese academic marketplace had been opened neither to foreigners nor to women and, from an international perspective, it retained its characteristic low mobility (Shimbori 1965, 1984; Kano 1988; Yamanoi 1990, 2005a, 2005b).

In what ways has structural reform of higher education in Japan contributed to change in the proportion of women faculty? The Central Education Council recommended to MEXT in 1971 the implementation of a fixed-term system of appointments to increase the mobility of faculty members (Ministry of Education 1971). The Ad Hoc Education Council repeated the recommendation in 1986 (Ad Hoc Education Council) and, again in the 1990s, it was regularly repeated by the University Council and other Committees in 1991, 1994, 1995, and 1996 (University Council 1994; Yamanoi 2003). During this whole period universities had been expected to respond to the recommendation by introducing new procedures including the recruitment of women members of faculty members, including the recruitment of women research workers from companies. The recommendations showed no such effects. MEXT provided no strong leadership on recruitment of women faculty members, instead choosing to leave these issues to each institution through the autonomy of their individual faculty meetings. This *laissez-faire* policy on gender issues was very different from the style that MEXT had adopted so far in dealing with the other structural reforms in higher education.<sup>1</sup>

In contrast, elsewhere under the same government the General Administrative Agency of Cabinet (GAAC) adopted a policy different from that of MEXT. In 1999 the legislature approved the Basic Law for a Gender-Equal Society (*Danjo Kyoudou Sankaku Shakai Kihonhou*) drafted by the GAAC. This indicated that equal rights for men and women was a much more important topic and that gender issues needed to be pursued actively. On the other hand, these gender equal policies invited strongly protests of local governments to gender issues in contrast with academic community.

The Science Council of Japan (SCJ: *Nihon Gakujutsu Kaigi*) and the Japan Association for National Universities (JANU: *Kokuritsu Daigaku Kyoukai*), which function as buffer agencies and consist of peer groups or academicians, had also adopted policies and approaches different from those of MEXT. Some women members of SCJ in 1998, led by Ms. Yasuko Ichibangase, organized the Japanese Association for the Improvement of Conditions of Women Scientists (JAICOWS: *Josei Kagakusha no Kankyō Kaizen ni kannsuru Kondanka*). This Association became involved in activities to improve women's environments from a gender perspective. JAICOWS had edited *The Possibility of Women Scientists* (JAICOWS 1996) and carried out a *National Survey on the Environment of Women Scientists* with the Center for Gender Study at Ochanomizu Women University Hara 1999.

The SCJ proposed that the government, universities and research institutes should be more positive to gender policy (SCJ 2000) and adopted an Action Plan outlining that the proportion of women members of SCJ should increase to 10% by 2010. In doing so, SCJ had established a numerical target for the first time in order to increase the proportion of women. The JANU proposed that National universities should also adopt an Action Plan that recommends increasing the proportion of women faculty to 20%.

Several European countries have been adopting action plans on gender issues. This style of gender policy differs from that in America, which has been based on an affirmative approach and individual

responsibility. This suggests that Japanese gender policy will be gradually changed from an American style to a European one. Gender policy for the French government still lags far behind that of other countries and even the prestigious nouns in French have no feminine equivalents: *médecin*, *président* and so on. But the French government implemented the Law of Parité in 2000: in French, the word ‘*parité*’ implies perfect equality and equivalence. North European countries especially were active in implementing main stream policies in all gender related fields in the 1990s.

### **The achievements of comprehensive research universities: Institutional case studies**

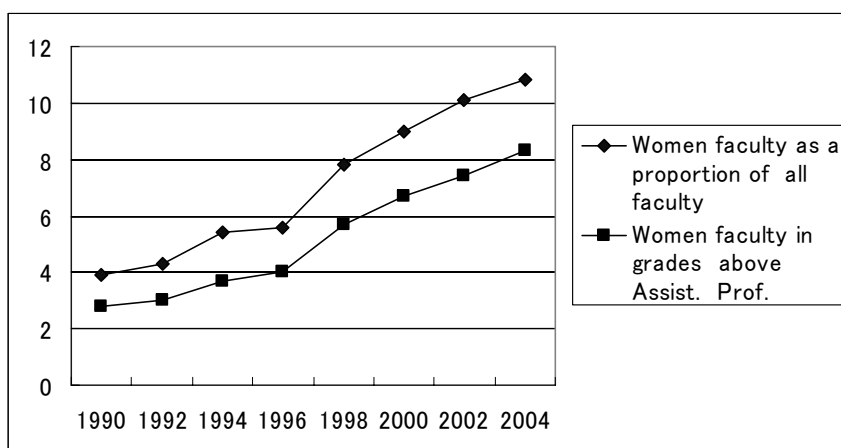
As noted above, the social and political context of Japanese policy to handle gender issues appears to be very different from that of structural reforms of universities. In the case of the structural reforms of the universities, MEXT provided very strong leadership to the institutions, and particularly to the national universities. The process, scope and sequence of institutional reforms on gender issues were not intrinsically far removed from the reforming agenda of MEXT, but because its leadership was far less evident, the achievements of each institution on gender issues differed widely. While Ms. Ichibangase of the SCJ had asked JANU to adopt a more active role on gender issues affecting Japanese women faculty, and the University Council had recommended improvement of the environment for women to the central government, universities and research institutes at the 132nd general assembly in 2000, it had been possible to establish that the number of changes in the main Japanese research universities remained very low. In response, JANU established a Committee to review gender policy in the National universities under the chairmanship of the female President of Ochanomizu University. This Committee investigated the current situation of women members of faculty in all the Japanese National universities in 1998. The proportions of women faculty in grades above associate professor in the main research institutions were as follows: Hokkaido University, 3.6%; Tohoku University, 2.1%; University of Tokyo, 4.5%; Nagoya University, 5.8%; Osaka University, 3.7%; and Kyushu University, 3.1%. This Committee strongly and immediately recommended the adoption of a common policy on gender issues by all National universities. Following their report, JANU proposed that all National universities should introduce an “Action Plan” whereby each institution would seek to recruit women members of faculty to reach a level of 20% by 2010 (JANU 2000).

As a consequence, each National university came to grips with gender issues individually. Their gender policies diverged widely. Some universities, such as Tohoku University, began to consider whether they could reach their goal by 2010 if women were to be recruited to fill posts vacated by retirement: a study of the figures revealed that they would be disappointed by the outcome. Among the old imperial universities, Nagoya University proved to be one of the most active universities. But several old universities, Hokkaido University, Osaka University, Kyoto University, University of Tokyo, were much less active than Nagoya University and Tohoku University. Indeed, Hokkaido University and Osaka University have not published any working reports on gender issues, policies or

even public relations on gender policy on their websites. In this regard, Kyoto University and the University of Tokyo have achieved a little more. As is shown below, MEXT has only recently introduced a ¥150 billion fund on gender policy for Japanese universities following its 21st Century COE (Center of Excellence) program on research and the GP (Good Practice) program on teaching, even though so far no effective gender policy has been implemented.

As shown in Figure 3, Nagoya University has been actively implementing positive action on gender issues in line with the JANU policy. For instance, its Board of Trustees has discussed and established “Comprehensive Proposals for Gender-Equality” as listed below (Nagoya University 2001-2005).

**Figure 3. The trend in the proportions of women faculty at Nagoya University (%)**



**Table 4. The proportion of women at the old imperial universities in 2005 (%)**

	Professor	Associate Professor	Lecturer	Assistant	Average above Assistant	Average above Associate Professor
Hokkaido University	3.5	6.1	9.5	9	6.2	5.0
Tohoku University	3.8	5.2	12	11.5	7.1	4.9
University of Tokyo	3.2	6	11.2	13.4	8.4	5.1
Nagoya University	5.3	10.9	13.4	17	10.8	8.3
Kyoto University	4	6.7	12.8	8.2	6.6	5.8
Osaka University	3.3	4.5	4.7	9.2	5.8	3.9
Kyushu University	2.8	5.3	11.9	12.4	7.5	4.6

Sources: Data on Hokkaido University and Osaka University were analyzed from the “National Directory of University Faculty Members in 2005.” Data on Tohoku University, University of Tokyo, Nagoya University and Kyushu University were cited from the website of each university.

1. Missions
2. Enlargement in number of women faculty members in Teaching and Research
3. Publication of an Annual Gender Survey Report
4. Open Search System and Positive Action in recruitment of faculty
5. Improvement of Gender Issues in the fields of Science and Engineering
6. Promotion of Women Faculty and non-academic Staff
7. Improvement in Treatment of Part-Time Jobs
8. Promotion of Joint Programs of Research for Women faculty
9. Procedures for Dealing with complaints about gender Inequalities
10. Sexual Harassment
11. Measures for Child care and Care of Senior Relatives
12. The Use of Maiden Names in the Workplace
13. Establishment of a Committee or Organization to Promote Gender-Equality

## **Programs**

The proposals of each national university are basically drawn from the JANU policy. So the policy items proposed by each institution might not be so different from each other (Tohoku University 2002-2005, Nagoya University 2003-2005, Kyushu University 2004). Yet there remain big differences among the proportions of women faculty in each institution (see Table 4). A number of reasons contribute to it.

One of the main reasons lies in the differing strength of the leadership provided by the Presidents or Vice-Presidents and of their interests in gender issues or policies. The Presidents of Nagoya University, Tohoku University and Kyushu University showed relatively strong leadership or interests in gender issues: they published gender reports each year and established committees or held active seminars and symposiums on gender topics over the period 2000-2004. In contrast, other university Presidents who had little interest or exercised no leadership in these matters had neither published gender reports nor published a website on gender topics.

Secondly, the existence of women's leadership and women's groups on campus in order to implement gender policies were very important factors. In the case of Nagoya, there was initially as much incomprehension there as in many other universities about the issues. To remedy the lack of understanding about gender issues they established a gender committee and published a book on gender topics in 2004 (Matsumoto and Kanai 2004).

Thirdly, Japanese gender policy depends on the autonomy exercised by departmental and faculty meetings. The Japanese comprehensive research universities in the national sector have been influenced by the German model since the Meiji era and prior to World War II. So, each Japanese

department has held strong power in respect of faculty appointments and faculty recruitment over a long period. Unless these personnel affairs were changed, it would be difficult for a university to increase the proportion of women members of faculty. Some departments at Nagoya University and at some other universities had implemented new policies providing priority for women candidates and for affirmative action if their academic achievement or productivity could be shown to be equal to that of male candidates, even though this was not the original intent. At the same time, as part of the actions derived from gender policy, several departments at Nagoya University introduced a performance system with numerical goals. These numerical measures of performances were included as university performance indicators by a committee at Nagoya University, responsible for the effects of fixed-term appointments.

And finally, provision in the curriculum of classes related to women's studies and gender issues has developed over several decades (Table 5). The number of classes has risen dramatically since 2000 as also has the promotion of joint research programs to promote gender equality. Simultaneous with financial support for these academic developments has been institutional support for the establishment of facilities to care for children and for family-care leave.

**Table 5. The trend of the number of classes related to gender topics in Japanese universities**

Year	1981	1986	1991	1996	2000	2002	2004
Number	18	204	512	785	2,456	2,028	3,465

Source: National Women's Education Center, *Report of Survey on Classes related Gender Topics of Japanese Higher Education 2002* and website of NWECC.

### Concluding remarks

It is possible to summarize the political and social context of gender policy according to the following sequence.

1. The structural reforms of higher education since 1991 have allowed Japanese gender policy to proceed rapidly together with the other changes in personnel affairs (see Tables 1 and 5, Figures 2 and 3). This has enabled the proportions of women members of faculty to rise significantly to 15%.
2. The social and political contexts of gender policy differ largely from that of the structural reforms of higher education. The dynamism of gender policy among the government, markets, buffer agencies and institutions placed emphasis on the buffer agencies and individual institutions; in contrast, for structural reforms there had been a tight relationship between the government (*i.e.* MEXT) and each institution.
3. Over the last decade, Japanese gender policy has largely changed from an American model to a European model. Japanese higher education systems have been controlled by a strong central power. But as Clark has pointed out, the American higher system is markedly different from the higher education systems of other countries. In Japan, the relationship



between the government and the National universities is relatively similar to those in Europe.

4. At national level, Japanese gender policy for the universities has been largely driven by the buffer agencies, such as SCJ or JANU, rather than MEXT on behalf of the central government at national level.
5. Leadership by the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of individual institutions has affected the process of gender policy inside universities. Similarly, leadership of each department and of women members of faculty have been important factors within campus politics.

### Notes

1. Even though no overall or effective gender policy has been implemented so far, in 2006 MEXT introduced a ¥150 billion fund on gender policy for Japanese universities. This fund follows the same competitive procedures as the 21st Century COE Program on research and the GP Program on teaching. By June 2006, 36 universities had applied for support for programs dealing with gender issues and policies from this large fund. Ten universities have received support: the training of women doctors at Tokyo Women's Medical University; the career path program at Kumamoto University; the comprehensive women's support program at Kyoto University; the empowerment program for natural scientists at Tokyo University of Agriculture and Technology; the multi-career program at Japan Women's University; the support project for women scientists at Tohoku University; the gender equality plan at Waseda University; the structure of a co-system for women researchers for life-long careers at Nara Women's University; the structure of model recruitment conditions at Ochanomizu University; and the plan for women researchers at Hokkaido University. So for the first time, unique plans for good practice in gender policy have now been adopted by MEXT.

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## **Part II**

### **Students' Higher Education Access**

## **Inequitable Expectations and Choices: The Role of Family Forces on College Opportunities for U.S. Hmong Males and Females**

Gigi G. Gomez<sup>\*</sup>, Shaila D. Mulholland<sup>\*\*</sup>, and Robert T. Teranishi<sup>\*\*\*</sup>

### **Introduction**

Since the 1972 passage of Title IX<sup>1</sup>, women have made substantial progress in terms of access to higher education (Jacobs 1999). A great deal of research documenting the inequities in educational practices and policies has created numerous programmatic changes in the nation's schools to enhance gender equity (Spencer et al. 2003). As a result of these changes in both programs and policies, the college participation and achievement of U.S. females have improved significantly in math, sciences, and sports (AAUW 1998).

With this progress, there has been a growing belief that women have met parity in access to higher education (King 2000; Mortenson 1999). According to Jacobs (1999), women comprise the majority of associate and bachelor's degree recipients, about half of master's and professional degree recipients, and nearly 40 percent of doctoral degrees. Since the mid-1990s, women's progress in overall enrollments in higher education and other indicators of gender equity in education, has brought a re-focus of attention to boys' educational and psychological needs by the popular media (Weaver-Hightower 2003).

Yet, this assertion has been and continues to be challenged. Namely, several educational researchers point out that gender gaps in higher-education access still remain, particularly within and between racial groups (Carter 1987; Ropers-Huilman and Costner 1998; Shaul 2000) and when gender outcomes are disaggregated by fields of study (Coker 2003; Kulis et al. 2002; Li 2002). Within the Asian American population, however, few assertions have been made regarding: 1) the gaps across men and women within the Asian American population; and 2) the gap among Asian American women and men when compared to other racial populations.

The lack of focus on Asian Americans in educational research is mostly due to the overall perceived belief that all Asian Americans experience educational success (Caplan et al. 1992; Walker-

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Moffat 1995; Yeh 2002). Regardless of gender, assumptions are made that Asian Americans, as a whole, are hardworking students, who are overrepresented in colleges and universities, particularly at the selective and elite institutions. Without closer ethnic and gender examinations, the existence of the model minority myth allows educational problems for several Asian American sub-groups to be ignored by a majority of policymakers and educators.

Statistics often mislead the educational status of Asian American students. Aggregate data of males and females without the consideration of race/ethnicity and gender in higher education do not reveal where the educational-attainment challenges lie. In particular for Hmong Americans, the gaps in educational attainment are staggering. According to US Bureau Census data (2000), among the Hmong population over the age of 24, only 41 percent have a high school diploma compared to the national average of 80 percent. And out of the Hmong<sup>2</sup> aged 25 and older, 45 percent report having no formal schooling compared to the national average of 1.2 percent. While these numbers account for the adult population and not school-age children specifically, they do point to the need for further investigation within the Hmong American population. The challenge of conducting such research begins with the lack of adequate quantitative data that accurately identifies the educational trends of Hmong Americans in both the K-12 and higher education system.

Therefore, this study uses a qualitative method approach to look at how successful Hmong American male and female students form and pursue postsecondary aspirations during high school. This study asks a number of important questions regarding the gap between and within the Hmong in educational attainment. Particularly, why is the educational gap large between male and female Hmong? Specifically, this study used the following two questions:

- 1) To what extent are the differential postsecondary outcomes driven by gender differences in postsecondary aspirations for Hmong American male and female students?
- 2) How are their gender differences in postsecondary aspirations shaped by their home social networks?

The purpose of this study is to understand the educational attainment differences occurring for today's Hmong American youth by examining a slice of their educational pipeline, the transition from high school to college. More specifically, how the Hmong males and females make decisions about college, and how their social networks located at home shaped those decisions. Through an analysis of social networks, the focus on gender differences can be examined more closely.

### **The Hmong and educational attainment in the U.S.**

The discussion of racial inequalities in education resides largely within a black-white paradigm, whereby the Asian American population continues to be marginally considered. This is largely due to the practice of aggregating over 30 Asian ethnic sub-group data into one racial category of 'Asian

Pacific Americans.’ In 2000, the U.S. Census had determined that Asian Pacific Americans make up four percent of the nation’s population. Asian Pacific Americans, who make up six percent of all undergraduate enrollment, are viewed to be successfully over-represented in higher education and could not possibly have educational problems.

When Asian Pacific American data is not disaggregated by ethnic and gender, educators and policymakers fail to serve the underrepresented and underserved Asian Americans. Take for example the college enrollment at the highly selective University of California, Berkeley, which disaggregates its Asian American student population by ethnicity and gender (see Table 1). Interestingly, the Asian American enrollment is largely Chinese or Chinese American. Sadly, the enrollment of Hmong Americans is not on the radar screen at this prestigious flagship campus. This example shows that Hmong Americans and other smaller Asian ethnic groups, who are often associated with the model minority image of educational success, are having difficulties accessing elite universities and colleges when compared to other racial/ethnic groups.

**Table 1. UC Berkeley fall enrollment by Asian ethnicity and gender, 2003**

Race/Ethnic Group	Total Number (Percent)
Asian American	9,557 (42.5)
Chinese	4,695 (20.9)
<i>East Indian/Pakistani</i>	810 (3.6)
<i>Japanese</i>	376 (1.7)
<i>Korean</i>	1,272 (5.7)
<i>Filipino</i>	876 (3.9)
<i>Pacific Islander</i>	65 (0.3)
<i>Vietnamese</i>	851 (3.8)
<i>Other Asian</i>	612 (2.7)
American Indian/Native American	130 (0.6)
African American	924 (4.1)
Hispanic	2,450 (10.9)
White	6,951 (30.9)
Other/Unknown	2,500 (11.1)
Total	22,512 (100.0)

Source: UC Berkeley, Office of Student Research, Division of Undergraduate Affairs.

Note: Total undergraduates was 22,512.

Aggregation is not only a problem by ethnicity. Nationally, aggregated data show that females, in general, have achieved parity with males in education; however, when data are disaggregated by ethnicity, the numbers show considerable differences in the educational attainment of Hmong males and females (see Table 2).

**Table 2. Educational attainment percentages of people aged 25 and over by gender for selected U.S. groups**

Educational Attainment	Hmong		Asian American		National	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
No School	33.4	56.4	3.3	5.0	1.4	1.3
H.S. Diploma	53.1	28.5	83.3	78.1	80.1	80.7
Bachelor’s	10.1	4.7	46.6	39.3	26.1	26.1

Source: U.S. Bureau Census, 2000, population, data compiled by the Southeast Asia Resource Action Center (SEARAC), 2004, entitled *Southeast Asian American Statistical Profile*.



Clearly, the vast majority of Hmong Americans do not experience the same educational levels as Asian Americans or the nation when gender is considered. Comparing female attainment across groups, women at the national level are 50 times *less* likely than Hmong women to have no schooling. While one-third of the Hmong graduated with a high school diploma, more than three-quarters of Asian Americans and the nation have a high school diploma. When examining within ethnicity, Hmong men attain at much higher levels than Hmong women. That is, more Hmong men have degrees, while more Hmong women have no formal education.

The invisibility of educational difficulties for Asian Americans is made by the established practice of aggregating data, which many do not realize that such data represent a diversity of Asian ethnic subgroups. Through our study, we want to demonstrate to educators and policymakers the importance of practicing disaggregation of the 'Asian American' category, which would allow for the consideration of ethnicity and gender. In the end, we can better serve Hmong American students where a majority of them are currently under-achieving and slipping through the educational cracks.

### **Social-cultural background of the Hmong**

Hmong Americans are a unique sub-Asian population because many the Hmong arrived as refugees, not as immigrants (Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Zhou and Bankston 1998). After the Vietnam War, the ethnic Hmong from Laos who fought against the communist regime faced political persecution. Their arrival to the United States was an act of desperation to escape from poverty, torture, and death. Most refugees of war cannot return to their homeland, whereas immigrants presumably can (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). Thus, since the Vietnam War and the CIA's secret wars, refugees continue arriving in large numbers to this day. "The next fiscal year is also when two-thirds of the estimated 16,000 refugees coming from... (Thailand) are expected to arrive in the United States. More than 5,000 are expected to arrive in California overall; the first families started showing up in June" (Doyle 2004).

Furthermore, many Hmong refugees are not as well prepared to adapt to the U.S. customs and culture as many other Asian immigrants. As nomadic slash-and-burn farmers living in the high mountains of Laos, the Hmong were primarily isolated from outsiders, thus avoiding mainstream assimilation, and were able to live their lives as they saw fit (Fadiman 1997; Walker-Moffat 1995). Yet the consequences of living in isolation meant that many of the Hmong had minimal interaction with Western society, which includes the English language and formal schooling (Chan 1991; Hune 2002). As such, many of the Hmong have relatively low educational attainment rates when compared to Asian Americans and the U.S. nation.

Explanations for the Hmong' low attainments rates have primarily been one-sided. The majority of research has focused on the effects of early marriage and childbirth of Hmong females (Hang 1997; Lee 2001; McNall et al. 1994; Ngo 2002). In Laos, traditional Hmong customs for women were to marry young, typically around the age of 13, and bear as many children as possible, in order to help

work on the farm and to counteract the high fertility death rates (Donnelly 1994). However, trying to maintain this Hmong tradition culturally clashes with American values of appropriate marrying age. Hence, as McNall et al. state, “the implications of early marriage combined with high fertility are potentially quite damaging for the Hmong’s pursuit of secondary and postsecondary education” (1994 p.57). Hmong American females, who try to uphold traditional Hmong culture by marrying young, tend to drop out of school because of greater obligations of caring for their husbands, children, and in-laws.

Hmong men, on the other hand, have received considerable less attention than their counterparts, mostly because the Hmong culture is patriarchal. That is, the Hmong men are seen to hold all the power and privilege in Hmong traditional society (Lee 2001). Nonetheless, Hmong men are also having severe difficulties persisting through high school and college. Some researchers blame gang presence in the impoverished communities, affecting school progress of students (Hang 1997; McNall et al. 1994). Research has yet to find cultural clashes affecting men’s education as in the way the early marriage for women has been studied.

### **College choice literature**

The goal of increasing access to postsecondary institutions has been an important concern of higher education policy and research. Through the study of college choice, we may begin to better understand how individuals make their choices about college and how the various factors, such as family, school, and peers, influence their decisions. The college-choice literature has evolved over the past fifty years since when it first became a highly researched topic in the study of higher education (Kinzie et al. 2004). The populations of students studied grew from mainly focusing on the white male 18-year-old ‘traditional students’ to studying the experiences of other students who differ by ethnicity, socioeconomic background, and gender. While the exploration of how these aspects of identity shape educational aspirations and outcomes is needed to best serve these types of students, much of the research on student college choice has focused on the influence of either race or socioeconomic status (SES) on educational outcomes. College-choice studies with a focus on gender have often been inconclusive. When gender inequality is discussed, it receives relatively limited attention and is often overshadowed by a focus on social class inequalities (Davies 1995; Jacobs 1999).

Furthermore, previous college-choice studies identify and show the influential effects of the home and student backgrounds. Litten (1982) found that students whose parents have some college are more likely to report their parents as the most influential source of information. However, if parents do not have a college degree or experience, like in the case of many Hmong parents, students have found that parental encouragement can help counter the negative effects of low-SES and lower academic ability on college choice (Cabrera and La Nasa 2000; Paulsen 1990). One important way parents can show encouragement is to have discussions about school and college admissions and attend school-sponsored activities like college or career fairs. Choy et al. (2000) found that students whose parents

engaged in such activities were twice as likely to attend college as students whose parents did not. However, there is a caveat to relying only on parental encouragement. McDonough (1997) and Hossler et al. (1999) found that even though the parents offered encouragement, without the financial backing of parents or a financial plan for college, the postsecondary aspirations of students were not met.

In examining the influence of gender, Hossler et al. (1999) have found that female students talked more to their parents than male students. However, there is also evidence that different levels of parental SES may have mediated the impact of gender on students' aspirations (McDonough 1997). For example, where a female student attends college is influenced more strongly by social class background than it is for male students (Alexander and Eckland 1975). Differential effects of gender also exist by race. Among African American students, the mother's education level has been found to be a significant effect on females' educational attainment than for males (Wilson and Allen 1987). However, more college-choice investigations on the intersection of ethnicity and gender need to be conducted. Specifically, much of the examination of the educational outcomes for the Asian American population has been from a gender-neutral or the male perspective.

### **Social capital theory**

Social capital refers to the social networks and interactions that facilitate educational attainment particularly between parents, students, and school personnel (Bourdieu 1977; Coleman 1988; Stanton-Salazar 1997). According to Coleman (1988), social capital takes three forms: obligations and expectations; information channels; and norms and effective sanctions. Social capital inherent in information channels is particularly important when examining educational opportunity. Understanding students' social networks and how they play out in specific contexts provides a more accurate look into the knowledge and information they are provided with in the college-choice process.

Social capital has a powerful effect on the academic success of students in immigrant communities and schools and it provides a context in which social capital is formed (Coleman 1988; Zhou and Bankston 1998). The close-knit, social relations within ethnic communities can provide constructive "patterns of social relations involving shared obligations, social support, and social controls" (Zhao and Bankston 1988, p. 12).

Yet, social capital can vary for different student populations like the Hmong. Furthermore, social capital can also vary for Hmong males and females. In other words, a Hmong student's social network of informants may alter the college information, knowledge, and opportunities depending on the gender of the Hmong student. As such, the social networks of students can determine the access to college knowledge and ultimately the college choice (Rosas and Hamrick 2002; Teranishi 2004).

## Methods

A case study design was used to examine the college-choice process of Hmong males and females attending two public schools each with large proportions of Hmong. The Hmong respondents were studied in neighborhoods located in central and northern California. Focus groups and individual interviews were the primary methods of data collection. We also gathered additional student demographic data through a supplemental survey. Together the interviews and questionnaire data were able to capture the college-choice process and experiences for both Hmong males and females.

A purposeful sample of high school seniors (12<sup>th</sup> graders) was targeted to identify the college-choice process of students who were college bound or at least considering college as a postsecondary option. The college-bound students were identifiable with the assistance of key school administrators – the principal at Central High School, and a high school counselor, who primarily serves the senior class, at North High School. We asked the school administrators to develop a list of students who were college bound by assessing the courses taken and the Grade Point Average (GPA).

The sampling resulted in 56 Hmong student participants, where half were female and half were male (see Table 3). Focus groups were organized by gender and ethnicity to control for gender as distinct from ethnic power dynamics, and to create an environment of commonality, which may have encouraged the participants to speak freely and to find cohesion as a collective. We tape recorded the hour-long group interviews, which were guided by a loosely structured protocol.

**Table 3. Respondents by school**

School	Female Respondents	Male Respondents	Total
Central High	15	15	30
North High	13	13	26

Having the participants describe how they perceive the process of making decisions about college provides the opportunity to document and understand the Hmong Americans' educational challenges and experiences (Bodgan and Biklen 1992). Their stories are invaluable to the study of college decision-making and educational attainment. Mainly, students are asked to explain in their own words how their families influence their college aspirations.

After data collection, the data were coded for themes related to sources of college information and support. Initially, data analysis involved two or three reading passes, which allowed for the development of key themes and ideas (Marshall and Rossman 1999). With each pass, the preliminary themes and ideas generated core themes. Emerson et al. (1995) suggested two ways of developing core themes, which this study employed: 1) Develop themes that were built upon frequent occurrences and activities, and 2) Develop themes that were created based on what members believed were important or required extra time, attention, or energy. As core themes emerged, coding for data was made easier. Data interpretations were made through the summarization of the core themes.

Quotations from students were changed slightly to correct for grammatical errors, but the meanings of the quotes were retained.

## Findings

*Aspirations to attend college* Since all of the students selected for this study were identified as college bound, it was not surprising that all of the students were each able to share postsecondary plans in the interview. They described a variety of different options they were considering, such as plans to attend a local community college, a specialized school (*i.e.* art school, graphic design), a California State University (CSU) institution, or a University of California (UC) school. The top choice for all students was to attend community college, the second choice was to attend a CSU school, and there were three students out of the 56 who indicated that they applied to a UC school, a private school, or an out-of-state college.<sup>3</sup> Many students who stated their plans to attend a community college mentioned that they had plans to transfer to a four-year institution, most often to a CSU institution but seldom mentioned to a UC.

The men and women shared different ways they were encouraged to attend college by their parents and siblings. Through conversations, storytelling, words of wisdom, and advice from the community, the students described how these discussions encouraged them to think about college and consider the opportunities it could provide them.

My parents, they understand how hard it is. They want us to go to college to become something because they know how hard it is to go to work everyday for like eight hours and to get paid so low. And I think our parents...they just want the best for us. They're looking out for us. (Male student)

The students spoke about conversations with their parents about the doors that could be opened with a college degree. Fulfilling the 'American dream' meant that, as one male student described, "you're supposed to go to college, and with a college degree, you'll get successful in life." There were several other reasons mentioned for why they had aspirations to attend college. Higher education could provide "a better job and a better salary so education's the way" and a "challenge, that's all.... I'm kinda bored right now so I'm thinking college might be a little bit harder."

Another theme that came up frequently was how students, of both sexes, were going to be the first in their families to go to college and that they wanted to be role models for their younger siblings. Without the support of having educated parents, the students in this study were, primarily, first-generation students; that is, the first ones in their families to have any formal education. Because several of the students' older siblings were not able to go to college, most students were driven to be the first of their families to go to college. As one male student explained:

My older brothers and sisters, they don't go to college too. They're working part-time jobs, well, maybe full-time because they're out of high school now. My sense of motivation is that I don't want to become like them, working at a fast food restaurant, making minimum wage. So I'm pushing myself, exceeding their limits.

Many students witnessed the dropout tendency of older siblings. One male student shared, "both my older brothers, they're dropouts." And another male student added, "my brother... he didn't graduate high school." This student realized that his siblings' opportunities were limited because they were not able to get a college degree. He used their current situation as reinforcement to continue on to college and not end up in the same career as his siblings.

Furthermore, for students' younger siblings, many students admitted that they wanted to show that school is possible as one male student stated, "I'm trying to set an example for all my siblings." For female students, in particular, they wanted to become role models and show their parents that college was not solely for males and that females could be successful in college:

You don't see a lot of Hmong students planning to go to college...I want to be way up there and prove to everybody that the Hmong people can do it.

I want to prove to my parents that not just boys or my brothers can go to college. And I can do it too. And, I mean, it's gonna be hard. But anything is possible if you just put your mind into it. That's what I believe. I want to be a good role model for my sisters. I want them to admire me and look up to me if they need anything.

Many students spoke of their plans to attend college so that they could "be the one that graduates," and become "role models" for their siblings and the community.

*Gaining knowledge about college* Because many of these students are the first out of their families to go to college, one challenge facing these students was that there was no one to turn to anyone within the family to seek college advice. For example, this student claimed:

My brothers and sisters, well, my older siblings, they don't go to college. So I can't rely on them. I can't depend on them at all, because like I say, they don't go to college. So they don't have any knowledge of any sort. I'm gonna be the first one to go to college in my family.

Parents and siblings are critical individuals in a student's social network and play an important role in providing knowledge and information to navigate the college choice process. The interviewees, both males and females, frequently mentioned the lack of knowledge their parents have about general

college information, including the process of applying to college and what would be required to attend college. “They don’t understand why I have to pay for my education after high school, seeing that it has been free for 12 years,” said one student. Given the Census statistics presented earlier, with 33.4% of men and 56.4% of women aged 25 and over having no schooling, a statement such as, “My parents have never stepped foot onto a college or even school before,” is not surprising.

Parents’ lack of knowledge about the college-choice process present challenges to the students, especially when it comes to juggling home and academic obligations. One male student explained, “A lot of the parents expect you to do everything for the family first before you concentrate on school. And then it’s like ‘how come you’re failing?’” Another Hmong woman mentioned, “I’m a girl. I have to cook and do all the things before I do my homework. Homework is not important to them.” The students were expected to be good students and while continuing to help take care of the family. While many families hold this expectation, it is necessary to consider the typical size of Hmong families and the family responsibilities that accompany. Consider the average household family size. In the state of California, the average household family size for the Hmong is 6.77 (U.S. Census Bureau 2000). In our sample, the average family size was 8.5 members. One of our students informed us that there were 16 people living in his house.

Another theme that emerged was that parents’ lack of knowledge about college resulted in fears about sending their children to college outside of the city. These fears stem from unfamiliarity with what college entails. Parents’ fears were further exaggerated by what parents learn from their own information sources, namely, people and media in the community. The students discussed their dislike for some of these resources that parents rely on to get information about college and what issues are confronting their children in school. The male students frequently described their annoyance with being compared to other family members or people in the community. The most important connection to emphasize is how the students saw their parents affected by these outside influences. One male student explained:

I disagree [with the radio talks] because most of the time, talks about the youth are very negative. To most parents, they think that most kids are gangsters, and so most parents keep their kids locked in the house, ‘cause I can remember back when I was little, my dad wouldn’t let us outside and play. It was just in the house.

The radio commentary was creating and instilling fear into the radio-listening parents, which often kept their children “locked in the house.” For the following Hmong male’s response, his parents saw higher education as a threat to identity.

They see other kids who go to big universities and they come back being different. They’re supposed to go in there and get an education, instead they come back worse. So [my parents] are using that example for us.

Parents were also scared because of the individuals they knew who had left the city to attend college and returned with more challenges.

Students also indicated that parents are protective of sons and daughters leaving home, but even more so for daughters, even if they are leaving for educational purposes. One student described how one woman changed her plans of attending an art college because she was not able to go off to college alone since “it’s kind of against our culture.” The student decided to instead go to community college for two years and transfer to a four-year institution.

*Differences for male and female students* This section of the analysis now turns to some of the different ways that parents and siblings influenced male and female students’ aspirations. First we explore how parents’ expectations and encouragement influenced students’ aspirations. Second, we turn to understanding how siblings shaped students’ aspirations.

Parents The male students gave several examples of when they were encouraged by their parents to go to college and described their parent’s advice to them about the major or career they should choose. Interestingly, women did not report being “pushed” to attend college. Several men explained, “I didn’t really know which path to choose so my dad told me that in the near future, everything will be computer based, and I should learn more about computers. So I went to computer class.” Two male students explained, “My parents want me to become something in the medical field” and “My parents always wanted me to become a doctor.” In addition to “pushing” their sons toward specific majors or careers, a few students discussed with siblings and their parents the selectivity of the college. One student mentioned “My parents are pushing me to go to a college that has a better name.”

While the women did not speak of being pushed into going to college or enter a specific major or field, some parents played a role in helping their daughters apply to college. Some females mentioned that their fathers spent time researching schools and advising their daughters on the steps they should take to apply for college. The time that parents spent helping their daughters prepare for college was noted by several of the women who translated this time spent as encouragement for their education:

Parents, I guess they’re starting to accept more that education is good. They become really proud of you. Especially if you’re a girl, you know. And it’s kind of like back in Thailand. It’s like you weren’t expected to go have an education. You were expected to stay home, cook, do all the house chores and stuff. And now, you get a chance to get an education and be something better.

More and more parents are encouraging their children to go to college, even suggesting that it be a priority over marriage. Other parents are giving their daughters a choice in going to college, getting



married, or doing both in some cases. One student explained, “My parents, like my dad, he’d rather have us go to college and be successful before we get married and all that, rather than have like a poor life or whatever.” Another student said,

My parents, they give us a choice...If we want to go off and get married, then they will accept it. But if we don’t want to, if we want to get a higher education or whatever, then they’ll accept it. So they give us a choice.

Though there are various perspectives on marriage held by Hmong parents, a majority of the students interviewed mentioned that parents continue to place more importance on marriage than they do on higher education, especially for the women, while males tend to be encouraged more by their parents to attend college. Parents encourage both sons and daughters to attend college, however, these quotes by Hmong American female students illustrate how parents’ expectations for marriage are centered on finding a husband.

They don’t really expect us to get an education as much as marrying a good spouse. An ideal child for them would be one who goes to college, gets good grades, and can still do all the work in the house, do everything for the family, and still keep up your grades in school. And listen to them, everything they say. Find a perfect husband. That’s like a perfect child. Or a perfect lady.

Furthermore, the students’ comments suggest that parents and in-laws also have high expectations for how the woman cares for the son’s home and family:

Your parents, your in-laws, they expect a lot from the woman married to the son. They expect you to be in the house doing this and that. But then it’s hard to when you’re married and you’re going to school...it would be a conflict, getting married at a young age and going to school at the same time.

The female students identified and raised concerns about the expectations and obligations important to many Hmong families that may conflict with students’ ability to pursue a postsecondary education. Statements from Hmong American students provide insight into some of the reasons why parents give their children different advice that later influences their college aspirations. Parents have traditionally supported the men in going to school because their education will support the family. As one male student explained, “girls will get married, so they will go to the other family....the son will be left behind to support the family, so they’re the ones that need more support.” A female student also commented,

In our tradition, the female usually marries and then goes on to their husband's side. And so males will stay and take care of the family. So basically we leave and then the males are left. So that's who's gonna carry on the name....and [parents] expect them to have an education.

Another female student mentioned, "It's okay for [the boys] to go off to college. They're expected to go off to college, to a better one."

However, it is important to note that although men were encouraged more than women to go away to college, the males interviewed in this study explained limits to where they would consider attending college. Many students described their plans to live with their family while attending school, most typically a local community college. Taking care of parents and younger siblings and affording the costs of college were the two most frequently cited reasons for choosing to stay at home and attend a local institution for males and females. The students explain why they chose to stay in town for college, even when they applied to other institutions:

I was accepted to the UCs. But then my parents wanted me to stay in town and support my siblings. (Male student)

My parents were born back in Laos, so they don't really speak English. And I feel that if I stay with them, I can still help them with paperwork that they have and all that until my older sisters go to college or something. Then if I want to go far I can leave home and not worry about my parents and school at the same time. (Female student)

I think cost and living away from home is a factor 'cause family is very important to me so I feel like I need to stay close to home. (Male student)

Therefore, both men and women had responsibilities to help their family members in various ways. Being near family would enable the student to help their parents and siblings just as they had throughout high school. Although many of the students had aspirations to leave the city for college, the family's reliance on the students persuaded the majority of students to decide to stay in town to support their families.

Cultural values and expectations also had an influence on students' postsecondary aspirations. The students described how cultural values and expectations affect what their parents tell their children and what they encourage (or discourage) students to do. Comments from students indicate that parents try to hold onto and preserve their cultural values, which present challenges for both Hmong females and males in higher education, but especially for the Hmong females because leaving home is culturally more accepted only when a daughter has married. Several female students explain:

It's harder for girls to move out and live on their own in our culture too. So you stay at home till you get married. Unless your parents are like a little more Americanized and they've been in America longer. But then for those that are more of the traditional families, then you can't move out until you're married or something like that.

In my culture it's really difficult for women to marry and live a life going to school. Because certain parents, like your parents and your in-laws, they expect a lot from the women. They expect you to be in the house doing this and that. But then it's hard when you're married and you're going to school. If you're working too, it's more difficult. And when you have a child, that's when you're kind of falling behind. So I would have to say, it would be a conflict, getting married at a young age and going to school at the same time.

Some cultural traditions come with obligations that can present challenges for students' educational attainment. These examples suggest that students were aware of the challenges and expectations the people around them held. In this example, a wife is responsible for taking care of her husband, raising their children, working one job. This would present, as the student explained, "conflict" in the student's attempt to pursue higher education.

Siblings While parents have shown their influence on the college-choice process of these students, other family members, in particular the siblings, also have influence in shaping students' aspirations, which in turn influence students' college opportunities and outcomes.

When we look closely at whom students talked to for college advice, there were clear divisions between the sexes. Now, it is important to note that all the Hmong male and female students had both sisters and brothers. Nevertheless, we found that Hmong male students talked more to their older brothers, while the Hmong female students talked more to their older sisters. Interestingly, the students found that the same-sex siblings were the ones they frequently turned to for advice, support, and guidance.

Over and over again, the Hmong male students spoke more frequently to their older brothers, especially those who were in college. One male student explained how his older brother, who was then in college, provides the detailed college advice.

My other brother, he goes to CSU, and he's trying to become a teacher. And he said he talked to me because I'm trying to major in the same field. He talks to me a lot, just trying to advise me to turn in all my paperwork, and apply for financial aid and scholarships, just to help me out when I get there.

Another male student at the same high school discussed his unwavering trust in his brothers, because my older brothers, they went to Fresno State. So they have more experience that it is a good college, and it could help me, you know, could get you a good job too, you know, like other colleges do. I'm not really sure right now, because my brother said it's a good college. And I trust my brothers. So my brothers, we always trust each other like since [we were] small.

In the similar way that Hmong males sought advice from their brothers, Hmong female students found more encouragement and support from their sisters. As one female proudly stated,

My sister's forcing me to go. She [tells me] it's better to [go to college] because if you're not going to be doing this and that, then you might as well go to college. And you know, get a higher education and stuff. And plus, she's going to school too, so it's like same thing.

Another female concurred, "plus my sister, she's, my older sister, she has given me some suggestions [about college]." But one female student succinctly explained the dynamics between Hmong sisters and brothers.

I usually talk to my older sister, you know, because she's pretty much...well, actually, I talk to all my sisters. My brothers, we don't really talk much, you know. That's like how it is in the family. Like the boys don't really talk much to the girls. They do, but it's like, it's not close, you know. It's not a close relationship....I usually talk to my sister, my older sister... They're pretty good about, you know, giving advice about school and stuff.

The few older sisters that made it to college served as supportive role models for their little sisters planning to go to college. This female student explained,

Actually, my sister goes to [community college] and I think it's just like another stepping-stone for me. My sister has always believed that I will make it through college. Even though she's older than me, she has more faith in me than herself sometimes.

Although female students were able to speak with and seek guidance from their older sisters who made it to college, we found the common occurrence that their older sisters would drop out of college once married. And interestingly, we did not find this same occurrence with the male students and their older brothers. One female shared,

My two sisters, they graduated from high school, and my younger sister, she started college, but she got pregnant, so she dropped out, and she got married. And then my other sister, she got married and went to an institute, and it was her choice to get married.

Another female added,

I just want to do something my family never did. I'll be the first to go to university. My oldest sister, she went to [a technical college], but then she got married. So she moved away. My other sister, she was going to [CSU], then she got married, and then she stopped going. I think she went to [a private for-profit vocational college].

Similarly, the same experience occurred at Central High. For one female, she said that “both sisters went [to college] but then they dropped out because they have a family. So now they're just working.” The inference here for the Hmong females was that dropping out of college was acceptable in the Hmong culture as long as it was for marriage and family. Yet, these older sisters acted as role models and trusted informants to our female students. Thus, when we turn to social capital to explain the outcomes of the students, their social networks of siblings clearly affects these students' college-choice process through support, encouragement and advice. However, because of traditional gender roles and expectations in the Hmong culture, the range of support, encouragement, and advice varied among the same-sexed older siblings.

### **Conclusion and implications**

In this study, we explored the lives of Hmong American high school students making decisions for college. We did not speak with the students who had dropped out of high school, the students not planning to attend college, and the students who were struggling academically. Instead, we spoke to relatively ‘successful’ students, who were identified as ‘college bound.’ Despite their seemingly successful status, these students still shared a number of challenges in their path to college.

One of the main challenges for both male and female Hmong students was gaining access to important information and resources to help them prepare for college. Because they were often the first person out of their family planning to attend college, they generally did not have the help of a family member with any college experience. Furthermore, while students aspired to attend college, they were confronted with a range of family and cultural expectations and obligations that limited them in where they would attend college. This was especially found to be true for the Hmong women.

This study also found that young men and women were encouraged in different ways by their parents to attend college. At the same time, parents were greatly influenced by the larger Hmong community and the experiences of other Hmong children in their extended families and communities. In terms of siblings, there were clear distinctions in how male and female Hmong students discussed

college plans with their older siblings. In general, the students reported that they turned to siblings of the same sex for support and guidance.

The findings of the study point to several other areas that need to be explored in more depth. Because we chose to closely examine how families shape aspirations, we did not explore the effects of the high school environment on students' aspirations. In order to have a more complete picture of the factors influencing Hmong students, more research is needed to understand the influence of other significant individuals at school, which include peers, guidance counselors, and teachers.

This study also has a number of implications for educators and policymakers. Two main factors influenced students in their decisions. First and foremost, it was their families that influenced them to stay close to home for college. Second, it was the cost of college and how they would finance their education that encouraged them to stay with their families for college. Both of these factors must be considered as strategies are developed to increase Hmong students' participation in higher education.

Finally, the stories of the Hmong students are valuable to educational practitioners and policymakers because these stories provide a close examination into how their postsecondary aspirations and outcomes are shaped at home, specifically by parents and siblings. Complicating the model minority myth, the Hmong's stories demonstrate how influences of gender and ethnicity can have varying outcomes on their post-secondary attainment in the post-modern, post-feminist U.S. society. To this end, this study discredits the popular notion that all Asian Americans are successful and do not face difficulties in their pursuit of higher education. By understanding the unique differences among and within Asian Americans that are often overshadowed by the 'model minority myth', educators and policymakers can better meet the needs of students and promote their educational success.

### Notes

1. The federal U.S. law that banned discrimination in education based on sex and created a mandate for equal access to educational opportunities in math, sciences, and sports.
2. Hmong can be both plural and singular. Hmongs would be incorrect.
3. All three types of institutions (UC, private school and out-of-state college) cost more and/or have higher admission requirements than a community college or CSU.

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## **Tertiary Education and the Segregation of Opportunities for Women: Assessing the Implication of the Education for All Global Monitoring Report**

Makoto Nagasawa\*

### **Introduction: Gender issue in tertiary education worldwide**

Efforts have been made to improve the access of women to a tertiary level of education. According to the Education For All (EFA) Global Monitoring Report 2003/4<sup>1</sup> by UNESCO (thereafter the EFA report), enrollment in tertiary education worldwide has grown over the last decade, likewise women's enrollment has progressed (46.0% to 46.8% during 1990 to 2000) to the point of virtual gender parity at the international level. A goal for the promotion of equality in tertiary educational opportunities to women is to uphold women's right to participate fully in social and economic activities for further development. For example, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination of 1979 notes the obligation to guarantee "the equal rights of men and women in all economic, social, cultural, civil, and political rights" (Article 27), and it has been recognized as the mission of the United Nations and of its specialized agencies. Highly qualified women have come to participate in decision-making processes of various social units (*e.g.* government, community, and family), where their leadership capacities have been vital. Thus, the roles that tertiary education plays have become increasingly significant.

Continuous efforts and demands denote that gender equality is still a chief issue in international society, much like social class and ethnicity is. Those who achieved higher educational attainment are more likely to participate in the labor force and more likely to be employed; unemployment rates are commensurate with lower educational attainment (OECD 2005). Although women's formal employment has reached the highest ever in the world, the wage gap between men and women persists in all countries. Less access to education as well as resources and time is a crucial element that causes women to encounter segregation in employment and promotion (Korinek 2005). Especially in developing countries, as reported by Lopez-Claros and Zahidi (2005), females who do not own resources and/or have access to capital to invest in their tertiary education have the least chance at gaining stable employments.

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Despite the fact that the gross female tertiary enrollment outnumbers that of males in 56 percent of the sampled countries of the report, the gender distribution of program levels and types for men and women has proven to be a key feature, as it has come to determine vertical segregation in the labor market and likewise in society. What is more, the gender distribution of field of study addresses horizontal segregation in the selection of prospective occupations, which causes distinctions in career paths between men and women, thereby resulting in inequality (Kearney 1996). Searching for causes and tracing the contours of gender segregation allows for the understanding of the economic forces that impact gender equality, which largely depends on the accessibility of selective institutions and specializations for women.

In this chapter, the patterns of principle gender disparities in tertiary education are described in accordance with the EFA report, a report that focuses on gender parity for the gross enrollment ratio at the tertiary education level worldwide in 2000. This study poses the following question: what are the patterns of the gender disparity in tertiary education worldwide that derive from the implications of the EFA report? It is in this context that the gender proportions in program level and program type (*i.e.* Levels 5A and 5B, and Level 6<sup>2</sup> in the International Standard Classification of Education [ISCED 1997]), as well as field of study are to be analyzed in the comparative light of occupational opportunities and constrains for women and men.

### **Tertiary education and gender disparities**

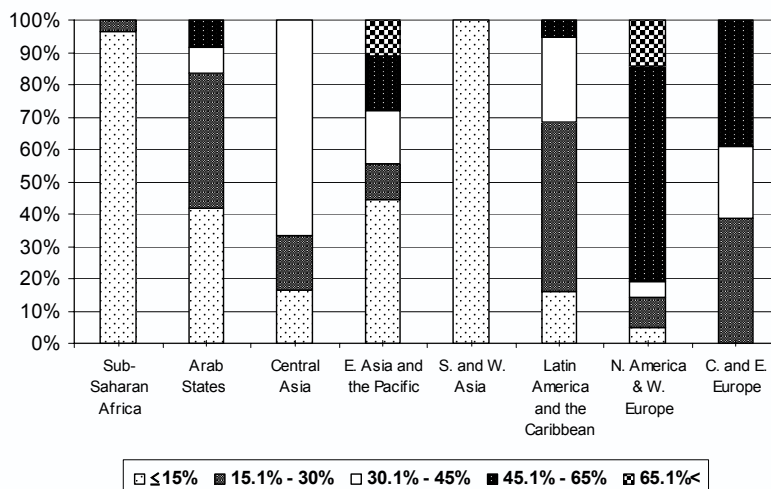
The striking differences in total tertiary education enrollment have been illustrated by regions (there having been 128 countries sampled), and the countries that show lower proportions of total participation in tertiary education tend to have greater gender disparities. Whereas developing countries have attained an increase in the amount of female participation, as the new registration of 6.2 million over the last decade gives face to (*cf.* 3.5 million in developed countries), gender parity nevertheless has not been achieved, unlike in developed countries where females have already represented 52.9 percent of the total enrollment (UNESCO 2003).

### **Total tertiary enrollment**

The regional discrepancies in total (male and female) enrollment in tertiary education are extreme, as Figure 1 illustrates. All of the sub-Saharan African countries,<sup>3</sup> except for South Africa, share less than 15 percent of the age group enrolled. Among these countries, the majority does not surpass 5 percent (UNESCO 2003). As in South and West Asia,<sup>4</sup> all of the countries share less than 15 percent of the enrollment of the age group in tertiary education. Arab States<sup>5</sup> also demonstrate a low enrollment level. While less than 15 percent are enrolled in Morocco, Iraq, and other countries, Lebanon shares more than 30.1 percent of the age group. In Libyan A.J., the share is over 45.1 percent and less than 65 percent. 15 countries out of the 19 Latin American and Caribbean countries<sup>6</sup> (*e.g.* Costa Rica, Jamaica, and Brazil) are located in the lower middle level (15.1% to 30%) of gross

enrollment. While there are three countries in the lowest level ( $\leq 15\%$ ), including Honduras, it is Argentina that shares the region's highest, boasting over 45.1 percent in the enrollment level.

**Figure 1. Proportion of the age group in tertiary education by region (2000)**



Sources: *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2003/4* (Table 2.18), and the Statistical annex, Table 9

The majority of the countries in Central Asia,<sup>7</sup> East Asia and the Pacific,<sup>8</sup> as well as Central and Eastern Europe,<sup>9</sup> have over 30 percent of the relevant age group<sup>10</sup> in their tertiary education. Most of the Central Asian countries, like Kazakhstan and Mongolia, make up over 30.1 percent to less than 45 percent. The countries of East Asia and the Pacific diversify the enrollment levels in accordance with the gap in national development levels. New Zealand, South Korea, Japan, and Australia consist of the highest enrollment group in the region of over 45.1 percent. On the other hand, Cambodia, Viet Nam, and Myanmar are the lowest group, having less than 15 percent. Although China has already experienced tremendous expansion in tertiary enrollment (UNESCO 2003), the proportion of the age group, even so, remains less than 15 percent, being situated at the lowest level. Finally, North America and Western Europe<sup>11</sup> share the highest proportion (45.1% and higher) of all the regions. Spearheaded by Norway, Sweden, and the United States, most of the countries are concentrated in the range of over 45.1 percent.

Therefore, the salient differences in gross enrollment in tertiary education have been revealed by region, as well as among post-industrial, transitional, and developing countries as seen in the East Asia and Pacific region (UNESCO 2003). These points will be of great importance as we explore the Gender Parity Index (GPI), following the same regional categorization.

## Gender enrollment by region

Globally, the countries with higher female enrollment outnumber the countries with enrollment ratios that favor males. In 72 out of the 122 countries in the EFA report (59%), female participation is ahead. However, as previously stated, females consist of 46.8 percent of the global total. That is, there are still regions where females are remarkably underrepresented in tertiary education. In nearly 65 percent of the sub-Saharan African countries, females represent two-thirds or less of the male gross enrollment ratio. For example, as shown in Table 1, in countries such as Congo, Eritrea, and Chad, the GPI shows less than 0.20, meaning that the females represent less than 20 percent of the males. There are, however, the exceptional countries where the female enrollments are quite high, for example, South Africa (GPI=1.23), and Mauritius (1.36); yet gender disparity is the most extreme in this region with the average of 0.60 GPI. Arab States (with average GPI=1.17) have enormous variances, from the extremes of Mauritania, with only 20 percent of the female share, and Qatar where female tertiary

**Table 1. Gender parity index [GPI] of gross enrollment ratio [GER] (2000)**

Higher male enrollment (examples)		Higher female enrollment (examples)	
Countries	GER GPI	Countries	GER GPI
<b>Sub-Saharan Africa</b>		<b>Sub-Saharan Africa</b>	
Congo	0.13	Mauritius	1.36
Eritrea	0.15	Lesotho	1.76
Chad	0.17	<b>Arab States</b>	
<b>Arab States</b>		Oman	1.40
Mauritania	0.20	Qatar	2.97
Iraq	0.54	<b>Asia and the Pacific</b>	
<b>Asia and Pacific</b>		<b>East Asia and Pacific</b>	
<b>Central Asia</b>		New Zealand	1.52
Tajikistan	0.32	Myanmar	1.75
<b>East Asia and Pacific</b>		Palau	1.81
Cambodia	0.38	<b>L. America and Caribbean</b>	
China	0.52	Uruguay	1.83
Rep. of Korea	0.59	Jamaica	1.89
<b>South and West Asia</b>		<b>N. America and W. Europe</b>	
Nepal	0.27	Norway	1.52
Bangladesh	0.55	Iceland	1.74
India	0.66	<b>C. and E. Europe</b>	
<b>N. America and W. Europe</b>		Latvia	1.65
Switzerland	0.78	Albania	1.69

Sources: EFA Global Monitoring Report 2003/4 (Table 2.19), and Statistical annex, Table 8

enrollments are three times more than the males.<sup>12</sup> The Asian countries exhibit a great deal of variance in gender distributions (with average GPI=0.95). As stated in Figure 1, the low gross enrollment countries ( $\leq 15\%$ ) in East Asia (e.g. Cambodia and China) and South Asia (e.g. Nepal, Bangladesh, and India) fall in the female shares to less than two-thirds (GPI < 0.66) of the male. In contrast, among the high gross enrollment countries (over 30.1%), the females in New Zealand indicate 1.52 GPI. Additionally, the female participation in Mongolia (1.74), Myanmar, and Palau is significantly high. Nearly 90% of the Latin American and Caribbean countries in the report illustrate the female majority.

Finally, with the exceptions of Turkey (0.73) and Switzerland (0.78), all the countries in North America and Europe mark a higher female enrollment, with some countries showing considerably large rates.

These statistical evidences indicate that sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia are the highest priorities for equalization between male and female in tertiary education (UNESCO 2003). In these regions, including some East Asian countries, lower gross enrollment is commensurate with lower female participation. On the other hand, the majority of the more developed countries ought to increase male participation in order that they attain gender parity at tertiary level. These findings suggest a preliminary pattern, which signifies that a nation's development responds to the size of gross enrollment as well to female participation.

### **Vertical segregation: Levels and types of programs**

Whereas females are underrepresented in tertiary education in the global total, gender disparity depends on the regions. Gender segregation plays out more strongly in program level and type (vertical) within tertiary education than gross figures alone would seem to suggest. The students' choices for the level and type of programs in tertiary education significantly reflect their prospective occupations and life chances in society. In general, the higher education levels can provide students with more high-status positions in occupations wherein they may apply their managerial skills and leadership capacities so as to receive higher rewards. Appointments to these positions are usually dependent on the level of education (*e.g.* bachelor, master, and doctoral degrees) and the type of program (*e.g.* academic and vocational) of education that one receives. Regarding the significance of these levels and types of programs, the vertical segregation in tertiary education exists by gender worldwide.

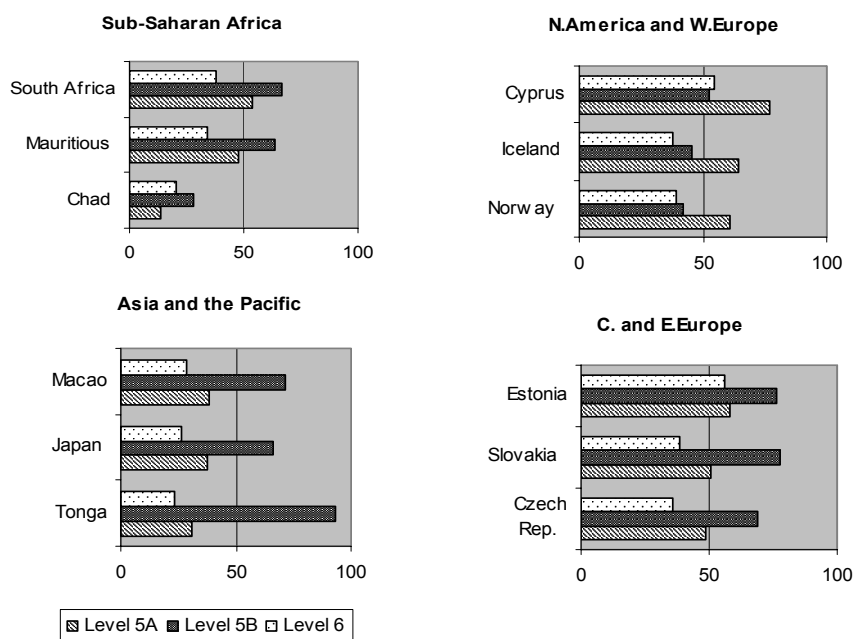
As stated in the EFA report, the ISCED 1997 indicates the different levels and types of tertiary education (*i.e.* Levels 5A, 5B, and 6), which intends to make the international data measurable, and thus, comparable. Level 5A reflects theory-based programs that may enable students to attain entry into advanced research qualifications or professions with high skill requirements. This category includes university undergraduate degrees and master's programs, which, if qualifications are met, may lead to Level 6. Level 5B programs are short-term, more practical-oriented and occupationally specific. Level 6 encompasses programs that lead to advanced research qualifications (*e.g.* doctoral programs).<sup>13</sup>

### **Gender parity in program level and type**

Many countries accommodate female enrollment in type B of Level 5 where the education/training is vocational-oriented and designed for direct entry into the labor market, thereby providing no advanced preparations for the pursuit of higher educational advancement. In sub-Saharan Africa, the ratios between type A and B are more balanced, yet some countries maintain female enrollment

markedly in type B. In Arab States, females are generally a minority in both types, yet the female ratio in type B is nonetheless higher in some countries. As in the Asian countries, save Viet Nam and Myanmar, females outnumber males extensively in type B (e.g. Tonga, Japan, and Macao), as illustrated in Figure 2. On the other hand, there are patterns in some Latin American/Caribbean countries and in North America/Western Europe where females share the majority in type A. Given that females are the majority in tertiary education in Central/Eastern Europe, there is clearly a tendency that type B considerably accommodates the females in most of these countries.

**Figure 2. Regional examples of female percentage in ISCED Level 5 types A and B, and Level 6 (2000)**



Sources: EFA Global Monitoring Report 2003/4 (Tables 2.24 and 2.25), and Statistical annex, Table 8

In terms of the ISCED Level 6, out of the 87 countries in the EFA report, there are only 24 countries (27.6%) where females attain gender parity. Females are clearly the minority in the programs for advanced research qualification (Level 6) in almost the entire world, with exceptions of a few countries of Latin America and Central and Eastern Europe (UNESCO 2003). Less than 10 percent of the sub-Saharan countries attain gender parity at this level; while none of the Arab States manage to do so. In other regions, the proportions of the countries with gender parity in Level 6 are Asia and the Pacific: 26 percent; and Northern America and Western Europe: 20 percent. Figure 2 illustrates some examples of the countries by region. The proportions slightly exceed 50 percent in Cyprus and Estonia. The Asian countries, e.g. Japan, show about a quarter of the female enrollment. For this gender disparity, there is no distinction between post-industrial and developing countries; rather, industrialized countries have fewer females in the highest level of tertiary education. Therefore,

regardless of some regional distinctions, the global pattern of female participation in program level and type of tertiary education is a decline from Level 5B (short-term and vocational-oriented) to Level 5A (academic-oriented) to Level 6 (advanced research) (UNESCO 2003). In addition to the first pattern, the country/region development, these findings suggest a complementary pattern, which would imply that higher academic programs respond to lower female enrollment, including some exceptional cases. The significance of this pattern will be emphasized by the following analysis on field of study and gender distribution.

### **Horizontal segregation: Field of study**

Upon examining the underlying mechanisms of gender disparity, field of study arises as a crucial facet that merits investigation. This section exhibits the condition of the gender ratio, taking fields of study (horizontal) into account. Generally, the choice in field of study in tertiary education represents the choice of prospective occupations, and it differentiates the career paths between men and women, thereby causing inequality. Given program level and type as the vertical segregation, an examination of horizontal segregation by gender, through an analysis of field of study, will prove to be significant.

### **Gender parity in field of study**

The traditional and cultural stereotypes have certain bearings on the selection of field of study, as do social roles. Depending on the region, the gender differences in field of study may be considered as females' "preference or specialization" (UNESCO 2003, p. 81). The report addresses several international key elements that determine the female students' choice externally: son preference, distribution of domestic work, power within the household, early marriage, unequal share of resources, and religious leadership. For example, in post-revolution Iran in 1979, the religious authority influenced on guiding females towards *feminine* fields of study and excluding females from entering male-oriented disciplines at the tertiary level (Mehran 2003). McVeigh (1997) and others, moreover, have noted Japan's marked gender inequality and how it impairs the country's higher education, by pointing particularly to the manner in which young women are encouraged to be feminine, thus evoking concentration on short-term training and gender specific employment<sup>14</sup> (Amano 1997; Fujimura-Fanselow 1985). Thus, regarding the relevant factors that influence such choice, to see the proportional discrepancies in field of study by gender is indeed significant.

The EFA report illustrates the difference in distribution of female enrollment by field of study. Education is the most female-dominated field, especially in post-industrial and transitional countries where the females share nearly 80 percent of this particular field. The second field most often selected by females is Health and Welfare, which in turn is followed by Humanities and Arts. The fields least often chosen by females are Engineering, Manufacturing, and Civil Engineering (UNESCO 2003). Gender disparity is evident by field of study, and it varies, depending on, to some extent, on the given



region (see Table 2). Among the selected regions/countries, Natural Sciences and Engineering, and Agriculture, for instance, are the most male-dominated fields whereas Education and Health have larger female representations. In addition to the previous patterns, national development and levels and types of programs, these findings suggest yet another pattern, which shows that gender disparity exists in field of study, regardless of the region.<sup>15</sup>

**Table 2. Regional estimates of female participation in each broad field of study (2000)**

	Total all fields	Education	Soc.Sci. & Humanities	Field of study Natural Sciences and Engineering	Agriculture	Health
Africa & Arab States	38	32	42	27	20	46
Asia & Arab States	43	61	49	23	35	61
Europe	55	75	59	30	47	74
Mexico	49	66	55	30	28	61
Oceania	55	77	58	30	43	76

Sources: EFA Global Monitoring Report 2003/4 (Table 2.20), and Statistical annex, Table 9.

### **Conclusion: Implications for policy and scholarship**

Overall, these results of analysis suggest that the patterns of gender disparity are, by and large, observed in both vertical (*i.e.* program level and type) and horizontal (*i.e.* field of study) dimensions. Because documents have stated that the growth of females' share has progressed to the point of virtual gender parity (46.8% in 2000) internationally, this chapter examined the program level and type, as well as field of study by region in order that it might attain a clearer outlook on current gender segregation in the world. Following the implication of the EFA report, gender segregation was revealed in this research at the vertical level (level and type) and horizontal level (field of study), wherein the gender gap appeared in various forms by regions.

These analyses clarify the following: first, the development level of regions/countries is commensurate with the size of total tertiary education; lower gross enrollment represents greater gender disparity, meaning lower female enrollment. Second, many countries significantly accommodate females in type B of Level 5; females are more concentrated in short-term and vocational-oriented programs, which often lead them to roles with few rewards. Higher academic-oriented programs (maximum = Level 6) apparently hold less female participations in all the regions. Females have less access to Level 5A or even lower educational levels, resulting in limited female enrollment in Level 6. This fact produces fewer female professionals in the academy, and for that matter, in general. Finally, all the academic levels generally comprise gender disparity in field of study. There is a gender disparity in traditionally male- or female-oriented fields throughout all academic levels, and it is unfavorable for economic returns for females.

Policy implications may vary, depending on the given regions/countries. In developing countries, females ought to be empowered by attending tertiary education in all levels, types, and fields of study, so that equality may be promoted in their occupations as well as life chances. In transitional and developed countries, the participation of both male and female ought to be balanced in all dimensions of the tertiary education. As for further exploration, as a short-term goal, gender parity implementations should be effectively continued so as to achieve the proportional equality in tertiary education. For the long term, however, investigations should be carried out to respond to the following question: in the entire dimension of tertiary education, to what extent might gender parity cooperate with societies of the world, in which varying perspectives on gender roles and social mechanisms themselves are upheld?

### Notes

1. The data on enrollment headcount presented in the tables are based on the EFA Report's annex tables that derive from the survey results reported to the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) for the school year 2000/01 up until the end of May 2003. For details, see the following URL: <http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.php-URLID=24192&URLDO=DOTOPIC&URLSECTION=201.html>  
For the emphasis on the OECD countries (e.g. Australia, Japan, United Kingdom, and United States), the annual report *Educational at a Glance: OECD Indicators* provides with statistical information and the analyses on higher education and gender.
2. Level 5A reflects theory-based programs that can enable students to gain entry to advanced research qualifications or professions with high skill requirement. This category includes university undergraduate degree and master's programs (e.g. history, philosophy, mathematics, etc.) and gives access to professions with high skills requirements (e.g. medicine, dentistry, architecture, etc.). Level 5B programs are more practically oriented and occupationally specific. Qualifications in 5B programs are typically shorter than those in 5A. Level 6 captures programs leading to advanced research qualifications (e.g. doctoral programs). For details, see the following URL: [http://www.unesco.org/education/information/nfsunesco/doc/iscsed\\_1997.htm](http://www.unesco.org/education/information/nfsunesco/doc/iscsed_1997.htm)
3. The lists of countries by regions derive from Table 1.18 in the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2003/4: Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Chad, Comoros, Burundi, Niger, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Rwanda, C.A.R., Madagascar, Sierra Leone, Zambia, Lesotho, Equatorial Guinea, Kenya, Uganda, Ghana, Benin, Togo, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Cameroon, Congo, Swaziland, Namibia, Mauritius, and South Africa (29 countries).
4. Afghanistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Islamic Republic of Iran, and India (5 countries).

5. Djibouti, Mauritania, Oman, Morocco, Iraq, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Palestine A.T., Jordan, Lebanon, and Libyan A.J. (12 countries).
6. Trinidad and Tobago, Honduras, Neth. Antilles, Costa Rica, Jamaica, Brazil, Paraguay, El Salvador, Mexico, Colombia, Cuba, Venezuela, Aruba, Panama, Bolivia, Uruguay, Chile, Barbados, and Argentina (19 countries).
7. Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Mongolia, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan (6 countries).
8. Cambodia, Lao PDR, Tonga, China, Viet Nam, Samoa, Myanmar, Indonesia, Brunei Darussalam, Malaysia, Palau, Philippines, Thailand, Japan, Macao (China), Australia, New Zealand, and Republic of Korea (18 countries).
9. Albania, Turkey, The FYR of Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro, Romania, Republic of Moldova, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Croatia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Poland, Belarus, Estonia, Slovenia, Latvia, and Russian Federation (18 countries).
10. The relevancy of age to enroll in tertiary education differs in accordance with each nation's education system.
11. Luxembourg, Cyprus, Malta, Switzerland, Ireland, Iceland, Italy, Portugal, Israel, France, Netherlands, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Canada, Spain, United Kingdom, Greece, Norway, Sweden, and United States (21 countries).
12. This phenomenon may be rationalized by the fact that many male students in Qatar participate in foreign tertiary institutions (UNESCO 2003).
13. For more detail, see the following web site: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001113/111387eo.pdf> (2003)
14. In Japan, a gender gap is large among science graduates from university in employment. Given the OECD average of 1,398, the number of male science graduates shares 1,656 per 100,000 young employees. On the other hand, the number for women is 372 that is less than half of the OECD average: 858. In addition, a sizeable gender gap is already visible in the secondary education in mathematics; this suggests the solutions for the gender parity will be needed in earlier stages in schools (OECD 2005). In United Kingdom, with the remarkable progress in the educational advancement of women, graduation rates exceed those for males in 18 out of 21 OECD countries. However, the results expose still significant variation across fields of study, as well as splits by gender and type of course, *i.e.*, vocational courses (Type B) and full-length, theory-based degrees (Type A) (OECD 2005).
15. The gender gap by field of study is also evinced among the OECD countries. According to *Education at a Glance 2004*, on average in OECD countries, the humanities, arts, education, health and welfare, more than two-thirds of university-level graduates are females. Moreover, less than one-third of mathematics and computer science graduates and less than one-fifth of engineering, manufacturing and construction graduates are females, even though the proportions largely vary among countries (OECD 2004).

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## **Gender Issues in the Globalization of Higher Education: A Study of the Impact of the Prime Minister's Initiative in the UK**

Akiko Nishio\*

### **Introduction**

It is predicted that the issue pointed out by many academics – the gender difference in the level of study and in science-related subjects recognized in OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries – may be recognized among international students pursuing higher education, *i.e.* in the globalization of higher education. If this is the case, then women may be at a disadvantage in various aspects. Moreover, in the light of the recent discussions on the necessity of increasing the number of people with high science skills and knowledge in order to be competitive in the globalized economy, the situation that these women are in might be serious enough to be regarded as a misuse of manpower and a cause of loss to the country (Epstein et al. 1998; Ogawa 2001; Nishimura et al. 2001; Darke et al. 2002; Muramatsu 2004; Kimura 2005).

The internationalization of education has been an important issue in many developed countries. For example, the launching of the PMI (Prime Minister's Initiative) by Tony Blair in June 1999 in the UK can be described as an instance where the government displayed its attitude of active commitment towards the internationalization of education. However, in general, initiatives to internationalize higher education provisions in the West/UK have been based on little research with regard to international students (Leonard and Morley 2003). The UK, for example, has been seeing the second-largest inflow of international students for a while now; however, researches on international students are still limited, particularly in relation to gender. Goldsmith and Shawcross (1985) describe such situation as 'genderless', Wright (1997) as 'gender-blind', Leonard (1998) as 'not gender-sensitive', and Langmead (1998) as 'gender-neutral.' Nishio (2001, p. 51) also states that studies on international students still tend to be 'rarely analysed by gender, much less by gender and ethnicity or race, age and level of study.' In such situation, Leonard et al. (2003) is a unique study in a way to attempt to review recently produced 'unpublished' researches – often conducted by international students and therefore some limitations exist, *e.g.* research sizes and qualities, but the number of those researches is quite large – those which explore the experiences of international students in UK higher education in order to collect recent sources, especially where systematic and thorough data collection and careful analysis are involved. Even with Leonard et al. (2003), only two studies (Bada 1994; Nishio 2001) highlighted

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the gender of international students. Needless to say, there are ‘published’ researches on international students and gender but the number of these is still limited (*e.g.* Goldsmith et al. 1985; Verthelyi 1995; Wright 1997; Leonard 1998; Habu 2000). Although Wright (1997) and Leonard (1998) discuss the relationships among the levels of study, subject areas and gender, there seems to be room for much more investigation in this area.

With regard to the trend of international postgraduate students, whose number increased the most as compared with those in other study levels, this study clarifies the trends that did and did not change following the implementation of the PMI and specifies the problems in these trends with a particular reference to gender. By doing so, this study explores the possibility of a gender difference, where the higher the level of study, the lower is the ratio of women to men. It also explores the possibility of there being few women among international students studying science-related subjects. The study then develops a discussion on the problems related to these possibilities.

### **Globalization of higher education**

*Globalization of higher education and the Prime Minister’s Initiative (PMI)* As stated earlier, the internationalization of education has been an important issue in many developed countries. The issue is no longer limited to English-speaking countries such as the US, the UK and Australia, but also applies to non-English-speaking countries such as Germany, France and Japan. Many discussions were developed by national policymakers and institutional leaders in those English-speaking and non-English-speaking countries. Nevertheless, the flow of international students to English-speaking countries appears to have risen “with sifting regional fortunes, the influence of the media industries and the dominance of the English language in science” (Leonard et al. 2003, p. 1). However, even these English-speaking countries no longer appear to be calm and composed. Their impatience can be perceived in the words of David Green, the Director General of the British Council. He states the following:

...we cannot afford to stand still. Not only is the demand for international education rising, but the whole nature of the student recruitment market is changing rapidly. Our traditional competitors are investing more and new players, including non-English speaking countries, are entering the field (The British Council 2003, p. 2).

Tony Blair launched the Prime Minister’s Initiative (PMI) in June 1999 and proclaimed that he would increase the number of international students following a UK education. “The PMI is the first example in the world of an approach to international education marketing that integrates the activities and resources of government, education institutions from all sectors and a global organisation such as the British Council” (The British Council 2003, p. 15). As will be mentioned later, the challenging recruitment figures were set and met two years ahead of schedule (The British Council 2005).

The British government appears to be recognizing the PMI as a successful strategy because it could help achieve tremendous benefits in financial and educational terms.<sup>1</sup> Although the PMI has not yet been evaluated by international students themselves, it is not difficult to imagine that the PMI was beneficial to those people – both women and men – who were considering studying abroad, regardless of whether they were aware of the initiative. The reason for this is that the initiative probably provided these people with easy access to the necessary information and scholarships – despite the competitiveness in obtaining them – for studying abroad by generating various promotional campaigns, including significant media coverage, and providing them with more scholarships than ever before.

Nevertheless, there are two types of questions raised at this point. Firstly, what type of students benefited from the PMI? Secondly, did gender act as a factor in differentiating the ones who benefited from the PMI from those who did not? Evaluating the PMI from an international students' viewpoint through seeking answers to these questions is meaningful in obtaining an understanding of the current situation in overseas higher education, *i.e.* the globalization of higher education, and understanding higher education in a broader sense.

*PMI and strategies adopted to meet its objectives* The rationale of the PMI was to build long-term, sustainable relations between the UK and other countries through education and training. Two medium-term objectives were set to support the long-term goal of the PMI. One was to attract an additional 50,000 international students to higher education and an additional 25,000 international students to further education by 2004/05. The other was to increase the number of students following UK English language training, studying at independent schools and colleges as well as programs delivered overseas, although no specific figures were set (The British Council 2003, 2005).

According to the British Council (2003), the following four strategies were adopted in order to meet the medium- and long-term objectives:

- 1) A worldwide promotion representation (PR) and communications strategy managed by the British Council.
- 2) An increase in the marketing, counseling and information capacity in the UK.
- 3) The creation and introduction of new strategic initiatives overseas in support of the campaign.
- 4) An improvement in the access to, and attractiveness of, the UK as a study destination through, for example, increasing the number of Chevening Scholarships from 2,000 to 3,000.

To promote these strategies effectively, eight 'priority one countries' (namely, Brazil, China, Hong Kong, India, Japan, Malaysia, Russia and Singapore) and 14 'priority two countries' (namely, Australia, Brunei, Cyprus, UAE and Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, Kenya, Korea, Mexico, Pakistan, Taiwan, Thailand, Turkey, USA and Vietnam) were designated (The British Council 2003).

Moreover, the Prime Minister later announced a new initiative, in providing special scholarships, in order to welcome high quality Ph.D. students from other countries to study science at prestigious UK universities. In addition, the new Dorothy Hodgkin Postgraduate Awards were introduced to invite 100 Ph.D. students from India, China, Hong Kong, and Russia and the developing world to study in the UK (The British Council 2003).

### **Gender issues in higher education**

*The higher the level of study, the lower the ratio of women to men* The OECD (2004) explicitly suggests that there is a tendency that the higher the level of study, the lower the ratio of women to men among OECD countries, as follows:

Males remain more likely than females to obtain advanced research qualifications in OECD countries... Graduation rates from advanced research, e.g. Ph.D., programmes are lower for females than for males in all countries except Italy. On average in OECD countries, nearly two-thirds of all graduates at this level are males. In Japan and Korea, just over three-quarters of advanced research qualifications are awarded to males (OECD 2004, p. 82).

It is clear that there is still a serious gender difference in the level of study that students undertake and in degrees that students obtain in tertiary education in OECD countries. If the situation continues to exist, various gender differences in the labor market, such as wage differences, occupational differences, and positional differences, will remain unchanged.

*Few women in science-related subjects<sup>2</sup>* Today, science-related subjects, such as engineering, physical sciences, and mathematics and computing, are disproportionately chosen by men pursuing higher education in developed countries, but not by women. Since the labor market highly values scientific skills and knowledge, men who have studied these subjects are at much more of an advantage than women and the rest of men in terms of finding jobs, earning high incomes, and getting promotions (Kress 1998). At the same time, there are other studies that explore the situation where only a small number of women, compared to men, opt for science-related subjects as part of higher education (Graetz 1991; Forgasz 1998; OECD 2001, 2004; Kimura 2005). The OECD reports as follows:

In humanities, arts, education, health and welfare, more than two-thirds of the tertiary-type A [equivalent to first-degree level] graduates are female on average in OECD countries. Less than one-third of graduates in mathematics and computer science, and less than one-fifth of graduates in engineering, manufacturing and construction are female (OECD 2004, p. 78, [ ] added by the author).



In developed countries, such as the US, the UK, Canada, Australia and Japan, numerous studies also focus on the problem that girls are likely to develop a dislike for science-related subjects and/or perform poorly in those subjects in comparison to boys (Benbow 1998; Murphy et al. 1998; Kimura 1999, 2005; Muramatsu 2004).

On the other hand, an entirely new trend has been observed in recent years; in the late 1990s and after, girls in these countries outperformed boys in such subjects, which used to be regarded as ‘boys’ subjects’, in various national examinations (Murphy and Elwood 1998; Muramatsu 2004). However, this does not necessarily guarantee that the change will lead to an increase in the number of female students who major in science-related subjects in higher education.

### The research methods

The statistics used in this study are collected from data on the market, produced by the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA), and tailor-made statistics/data provided by the Information Provision Service (HESA IPS) and the Society for Research into Higher Education (SRHE); the predecessor of SRHE used to be the consignment institution of HESA. SRHE used to specialize and HESA IPS specializes in providing tailor-made data based on the requirements of their customers. The data on the market were mainly used to determine the total number of international students for 1997/98 and 2004/05, and were used to capture the trend of the total number of and the number of international students by the level of study. Tailor-made data by HESA IPS were used for an in-depth analysis of the countries of domicile of international students, the level of study, and the subject area for 2004/05, while those provided by SRHE were used for 1997/98.

### Results

*The total number of and the number of international students by level of study*

**Table 1. All international students by level of study (1997/98 and 2004/05)**

	1997/98		2004/05	
	All students	International students	All students	International students
<b>Undergraduate (UG)</b>	1,413,063	131,332	1,754,910	152,600
<b>Postgraduate (PG)</b>	387,001	81,932	532,630	165,795
<b>Total of UG and PG</b>	1,800,064	213,264	2,287,540	318,395

Sources: Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) (1999). *HESA Students in Higher Education Institutions 1997/98*. Cheltenham: HESA.

Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) (2006). *HESA Students in Higher Education Institutions 2004/05*. Cheltenham: HESA.

In 1997/98, the total number of students enrolled in higher education was 1,800,064; of these, 213,264 (12%) were international students. In 2004/05, the former figure was 2,287,540 and the latter was 318,395 (14%). In the last seven years, the increase in the percentage of the number of international students enrolled in higher education was 2%.

With regard to postgraduate studies, in 1997/98, the total number of postgraduate students was 387,001; of these, 81,932 (21%) were international students. In 2004/05, the former figure increased to 532,630 and the latter to 165,795 (31%). The increase in the percentage of the number of international students was 10%, which suggests that the ratio of international students to all the postgraduate students has rapidly increased in the last seven years.

With respect to international students only, the total number enrolled in higher education (undergraduate and postgraduate) was 213,264 in 1997/98 and 318,395 in 2004/05; the number increased by 105,131 in seven years. In postgraduate studies, the former figure was 81,932 and the latter, 165,795; the number increased by 83,863 in seven years. The percentage of the increase in the number of international postgraduate students enrolled in higher education reached 80%. This suggests that the increase in the number of international students enrolled in higher education from 1997/98 to 2004/05 largely depended on the increase in the number of international postgraduate students.

### *Countries of domicile*

**Table 2. Top 20 countries of domicile of international postgraduate students by percentage of gender (1997/98)**

Ranking	Country of domicile	Total number	% of women
1	Greece	7,933	42
2	Germany	4,072	39
3	Malaysia	3,970	35
4	United States	3,930	46
5	France	3,341	48
6	Irish Republic	3,288	50
7	Hong Kong	3,210	44
8	Japan	2,499	54
9	China (People's Republic of)	2,322	39
10	Taiwan	2,152	53
11	India	2,111	30
12	Italy	2,059	50
13	Thailand	2,082	57
14	Canada	1,995	48
15	South Korea	1,552	30
16	Netherlands	1,256	37
17	Turkey	1,238	35
18	Pakistan	1,216	22
19	Cyprus	1,036	46
20	Israel	924	53

Source: Data supplied by HESA/Society for Research into Higher Education (SRHE).

**Table 3. Top 20 countries of domicile of international postgraduate students by percentage of gender (2004/05)**

Ranking	Country of domicile	Total number	% of women	
1	China (People's Republic of)	24,390	54	+15
2	Greece	11,335	43	+1
3	India	11,005	25	-5
4	United States	7,835	52	+6
5	Irish Republic	5,870	58	+8
6	Germany	5,030	45	+6
7	Taiwan	4,220	64	+11
8	France	4,180	44	+4
9	Nigeria	3,880	33	N/A
10	Malaysia	3,605	45	+10
11	Pakistan	3,580	13	-9
12	Japan	2,920	56	+2
13	Italy	2,915	49	-1
14	Canada	2,820	55	+7
15	Hong Kong	2,770	48	+4
16	Thailand	2,575	60	+3
17	Spain	2,225	51	N/A
18	Cyprus	1,875	56	+10
19	Ghana	1,855	22	N/A
20	South Korea	1,795	42	+12

Source: Data supplied by HESA Information Provision Service in 2006.

On comparing the countries of domicile of international students for 1997/98 and 2004/05, China shows a sharp increase in the number of students and ranks first in 2004/05. The gap in the number of students between China and Greece, who ranked second, is also remarkable. An increase in the number of international students from Asian countries, such as China, India, and Pakistan as well as African countries such as Nigeria and Ghana is noteworthy.

Regarding gender, between 1997/98 and 2004/05, the ratio of women to men increased among 14 of 17 countries and decreased among the remaining three countries.

In 1997/98, four out of 20 countries sent more women than men to study abroad – Japan, Taiwan, Thailand and Israel. In contrast, the number increased to nine in 2004/05 – China, the US, the Irish Republic, Taiwan, Japan, Canada, Thailand, Spain and Cyprus. Moreover, there were two countries – Taiwan and Thailand – for which the percentage of women reached 60% or more in 2004/05. On the other hand, the number of international students increased rapidly in some countries – India, Nigeria, Pakistan and Ghana – but the percentage of women remained extremely low.

*Level of study* A comparison of the students enrolled in the academic years 1997/98 and 2004/05 reveals that the number of international students has increased for all levels of study, particularly the number of students at the MA level, which has doubled. This level not only received an overwhelming number of international students regardless of the academic years, but also

accounted for a large proportion, 78%, of the increase in the number of international postgraduate students in this period.

**Table 4. International postgraduate students by level of study and percentage of gender (1997/98)**

	Women		Men		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	
Doctorate	8,205	34	15,703	66	23,908
Master	20,705	43	28,054	57	48,804
Postgraduate diploma and certificate (not PGCE)*	2,658	47	3,012	53	5,670
Other**	1,951	55	1,599	45	3,550
Total	33,564	41	48,368	59	81,932

Source: Data supplied by HESA/Society for Research into Higher Education (SRHE).

Notes: \* Postgraduate diplomas and certificates are regarded as part of the postgraduate programs in the UK.

It is appropriate to consider postgraduate diplomas and certificates as preparatory courses for MAs.

\*\* 'Other' includes professional qualifications and postgraduate certificate in education (PGCE).

**Table 5. International postgraduate students by level of study and percentage of gender (2004/05)**

Level of study	Women		Men		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	
Doctorate	14,470	41	21,165	59	35,630
Master	45,865	46	54,415	54	100,280
Postgraduate diploma and certificate (not PGCE)*	3,675	46	4,365	54	8,040
Other**	2,495	59 ***	1,770	42 ***	4,265
Total	66,500	45	81,715	55	148,215

Source: Data supplied by HESA Information Provision Service in 2006.

Notes: \* The same as Table 4.

\*\* The same as Table 4.

\*\*\* The total is not 100 because 58.5% and 42.5% were rounded off.

In the case of international postgraduate students, the number of women doubled and that of men nearly doubled in 2004/05. It is commonly observed that in 1997/98 and 2004/05, men outnumbered women among international students, and that the ratio of men to women increased as the level of study became higher. In other words, the higher the level of study, the lower the ratio of women to men. In particular, there is a considerable gender difference in these proportions at the doctorate level, the highest level of postgraduate study. This level is still considered to be 'male-dominated.'

There is, however, an important point to be raised here; the level of study appears to differ depending on the countries of domicile of international students, as Cummings (1987) suggests:

While the decisions to go abroad are made by individual students and their families, these decisions are made in a context largely shaped by national conditions. Thus, for the sake of analysis, it is meaningful to think of nations as sending students (p. 22).

The level of study may be strongly affected by the situation of education, *e.g.* the number of higher education institutions, such as universities and postgraduate schools, the rate at which students pursue

higher education, and gender considerations. Therefore, it might be more productive to analyze the level of study on a country-by-country basis than to simply analyze all the countries together.

In the case of Japanese students, for example, the ratios of women to men were higher at all the levels, including the doctorate level in 2004/05: 53% at the doctoral level, 56% at the MA level, and 66% at postgraduate diploma and certificate level. The case of Japanese students differed completely from that of all international students.

*Subject area*<sup>3</sup> Of the top 10 subject areas read by all international postgraduate students, the number of those who took business and administrative studies was overwhelmingly large followed by those who took engineering and technology, regardless of the academic years. Other popular subject areas chosen by international students in both years were computer science, education, law, languages, biological sciences and physical sciences. A sharp increase in the number of students who enrolled in computer science is noteworthy.

**Table 6. Top 10 subject areas chosen by international postgraduate students by percentage of gender (1997/98)**

Ranking	Subject area	Total number	% of women
1	Business and administrative studies	16,160	37 *
2	Engineering and technology	10,110	16 *
3	Social, economic & political studies	10,095	44
4	Education	6,760	62 **
5	Languages	4,710	62
6	Physical sciences	4,330	34*
7	Biological sciences	3,525	51
8	Humanities	3,470	45
9	Law	3,465	42
10	Computer science	3,105	27 *

Source: Data supplied by HESA Information Provision Service in 2006.

Notes: \* Indicates that the percentage of women is below 40%.

\*\* Indicates that the percentage of women is 60% or greater.

**Table 7. Top 10 subject areas chosen by international postgraduate students by percentage of gender (2004/05)**

Ranking	Subject area	Total number	% of women
1	Business and administrative studies	37,305	44
2	Engineering and technology	19,125	19 *
3	Social studies	15,255	51
4	Computer science	10,605	23 *
5	Education	9,455	65 **
6	Law	7,755	50
7	Languages	6,930	68 **
8	Biological sciences	6,270	57
9	Physical sciences	5,850	40
10	Subjects allied to medicine	5,605	57

Source: Data supplied by HESA Information Provision Service in 2006.

Notes \* The same as Table 6.

\*\* The same as Table 6.

With regard to gender, a gap was still observed in business and administrative studies in 2004/05; however, it was comparatively smaller than that in 1997/98. The possible reason for the smaller gap in 2004/5 is that the percentage of women in the studies among Chinese students, 60%, might have raised the total percentage of women among international students. In contrast, the ratio of women to men who enrolled in engineering and technology and computer science was extremely low and that enrolled in education and languages was rather high, regardless of the academic years.

However, just like the level of study chosen by international students, the subject areas chosen are likely to be influenced by various factors pertaining to the countries of domicile, the situation of education, and gender considerations; in addition, the choice of these subject areas might also be affected by the politics, economics, and the development of medicine, science, and technology of the countries of domicile of international students. Regarding the characteristics of the subject areas chosen by international students, the cases of Chinese and Japanese students will be investigated.<sup>4</sup>

Firstly, the three most commonly chosen subject areas among Chinese students, who accounted for the highest number among all international postgraduate students in 2004/05, were business and administrative studies, engineering and technology, and computer science, in that order. These three subject areas were also chosen by international students as a whole; among all international students, the third highest ranking subject area was social, economic and political studies, while among Chinese students it was computer science. What is remarkable here is the difference in the percentages of women in these subject areas. The percentages were 60% in business and administrative studies, 30% in engineering, and 29% in computer science and technology, all of which were much higher than those among international students as a whole.

Next, the three subject areas that were mostly chosen by the Japanese students were languages, social studies, and business and administrative studies, and the percentages of women in these areas were 63%, 54%, and 38%, respectively. What should be noted here are not the percentages but the subject areas; the three subject areas that are most popular among Japanese students are rather different from those chosen by international students as a whole.

As suggested by the examples of Chinese and Japanese students, the percentages of women in subject areas and subject areas chosen by international students can differ considerably, depending on the countries of domicile of the international students.

## **Discussion**

The increase in the number of international students in higher education during the period 1997/98 to 2004/05 was largely due to the greater number of international postgraduate students. Although the PMI aimed to attract more international students both to higher education and to further education, it is perceived that the initiative was particularly focused on attracting international postgraduate students through various strategies related to scholarships, as referred to earlier.

With regard to the country of domicile of international students and gender, between 1997/98 and 2004/05, the ratio of women to men increased in the case of 14 of 17 countries being compared and decreased in the remaining three countries. In 1997/98, four out of 20 countries sent more women than men to study abroad. This number increased to nine in 2004/05. For some countries, the number of international students increased rapidly but the percentage of women remained extremely low. Overall, women as well as men seem to have benefited from the active strategies developed under the PMI, although differences depending on the country of domicile of international students should be noted.

With regard to the level of study and gender, the number of female international postgraduate students doubled and that of their male counterparts nearly doubled in 2004/05. In this respect, it can be said that the PMI resulted in an almost equal increase in the number of both women and men. However, in 1997/98 and 2004/05, it was commonly observed that the higher the level of study, the lower the ratio was of women to men. There was also a considerable gender difference in these proportions at the doctorate level and, therefore, the level remained 'male-dominated.'

However, it was considered necessary to investigate the level of study on a country-by-country basis instead of cumulatively, and the case of Japanese students was exemplified. It implied that there may be some countries where the ratio of women to men is higher at higher levels of study, including the doctoral level, as is the case in Japan. Nevertheless, figures can sometimes be 'tricky', and it is inadvisable to simply conclude that countries with high proportions of women at those levels have attained gender equality or discriminate against men. Considering the fact that the higher the level of study, the lower the ratio of female students – as reported earlier in this study, based on an OECD investigation – the trend displayed by Japanese students here is exceptional. Moreover, according to the same OECD investigation, the gender gap among Japanese graduates of tertiary education is the biggest among OECD countries (OECD 2004). Taking these facts into consideration, it is necessary to carefully analyze extraordinary patterns related to the level of study. Nishio (2001), a study on Japanese postgraduate students at the University of London, provides a possible reason why Japanese women studying abroad outnumber their male counterparts: women are less pressured to be active or stay in the domestic labor market because the expectation for them to be financially independent is not as high. The freedom to study abroad, which is enjoyed more by Japanese women than men, may be just the obverse of lower expectations of women or even discrimination against them in Japanese society.

With regard to subject area and gender, although a gender gap was still recognized in business and administrative studies in 2004/05, the gap was smaller than that in 1997/98. Yet, the ratio of women to men was extremely low in engineering and technology and computer science, and high in education and languages, irrespective of academic year. The gender difference – men choosing science-related subjects and women opting for the humanities – was clearly recognized among international students. This implies that women are likely to be disadvantaged in obtaining funding for studying abroad,

because such funding is more often allocated to students in science-related subjects than to those in other study areas (Nishio 2001). The PMI did not prove to be an exception – it announced that it would provide scholarships to high-quality Ph.D. students studying science at prestigious UK universities. Obviously, as long as the number of women studying science-related subjects is small, women are and will be at a disadvantage in terms of utilizing those opportunities.

Moreover, it was suggested that, just like the level of study chosen by international students, the subject areas and the ratio of women to men in those areas are also affected by various factors related to the country of domicile of the students. Chinese students mainly tended to opt for similar subject areas such as business and administrative studies, and engineering and technology – as did international students as a whole – but the ratios of women to men in those subject areas were much higher than those among the total number of international students.<sup>5</sup> Yet, the ratios of women to men in engineering and technology and computer science were still notably low. In contrast, Japanese students' choice of subjects – mainly languages and social studies – was quite different from that of international students as a whole, and the ratio of women to men in business and administrative studies was relatively lower than that of the total number of international students. In addition, the following clarifies that gender bias in subject areas – men choosing science-related subjects and women opting for the humanities – does exist in the globalization of higher education. In 2004/05, among Chinese students, the percentage of women in education was 78% and that in languages was 77%; and among Japanese students, the percentage of women in engineering and technology was 15% and that in computer science was 43%.<sup>6</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Through an analysis of the impact of the PMI, this study suggests two major gender issues in the globalization of higher education. First, the fact that the ratio of women to men decreases with an increase in the level of study poses a problem not only for individual OECD countries but also in the globalization of higher education. Second, the concern that few female students in OECD countries choose science-related subjects was shared by international students; in other words, this is another problematic issue in the globalization of higher education.

Considering these findings, the situation highlighted by Kress (1998) – that the ratio of men to women is overwhelming in science-related subjects in higher education and that men, therefore, continue to be at an advantage in the labor market – may continue to exist in the globalization of higher education and the labor market. More attention should be paid to the gender-based difference in the knowledge and use of science.

As a solution for the serious problem related to the difference in the use of science skills and knowledge and the accompanying economic difference, it is necessary to increase the number of people – including women who make up a half of the national population – who are engaged in



science-related fields. Increasing the number of women who opt for science-related subjects in higher education domestically as well as internationally is an urgent and essential challenge.

### Notes

1. In addition to the fact that the international student recruitment target was met two years ahead of schedule, “many UK institutions have reprioritized their international activities as a result of enhanced awareness of the international market” and “the income to the UK economy from reaching the PMI targets is estimated to be around GBP 1 billion” (The British Council 2005).
2. ‘Science-related subjects’ in this study means ‘engineering, manufacturing and construction, life sciences, physical sciences and agriculture, mathematics and computing, but not including health and welfare’, following OECD’s categorization. However, this study uses the word ‘science-related subjects’ to mean engineering, physical sciences, and mathematics and computing in particular.
3. The method of categorization was changed after 2002/03. Therefore, subject areas are slightly different between 1997/98 and 2004/05.
4. See Appendices.
5. Again, it is inadvisable to simply conclude that countries with high proportions of women in these subject areas have attained gender equality or discriminate against men.
6. See Appendices 1 and 2. Note, however, that the percentages for Japanese students in engineering and technology and computer science cannot be found in Appendix 2 due to their low rankings.

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**Appendix 1. Top 10 subject areas chosen by Chinese postgraduate students by percentage of gender (2004/05)**

Ranking	Subject area	Total number	% of women
1	Business and administrative studies	10,445	60 **
2	Engineering and technology	3,730	30 *
3	Computer science	2,275	29 *
4	Social studies	1,765	62 **
5	Law	1,190	68 **
6	Education	785	78 **
7	Languages	660	77 **
8	Mass communication & documentation	555	76 **
9	Architecture, building & planning	520	45
10	Creative arts & design	510	71 **

Source: Data supplied by HESA Information Provision Service in 2006.

Notes: \* The same as Table 6.

\*\* The same as Table 6.

**Appendix 2. Top 10 subject areas chosen by Japanese postgraduate students by percentage of gender (2004/05)**

Ranking	Subject area	Total number	% of women
1	Languages	590	63
2	Social studies	560	54
3	Business and administrative studies	435	38 *
4	Education	265	70
5	Creative arts & design	235	76
6	Historical & philosophical studies	170	53
7	Biological sciences	95	55
8	Physical sciences	90	48
9	Architecture, building & planning	90	46
10	Law	85	47

Source: Data supplied by HESA Information Provision Service in 2006.

Notes: \* The same as Table 6.

\*\* The same as Table 6.

## **Neo-liberalism and Gender Equity in Higher Education Access: Japan and the UK**

Keiko Yokoyama\*

### **Introduction**

The relationship between efficiency and gender equity changes contextually. It can be assumed that political philosophy and social trends as well as historical, political, and socio-cultural conditions shape the relationship to a significant degree.

Common political ideology and trends observed in Japanese and UK higher education are neo-liberalism and the expansion of higher education. The main discourse of neo-liberalism includes ‘efficiency’ as well as ‘privatization’, ‘deregulation’, ‘choice’, ‘value for money’, and ‘cost-effectiveness.’ The market philosophy is, in logic, not compatible with equity, because it thrusts the social division of socio-economic position, ethnicity, disability, and possibly gender. The expansion of higher education suggests the opposite direction against such effects of marketization, ending up the elite system, diversifying students’ backgrounds, and arguably promoting the equity of opportunity. Accordingly, the relationship between efficiency and equity, and market and social justice is not straightforward. It could be contextual and contingent, influenced by the different pattern and effect of higher education expansion and the different type and effect of government neo-liberal policy between different countries.

From a gender policy perspective, the Japanese and British governments’ HE access policies have been deficient in the aspect of gender equity in the 1990s and 2000s. Japanese Liberal Democratic (LD) Governments have not stressed social justice as such in their public policy until lately – before the establishment of the Gender Equality Bureau (*Danjyo Kyodo Sankaku-kyoku*) and the Council for Gender Equality (*Danjyo Kyodo Sankaku Kaigi*) at the Cabinet in 2001. The British New Labour Government has, regardless of rhetoric or substantial policy practice, stressed social justice policy in HE access, but excluding gender equity.

The purpose of the study is to identify the rationale behind the absence of a government fair access policy for women students in Japan and the UK in the 1990s and the 2000s. The study addresses the following research question: how can we explain the deficiency of government fair access policies on gender in the last decade in Japan and the UK, despite the government’s emphasis on the equity of social class and ethnicity in its social justice policy in the case of the UK. The paper gives attention to the governments’ values on efficiency and equity. It examines the rationales for the deficiency of the

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government's gender-related access policy agenda, rhetoric, and practice (especially the issue of tuition fee and scholarship), focusing upon the relationship between efficiency and gender equity, and market and gender justice. The time segregation of the study is between the 1990s and 2006, with reference to previous years, if necessary. The study does not deal with the equity of output because of the technical difficulty in analyzing the data, and the author's personal belief that it is not healthy to concern the equity of output. The study applies a sociological approach rather than an economist approach. The unit of the analysis in the British context does not perfectly accord between political and higher education system levels. The government's social justice policy often covers the whole of the UK, while the higher education systems differ between four regions within the UK. The study is concerned with the UK for a political unit, and England for a higher education unit.

The study is both theoretical and empirical driven. For empirical data collection, the study employed documentation and existing statistical data. The collected documents include public documents such as the White Paper and council reports. The main source of statistical data is the Ministry in Japan, and the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) in the UK.

The paper first offers a theoretical perspective on the relationship between neo-liberalism and gender justice. The paper then contextualizes it, analyzing and interpreting it in order to explain the deficiency of the government's gender equity policy in higher education access in Japan and England.

### **Neo-liberalism and gender equity**

The relationship between efficiency and gender equity in the government's policy is contextual. It differs between countries, shaped not only by socio-cultural capital, but also by the government's values, perspective, and political objectives which could be related to relevant and influential ideology such as neo-liberalism.

Neo-liberalism has been largely influenced by F. A. Hayekian economics. Hayek (1960), who in criticizing socialism, statism, and Keynesianism, argued that the free market mechanism is superior to collectivist planning because the free market can bring about greater freedoms and greater efficiency through the aggregation of individual decisions. Based upon this principle, 'choice', 'competition', and 'markets', as well as 'efficiency' and 'cost-effectiveness', have become the main slogans of neo-liberalism. Neo-liberalism has redefined the border between public and private sectors by emphasizing the private sectors, and re-orienting education to become more responsive to private sector demand (Apple 2000). The power of the consumer is central idea in the doctrine. Neo-liberal strategies are arguably in opposition to egalitarian norms and values.

One of the major criticisms of the market value is related to social inequality. The criticism in particularly the UK mainly derives from the Old Left contention over the New Right policy and its criticisms, which are political in nature. It relates to the general argument that the choice and competition of neo-liberalism have brought about socio-economic dysfunction such as the polarization of social classes. Neo-liberal strategies yield benefits for middle-class students and disadvantages for

working-class students – with the consequent running down of social infrastructures, and ‘boom and bust’ approaches to economic management in the 1980s (except for Lawson’s 1987 budget) in the UK (Hodgson and Spours 1999, p. 7).

In Japan, the issue of social equity had never been a central political theme since World War II until the late 1990s, when Governments started to incorporate the issue of socially disadvantaged people such as women, the handicapped and the senior. This does not mean that Japanese society and the higher education system are fully based upon meritocracy. Ikuo Amano (1996), for instance, finds that the participation rate of those from upper socio-economic groups at Tokyo University – one of the most prestigious universities – are continuously high. He identifies that six-year private, prestigious secondary schools play a significant role for upper socio-economic groups’ successful access to prestigious higher education institutions.

However, taking the example of the UK, the relationship between efficiency and (gender) equity is not always antithetical, at least in rhetoric and at policy formulation level (rather than policy implementation and effect). It can be found to be in balance, where the higher education market is not entirely unplanned or entirely *laissez-faire*.

Gareth Williams, focusing on government funding policy on the charging of students in the English context, identifies two arguments – an ‘efficiency function’ argument and an ‘equity function’ argument (1998, p. 82). The ‘efficiency function’ argument is based upon two beliefs: that economic efficiency is best served if individual students pay directly for a service which they receive; and that the higher rates of taxation to support students out of public funds impair greater economic efficiency. The proponents of this argument were, according to Williams, mainly right-wing economists of the 1980s. The ‘equity function’ argument emphasizes the differentiation in financial support between different categories of students. This argument is supported by the left of centre, British National Commission on Education and the Social Justice Commission.

British New Labour Government’s policies have incorporated the idea of both ‘efficiency function’ and ‘equity function’ arguments. The empirical evidence for such compatibility between equity and efficiency in British New Labour’s policies – not the substantial effect of Government policies on social stratification and inequity – includes the provision of grants for students from lower income families (reintroduced in 2004 after the non-grant post-Dearing Report period in the late 1990s and early 2000s), and the provision of special funds to the universities which incorporate the issue of widening access in their institutional strategies. Accordingly, gender equity is not necessarily antithetical to governments’ neo-liberal policy.

Nevertheless, Japanese and the UK Governments which have taken market-oriented policies have not incorporated gender equity policy in terms of higher education access. The following section explains the factors for the deficiency of gender equity policy, paying attention to higher education expansion and government value and ideology.

### **The deficiency of gender equity policy: Expansion and political ideology**

The absence of governments' gender equity policy in Japan and the UK can be explained differently. In Japan, the absence of a government equity policy on higher education access is related to its efficiency policy against egalitarian value and policy network of stakeholders who have de-emphasized equity. In contrast, in the UK, the absence can be explained in relation to the pattern of higher education expansion, which has narrowed the gender gap in higher education access, at least in the overall figure.

#### *Japan*

Expansion and the continuity of gender inquiry Higher education expansion has not contributed to the minimization of gender inequity in Japan. The statistical analysis below indicates that the expansion of higher education did not fully function for the removal of gender inequity in terms of women's access to higher education. The statistics indicate the continuity of the gender gap in the following points: (i) different access rates to the universities between men and women; and (ii) the different types of higher education institutions which men and women are enrolled. First, women students' participation in the universities on all courses (including undergraduate, master's, doctor's, professional degree courses etc.) increased from 65,081 in 1955 to 1,087,431 in 2003, while the number of male students grew far more greatly in the same period, increasing from 458,274 in 1955 to 1,716,549 in 2003. The proportion of women students' participation in the universities remained only 38.8 percent of all students in 2003 (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MECSST) 2004, p. 80) (Appendix 1).<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, the expansion of higher education does not bring about fair access for women students to all types of higher education institutions. Junior colleges rather than the universities, as Hitoshi Ozaki (2002) and Kazuo Seiyama (2000) also identify, functioned to increase the number of women students' participation in higher education, in particular in the first phases of expansion (between the 1960s and the 1970s). The number of women students' participation in junior colleges increased from 83,457 in 1960 to 353,782 in 1975 (MECSST 2004, p. 81). The percentage of the women student intake of all students in junior colleges rose from 67.5 percent of all students to 86.2 percent between 1960 and 1975. In terms of the universities (all courses from undergraduates to doctor's degrees), the percentage of women students' participation increased by only 7.5 percent in the same period – from 13.7 percent of all students in 1960 to 21.2 percent in 1970 (MECSST p. 80). The percentages of women students of all students in universities (undergraduate) and junior colleges were 30 percent and 90 percent, respectively, in 1995 (Sorifu 1997). The women students' participation rate in universities (undergraduate) remained 22.9 percent of all women aged 18 years old – university entrance age – in 1995, although it increased from 2.4 percent in 1955 (Sorifu 1997).

In the second phase of expansion between 1985 and the 1990s, the expansion of women students' access to higher education was observed in the university sector rather than junior colleges. The



number of women students in the universities (all courses from undergraduates to doctor's degrees) increased from 434,401 in 1985 to 992,312 in 2000, while the enrolment of women students in junior colleges significantly declined to 293,690 in 2000 after the peak of 455,439 women students' enrolment in 1995 (MECSST 2004, pp. 80-81). The number of junior colleges reduced from 596 in 1995 to 572 in 2000 (MECSST 2004, p. 79). It can be explained that demographic change with lesser 18 year olds has resulted in the decline of both men and women students' participation in undergraduate studies, and consequently the change in the establishment of junior colleges to the universities in order to attract more students. These figures indicate the end of the function of junior colleges for higher education expansion. Gender inequity in higher education access in the post-massification period still remains in the Japanese higher education system, enrolling women students that made up only 38.8 percent of all students in all courses in the university sector in 2003 (MECSST 2004, p. 80).

Substantial gender imbalance is also seen in the choice of the areas of study. For instance, women students on undergraduate courses concentrated on humanities (276,411), home economies (49,721), education and teacher training (84,327), and arts (49,511) in 2003 (MECSST 2004, pp. 82-83). These figures compare with 133,160 of men students in humanities, 3,350 in home economies, 52,934 in education and teacher training, and 22,048 in arts in the same year. Men dominated subjects were engineering, having 399,656 in 2003, while women students in engineering numbered only 7,310 in the same year. Gender difference in subject areas is commonly observed in the different higher education systems; however, OECD statistics (several years) indicate that the Japanese case is extreme.

Efficiency against equity Efficiency and equity, including gender equity, were not compatible in the policies of LD Governments and the MECSST between the 1950s and the mid-1990s. LD Governments and the MECSST sought efficiency, but not equity, at least implicitly without incorporating the idea of egalitarianism and gender equity in their policies until the mid-1990s – when they started to pay partial attention to equity by highlighting the gender issue.

The LD Governments' and the Ministry's values on efficiency against equity were explicit in their policy on the following areas: (i) tuition fees; and (ii) scholarship. First, the principle regarding the consumer's responsibility on higher education costs suggests that the central authorities' market oriented value and policy in Japan. The declaration of the principle on 'service receivers' contribution to higher education costs' (*Jyuekisya Futan*), regardless of students' and students' families' incomes and class, in the Report of Central Council in Education (1971), an advisory council to the Ministry, suggests the central authorities' value against the ideas about social justice. The principle is still valid, despite the heavy burden on students' parents with the limitation of scholarships, the withdrawal of employers' contributions to higher education costs (since the 1980s), and the decline of students' investments in higher education and training (since the 1990s) (Yano 2003). Such consumers' financial burdens apply not only to private universities, but also national university corporations,

including undergraduate studies. There has been no State restriction on increasing tuition fees for both the national and private university sectors, despite the dramatic increase in family expenditure for tuition fees between 1973 and 1990, when average family expenditure for tuition fees rose from 2.5 percent of total family expenditure to 4.7 percent (Yano 2003, p. 7). The increase in the universal tuition fees of the national university sector (before 2004) has been so remarkable that the gap in tuition fees between national and private universities has become small.

Secondly, the LD Governments and the MECSSST did not emphasize scholarship for disadvantaged students, including women as well as those from lower socio-economic groups, until the late 1990s. There has been no State scholarship specified for women before and after the late 1990s. The State's scholarship scheme (1943 onwards) takes the form of a loan rather than grants, and relies upon the merit-based idea of seeking for financial incentives to promote students' motivation rather than the needs-based for the students in difficult financial situation to study. The traits of the provision scheme include the following: repayment after graduation; the state's provision to individual students rather than institutions; and in many cases, the approval of loans after students' enrolment to the universities. Loan recipients before the late 1990s were less than 10 percent of all students (both interest-free and with-interest scholarships), and in the 2000s, around 20 percent (Kaneko 2005, p. 205). The Ministry has emphasized merit-based loans since the establishment of the State loan scheme in 1944, although the Association of National Education Promotion Committee Members (*Kokumin Kyoiku Shinko Gin Renmei*) initially stressed scholarships for the need at the introductory stage (Okiyoshi 2005, p. 205). The nature of the State's merit-based scholarship has not changed, although the State started to incorporate the need-based concept to some degree in the late 1990s. Furthermore, many loan recipients had been offered loans with interest – a scheme that was introduced in 1984 – rather than interest-free loans, imposing interests to 331,090 loan recipients in 2001 (*cf.* 412,581 interest-free loan recipients) (Monbusho 2002). This choice made by Governments and the Ministry suggests that Governments' and Ministry's value has been based upon efficiency rather than equity.

The deficiency in the Governments' and Ministry's social justice, or more specifically, gender policy in relation to students' access can be understood in respect of the following: (i) LD Governments and central administration's nationalistic values which support elitism, as seen in the pre-war period, rather than egalitarianism; (ii) central authorities' conflict with the Teachers' Union's egalitarian demands; and (iii) central authorities' policy network, incorporating economic interest groups in their policymaking structure. First, the values of the LD Governments (since the 1950s), a centre-right wing, and the MECSSST have been based upon nationalism and conservatism, which have historically antagonized the egalitarian idea. They have attempted to change the egalitarian-based system (*e.g.* the 6-3-3-4 system and the Fundamental Law of Education) introduced by US Occupational force just after World War II, and re-introduce the pre-war elite education system based upon several diversified tracks and vocational-oriented education (Schoppa 1991). Such Government and Ministerial intentions have never been accomplished, except for the introduction of vocational

upper-secondary schools and five-year colleges of technology (*koto senmon gakko*) in 1961. It can be assumed that the failure of such attempts was related to public demand for the equity of opportunity.

Secondly, the policy network of the central authorities has excluded the proponents of egalitarianism, in particular the Teachers' Union. The Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) applied an anti-union policy between the 1950s and the 1970s – before the decline of the Union's power since the 1980s (Schoppa 1991, p. 60). Accordingly, elitism rather than egalitarianism, and efficiency rather than equity, are valued among influential policymakers.

Thirdly, the central authorities' policy network has incorporated economic interest groups, whose values rely upon liberalism, against the collective and wealth distribution idea. The vision of economic interest groups has, to a significant degree, affected the MECSSST's policy (e.g. institutional diversity, deregulation, lifelong learning, the promotion of internship, and the collaboration between the universities and industry) (Yokoyama 2003), excluding the value of social justice.

The change in LD Governments' values and policies by incorporating social justice agenda – as well as handicaps and senior people – can be observed from the late 1990s. The change is, however, not observed in the issue of gender-related higher education access. New discourse on a 'gender-equal society' has now appeared. The Council For Gender Equality in the Cabinet (1996), in a policy proposal, *Vision of Gender Equality*, defines 'gender-equal society' as a 'society in which both men and women shall be given equal opportunities to participate voluntarily in activities at all levels as equal partners and shall be able to enjoy political, economic, social and cultural benefits as well as to take responsibilities equally'. The change includes the following: the launch of 'Plan for Gender Equality 2000' (*Danjyo Kyodo Sankaku Kihon Keikaku*) (1996), the enactment of *Basic Law for a Gender-Equal Society* (*Danjyo Kyodo Sankaku Syakai Kihonho*) (1999), the establishments of the Gender Equality Bureau (*Danjyo Kyodo Sankaku-kyoku*) and the Council for Gender Equality (*Danjyo Kyodo Sankaku Kaigi*) at the Cabinet (2001), and the establishment of the headquarters for the Promotion of Gender Equality in the MECSSST (2001). Political and socio-cultural rationales rather than economic rationale were significant in the application of the LD Governments' gender equity policy. The political rationale includes international movement on gender equity such as 'The Fourth World Conference on Women' held in Beijing (1995) and the 23<sup>rd</sup> Special Session of the UN General Assembly 'Women 2000' in New York (2000), Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi's personal belief on gender equity, and the increase in the number of female MPs in LDP (Cabinet office 2004, 2005b).

There is no clear reference to the link between the LD Governments' New Right policy and gender equity policy in *Vision of Gender Equality* and 'Plan for Gender Equality 2000.' The MECSSST's gender equity policy hitherto (up to March 2006) focuses upon women academic staff employment – in particular, women researchers – rather than women students' access to higher education. The LD Government provides a comprehensive view in the White Paper, showing awareness of the gender imbalance in areas of study in higher education, as well as women's under-representation in faculty positions.

The change is also observed in the LD Governments' scholarship programs since 1997, when the University Council Report recommended financial support for students, and when the Advisory Council to the Ministry published a consultant report, *Vision on 'Scholarship Loan Programs'* (Kongo no Ikuei Jigyō no Arikata (1997)). However, so far there have been no political debates on State scholarships specifically for women students. The characteristics of the changes in the scholarship scheme include the quantitative expansion of the loan scheme by the deregulation of the application requirement; the attention to need-based concept (e.g. 'emergency loans' – interest-free loans for students whose family income has suddenly reduced as the result of economic recession, national disasters, etc.); the increase in the number of loan recipients who are approved before their enrolments at the universities; and the introduction of the institutional warranty system.

*Vision on 'Scholarship Loan Programs'* suggests that the rationale for such change in the loan program was financial constraints in public funding rather than an attempt to promote social justice. The process of such change was originated by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, which made the administration audit in 1995, and the Special Section of the Financial System Council (1996).

It is worthwhile to mention that the corporatization of national universities has some implications for institutional scholarship and tuition exemption because the national university corporations are now legitimated to set up such scholarship programs at their own discretion. The change has brought about the diversification of scholarship in the university sector.

In summary, gender equity and efficiency in the context of Japanese *policy formulation* are becoming compatible. It does not mean that at the stage of *policy implementation*, such government policy can bring about both equity and efficiency.

*The UK* The absence of a government gender equity policy in higher education access can be largely explained by the positive effect of higher education expansion on gender proportion rather than the New Labour Government's values and policy in the UK.

Expansion and change in gender balance The expansion of higher education in the UK has changed the gender proportion in higher education access. There were clear trends for more women than men students to enter the universities in the UK in the 1990s. Figures from HESA showed that the number of women students' participation in the universities rose by 42 percent, from 299,000 women students in 1994 to 427,000 in 2001, while that of men students increased by 16,000 in the same period, to around 305,000 in 2001 (cited by *BBC News*, 11 November, 2003). The proportion of men students of the total student intake of the universities therefore fell from around 49 percent to 41 percent. The figures imply that university expansion in the 1990s was driven by women rather than men students.

The outnumbering of women students against men reflected women students' better performance in A-levels than men students'. Women students took more A-levels than men in 2003, numbering 404,855 compared with 345,682 of men (*BBC News*, 14 August, 2003). The A-level pass rate for women students was 96.4 percent, while that for men was 94.3 percent in the same year. Those figures suggest that equal opportunity of women students to higher education is no longer an issue in the UK context, except for the areas of study.<sup>2</sup>

In terms of the subject areas, men-dominated subjects on undergraduate courses (full-time students in first degree courses) included physical sciences (27,640), mathematical sciences (9,530), computer science (46,240), engineering and technology (61,625) and architecture, building and planning (14,520) in 2000/01, while in the same year, the number of women students in the same subject groups were 17,455 in physical sciences, 6,060 in mathematical sciences, 11,445 in computer science, 11,360 in engineering and technology, and 5620 in architecture, building and planning (HESA 2002, pp. 30-31). Women-dominated subjects in the same year were: subjects allied to medicine (41,685), biological science (41,135), veterinary science (2,140), law (21,295), librarianship and information science (11,250), languages (40,830), and education (33,415). These figures compare with 12,965 of men students in subjects allied to medicine, 24,400 in biological science, 860 in veterinary science, 13,255 in law, 6,805 in librarianship and information science, 15,640 in languages, and 10,010 in education. Accordingly, the expansion of higher education has brought about gender equity in terms of fair access, but there remains gender imbalance according to the areas of study.

Compatibility of efficiency and equity? The New Labor Government came to power, affirming a commitment to social justice. The policy agenda relating to higher education access, nevertheless, has not covered the gender issue.

The New Labour Government's Third Way political strategy for the universities (1997-) does not largely differ from the Conservative Government's New Right policy in respect to the support for the quasi-market mechanism, choice, and competition.<sup>3</sup> The New Labour Government's ideology is commonly referred as the Third Way (Blair 1998; Giddens 1998), defined in relation to the concepts of Old Left and New Right (The Times Higher Education Supplement, June 12, 1998, p. 15; Hodgson and Spours 1999; Power and Whitty 1999). Tony Blair's Fabian pamphlet, *The Third Way*, and the work of Anthony Giddens (Tony Blair's advisor) refer to the relationship between the Third Way and both Left and Right philosophies (Blair 1998; Giddens 1998, 2000). Blair, in the Fabian pamphlet, explains that the Third Way is the policy of the centre-left, which departs from both the Old Left agenda, such as 'tax and spend', and the New Right agenda (Blair 1998). The latter was criticized on the grounds that its strategies have brought about failing education, social polarization and an increase in crime. Blair defines the Third Way as a 'modernized social democracy' committed to social justice.

Giddens locates the Third Way in the political left-of-centre, while asserting that it is different from the Old Left (Table 1). Old-style social democracy, or the welfare state, was characterized as a

mixed economy, government involvement in social and economic life, full employment, egalitarianism, and Keynesian demand management and corporatism. The Third Way in Giddens' concept is a 'renewed social democracy', in which Keynesian demand management is abolished. The concept is more diversified than the original social democracy, which is seen as corresponding to the philosophy of welfare states before the surge of the New Right's neo-liberalism. New social democracy has shifted from concentrating on the redistribution of wealth, as in the Old Left, to promoting wealth creation, which implies that the Third Way accepts some social inequalities as a consequence of capitalist wealth creation.

There are some observed neo-liberal elements in Third Way ideology. Neo-liberal values embedded in Third Way ideology are concentrated in the contradictory dimension between the two concepts related to state power – increased state regulation, and minimal government intervention in the socio-economic domain. In borrowing the neo-liberal framework, the new Social Democracy of the Third Way avoids excessive government intervention and planning in the socio-economic domain, which the Old Left, in contrast, practiced. The government is interventionist insofar as it seeks to create favorable conditions in the global economy, so that firms can be, according to the logic of the New Labour Government, innovative, and workers more efficient.

**Table 1. Conceptual differences between the Old Left, the New Right, and the Third Way, as seen by Anthony Giddens**

<b>Classical Social Democracy (The Old Left)</b>	<b>Thatcherism, or Neoliberalism (The New Right)</b>	<b>The Third Way Programme</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pervasive State Involvement in Social and Economic Life</li> <li>• State Dominates over Civil Society</li> <li>• Collectivism</li> <li>• Keynesian Demand Management, Plus Corporatism</li> <li>• Confined Role for Markets: the Mixed or Social Economy</li> <li>• Full Employment</li> <li>• Strong Egalitarianism</li> <li>• Comprehensive Welfare State, Protecting Citizens 'from Cradle to Grave'</li> <li>• Linear Modernization</li> <li>• Low Ecological Consciousness</li> <li>• Internationalism</li> <li>• Belongs to Bipolar World</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Minimal Government</li> <li>• Autonomous Civil Society</li> <li>• Market Fundamentalism</li> <li>• Moral Authoritarianism, Plus Strong Economic Individualism</li> <li>• Labour Market Clears Like Any Other</li> <li>• Acceptance of Inequality</li> <li>• Traditional Nationalism</li> <li>• Welfare State as Safety Net</li> <li>• Linear Modernization</li> <li>• Low Ecological Consciousness</li> <li>• Realist Theory of International Order</li> <li>• Belongs to Bipolar World</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Radial Centre</li> <li>• The New Democratic State (the State without Enemies)</li> <li>• Active Civil Society</li> <li>• The Democratic Family</li> <li>• The New Mixed Economy</li> <li>• Equality as Inclusion</li> <li>• Positive Welfare</li> <li>• The Social Investment State</li> <li>• The Cosmopolitan Nation</li> <li>• Cosmopolitan Democracy</li> </ul>

Source: Giddens 1998, pp. 7-8, 70.

In the New Labour Party's view, the difference in terms of the interpretation of neo-liberalism between New Labour and the Conservative Governments is that the New Labour Party attempted to distinguish its market strategies from those of the New Right, emphasizing partnership between the

government and industry. The 1997 manifesto of New Labour, *Because Britain Deserves Better*, stated:

The old left would have sought state control of industry. The Conservative right is content to leave all to the market. We reject both approaches. Government and industry must work together to achieve key objectives aimed at enhancing the dynamism of the market, not undermining it. (Labour Party 1997, p. 3)

Ross Fergusson, relating the New Labour Government's neo-liberal elements to Blair's modernization policy, argues that New Labour's modernization policy focuses on inclusionary policies, collaboration, together with the concept of risk sharing and 'responsibilization' (Fergusson 2000, pp. 202-221). New Labour, within the modernization policy, seeks 'modernizing managerialism', based upon 'best value' and long term effectiveness, to replace cost reduction and short term efficiency gains by the setting of standards and performance targets. This focus, according to Fergusson, differs from the New Right agenda of the Conservative governments, which emphasized cost reduction and competition on the basis of short term efficiency gains. The New Right agenda relating to managerialism emphasized 'market-replicating managerialism' on the basis of consumer sovereignty and the devolution of controls to institutions.

In practice, the New Labour Government's policy implementations have included the following: the establishment of the Social Exclusion Unit (1997); the New Deal for Schools, which aims at bringing together businesses and government into partnership, and increasing commercial input from the private sector; and Education Action Zones in order to bring together businesses, parents, community organizations, schools, and Local Education Authorities.

In the context of higher education, New Labour's policy strategy can also be understood as a complex combination of neo-liberal and Old Left elements, which is mainly seen in relation to tuition fees and loans/grants/bursaries. Examples of neo-liberal elements include the introduction of student contribution to tuition fees, the new and expanded arrangement for student loans, and the abolition of grants in 1998 (1998 Teaching and Higher Education Act), which returned in 2004 Higher Education Act. The consequence of the introduction of the Act was, according to the Universities and Colleges Admissions Service, an immediate reduction in the number of non-traditional groups – such as mature students, students with lower socio-economic backgrounds, and students from ethnic minorities – applying for admission to the universities. Concomitantly and contradictorily, official statistics indicate that 43 percent and 14 percent of all students were assessed to make no contribution or a partial contribution to their fees respectively in 2003/04, indicating that only 43 percent fully contributed (cited in *BBC News*, 14 September, 2005). The introduction of the diversified fee of up to £3,000 (2006), repayable by graduates once their annual income reaches £15,000, would push higher education in the direction of the pure market.

Regarding Old Left elements in Third Way policy, it can be summarized in relation to social justice (e.g. government social inclusion policy). The government's social justice policy seeks to include those who have been under-represented in higher education, such as people from semi-skilled or unskilled family backgrounds and those with disabilities. The Dearing Report (1997), which recommended students' contribution towards tuition, emphasized the exemption of contribution to higher education costs by students from lower socio-economic groups.

In the government's White Paper of 2003, the Education Secretary stresses the expansion of higher education to extend the talented and best from all backgrounds – one of three key areas identified by him. The widening participation schemes proposed in the White Paper include the provision of additional funding as a reward to institutions committed to widening access and outreach, and the establishment of the Office for Fair Access (OFFA) – which aims to promote and safeguard fair access to higher education for under-represented groups in the light of the introduction of variable tuition fees in 2006/07. The Higher Education Act 2004 stipulates that students' families earning less than £17,500 are, from 2006, eligible for a grant of £2,700 a year. The partial grants are available for those with a household income of between £17,501 and £37,425. In addition, the universities charging the maximum fees of £3,000 are required to fund bursaries of at least £300 for the students with lower household incomes.

The New Labour Government targets two goals – 'expansion of higher education' and 'opportunities for all children' – out of 10 goals in its 2001 manifesto, *Ambitions for Britain*. The government also targets a participation in higher education of 50 percent of those aged between 18 and 30 by 2010 in the Government's Green Paper, *14-19: Extending Opportunities* (DfES 2002). It aims at not only national economic growth, but also widening access for non-traditional students.

Accordingly, the market and social justice are compatible at least in New Labour's policy agenda. The effect of the policy, however, indicates the Government's failure of the policy in terms of equity of access, in particular the students with lower socio-economic backgrounds (Chitty 2004; Lawton 2005). It could not bring about fair access for students to all types of higher education institutions in reality, reproducing social class, race and gender inequity (Ball et al. 2002). For instance, the Sutton Trust report, *Entry to Learning Universities*, which examines access for students from state sectors to leading universities, indicated the imbalance of entry to the 13 leading universities (Oxford, Cambridge, Birmingham, Bristol, Durham, Edinburgh, Nottingham, St Andrews, Warwick, York, Imperial College, the London School of Economics, and University College London) – a low proportion of applicants from suitably qualified less affluent students – and suggested inadequacies in the universities' admissions systems (Sutton Trust 2000). The Minister for Higher Education, Margaret Hodge, herself admitted in 2002 that New Labour's policy of widening access to higher education has failed in England and Wales (Guardian June 2002).

The implication of the New Labour Government's social justice policy on the gender issue is limited in terms of students' access. Its policy agenda focuses upon class, ethnicity, and disability



rather than gender. Women have been regarded less as a disadvantage group since the mid-1990s, as women achieved equal numbers (and more than the equal) of undergraduate places in higher education.

## Conclusion

The paper has argued that Japanese and British Governments have commonly de-emphasized gender-related policy on higher education access in the 1990s and the 2000s. The rationales behind the absence of such policy significantly differed between the two. In the Japanese context, LD Governments' nationalistic and conservative policies against egalitarian values de-emphasized equity issues, including women's access to higher education, until the mid-1990s.

In the UK, the New Labour Government has emphasized social justice in its discourse of higher education access policy, making equity and efficiency compatible in government discourse. However, in reality, inequity has grown under the New Labour Government, making social justice policy rhetorical. The New Labour Government's policy agenda on higher education access does not cover the gender issue. It can be interpreted that the absence of gender equity policy in higher education access could be related to the aforementioned women students' better performance in A-levels and participation in higher education.

The study suggests that gender equity and efficiency are compatible at the stage of policy formulation. However, it does not mean that such policy brings about both gender equity and efficiency in reality at the stage of policy implementation.

## Notes

1. See also Maruyama 1995, for the difference between men and women students' access to higher education.
2. For 'boys' underachievement' phenomenon, in particular with white working-class boys, see Chitty 2004, pp. 190-195.
3. For similarities between the Conservative and New Labour Governments' policies, see for example Tomlinson 2001.

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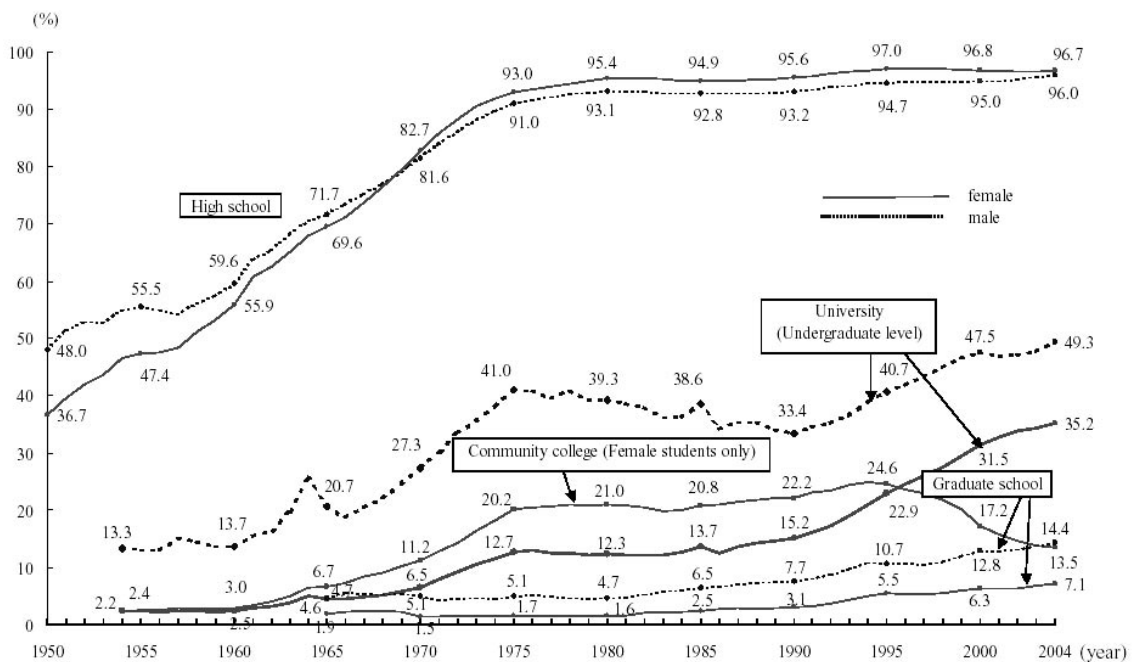
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**Appendix 1. Enrollment rate for each school category**



Notes: The data were originally collected by the MECSSST and published in its *School Basic Survey*. This is cited by the Cabinet Office (2005a).



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