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Women's experiences of higher education and career choice in Ireland and Uganda : does national development and globalisation contribute?

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**WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND
CAREER CHOICE IN IRELAND AND UGANDA: DOES
NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND GLOBALISATION
CONTRIBUTE?**

By

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Submitted in fulfilment for the award of a Doctor of Philosophy of the
University of Limerick

Supervised by: Dr Roland Tormey

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ABSTRACT

Women in Uganda's universities are caught between two worlds. They lead lifestyles that are partly Western and partly local. This thesis sought to understand how national development and globalisation impacted upon those factors which influenced women's career-related educational choices, and experiences of higher education in Uganda, and in Ireland. The review of literature on development, and globalisation, showed that two phenomena seem more likely to lead to hybrid cultures, although it did not say what sort of hybrid culture develops, and the status of women in this culture. The review of literature on the factors which influence women's career-related educational choices indicated that no such data existed in Uganda. Finally, the review of literature on the role of education in women's lives showed that no significant data existed on the role education plays in elite women's lives in Uganda. This study therefore set out to address these gaps. To achieve this, the study triangulated both positivist-based quantitative methods such as a survey questionnaire, with interpretive-based qualitative methods, such as focus groups interviews.

The study found that the factors which influenced women's career-related choices in universities were largely socio-cultural, economic, policy and individual-related in nature. However, while this was the case, some of these factors were distinctive to the respective samples. For example, beliefs and traditions such as the son preference and those against climbing trees only influenced the career-related educational choices of Mbarara University respondents while timetabling practices influenced those of the University of Limerick respondents. The study also found that both samples were largely drawn from socio-economic elites who led mainly Western life styles, although Mbarara University sample appeared more elitist than their University of Limerick counterparts, despite their struggle to pay tuition fees. Their elite socio-economic status enabled Mbarara University respondents to easily access Western media which then influenced their lifestyles, leading to a hybrid culture. However, despite the hybridity of their lifestyles, Ugandan women maintained significant cultural distinctiveness. Also higher education empowered these women to work outside the home and earn income, and also resist discriminatory traditional practices such as that of the son-preference in Uganda. As such highly educated parents in both universities gave better educational advice, more financial support, than the less or non-educated parents. They were also proper role models of their children. However empowered they were, these women were not liberated, implying that while higher education empowers women, it rarely liberates them given that it does not change the structural bases of inequality. This study has also noted that while it is largely a mechanism for reproducing socio-economic inequalities, higher education is also a mechanism for upward social mobility. In light of these issues therefore, development as epitomised by educational attainment sometimes leads to greater equality for women, while at times it does not. Other than these, this study has also shown that contrary to feminist understanding of the family as a seat of oppression given its patriarchal nature, the extended family network in Uganda, was a significant safety net for respondents, in light of the support this institution rendered to funding, accommodation, and pocket money needs of respondents.

This study has developed an alternative model of career choice, which can be applied across different developmental contexts, and by applying this model to Ireland and Uganda. The findings of this study further show that for Uganda, data on women's life experiences, and on career-related choices and influences, that is entirely new has been provided. Also new data in Ireland and Uganda, on how women's experiences of higher education are shaped by national development and globalisation has been provided.

DECLARATION

I Naboth Namara, hereby declare that this thesis is entirely my own work and has never been submitted for an award of a degree at any other university. I have acknowledged the writings and ideas of all people whose works I have referred to in this thesis.

DEDICATION

This piece of work is dedicated first and foremost to my children Busingye Nimurungi Namara, Atwiine Kirunga Namara, Ahereza Nemanzi Namara, and to my wife Judith Atuhaire Namara, and my Mum, omukyara (Mrs) Dinah Bahidi. It is also dedicated to all the women and mothers in Uganda and Ireland for all the work they do in the homes and communities which brings smiles on our faces each passing day, although they are rarely recognised for this.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- BBC**-British Broadcasting Co-operation
CNN-Cable News Network
CSO-Central Statistics Office
DES-Department of Education and Science
ESRI-Economic and Social Research Institute
FAWEU-Forum for African Women Educationists
GEM-Gender Empowerment Measure
GDI-Gender development Index
GNI-Gross National Income
GDP-Gross Domestic Product
GNP-Gross National Product
GSS-Government Sponsorship Scheme
HEA-Higher Education Authority
HDI –Human Development Index
HDR-Human Development Report
ILO-International Labour Organisation
IMF-International Monetary Fund
LAWU-Law Advocacy for Women in Uganda
MOES-Ministry of Education and Sports
MUK-Makerere University Kampala
MUST-Mbarara University of Science and Technology
NCHE-National Council for Higher Education
PSS-Private Sponsorship Scheme
UBOS-Uganda Bureau of Statistics
VOA-Voice of America
WFP-World Food Programme

Women's Experiences of Higher Education and Career Choice in Ireland and Uganda

CHAPTER ONE- Understanding the Study and the Researcher

1.0. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY AND THE RESEARCHER

1.1.0 Introduction

This is the introductory chapter to this thesis which sets the scene for the readers. It starts by presenting the personal experiences of the researcher which have informed his interest in researching factors which influence women's career-related educational choices and their university life experiences, as well as the role of higher education in women's lives, as impacted upon by both national development and a globalised homogeneous culture. The chapter then presents demographic educational-related data on the respective countries and the two universities from which the respective samples for this study were drawn. The chapter also explains the biases and assumption held by the researcher before the study, reviews the aims of the research, the research methodology, and the study's findings, as well as the implications of these findings on existing studies. The chapter also summarises the major recommendations made by this study, revisits the researcher's position with regards to assumptions and biases held before the study, presents emerging issues and their implications for future research, and summarises each of the chapters in this thesis, before ending with concluding remarks.

The chapter also reviews the study, specifically, the related literature the aims of the research and the methodology, the research findings, and presents a summary of the thesis structure before ending with concluding remarks.

1.1.1 The Teacher as a Researcher in Education and the Researcher's Experience of Living in both Ireland and Uganda

Both my experience in teaching at second-level for over 15 years, and my academic career have given me vast exposure to gender inequalities and discrimination in the school system, often perpetuated by gender stereotypes, beliefs, and traditions. This exposure has been evident in various school settings ranging from single-sex boys and girls secondary schools, to mixed-sex secondary schools and technical schools. Other than my teaching experience, my academic career has also awakened me to the existence of gender stereotypes, traditions, and beliefs in educational settings, and their potential

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influence on our school experiences. As part requirement for my Master of Arts in Women's Studies, I researched the factors which influenced the career aspirations of female students in two secondary schools in Mbarara District, in Uganda. The findings of this study indicated that besides role models, funding, and career guidance, gender stereotypes, beliefs, and traditions strongly influenced the students' career aspiration choices. It is therefore clear that both my career and academic experiences have exposed me to gender inequalities in education and consequently triggered a strong desire to research gender equality in education more, and research how gender inequalities manifest themselves in career-related educational decisions, as well as their impact upon women's school experiences. I will not go into all the details of my experiences of gender inequalities here, but they include: sexist treatment from the teachers, stereotyping of school subjects, the hidden curriculum and its perpetuation of gender inequalities, as well as sexism and gender imbalance in the open curriculum as reflected in school texts, and co-curricular activities like games and sports.

During my teaching career, I have witnessed incidents of gender discrimination which can explain how schools perpetuate gender inequalities. Gender imbalance in mixed-sex schools has often been seen in the way schools punish dissent between boys and girls. More emphasis is placed on girls' looks and discipline than on boys'. For example, in my first posting, which was a mixed school, students were expected to tuck in their shirts or blouses when in school, and comb their hair among other regulations. However, both male and female students would at times flout these regulations. What I found disturbing was that when this happened, female students often received a greater rebuke than the male students. The rebuke was often a reflection of society's expectations on the behaviour of the two genders. Indeed, it was common for boys and girls to receive a different rebuke or punishment for breaking the same school regulation. For example, one day, a female student skipped school without permission in the evening. While she was away, a roll-call was conducted in both the boys' and the girls' dormitories. A good number of boys were not found in their dormitories while she was the only girl who missed the roll-call. The following morning, a staff meeting was held to deal with the children who were then summoned to the meeting. The girl student confessed to

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skipping from school to buy food in the nearby shops as she had missed the school supper that evening. The boys admitted having skipped from school and gave their various reasons for doing so. Surprisingly, while the majority of the teachers, both male and female, agreed that the boys should slash the school compound for three hours as a deterrent punishment, it was agreed that the girl should be sent home and asked to report to the head teacher with her parent, the following day. When she came with her parent as instructed, the student was rebuked in front of the parent and made to sign a last warning declaration. As we can see, the punishments here were different for the genders although they had broken the same regulation.

The other instance of a discriminatory approach presented itself on another occasion when we (the teachers) were interviewing prospective candidates for student leadership positions. On this occasion, a female student whose hair was not properly combed was tasked by a female teacher to explain why this was so. The female teacher went on to accuse the student of disgracing women by appearing shabby, for being unserious, and definitely “un lady-like”. When I pointed out to this teacher that such a stance had not been taken about the boy candidates with similar misdemeanours whom we had interviewed, the teacher replied that this was a girl and girls were expected to look good, clean, and smart if they were to be good ladies, while a bit of roughness was allowed for the boys. Both these instances show that strict conformity to school rules was more expected of girls than boys. Therefore, while boys and girls were in school to pursue their career goals at an equal footing, gender discrimination often negatively influenced the school experiences of female students and stood in their way of success at school.

I have also had experiences of the gendered nature of subject and course choices in schools. Particularly important in this regard were my last two postings, one to a technical school, and the other to a community polytechnic. In the technical school, which offered Certificate courses in building and construction, carpentry, electrical installation, and mechanics, all the students were males. In the community polytechnic where I taught a few years later, there was a handful of female students. Among these girls, only one was studying for a Certificate in electrical installation. The rest were

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studying for Certificates in home management, design or agriculture, all of which are occupations traditionally associated with women. In both these cases, I asked students and teachers why it was that no girls did mechanics, building, electricity, and welding courses. The teachers and the students found it strange that I should expect female students in these courses, and told me that they did not think these occupations were suitable for women. To them, a woman builder or mechanic was some kind of taboo in society. The teachers and students did not have any academic reasons for their thinking. It hinged on gender stereotypes, traditions and beliefs.

Besides my work and academic experiences mentioned above, I have also lived in both Ireland and Uganda. This has enabled me to understand how gender socialisation impacts people's career-related educational choices, and experiences, in the two countries. My enrolment in University College Dublin in Ireland both for a Higher Diploma and later a Master's degree made me realise that the young women in Ireland and Uganda, while different, were also significantly similar in some gender beliefs, dress, interests, and other life values. Also, whenever I went to Uganda, I saw people watching Western television programmes, soap operas, news channels such as Skynews, and the British Broadcasting Corporation and the Voice of America. They also listened to same radio stations, and accessed European and American newspapers, and magazines online.

Also, underlying the similarities between Ireland and Uganda were other issues, which I hoped would influence women's experiences of career choice and higher education generally in Ireland and Uganda. The most important of these was a patriarchal culture in both Ireland and Uganda. This culture whose hallmark is male dominance was likely to influence women's career choices and their experiences of higher education in similar ways. Especially when dealing with careers, the concept of sexual division of labour was likely to influence career choices of women in both Ireland and Uganda. Related to patriarchy was also an issue of a shared culture of capitalism. Both Ireland and Uganda are capitalist states and as in most capitalist states, males often dominate the public productive sphere. This is so because, as some feminist scholars, among them Mies

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(1986) and Walby (1990) have persistently argued, patriarchy uses capitalism to oppress women by paying them little for much work, ignoring their working conditions and also keeping them in low paid jobs with no prospects of promotion. Uganda and Ireland also share a history of colonialism, and by same colonial master Britain. One effect of colonialism on the two countries is probably the inherited formal education systems in Ireland and Uganda, which though different in some aspects are largely similar in others, particularly with regards to structure and curriculum. For example, both systems are designed to supply capitalism with loyal and obedient workers and are rarely designed to liberate oppressed groups by questioning the gender, racial and other inequalities in society. We need to note however that the two countries are also largely Christian. For example, figures from the last population census in Uganda indicate that that 85.3 percent of the total population subscribed to Christianity with the Roman Catholics being the majority at 41.9 percent. A similar situation pertains in Ireland where, 90.6 percent of the population are Christians with the Catholics forming 86.9 percent of the whole population of the Republic. This shared Christian tradition was also likely to bring about similarities in the cultures, values, perceptions and attitudes of women with regard to their lifestyles and career-related educational experiences. It should be noted that Christianity has also been criticised for supporting patriarchy in its teachings. The ways in which Christianity and the church help the patriarchal project begins with the church's interpretation of the Bible, particularly the story of creation in the book of Genesis in the bible which shows that woman is a follower, or helper of man not an equal. Brown and Bohn (1989) argued that Christianity and the church have among other things tried to control women's reproductive power for a long time as shown in their opposition to contraceptives and abortion, as well as their belief that women should accept their pregnancies as "God's" will, under whatever circumstances these women conceive. The two authors also argued that the church even tried to control women's sexuality. For example, Canon law and moral theology defined a woman's sexuality as the "debt of her body" which she owes her husband in the marriage contract. She is bound to serve him sexually, on demand, no matter what her own physical disposition might be.

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These similarities and differences between Ireland and Uganda not only strengthened my desire for a comparative study, but also the desire to find out the extent to which both the distinctiveness and similarities in state of national development, and socio-cultural aspects explained above would influence the career-related and high education experiences of women in both Ireland and Uganda. Also, I wanted to find out if the ways in which Ugandan and Irish women perceived the role of higher education in their lives, given the similarities and differences in these women's economic and socio-cultural settings.

In view of what has been said so far, it is little wonder that researching women's experiences of career choice, higher education and the role of education in women's lives as impacted upon by distinctiveness and similarities between the Ugandan and Irish samples was not a hard choice for me to make. However, all was not easy, because researching students, teachers, schools, and all the other dynamics of education, was like researching myself and my career. Also, my experiences of gender discrimination in education earlier talked about were likely to bias my investigation. However I strongly believe in both the desirability and necessity of educational research, as explained by Eliot (1991) which is consistent with what Verma and Mallick (1999:183) thus:

...educational research is a form of practical inquiry which fuses inquiry with practice. There can be no educational research if teachers play no important role in the process of articulating, analysing, and hypothesising solutions to complex educational problems.

It is therefore important that teachers take an important role in educational research in order to improve educational practice. Indeed as Bell (1993:16) says, educational studies are a "practical science" in a sense that we do not only want to know the facts and to understand relations for the sake of knowledge, but we also want to know and understand in order to be able to act, and act "better" than we did before. This explains the importance of teachers in researching educational issues rather than leaving them to other professions. It is my belief that problems in education might receive more attention from teachers if they are raised in studies carried out by fellow teachers, other than

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statisticians and technocrats in Ministries of Education, who in most cases produce tables and figures without critically analysing the context in which these figures are formed. I also believe that when teachers take part in educational research, they emerge not only as good researchers, but also better teachers.

This section has shed light on my teaching and academic careers, as well as on my experiences of living in countries at different levels of development, all of which strongly influenced my interest in this study. The following two sub-sections will present information on the countries and respective universities in this study.

1.2.0 Information on Uganda, Mbarara Town, and Mbarara University

The respondents for this study were drawn from both Mbarara University in Uganda, and the University of Limerick in Ireland. In order to help the reader appreciate this thesis more, I will present some background demographic data on higher education on the countries and universities in the study, as well as the cities in which these universities are located. I will begin with information on Uganda, Mbarara Town and Mbarara University.

1.2.1 The Republic of Uganda

Uganda is a land-locked country in East Africa. It is bordered on the east by Kenya, on the north by Sudan, on the west by the Democratic Republic of Congo, on the southwest by Rwanda, and on the south by Tanzania. Uganda is divided into over 100 districts, spread across five administrative regions: Northern, Southern, Eastern, Western and Central. The country has a population of about 31 million people (UBOS, 2008; also refer to appendix 4).

In terms of development, Uganda is considered a developing country. According to the figures from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) *World Economic Outlook, April, 2009*, Uganda had a GDP of US dollars 14,529 million and a GNI per capita of 1,140 US dollars, in 2008. It also had one of the lowest Human Development Index (HDI)

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scores in the world at position 156 out of 179 countries, and a Gender Development Index (GDI) of 108 out of 179 (UNDP, 2008).

1.2.2 The Education System and the Performance of the Higher Education Sector in Uganda

Uganda operates a 7-4-2-3 educational system which is 7 years for primary school, 4 years for lower secondary, 2 years for high school, and a minimum of 3 years for university education (MOES, 2008).

University education in Uganda has taken a long time to grow. For example, until 1989 when Mbarara University of Science and Technology was established, only two universities existed in the country. These were: the 84-year-old Makerere University, a public university, and the Islamic University in Uganda (IUIU), established in 1988 as a private university. However, the situation has changed over the years, and Uganda's university education sector currently boasts of five public universities, and over twenty private ones. Despite the higher education expansion however, Makerere University still accounts for almost 95 percent of the total universities' student enrolment, leaving the remaining universities, both private and public, with 5 percent to share (MOES, 2007).

Makerere and Kyambogo Universities offer many courses in both the arts and sciences, from Bachelor's to Doctoral level. On the other hand Mbarara University of Science and Technology, where the sample for this study was drawn, offers courses in Medicine, Science Education, Information Technology, Development Studies and Business Studies (MUST, Prospectus, 2005-6). Other public universities also offer courses in agriculture, agriculture mechanisation, medical-related courses, business studies, development studies, mining, rural development, education, and food science, as well as information and communications technology. Finally, the over 20 private universities in the country mainly offer courses at under-graduate and post-graduate levels in the arts, humanities, education, and social sciences (NCHE, 2007).

Other than universities, there are four National Teachers' Colleges (NTCs) which award Diplomas in both secondary, and primary education (NCHE, 2007). There are Primary

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Teacher Training Colleges (PTCs) located throughout the country, and these award a Certificate in Primary Teaching, which is the required standard qualification for primary school teachers. These colleges admit students who have obtained the Uganda Certificate of Education (UCE) awarded after the first four years of secondary school (MOES, 2007).

The Uganda government policy currently emphasises vocational education and training (MOES, 2007). Consequently, the country has 54 government aided technical schools, institutes, community polytechnics, and Colleges, which award ordinary certificates, advanced certificates, ordinary diplomas, and higher diplomas, mainly in building and construction, mechanics, home management, electrical and water engineering, among other fields. Other than these, there are over 50 private vocational training centres throughout the country, which are run by individuals, religious organisations, and other non-governmental organisations.

With regards to the commercial training tertiary sector, there are five Uganda Colleges of Commerce (UCC) which enrol students who have a Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education (UACE) obtained after completion of high school or A'Levels. These colleges award certificates and diplomas in Business Studies, Accounting, Marketing, Hotel Management, Catering, Stores Management, and Secretarial Studies, usually after two years of training in the respective fields (University Guide 2007/08, New Vision Publications, and Kampala, Uganda).

Lastly, Uganda's higher education sector also comprises of other institutions which provide specialist courses namely: Fisheries Institute Entebbe, Arapai and Bukalasa Agricultural Colleges, Nabyeya Forestry Institute, Nsamizi Institute for Social Development, and numerous colleges of nursing and midwifery, paramedical schools, schools of public health, and clinical officers training colleges (MOES, 2007).

1.2.3 Educational Attainment of the Population in Uganda by Gender

In Uganda, 70 percent of males, and 65 percent of females have completed some or all primary education. Only 5 percent of males and 3 percent of females have completed secondary or higher education, while 13 percent of men and 23 percent of women have never attended school (UDHS, 2006:2).

One of the much talked about gender issues in Uganda's higher education is the female students' 1.5 points affirmative action scheme. From the time Makerere University was established over 85 years ago to 1991, women always formed a small percentage of Ugandans accessing university education. In 1991, the government established a positive discrimination gender policy to curb this problem. In this policy, female students were to be awarded 1.5 points over and above their examination scores. This means that if a male and a female applicant scored same marks in their national examinations, and both these scores were 1.5 points below the cut-off mark for admission to university, the female applicant would be admitted on government sponsorship because, she will have an additional 1.5 points on top of her national examinations score, while the male student would not. We need to note here that the maximum score for a student with 4 principle subjects, and 2 subsidiary ones would be 53 points, that for a student with 4 principle subjects and 1 subsidiary one subject would be 52, that for a student with 3 principle subjects and 2 subsidiaries would be 50, while a student with 3 principle subjects and one subsidiary subject would score a maximum of 49 points. All these points do not include students' scores from their ordinary level grade which will vary depending on the number of distinctions, and credit passes they had at that level, which are computed and added on to the total A-level scores explained above. The 1.5 gender affirmative policy has increased female enrolment in universities from 27 percent in 1991 (Nakanyike, 2003:614), to 35 percent by the year 2000 (Africa Recovery, 2000). However, there could be more women in Universities than reported by these authors. For example, data from Makerere University which admits 95 percent of all students who join university in Uganda each year (MOES,2007, shows that in the year 2009, over 44 percent of Makerere University students were female (MUK academic registrars

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records, 2009). Further data from Makerere University (Academic Registrar's Office, 2010) further shows that for the first time in its history, the university graduated over 50 percent females and over 49 percent males on her 60th congregation in January, 2010. However, despite an increase in women's access to university education in Uganda, significant gender gaps in access to competitive courses remain. For example, in 1997 female participation was 30 percent in medicine, 27 percent in commerce, and 26 percent in agriculture, veterinary medicine and the natural sciences. Also, female faculty members occupy less than 20 percent of established academic posts in Ugandan universities (Nakanyike, 2003:614). This could mean that female students in these universities are denied sufficient role models.

1.2.4 University Educational Funding in Uganda

Funding is the biggest challenge for both public and private universities in Uganda. Particularly, there is limited government funding of infrastructural and academic development in public universities, which results in low wages for staff compared to the standard of living in the country, deteriorating buildings, constant power failures, and breakdowns in the water supply systems (Mayanja, 2001:1). In Uganda there are two admission schemes to universities, namely; the Government Sponsorship Scheme (GSS), and the Private Sponsorship Scheme (PSS). Each academic year, 4,000 applicants out of over 50,000 applicants with a minimum requirement for university admission (the actual figure for 2010 is 60,370) are admitted on the Government Sponsorship Scheme (see UNEB statistics, 2010 for number of students with 2 principle passes). This means that for the academic year beginning in August, 2010, just fewer than 7 percent of all applicants with the minimum requirements for university admission can be admitted on government sponsorship. Of the 4,000 students, 3,000 are admitted basing on their Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education (equivalent of the Leaving Certificate in Ireland) examination grades, 700 hundred on the district quota scheme, and 300 hundred scholarships are shared between students with learning disabilities and those who excel in sports. All this means that each year, over 90 percent of those who have the minimum requirement for university admission from their Uganda Advanced Certificate of

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Education examinations are either admitted on the Private Sponsorship Scheme in both public and private universities and other tertiary institutions, or they do not get to enrol in higher education. Admission to the Private Sponsorship Scheme is based on Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education examination grades, and the applicant's capacity to finance their studies.

In Uganda, there is a strong reliance on government funding which greatly strains public universities and brings their activities to a near standstill, especially when governments face severe fiscal constraints. Makerere and Kyambogo Universities for example, have on some occasions closed down due to strikes by lecturers and students resulting from lack of finances to meet the universities' financial obligations. Because of constant budget deficits, some universities take up high interest bank loans which further increase their financial burdens (Kasozi, 2005; Mayanja, 2003; Liang, 2004). This is dangerous as recovering from the financial quagmire often requires increments in tuition fees which further strain the already over-stretched students who may drop out of university.

Inadequate funding in Ugandan universities also manifests itself in inadequate physical infrastructure like lecture theatres, libraries, laboratories, and staff offices. Consequently, Ugandan universities mainly operate in over-crowded and deteriorating physical facilities, with limited, obsolete, or irrelevant library materials (Liang, 2004:5). These inadequacies in infrastructure strongly hinder students' effective learning.

1.2.5 The Socio-economic Backgrounds of University Students in Uganda

Various studies have been carried out on the socio-economic backgrounds of students in Uganda's higher educational institutions, the first one by Goldthorpe (1965) on Makerere University students. This study found that income was not only a key factor for getting into Makerere University, the only one in the country then, but also in getting good jobs and joining the elite social strata. Subsequent studies in the 1990's showed that some 60–80 percent of Ugandans who enter public universities, including those on state scholarships, come from wealthy families. Studies by Barkan (1976), Mayanja

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(1998), Liang and Rwasheema (2001), Sutherland (2003), Kwesiga (2003), and Bidemi (2005), all came to the same conclusion, namely, that higher education was mainly accessed by children from wealthy families. For example, using the 1992 Integrated Household Survey, Mayanja (1998) studied the socio-economic background of Makerere University students and found that the high-income group, which constituted 0.9 percent of the total population, took 42 percent of the places at Makerere University. Mayanja further observed that the interaction of the social and school system acted to reinforce the inequalities at all stages of education right from primary to university level.

Three years after Mayanja's study, Liang and Rwasheema (2001) carried out another study aimed at understanding the social background of tertiary and university registered students. They collected sample data which was divided into three groups: those enrolled in universities, those enrolled in any tertiary programme, and those who were not enrolled in any programme, but were within the 18 to 25-year age group. They used data from the National Household Survey of 1999/2000 for comparison with the sample they had selected, with respect to generally accepted household socio-economic indicators which included: total household expenditure, whether or not the family had a mud-wall house or was living in a brick-house, as well as the educational level attained by the students' parents. They found that most of the students attending universities came from high-income groups, from prosperous districts, from "first-world schools" or the traditional best-performing schools, and were often male. In 2004, Bidemi Carroll did a more comprehensive study as part of a PhD dissertation for Stanford University (2005). She focused on the impact of the private entry scheme at Makerere University on equity and access by comparing the socio-economic status of the families of Makerere University students with those of the general population as given by the Uganda National Household Surveys, and came to the conclusion that the probability of being admitted to Makerere University and being awarded a scholarship (called a sponsorship) were dependant on the socio-economic status of the family of the student. Carroll found that there was little significant difference in ability to get into Makerere University between state and privately-sponsored students, and concluded that participation was highly inequitable for students who enter through the PES (Private Entry Scheme) and

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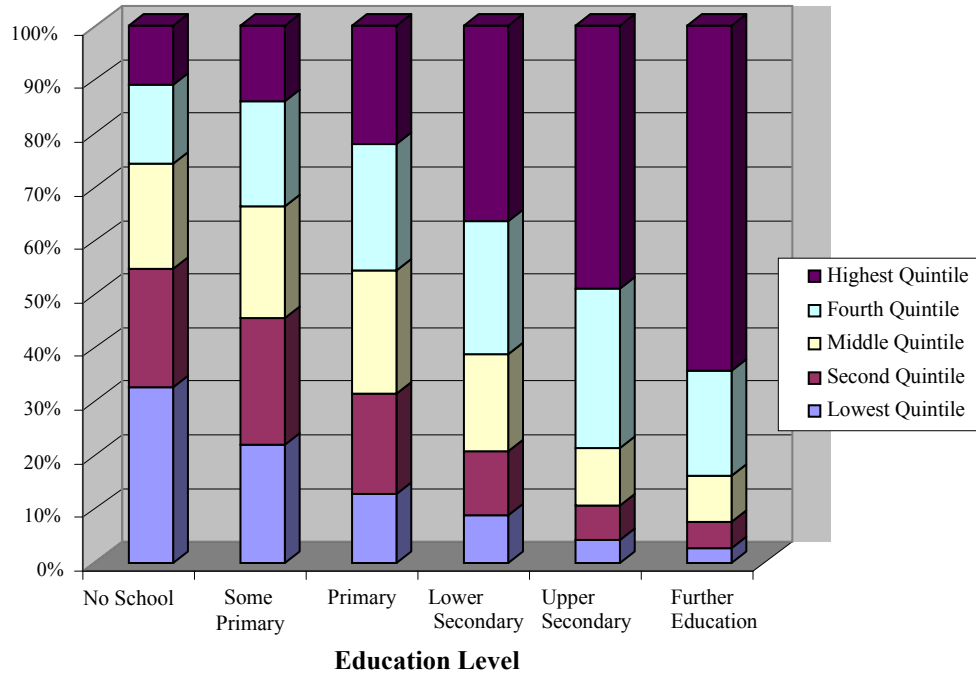
the Government Sponsored Scheme (GSS), as earlier explained. Using the principle of equal opportunity, she concluded that the Private Entry Scheme Using the principle of equal opportunity, she concluded that the private entry scheme sustained existing inequalities in access to Makerere University as it did not increase access of the poor to that institution.

Like Mayanja (1998) before, Liang (2004) also found that students who did well on the higher education entrance exams usually came from wealthier families who could afford to pay for elite, university preparatory-level public and private education, or who lived in urban areas with better quality primary and secondary schools. For example, it was shown that students from the highest income group, which made up less than 1 percent of the total population of Uganda, took 42 percent of the places at Makerere University (the biggest, and for a long time only university in the country). This study further found out that the students who enrolled in tertiary education programmes in Uganda in 2002-2003 came from households with substantially higher socio-economic status than those who were not attending tertiary or university education. For example, the total household expenditure of those not enrolled in tertiary education averaged to only 0.4 million Uganda shillings (about 130 euros); less than a third of those enrolled in tertiary programs at Uganda shillings 1.5m (about 500 euros), and one-eighth of those enrolled in universities at about 3.2 million Uganda shillings (about 1,100 euros). Furthermore, over half of the not-enrolled group lived in houses with mud walls, as compared to 21 percent for the tertiary enrolees, and only 11 percent for the university enrolees. In terms of parental education, the not-enrolled had an average father's education of only 4.7 years, the tertiary enrolees had an average father's education of more than 10 years, and the university enrolees had an average father's education of more than 13 years, implying they had attended post secondary education and had either university degrees, or at worst diplomas. The same was true with mother's education, which was 2.5 years for the not enrolled, 8.3 years for tertiary education enrolees, and 10.4 years for university enrolees (Liang, 2004:35). These findings are consistent with data in the Uganda Demographic Health Survey (UDHS, 2006:24-25) which indicates that

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educational attainment is higher for the wealthy than it is for the poor as shown in the figure below.

Figure 1: Household Income Quintiles and Level of Education in Uganda



Source: Adopted from, Uganda Demographic Health Survey (2006:24-25)

It is evident from this graph that the percentage of people without any formal education reduces as wealth increases. Overall, the education levels are higher for people in the high wealth quintiles of the population than they are for people in the lower quintiles. It is therefore true that as the scholars mentioned above have shown, in Uganda, more people from the highest wealth quintile (almost 90 percent) access higher education, than those from the lower quintiles (almost 11 percent). This means that higher education in Uganda is largely an elitist venture.

Finally, a more recent study by Kasozi (2008) on the socio-economic backgrounds of university students in four public universities in Uganda including Mbarara University, confirms the elitism in Uganda’s higher education. Kasozi (2008:10-12), like Liang

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(2004) and others earlier mentioned, found out that majority of university students in the four public universities in Uganda had parents who were relatively more educated than those in the general population. For example, almost 25 percent of fathers had bachelor's degrees compared with less than 5 percent in the general population, 15 percent of mothers had bachelor's degrees compared with about 2 percent in the general population, and slightly less than 11 percent of parents had not gone to school compared with about 28 percent in the general population. The higher educational qualifications that these parents have, often give them good jobs, and consequently higher incomes. For example, Kasozi (2008:10-12) found that over 33 percent of these parents compared with almost 23 percent in the general population had salaried employment, and over 23 percent had businesses compared with almost 19 percent in the general population. Consequently, the students in the four universities he studied had the following socio-economic conditions as indicators of their elite status:

- Over 71 percent of respondents lived in houses built with brick and mortar compared to over 53 percent in the general population
- Almost 27 percent had piped water in their homes compared with only 15 percent in the general population, majority of whom get water from a public tap (UDHS, 2006:13)
- Almost 30 percent owned a fridge at home compared with just over 6 percent in the general population
- Over 87 percent owned a radio compared with 63 percent in the general population
- Over 37 owned a car compared with almost 6 percent in the general population
- Over 20 percent had fixed phones compared with less than 1 percent in the general population

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- Over 56 percent owned motorcycles compared with over 39 percent in the general population

1.2.6 Mbarara Town and the University

Mbarara University of Science and Technology is located in Mbarara Municipality, the biggest town in Mbarara district, and the largest urban centre in Western Uganda. The town has about 10 main streets. It is located about 266 kms from Uganda's capital city Kampala, and has a population of 73,300 people. In the town are: an army barracks, the regional police headquarters, regional revenue offices, high court, regional lands, and regional post office (Ministry of Local Government, Uganda, 2008). The town also has the highest number of milk processing plants in the country, given that the inhabitants of Mbarara district are primarily cattle keepers. The name "Mbarara" has its roots in the English colonialist's mispronunciation of the word "Mburara", a certain type of grass liked by cows which is common in the Mbarara area, and after which the place was originally named (Ministry of Local Government, 2010).

Mbarara University, the first one in Mbarara Municipality, was founded in 1989 as a second public university in Uganda, after Makerere University. It is located about 1 km from the town centre on the Mbarara-Kabale Road. The University took over and modified the physical facilities of the former Mbarara School of Midwifery. The university is supposed to move to Kihumuro hill, 7 kilometres on the Mbarara-Kasese road. However, no physical infrastructure has been set up at Kihumuro to date, 21 years after the university was established.

1.2.7 Faculties and Courses at Mbarara University

Undergraduate programmes started in October 1989 for students taking courses leading to the degree of Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery. Currently, the University has three faculties and two institutes, namely:

- Faculty of Development Studies

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- Faculty of Medicine
- Faculty of Science
- Institute of Computer Science
- Institute of Tropical Forest Conservation

1.2.8 Student Population and Accommodation Services

The university has a population of 2,699 students, among whom 1,002 are females, and 1,697 males (MUST, Academic Registrar's Office Records, 2007). Of these students, 82 percent reside outside campus, while only 18 percent are accommodated in university halls of residence (MUST Dean of Students, Records, 2008).

1.2.9 Student Fees

In Mbarara University of Science and Technology, like in other public universities in Uganda, less than 20 percent of students are state sponsored, and so do not pay tuition fees, accommodation, and meals during term, while about 80 percent pay tuition and all other living expenses. University tuition fees per semester average to about 1 million Uganda shillings (equivalent of almost 400 euros), while an equivalent amount is required for living expenses such as accommodation, meals, notes, printing assignments and sundry others, per semester. This money is hard to come by for the majority of people in Uganda where over 70 percent of the population rely on subsistence agriculture to produce food for home consumption, and over 33 percent of the population of almost 31 million people, live on less than 1 dollar per day (UBOS, 2009). This leaves higher education a preserve of the socio-economic elites, mainly those with big businesses, and public servants who earn salaries. Interestingly, this elite group is fragmented, and their income depends on the size of their businesses or the type of their jobs. For example, with regard to public jobs for which income data is available, monthly salaries are as follows: High Court judges earn about 4 million Uganda shillings (about 1,400 euros), Permanent Secretaries are paid around 1.5 million shillings (about 500 euros), Medical doctors are paid around 700,000 shillings (about 240 euros) while

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the lowest paid public servants such as primary school teachers and police officers earn about 200,000 shillings which is approximately 70 euros (Ministry of Public Service, 2008). Clearly there are huge gaps in earnings of public servants who form the majority of the elite middle class in Uganda. For example, what a High Court judge earns in a month, a primary school teacher or policeman earns in 20 months. A medical doctor earns a judge's salary in almost 6 months. All these show that while university education in Uganda is a preserve of the socio-economic elites, these elites are fragmented, and some of them still struggle to raise tuition fees for their children. For example, medicine is seen as an elite profession, but if a medical doctor earns about 700,000 shillings and has to educate two children on private sponsorship, it would require him to pay an average of 2 million shillings in tuition fees for each of the children per year, plus a similar amount for up-keep making it 8 million shillings (about 2,700 euros). For someone whose annual salary is about 8.4 million Uganda shillings, it means he/she will have to spend all yearly income on educating two children.

1.2.10 Library and Computing Services

According to data from Mbarara University Library Records (2009), the library has a sitting capacity of 700 users, 30,000 monographs and 50,000 bound serial with an annual subscription of 80 serial titles and online journals. The university also has six computer rooms spread throughout the campus to provide internet services to both students and staff (Mbarara University Library Records, 2009).

1.2.11 Physical Infrastructure of Mbarara University

Mbarara University largely operates in inadequate, old-fashioned buildings. While some new structures have been put up, these are still few, and in most cases below the standard of those in the University of Limerick. A look at the buildings in Mbarara University therefore indicates a university in need of modern physical infrastructure if it is to cope with the challenges of providing quality modern university education. Pictures of some of the buildings of Mbarara University are presented in appendix 6.

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This section has presented demographic data on Mbarara Town, and Mbarara University in Uganda. For comparison purposes, the following section will present demographic data on Ireland, Limerick City, and the University of Limerick.

1.3.0 Information on Ireland, Limerick City, and the University of Limerick

We already know that other than Mbarara University in Uganda, the other sample for this study was drawn from the University of Limerick in Ireland. So for comparative purposes, I will present some background demographic data on higher education in Ireland, Limerick City and the University of Limerick

1.3.1 The Republic of Ireland

The Republic of Ireland is located in north-western Europe. The country occupies about five-sixths of the island of Ireland, which was partitioned into two jurisdictions on 3 May 1921. It is bordered to the northeast by Northern Ireland, which is part of the United Kingdom, and is otherwise surrounded by water namely, the Atlantic Ocean on the west, the Irish Sea on the east, St George's Channel to the southeast, and the Celtic Sea to the south. The country has an estimated population of about 4 million people (CSO, 2008, also ref. to appendix 5).

The Republic of Ireland is considered a developed country. In 2008, Ireland had a total GDP of US dollars 273,328 million and a GNI per capita of US dollars 35,710 (World Economic Outlook, April, 2009). Other than this, the HDR (2008) report shows that the country had an HDI position of 5 out of 179 and a GDI position of 51 out of 179.

1.3.2 The Education System and the Performance of the Higher Education Sector in Ireland

Ireland operates a 6-3-2-4(3) educational system. This means 6 years for primary school, 3 years for junior secondary, 2 years for senior secondary, and a minimum of 3 years for university education. However, unlike in Uganda, students in Ireland can be allowed to

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take a transition year between junior and senior school levels to broaden their skills without having to sit for national examinations (DES, 2008).

The Irish higher education system comprises 7 universities, 14 Institutes of Technology and a number of other smaller institutions. The overall participation for Third-Level is of the order of 50 percent (Fitzpatrick and O'Connell, 2005). Available data indicates that over 90 percent of the undergraduate population in Ireland is aged between 18 and 20 in the year of entry, compared with a figure of about 70 percent for the OECD area (HEA, 2005).

The 7 universities in the state are autonomous, self governing institutions. The Irish university system offers degree programmes at Bachelor's, Master's, and Doctoral levels in humanities, technological sciences, social sciences, and medicine. Typically, teaching at the undergraduate level is by way of lectures supplemented by tutorials, practical demonstrations, and laboratory work, if applicable.

The Department of Education and Science has overall responsibility for the technological sector of the third-level education. It formulates and reviews policy, and is also responsible for the budgetary and regulatory framework (Fitzpatrick and O'Connell, 2005). Institutions in the technological sector provide programmes of education and training within areas of business, science, engineering, linguistics, and music, from certificate and diploma to graduate and post-graduate levels (Fitzpatrick and O'Connell, 2005).

There are also Colleges of Education, some of which specialise in the training of primary school teachers, while the others specialise in training of second-level teachers of home economics and religion. Other colleges also train teachers in science, as well as wood and materials technology (Fitzpatrick and O'Connell, 2005).

The last category is that of the independent Third-Level colleges, which offer programmes leading to Certificates and Diplomas pending certification by Ireland's Higher Education and Training Awards Council (HETAC). Some are affiliated to bigger

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institutions and universities in the country, and they offer degrees of the respective institutions and universities.

1.3.3 Educational Attainment of the Population in Ireland by Gender

Data shows that in the year 2007, over 27 percent of the people aged 15-64 in Ireland, had a Third-Level educational qualification, 63 percent had attained higher secondary educational level or above, while 14 percent had not progressed beyond primary level education.

In terms of gender, women formed 59 percent of new entrants to the Higher Educational Authority (HEA) institutions (Universities, and the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland) in the year 2006/07, but formed only 47 percent of new entrants to the Institutes and Colleges of Technology (CSO, Irish Statistical Year Book, 2008:119).

1.3.4 The Socio-economic Backgrounds of University Students in Ireland

Available literature on the socio-economic backgrounds of university students in Ireland indicates that majority of these students come from middle class families. For example, the Economic and Social Research Institute's (ESRI, 2006:51) survey of the social class of university entrants in Irish universities in the year 2004 shows that at over 11 percent, children of professional workers took more university places than their share of the population sub-group at over 5 percent. The share of new entrants whose fathers were managerial, technical, and other non-manual workers combined was slightly less (43 percent) than their share of the population sub-group at over 44 percent. On the other hand, skilled and semi-manual workers took over 30 percent of university places compared with their share of the population at just over 28 percent. Finally, new entrants whose fathers were categorised as unskilled manual workers stood at over 4 percent, a figure less than their share of the population at over 5 percent. The father's economic status for over 16 percent of the 15-17 year-olds in population was not established, although we know that this category of young people took over 10 percent of university places. This data is presented in the following figure:

Figure 2: New University Entrants in 2004 by Father's Social Class in Ireland

	% of University Entrants	% Share of 15-17 yr olds in Population 2002
Professional Workers	11.5	5.4
Managerial, Technical, other Non-manual	43	44.5
Skilled and semi-skilled Manual	30.3	28.5
Unskilled Manual	4.8	5.2
Unknown	10.4	16.4
Total	100	100

Sources: Economic and Social Research Institute's (2006), Survey of New Entrants to Higher Education in 2004, P. 51.

This data is not much different from that presented by O'Connell and Fitzpatrick (2005:55-56) who report that children whose parents are in professional, managerial, technical, and non-manual skilled occupations continue to gain entrance in Irish universities at higher rates than their share in the general population. For example, while professional workers accounted for almost 9 percent of the total population (Population Census, 2002), their share of university places was over 14 percent in 2003. By comparison, unskilled workers whose percentage share of the population was almost 5 percent, only managed to get less than 3 percent of university places (O'Connell and Fitzpatrick, 2005:55-56). Even when the gaps in access to university education are not alarmingly wide, it is still clear that university education in Ireland is an elitist venture given that children from upper and middle class families are getting more university places than their share of the population. However, though an elitist venture, it is clear that higher education in Ireland is not as elitist as the Ugandan one, which we saw above in section 6.1.5 of this chapter.

1.3.5 University Education Funding in Ireland

In Ireland, recurrent state funding for universities is allocated through a block grant mechanism which is made up of two main elements. The first element is the grant which is determined on the basis of a formula-based unit cost allocation system, and a grant in

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lieu of fees (based on student enrolments) which dates from the abolition of undergraduate fees in 1996. Secondly, a small proportion of recurrent funding for the universities is distributed through a strategic initiatives funding scheme (Thornhill 2002), whereby universities are given money to cater for students' educational needs. In some cases, students get extra funding for their living expenses from their respective Local Authorities, depending on their parental yearly incomes. Funding for living expenses is means-tested, and is not automatic for everyone as is funding for tuition fees.

However, we need to note that the current economic crisis has led to significant funding cuts in non-capital grants for universities, and increased chances of a hike in students' service charges. According to Tánaiste Mary Coughlan, quoted by Niall Murray, Education Correspondent in the *Irish Examiner of Thursday, May 06, 2010*, university students in Ireland could face a further increase on the current €1,500 service charge in the academic year 2011/2012. The maximum charge colleges can impose rose last year from €900 to €1,500. Such an increase, if it were to happen, would see university students in Ireland pay over Euros 1500 in service fees, something that would probably exert some financial pressure on these students.

1.3.6 Historical Information on Limerick City, and the University of Limerick

The University of Limerick is located in Limerick City in the Mid-Western part of the Republic of Ireland. Limerick City, the third largest in the country after Dublin and Cork, has a population of over 52,539 inhabitants, plus another 34,197 living in the suburbs. It is also the regional capital of the Mid-Western region, which embraces the city of Limerick and the counties of Limerick, Clare, and Tipperary. The city hosts the regional headquarters of the Army, the Garda (Police), Electricity Supply Board, Revenue Commissioners (income tax), Irish Rail, the District and Circuit courts, Land Registry, and the General Post Office. Limerick City has many streets, business centres, and accommodation facilities (Limerick City Council, 2009).

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The University of Limerick, in Irish, *Ollscoil Luimnigh*, was established in 1972 as the National Institute for Higher Education, Limerick. It later became a university by statute in 1989. The university was the first to be established since the foundation of the state in 1922, followed later in the same day by the establishment of Dublin City University. However, Ireland already had Trinity College, and University Colleges Dublin, Galway, Maynooth, and Cork. The University of Limerick is located 5 kms from the city centre on the Limerick-Dublin road in the National Technological Park at Castletroy. It has two campuses, the North and South bank campuses which are separated by the River Shannon (U.L Prospectus, 2008-2009).

The University has four colleges, namely:

- College of Science and Engineering
- College of Education and health sciences
- College of Arts , Humanities and Social Sciences
- Kemmy Business School

The University of Limerick offers over 80 undergraduate programmes, and over 90 taught post-graduate programmes on both full-time and part-time basis (U.L Prospectus, 2008-2009).

1.3.7 Library and Information Services

The University of Limerick Library has over 350,000 volumes, subscription to over 1,300 journals and periodicals, and 100,000 e-books. The library has a seating capacity of nearly 1,500 people (UL Library Records, 2008). The University of Limerick has more than 1,200 computers for student use and some departmental computer laboratories. In addition to these, each one of an estimated 800 post-graduate research students has a reading desk, and a desktop fully connected to the internet (U.L Prospectus, 2008-2009). The Information Technology Department (ITD) is responsible for computer provision, maintenance and up-grade. It also manages student printing and photocopying services.

1.3.8 Student Population and Accommodation

The University of Limerick has 13,000 students of which 2000 are post-graduates. Of these, only 2256 are accommodated in the five student villages of the university which are run by Campus Life Services. In these villages, each student is accommodated in a self-contained room, with shared kitchen and living room. The rest of the students stay off-campus (UL Campus Life Services Records, 2008).

1.3.9 Tuition Fees

The University of Limerick, like all Universities in Ireland, has a free fees scheme. In this scheme, students are exempt from paying tuition fees although they may pay registration, examination, and student centre levy charges (U.L Prospectus, 2008-2009).

1.3.10. Physical Infrastructure of the University of Limerick

Unlike Mbarara University, the University of Limerick has numerous well-built and spacious buildings which are furnished to modern standards with lifts and up-to-date furniture (refer to Appendix 7 for pictures of some of the University of Limerick buildings).

which the respective samples for this study were drawn. The chapter then reviewed the aims of the research, the research methodology, study's findings and the research hypothesis before summarising the contents of each chapter in the thesis.

1.4.1 Biases and Assumptions before the Study

This chapter has so far explored the similarities and differences in higher education sector performance, national development, economic, and socio-cultural sectors in Ireland and Uganda. Other than these, my experiences of teaching, and living in both Ireland and Uganda have also been clearly spelt out. In light of these differences and similarities, I had some biases and assumptions before the study, which are worth pointing out.

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The first of these was that there existed higher levels of gender equality in Ireland than in Uganda. In fact my first impression when I first came to Ireland, which Impression I stayed with till the beginning of the study was that women in Ireland were already liberated from gender inequalities, and oppressions. Specifically, many of them held public offices and other paid jobs as bus drivers, lecturers, medical doctors and others. Because of this, I assumed no gender inequalities existed in Ireland with regards to career choice. In short, my assumption was that development led to gender equality, and in so doing liberated women from discriminatory gender traditions, beliefs and stereotypes.

In relation to the above, I also assumed that because the Irish women lived in a developed country where gender equality was expected, their experiences of career choice and higher education, as well as their perceptions of the role of higher education in their lives, were largely different from those of their Ugandan counterparts. In particular, I assumed the gender divide in career goals as well as in the factors which influenced these career goals would be non-existent in Ireland while it would be prominent in Uganda. Also, while I was aware there were some shared cultural values brought about by the global media, I could not bring myself to believe that the globalised Western media had a significant impact on women's experiences of higher education in Uganda.

Finally, it was assumed that development enabled more comfortable lifestyles for women and that therefore, women who lived in Ireland had completely different lifestyles than their counterparts in Uganda. In fact my conviction was that Ugandan women were poor because they came from a poor country and that they were more oppressed than their counterparts in Ireland.

1.5.1 Thesis Title and Research Aims

The title for this thesis is: *Women's Experiences of Higher Education and Career Choice in Ireland and Uganda: Does National Development and Globalisation Contribute?* This thesis compares the factors which influenced female university

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students' career-related educational choices, and the university life experiences, of two samples of female students, one from the University of Limerick in Ireland, the other from Mbarara University in Uganda, as impacted upon by both national development and a globalisation. It also explores these women's perceptions of the role of higher education in their lives. This was a comparative case study, so its findings may not be conclusive to all universities in either Uganda or Ireland.

My reading and writing of the literature on development, globalisation and gender equality, gender and career choice, and the role of education in women's lives in both Ireland and Uganda, as presented in chapters 2, 3, and 4 of this thesis respectively showed some gaps in this literature. In particular, chapter 2 identified that the question of whether development leads to cultural change or not is more complex than it appears. If development is associated with a change in culture, this may lead to improvement in women's lives towards equality with men. Nonetheless, seeing this requires a sympathetic but critical review of the status of women in both the traditional and the globalised Western cultures. Since development and globalisation seem more likely to lead to hybrid cultures, we needed to know what sort of hybrid culture develops and what is the status of women in this culture? This question required an exploration of elite women's lives and culture in Uganda. On the other hand, chapter 3 identified factors that needed to be explored in order to understand women's career-related educational choices, namely: socio-cultural (stereotypes, traditions and beliefs), policy factors (such as availability of resources and recruitment policies), economic factors (such as fees availability, structure of the labour force), and individual-related factors (such as individual competences, intelligence, socio-economic background, interests and career aspirations) among others. The chapter also highlighted that no data exists on this area in Uganda. This issue needed to be addressed through research. Finally, chapter 4 showed that education can be empowering for women but can also feed into a process through which the elites reproduce themselves. As such, it appears that it will rarely be liberating given that it does not often appear to challenge structural social inequalities. Save for the few broad correlational studies on health and childbearing, as well as, on higher educational attainment, earnings, and HIV prevention, there was no data on the

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role education plays in elite women's lives. This is another area that this research needed to address.

The major aim of this study was to investigate the factors that influenced female university students' career-related educational choices, and their university life experiences, in a situation where distinctiveness in state of national development and globalised Western cultural Values met. It also aimed at finding out these women's perceptions of the role of higher education in their lives. These objectives emerged from the gaps in the literature as identified above, so achieving them would help fill these gaps.

1.5.2 Statement of the Research Methodology and Nature of Sample

The sample for this study composed of 400 female students; 200 from Mbarara University in Uganda, and 200 from the University of Limerick in Ireland. These respondents were selected using a stratified random sampling technique. Other than these, a total of 72 respondents; 36 from each university participated in focus groups interviews for this study. These were recruited using snowball sampling technique.

This research triangulated both qualitative and quantitative research methods particularly the survey questionnaire and focus groups interviews, to collect the required data. This data was collected in two phases. In the first phase, a survey questionnaire was administered to Mbarara University respondents in Uganda between August and October, 2007, and in the University of Limerick in Ireland between October and December, 2007. In phase two, focus groups interviews were conducted in the University of Limerick between March and April, 2008, and in Mbarara University between June and July, 2008.

1.5.3 Summary of Key Findings

This section highlights a number of findings from this research. While it is not necessary to list all of them here, I certainly need to point out those which are most significant to the aims of this study. In relation to the factors which influenced

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respondents' career-related educational choices, the findings of this study show that a combination of factors influenced these choices. The factors were: socio-cultural, economic, individual-related and policy ones. In relation to socio-cultural factors, this study has underlined the role of gender stereotypes, traditions and beliefs in influencing the career-related educational choices of women. For example, the majority of respondents in both universities aspired for careers in the traditionally female occupations of social work, education, and nursing. Their choice of career goals and course choices in these areas was largely influenced by the gender stereotype that women are better carers and nurturers than men, and the concept of the sexual division of labour. That is why these women mainly aspired to careers in social work and teaching, which they believed were naturally suited to them as women, and also flexible. The flexibility of these jobs was essential if women were to fully attend to their nurturing and caring roles in the home despite their up-take of paid work outside the home. The concept of the sexual division of labour as explained by Walby (1990) which allocates reproductive roles in the home to women, and paid jobs outside the home to men, was therefore found to significantly influence women's career goals in this study. The influence of this concept has been found to be so strong that even when the majority of respondents in both universities wanted to take-up paid employment, this was often in occupational areas that are extensions of their reproductive roles in the home as Baxter (2002) and Irving (2008) have argued in Chapter 9 of this thesis.

This study also found out that economic factors such as availability of tuition fees, job market conditions, and expected pay, also significantly influenced respondents' career-related educational choices. For example, in both universities, the majority of respondents' course choices were influenced by the desire to acquire knowledge and skills for their future careers, the possibilities that the respective courses opened for future jobs, and the desire for well-paying jobs after school. With regards to individual-related factors, it was noted that circumstances peculiar to the individuals such as their socio-economic backgrounds significantly influenced career and course choices for these individuals. Finally, this study has also found out that policy factors such as timetabling practices, cut-off marks, admission schemes, and tuition fees policies also significantly

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influenced the career-related educational choices of respondents in this study. For example, the majority of respondents who missed their first course choices in both universities did so because they failed to get the required cut-off points or grades for the courses, which is a policy factor. Also, and particularly in Uganda, some respondents failed to do their first choice courses because they could not afford to pay for them on the private sponsorship scheme. All these factors influenced the career-related educational choices of respondents in the two samples, irrespective of the distinctiveness in state of national development between the countries from which the respective samples were drawn.

Other than these, this study highlighted the role of parental level of education, in both Ireland and Uganda, on the career and course decisions that respondents made. In both university samples, highly educated parents exerted significant influence on respondents' course choices and their educational experiences by giving better educational-related advice to their children, more financial support, and being good role models for their children, than the less-educated or non-educated parents. All these mean that higher education was perceived by respondents to be a mechanism through which elites reproduce their own privileged positions in society, and by implication the disadvantage of the non-elites. While this issue has been well documented in Western societies by among others, Lynch and Lodge (2002), Boudieu and Passeron (1977; 1990), Moore (2004), and Sullivan (2001), this research explores the ways in which a similar dynamic operates in Uganda.

However, while the factors that influenced respondents' career-related educational choices were largely similar, a few others were idiosyncratic to the respective samples. For example, the „son preference“ and the “women never climb” traditions, funding constraints, the potential negative impact of long duration courses such as engineering and medicine on appropriate marriage age, were unique influences on Mbarara University respondents. On the other hand, gender-biased timetabling practices in second level schooling only influenced the career-related educational choices of the University of Limerick respondents. Other than these, distinctive educational policies

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such as the tuition-free policy in Ireland compared with free-tuition for just 4000 applicants (who are often less than 7 percent of university applicants each year) in Uganda, all exerted differential impacts upon the course choices of respondents in the two samples.

In relation to the factors which influenced respondents' university life experiences, this study found that respondents from both universities were largely elites who led mainly Western lifestyles, although Mbarara University respondents who were more elitist than their University of Limerick counterparts, struggled to pay their tuition fees. Being largely socio-economic elites, respondents in the two samples led similar lifestyles. They lived in similar houses, accessed similar Western media such as television programmes, radio, magazines, and the internet, and shared cultural values related to dress, music, and relationships. However despite these similarities, Mbarara University respondents still adhered to some local traditional values such as long dresses and skirts, local music, and values of privacy in love affairs among others. Consequently Mbarara University respondents led a hybrid lifestyle, which though primarily Western was also distinctively local in many aspects.

This study also highlighted the significant role of family structures in shaping respondents' funding, accommodation, and pocket money experiences. Specifically, contrary to feminist understandings of the family as an oppressive institution, the extended family network in Uganda, and its associated values of communalism/togetherness and inter-dependency as pointed out by Myers (1992) in Chapter 7 of this thesis, significantly influenced accommodation, funding, and role model experiences of Mbarara University respondents in very positive ways. For example, Mbarara University respondents got free term accommodation, tuition fees, and even pocket money from relatives, the majority of whom were also their role models. On the other hand, the nuclear family and its associated values of individuality, independence, and self-sufficiency, as well as institutions such as the government, schools, and economic structures had a significant influence on the funding, accommodation, and role-model experiences of the University of Limerick respondents.

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However, the study also noted that values of individualism, self-sufficiency, and independence often associated with nuclear families, also pointed out by Myers (1992 in chapter 7 of this thesis) were slowly taking root among the Mbarara University sample indicating the infiltration of Western family values among Ugandan elites, although their penetration was not very significant.

This study also pointed out the role of educational funding in shaping the university life experiences of respondents besides their career-related educational choices as earlier noted. It documented evidence of limited government funding of higher education in Uganda, and its negative impact on the career-related educational choices and the university life experiences of Mbarara University respondents. More specifically, it was noted that 80 percent of Mbarara University respondents did not have government scholarships, and the majority of these did not pay their fees promptly. With the burden of respondents' education on their parents, a significant number of them did not pay their fees promptly, and this led to their exclusion from lectures, course assignments, tests, examinations, the library, computer laboratories until all tuition was paid. Consequently, respondents performed poorly in their end of semester examinations. By comparison, the University of Limerick respondents were largely exempt from tuition fees, so did not have to undergo all these impediments.

With regards to the role of higher education in women's lives, the findings of this study were consistent with those of other scholars such as Bourdieu and Passeron (1990:59-60), Sullivan (2001), and Lynch and Lodge (2002) who found that education is largely a mechanism for reproducing socio-economic inequalities. For example, this study has shown that in both university samples, highly educated parents positively influenced respondents' course choices, and their educational experiences by giving better educational advice to their children, more financial support, and being better role models than the less-educated parents or those with no education. All these show that higher education can be a mechanism for reproducing socio-economic inequalities in society. However, while this is the case, education also empowers women economically, politically and socially. For example, higher education has been found to empower

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women by enabling them to work and earn income, as well as resist discriminatory traditional practices such as that of the „son-preference“ in Uganda. Despite this however, this study has also shown that, higher educational attainment does not often liberate women, given that it does not challenge structural bases of oppression and inequality. So development as epitomised by educational attainment sometimes leads to greater equality for women, while at times it does not. This thesis has also shown that while it is largely a mechanism for reproducing socio-economic inequalities, higher education is also a mechanism for up-ward social mobility.

The differences and similarities in the factors which influenced both the career-related educational choices of respondents and their university life experiences between the samples, show that in a situation where distinctiveness in state of national development, and a global homogeneous culture meet, a diversity of factors influence female university students' career-related educational choices as well as their university life experiences.

1.6.1 Revisiting the Biases and Assumptions I had before the Study

In section 1.4.1 of this chapter, I indicated the biases and assumptions that I had when I started this study. In this section I revisit these biases and assumptions to see how far they have changed after the study. In the first place, I assumed that the more developed a country was, the higher the levels of gender equality and vice versa. As I noted in section 1.4.1 of this chapter, I assumed that women in Ireland were already liberated from gender inequalities, and oppression, given that many of them held public offices and other paid jobs as bus drivers, lecturers in universities, medical doctors, and teachers compared with their Ugandan counterparts many of whom did not. This assumption blinded me to the possible existence of gender inequalities in career choice. In short, I assumed that development liberated women from discriminatory gender traditions, beliefs and stereotypes, and in so doing led to gender equality. However, the findings of this research indicate that sometimes development results in greater equality for women, some times it does not. Specifically, this study has found that while development as epitomised by higher educational attainment, and paid employment, empowers women,

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it falls short of liberating them. For example, it can precipitate greater equality for women as seen in the non-discriminatory attitudes of educated parents with regards to sending their children to school irrespective of gender, as well as in women taking up employment outside the home like men, despite the drawbacks to this pointed out in Chapter 8 of this thesis. However, in most patriarchal societies, development does not bring about gender equality. Indeed this showed that discriminatory gender stereotypes and beliefs continued to influence women's career and course choices in Ireland, her high level of development notwithstanding. We also saw that gender discriminatory policy practices, such as biased curricular and timetabling practices continued to negatively influence women's career-related choices as pointed out by respondents in the University of Limerick in this study. So, why is it that gender discrimination continues to defy development? Charles and Bradley (2009), as well as Shelley (2009) provide a very convincing answer to this question. They argue that gender bias in education exists even in developed countries because all patriarchal societies operate in what Shelley (2009) calls a gender frame, which shapes cultural and other developments in affluent societies (Charles and Bradley 2009; Charles and Grusky 2004). The concept of the gender frame means that societies operate in pre-determined arrangements of gender relations, and for patriarchal societies like Ireland, and Uganda, such arrangements are determined by male chauvinism. The gender frame also ensures that social relations in male-dominated societies are designed to fit a pre-determined patriarchal social model which is opposed to equality between men and women. In short, the concept of a gender reflects some form of a "universalised patriarchy". The concept of the gender frame can explain why some of the societies that have achieved the highest levels of material equality between men and women, such as the Scandinavian countries, still have some of the most sex-segregated occupational structures (Charles and Grusky, 2004), despite the existence of institutional, political, and economic processes that undermine gender inequality in these countries. To wrap it up, development sometimes leads to cultural change and greater freedoms for women, while at other times it does not.

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I also assumed that because the Irish women lived in a developed country where gender equality was expected, their experiences of career choice and higher education, as well as their perceptions of the role of higher education in their lives would be largely different from those of their Ugandan counterparts. In particular, I assumed the gender divide in career goals as well as in the factors which influenced these career goals would be less prominent in Ireland than in Uganda. After this study, I now realise that the career goals of respondents, their university life experiences and the factors which influenced these choices were not as widely different as I anticipated. For example, this study showed that a gender divide in career choices existed very much in Uganda as it did in Ireland. Also, while distinct to the samples in some cases, the factors which influenced women's career-related educational choices were largely socio-cultural, economic, policy, and individual-related. Their university life experiences such as pocket money and accommodation, as well as their perceptions of these were not as different as I had anticipated. The study also shows that respondents in both samples perceived the role of education in their lives in largely similar ways, that is to say, as reproducing social, economic, and political inequalities in society at worst, and empowering at best, although the Mbarara University respondents saw it as more liberating, in addition to its empowering functions. Also, while I was aware of some shared cultural values resulting from exposure to the same global media, as well as shared cultures of patriarchy, capitalism, and Christianity, between the samples, I could not bring myself to believe that in particular, the globalised Western media would have a significant impact on women's experiences of higher education in Uganda. However, the findings of this study show that the globalised Western media significantly influenced the lifestyles of respondents in Uganda, and led to a hybrid or glocal culture among Mbarara University respondents, contrary to my expectations.

Finally, at the beginning of this study, I assumed that development enabled more comfortable lifestyles for women so much so that women who lived in Ireland had completely different lifestyles from their counterparts in Uganda. In fact, my conviction was that women in Uganda were poor because they came from a poor country, while women in Ireland were rich because they lived in a rich country. However, the findings

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of this study show that this is not entirely true. Indeed, this study has shown an existence of some form of “global elite” and “global poor” groups. This is consistent with Jones’ (2000) argument presented in chapter 2 section 2.2.1 of this thesis, that there are very rich people in poor countries whose standard of living surpasses those of the majority in rich countries, just as there are very poor people in rich countries who live much more deprived lifestyles than the majority of people in developing countries. It is therefore important to remember that as Jones (2000) notes, high levels of economic development do not mean greater equality, and experiences of marginalisation in terms of poverty and disadvantage are not restricted to certain parts of the world.

1.7.1 Theoretical Implications of the Study

In this thesis, a number of theories were used to explain both the literature and data collected for this study. These were: the model of career choice and Bourdieu’s (1993) concept of habitus and field, the theory of family types, social class stratification theory, the theory of reproduction in education, the liberational theory of education, and the theory of glocalisation or hybridity. The findings of this study largely agree with the conclusions made by these theories. However, there are cases where the findings were inconsistent with some of the claims made by the theories. For example, the findings of this study largely vindicated claims made by the model of career choice presented in chapter 3 section 3.4.1, and later used to analyse data on women’s experiences of career choice in chapter 8 of this thesis. However, while this was the case, this study also indicated that this model tends to underestimate the impact of other factors such as economic factors on women’s career related educational choices, while at the same time exaggerating the role of socio-cultural factors.

Results from this study also fully supported the claims made by the social class stratification theory which was used to analyse data on the relationship between respondents’ socio-economic backgrounds and their university life experiences, in Chapter 7 of this thesis. Additionally, this study has also found that the theory of reproduction in education is a very useful tool in understanding the impact of social class on children’s educational experiences and outcomes. However, while largely

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vindicated by this study, some of the data presented in this study disagreed with the claims made by this theory, especially by showing that contrary to the purely reproduction claims made by this theory, some children from lower social classes can, because of intervening factors such as state funding, and extended family support, acquire education, secure well paying jobs, and move from lower to higher social classes.

Also, to understand the role of education in women's lives, this study used the theory of liberation or empowerment. The findings of this study largely depart from this perspective in that education has not been found to be liberating whether in Ireland or in Uganda, especially given a shared patriarchal culture between the two societies. However, all is not lost, as this study found cases where education led to accidental liberation. For example, highly educated parents in Uganda shunned the „son preference“ tradition because they were economically empowered to finance the education of their children irrespective of gender. Also, this study has found that higher education empowers women economically, politically, and socially, although it does not often appear to challenge bases of inequalities in society, thus failing to cause total liberation.

The findings of this study also largely confirm arguments made by the theory of family types which was used to analyse data on the relationship between respondents' family backgrounds and their university life experiences, in Chapter 6 of this thesis. Particularly, the study confirmed the roles of either family type in nurturing respective values in its members, and showed that these values shaped the life experiences of these members. However, the study noted that the claim to purity in family types is often a bit exaggerated in that families are not often purely nuclear or extended, but a bit of both depending on time and circumstances. For example, some extended families can become nuclear in cases of divorce when the divorced husband might go to live with his parents again, or they may become extended when relatives migrate for education or work and live with other relatives for a while. So families can shrink and expand depending on a number of socio-economic factors.

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Finally, it was noted that the findings of this study were largely consistent with the claims of the hybridisation or glocalisation theory which was used to explain cultural globalisation in chapter 2 section 2.3.3 of this thesis. However, the findings of this study indicated that while this was the case, the theory underlooks the role of the extended family in enhancing exposure to media gadgets such as television sets, radios, and computers through which the Western media transmit. As such, cultural globalisation does not only happen among elites as this theory suggests, but also among non-elites who have wealthy extended family relatives.

1.8.1 The Study's Contribution to Knowledge

This study has contributed to knowledge by developing a model of career choice which can be applied across different developmental contexts, and by applying this model to Ireland and Uganda. In the case of Uganda, this study provides data on the career-related educational choices and life experiences of women in higher education which is entirely new. This study also provides data on factors that influence female university students' career-related educational choices in Ireland, from the students' own perspective.

1.9.1 Summary of Recommendations

In light of the major findings of the study a number of recommendations were made. Some of these related to data from Mbarara University, while some related to data from both Mbarara University and the University of Limerick. Those related to Mbarara University included, an improvement in higher education funding given that limited funding was found to significantly impact the career-related educational choices as well as the university life experiences of respondents such as pocket money, accommodation and tuition fees payment. Also, this study indicated that the "son preference" tradition was often used to discriminate against daughters in cases where the parents were faced with insufficient funds to pay for the education of both sons and daughters. So, it is highly likely that sufficient funding for all students could mitigate this practice, although it may not completely uproot it. Specifically, some of the funding strategies which this study proposed include: the introduction of a means tested funding

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mechanism where scholarships are awarded based on examination grades but also economic need of the applicants. The other proposed intervention is the giving of student loans to the students from poor socio-economic backgrounds to be repaid later when they graduate and secure employment. This study recommended that the current government scholarships policy be revamped and a re-distributive approach adopted. To achieve this, the study proposed a prioritisation of certain areas within the operations of universities so as to save the money spent on non-priority areas. For example, government sponsored students who are often given free accommodation and meals could be asked to meet these costs by themselves. The money saved could then be used to provide tuition fees for more students and in so doing increase the numbers of students who study tuition-free to more than the current 4,000.

With regards to both Mbarara University and the University of Limerick, this study recommended a restructuring of education systems in both countries to make education liberating to women contrary to what it is doing now in the two countries. Interventions suggested include: providing gender neutral curricular and adopting gender sensitive timetabling practices, tackling gender stereotypes in both school curricular and pedagogy, adopting more democratic and just teaching methods, adopting community outreach programmes to educate people about issues of gender in education, and mainstreaming gender in all education programmes and involving women in curricular design, education policy formulation, teaching and evaluation of outcomes from these interventions. Other than tackling gender stereotypes, the study recommended measures aimed at changing the teaching and learning of science to deconstruct the notion that it is hard. This study found that the number of women doing sciences was very low and that some respondents felt it was too difficult for women. Consequently, the study identified a number of strategies which need to be employed, in order to increase the number of women in science classrooms and careers. These include: emphasising the feminine aspects of science in women science classrooms, giving awards to female students who enrol in engineering courses at university in order to encourage secondary school students to take and pass subjects that form the basis of science and engineering courses at university, as well as building and fully equipping science laboratories to facilitate the

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teaching and learning of science at secondary school level, particularly in Uganda. Also measures, such as deconstructing the notion that careers in sciences and technology, for example, are better than those in social sciences and humanities, and using role models to encourage women to attend and stay in school, besides deconstructing occupational stereotypes, were identified as worth attempting.

1.10.1 Emerging Issues and Suggestions for Future Research

During this study certain issues which can be useful for future research emerged. These were: that females formed the majority of students in Irish universities compared to males in Uganda; that in both countries males dominated engineering, information technology, and other technological subjects, but that in Ireland, unlike in Uganda, females dominated science and medicine. In light of these patterns, the study suggested that research be carried out to fully understand men's experiences of career choice and higher education in Ireland.

The second issue which emerged from this study was that of possibilities of education. This study found that higher education empowered women but rarely liberated them, given that it did not often appear to challenge bases of social, economic, and political inequalities in society. It was also recommended that a more liberational form of education be implemented if education was to be more liberating to women than it does at present, be it in Ireland or in Uganda. However, it was noted that existing theory on what a liberational form of education should entail, was insufficient, and also reflected radical feminism. The study then suggested that further research about a liberating form of education for women, be carried out. Particularly, the study showed a need to explore liberational education in terms of its aims, content, and pedagogy, to ensure that such an education did not oppress men or endanger equality in society but aimed at achieving equality of all forms, and social justice.

Finally, this study underlined the role of the globalised Western media in changing the cultures of elites in developing countries. However, this study did not examine the influence of Ugandan media on the lifestyles of Irish students. So while it is highly

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unlikely that female students in Irish universities would be significantly exposed to the Ugandan media, or media of any other developing country, especially from Africa, if any, it is possible that they would be exposed to some other foreign media. Given the significant exposure of the Irish students to an American media, and their interactions with the various women from other countries who reside in Ireland, this study highlighted the need for research on the ways in which foreign media can impact upon the lifestyles of female university students in Ireland.

1.11.1 The Structure of the Thesis

This thesis has nine chapters and each one of these deals with a unique issue of its own as indicated below:

Chapter One: This is an introductory chapter to the thesis. It introduces the researcher, explores the context of the research, reviews the thesis title, its focus, the nature of the sample, as well as, the methodology of the study. The chapter also summarises the research findings, the thesis's contribution to knowledge, and explains the structure of the thesis.

Chapter Two: This chapter explores literature on the two phenomena expected to shape those factors that influenced female university students' career-related educational choices, and their university life experiences. It explores the various conventional approaches to understanding development, which have emerged since the end of the Second World War, namely Modernisation/pro-capitalist approaches such as Basic Needs, those that are opposed to capitalism such as Dependency theory, Gender and Development perspectives, and the anti-modernist approaches such as Post-development theory. As well as these, the chapter also explores globalisation and the possible impact of a globalised Western media on the cultures of elites in developing countries such as Uganda. Finally this chapter compares development-related data between Ireland and Uganda.

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Chapter Three: This chapter explains the gendered nature of the career-related educational choices that both Irish and Ugandan women make. Once this is done, the chapter examines a number of career development theories namely: essentialist, social construction and individual differences, to explain factors that influence female university students' career-related educational choices, with particular reference to Ireland and Uganda, where possible. This chapter identifies gaps in these theories which need to be addressed by research. The chapter largely adopts concept of the "habitus and the field" (Bourdieu,1993) to develop a new model of career choice which is hoped to fill the gaps left by each of the three theories of career choice on its own.

Chapter Four: This chapter explores literature on the role of higher education in women's lives. Using both the conformity and liberating perspectives, the chapter explains the various roles of higher education in women's lives. In relation to the conformity perspective, this chapter shows that education is a mechanism through which dominant economic, political, and social gender inequalities perpetuated by patriarchy and capitalism are reproduced. On the other hand the liberational perspective shows that higher education empowers women economically, politically and socially although it is rarely liberating given that it does not often challenge structural bases of women's oppression. The chapter also identifies gaps in the literature on the role of higher education in women's lives, particularly in Ireland and Uganda.

Chapter Five: This chapter presents and explains the rationale for the study, states the aims of the study, and explores theoretical methodological perspectives in social research namely: Positivism, Phenomenology and Feminism. It also explores the specific methods of data collection used in this study namely: survey questionnaire, case study, and focus groups interviews. The chapter also explores mixed-methods research strategy, which was used in this study, and deals with other research design issues such as ethical considerations, developing research instruments, sampling, data collection, coding, presentation, and analysis.

Chapter Six: The chapter uses the family structure analytical framework to present and analyse both quantitative and qualitative data on respondents' respective family

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structures and how these impact upon their university life experiences. Specifically, the chapter points out that the extended family network in Uganda, often associated with lack of development, significantly influences the funding, accommodation, and role model experiences of Mbarara University respondents, compared with their University of Limerick counterparts whose experiences are significantly influenced by the nuclear family often associated with modernisation (see Willis, 2005 and Aboderin, 2004 in chapter 2, section 2.2.5 for a detailed explanation of this relationship).

Chapter Seven: Using social stratification as an analytical framework, this chapter presents and analyses both quantitative and qualitative data on the social class of respondents' parents as measured by their occupations and educational attainment, and how this impacts upon respondents' tuition fees, accommodation, and pocket money experiences. This chapter points out that parental socio-economic status is a key factor in Mbarara University respondents' access to a globalised Western media and the consequent adoption of largely Western lifestyles, which are similar to those of their University of Limerick counterparts. Chapter 8 also notes that other than up-rooting the local Ugandan culture, media globalisation has enabled the emergence of a hybrid culture in Uganda, which though primarily Western, is still significantly local in many aspects.

Chapter Eight: Using the model of career choice developed for this thesis which is largely based on Bourdieu's (1977, 1998) concept of the "habitus and field" as an analytical framework, this chapter presents and analyses both quantitative and qualitative data on factors which influenced female students' career aspirations and course choices. The chapter notes that the career-related educational choices of respondents in both universities were mainly in the traditional areas such as social work, and education as supported by literature on course choices in both Ireland and Uganda presented in chapter 3 of this thesis (see MOES, 2008, Liang, 2004 for Uganda, and O'Connor, 2007 for Ireland). The chapter also shows that the factors which influenced these choices were largely socio-cultural, economic, policy, and individual related, although there was local distinctiveness in these factors between the samples.

Chapter Nine: This is the last chapter of the thesis. It reviews the objectives of the study, presents the conclusions of the study, and explains the various ways in which this study has contributed to existing knowledge on gender, career choice, development, and cultural globalisation.

1.12.1 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the thesis to the readers. The chapter started by presenting the personal experiences of the researcher which influenced his interest in researching women's education, careers and development. It then presented demographic educational-related data on the respective countries and the two universities from which the respective samples for this study were drawn. When this was done, the chapter proceeded to examine the biases and assumptions held by the researcher before the study, reviewed the aims of the research, the research methodology, study's findings and their implication for theory and other existing studies, and summarised the major recommendations made by this study. Finally this chapter revisited the researcher's position with regards to assumptions and biases held before the study, presented emerging issues and possibilities for future research, summarised each of the chapters in the thesis, and ended with concluding remarks.

CHAPTER TWO- Development and Globalisation Literature

2.0. APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT AND THE IMPACT OF MEDIA GLOBALISATION ON LOCAL CULTURES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

“Once the essential ingredient of the good life becomes material welfare...it becomes difficult for the materially under-developed to feel respected” (Goulet, 1995:43)

2.1.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews both development, and globalisation literature. With regards to the first, this chapter highlights the need for development to be understood holistically as reflected in cultural, economic, political, and social freedoms. The chapter also highlights some criticisms of different perspectives on development. These criticisms include the tendency of Modernisation approaches to assume a need for cultural shifts to Western mindsets, as well as to ensure greater integration of men and women into the global economy which may be exploitative. With regards to the Dependency theory, the criticisms include a failure to adequately account for the role of gender in development, and the weaknesses of the Marxist development models it offers. In view of these criticisms, the chapter has argued for a concept of development that emphasises local participation in setting goals, and a recognition of the roles played by both men and women in development processes.

Central to the development debates is the issue of culture. Does development mean greater levels of gender equality? The answer to this question is not straightforward. This chapter shows evidence of oppression of women in Ireland (a developed country) as well as in a developing one, Uganda. Like Mohanty (1991) has argued, this chapter suggests a need for a more sensitive, but critical appraisal of local cultures and their impact upon equality for women, and not a mis-recognition of non-Western cultures by Modernisation theorists who often look at these cultures from a Euro-centric point of view. This chapter argues that globalisation is associated with some degree of Westernisation which is likely to be most evident among elites and to give rise to hybrids and glocal cultures in developing countries, rather than purely Western cultures.

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This chapter concludes with a review of evidence from development sets on Uganda and Ireland.

2.2.0 Defining Development

The concept of development has been part and parcel of man's existence. Because of this, we often assume that we understand it. Yet development is a varied term which means different things to different people, so is difficult to understand. In the following section, this chapter explores the various approaches to defining and understanding development that have been documented, starting with the modernisation/economic growth approaches.

2.2.1 Modernisation Approaches to Development

Modernisation approaches equate development to economic growth and modernity. They argue that development should lead to increase in GDP which can then be used to "modernise" "backward" societies. Modernity in its broadest sense means the condition of "being modern, new or up-to-date" (Ogborn 1999:153). However, like development, the term "modernity" is also highly contested and may vary from time to time and from one geographical location to another. For example, what is perceived as "modern" today may be perceived as backward next year, and what is seen as "modern" in Europe may be seen as old-fashioned in Africa.

However, despite this contestation, the term modernity has been used more specifically to describe particular forms of economy and society based on the experiences of the Western world. Economically, socially, and culturally, the term modernity encompasses industrialisation, urbanisation and the increased use of technology in all sectors of the economy (Willis, 2005). This means that modernity destroys traditional ways of life wherever it establishes itself. It is no wonder then that any reference to the earlier "enlightenment" period in Western Europe in the early seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, involved the growing importance of rational and scientific approaches to understanding the world and progress, contrary to the previous traditional understandings that were rooted in religious explanations (Power, 2003:72-76). The

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concept of modernity as the growing importance of rational and scientific approaches to understanding the world and progress is taken by some people to mean “development” and “progress” (Willis, 2005:3). Modernisation theorists argue that modernity as described here can be achieved by increased economic growth.

Modernisation approaches equate development and economic growth to progress and civilisation as exists in industrialised countries of Europe and America. Therefore, for Modernisation theorists, development was assumed to be an imitative process in which the less developed countries gradually assumed the qualities of the industrialised or developed nations including cultural qualities (Willis, 2005; Rostow, 1960). More specifically, development was seen essentially as increasing gross levels of savings and investment until the economy reached a take-off stage into self-sustaining development (Rostow, 1960), underpinned by cultural change to support modernist ventures such as industrialisation, urbanisation, entrepreneurship, and bureaucratic organisations. It is little wonder therefore that increased economic growth has been central to the strategies of global development agencies such as the World Bank over the years. However, since the 1990s the World Bank has realised that increased economic growth alone is useless if the income which accrues from it is not used to better the lives of the people concerned. Hence the World Bank has since then emphasised not just economic growth but also the extent to which GDP figures are used to improve human conditions. This shift is for example, evident in the World Development Report (1991:4), which states:

The challenge of development...is to improve the quality of life especially in the world's poor countries. A better quality of life generally calls for higher incomes-but it involves much more. It encompasses as ends in themselves, better education, higher standards of health and nutrition, less poverty, a cleaner environment, more equality of opportunity, greater individual freedom, and a richer cultural life.

What this quotation says is that while other indicators of development like education, health and nutrition, cleaner environments, and freedom are paramount, these are just ends, while economic growth is a means to achieving these development goals. The goals as stated here allude to human development which is championed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). According to the UNDP, human

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development is the ultimate and paramount goal of development. The Human Development Report (1992:2) clearly explains this:

Human development ...covers all human choices in all societies at all stages of development. It broadens the development dialogue from a discussion of mere means (GDP growth) to a discussion of the ultimate ends....The concept of human development does not start with any pre-determined model. It draws its inspiration from the long-term goals of society. It weaves development around people, not people around development.

This means that human development can only be attained when individuals are enabled to achieve their human potential and freedom of choice. Other inherent dimensions of human development emphasised in the various UNDP reports are education, political freedom (UNDP, 2003), cultural liberty (UNDP, 2004), personal security, the possibility of living in a clean environment, as well as equality of chances regardless of gender, nation, race, religion, and social inclusion (UNDP, 2006). These views are similar to those of other writers, particularly Boozer *et al.* (2003) who see development as a process which should lead to freedom, build human capabilities, and enlarge people's choices so that the people lead longer, healthier and fuller lives. Therefore, ideally, development should bring about all forms of freedom including gender equality. This means that women in more developed societies should be expected to enjoy higher levels of equality with men compared with those from developing societies. Remenyi (2004) agrees with Boozer *et al.* (2003) but adds on self-reliance, contentment, and self-sufficiency as goals of development. Remenyi (2004:24-25) defines development as:

...a process of growth towards self-reliance and contentment. It is a process by which individuals, groups and communities obtain the means to be responsible for their own livelihoods, welfare, and future.

This means that sound development should be long-term and sustainable.

Understanding development from the economic growth/modernisation perspective may have contributed to world development in many ways including industrialisation, urbanisation, improved education, improved health, and a range of other things (Willis, 2005). However, despite these contributions, Modernisation approaches to development have been criticised on a number of grounds.

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In the first place, Modernisation approaches to development have been dominated by models derived from experiences of Western economic history (Willis, 2005). Therefore, the ways of living of people in the West have not only been portrayed as modern but also suitable for all people. This is limiting given that people's development needs and goals differ from one society to another hence the need to contextualise development interventions. For example it would be inappropriate to build flats for the Masai pastoralists in Kenya because people in Europe live in flats. Yet it would be appropriate to construct dams for the Masai to enable them harvest water for their cattle around which their livelihoods revolve. So while settled people in Ireland might need permanent houses, the Masai in Kenya or the Bahima pastoralist in Uganda might prefer dams to permanent houses. Therefore, the concept of modernity and development based purely on the experiences of the Western world can lead to development programmes which are irrelevant to the development agenda of groups of people in developing countries. It is also a definite attempt to globalise the Western way of life and in so doing create homogeneous societies around the world, something that ignores the diversity of peoples' cultures and developmental needs globally. It is this same situation that Soyinka (1962:52), a Nigerian playwright refers to in his play *The Lion and the Jewel*, when, through his character Baroka the village chief, he says: "I am not against progress, only its nature which makes faces and roofs look the same".

Other scholars, among them Burkey (1993), McIlwaine (2002) and White (2002) have criticised the World Bank's Modernisation-based approach to development. Particularly, these scholars have criticised the bank's categorisation of "poor" and "rich" countries. They argue that this categorisation assumes that there are no "poor" people in rich countries, yet there are poor people in both rich and poor countries, and both these groups need to be rescued from poverty not just "the poor of the poor countries" as is often assumed. It is also true that there are very rich people in poor countries whose standard of living surpasses those of the majority in rich countries and vice versa. It is therefore important to note that high levels of economic development do not mean greater equality, and experiences of marginalisation in terms of poverty and disadvantage are not restricted to certain parts of the world (Jones, 2000). Eggertson

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(2006) explains this assertion clearly using two countries. He notes that while Canada collectively has lower levels of poverty when compared to the Philippines; there are pockets of communities within Canada, such as the Kasechewan First Nation Reserve, that can qualify as undeveloped and deprived for its failing water safety standards. These observations show that both poverty and wealth are global phenomena which are not simply restricted to specific parts of the world.

In light of the faulty assumptions on which Modernisation approaches to development are based, these approaches have failed to bring the majority of the poor out of poverty as they claim. In particular, Modernisation approaches have failed to bring about equitable income distribution in countries where economic growth has occurred. For example, while Brazil's GDP increased in the 1980s, by 1989 Brazil's poorest 40 percent of the population received only 7 percent of total income, while the top 20 percent accounted for 67.5 percent, with the richest 10 percent appropriating 51.3 percent of this total of 67.5 percent (World Bank, 1993:305; Willis, 2005). Goulet (1995:181) questions this kind of development which does not distribute wealth equitably thus: "What kind of development is this...which is good for an abstraction known as national economy but bad for the flesh-and-blood people that the economy is meant to serve?" In most cases wealth disparities widen with an increase in GDP because small gains in income for the already rich add absolute increments to their income far greater than those accruing even from high percentage increases for the poor (Goulet, 1995). This is well put by Burkey (1993:4) when he defines the inequalities in income distribution caused by economic growth in capitalist societies:

Per capita GNP figures are aggregate numbers... they are based on averages. But averages can be highly misleading. A fair number of very wealthy families in an otherwise very poor country will pull the average higher than observation might expect. The man with his head on an ice block and his feet in the fire can not exactly be said to be comfortable.

Other than escalating income inequalities, development strategies prescribing industrial growth and high technology have also sometimes failed to create jobs. This is mainly because the bulk of workers in the developing world are largely unskilled in industrial

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and technological tasks, their skills being those of subsistence food-growers and artisans. Policies aimed at mechanising agricultural production exacerbate the problem by displacing peasants from their land without providing them with new sources of productive work and income (Burkey, 1993).

Self-reliance is another area where Modernisation theories have failed at both national and local levels. In early days of development, poor countries depend heavily on foreign supplies of capital, technology, managerial skills, and markets. While their dependency on foreign capital sometimes reduces with time, their dependency on the rest remains (Goulet, 1977:38-39). Few developing countries have achieved self-sustained economic growth because dependency seems to be a necessary out-come of the structural relationship binding poor to rich nations (Goulet, 1995:183, Goulet, 2006a).

Other than failure by developing nations to achieve self-reliance, there is also a problem of cultural subordination of developing countries and the destruction of their cultures by foreign influences leading to the displacement of what we can call “local non-elite values” by “global elite values”. This is a clear pointer to cultural imperialism talked about by Giddens (2002) which is one of the effects of globalisation that I will fully explore latter in section 2.3.0 of this chapter.

We have now explored Modernisation theories of development. We now need to look at Basic Needs as one of those approaches to development which subscribe to Modernisation theory, and which is considered very relevant to development theorising given its emphasis on people's welfare. The following section serves this purpose.

2.2.2 The Basic Needs Theory of Development

This approach was mainly championed by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the World Bank to address persistent poverty which many years of economic development had failed to eliminate. Rooted in Modernisation theory, this approach aimed at lifting the poor in developing countries from poverty by providing them with their basic needs. Hunt (1986:265-66) presents basic human needs as classified by the International Labour conference (1976) as:

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- Basics of personal consumption including food, shelter, clothing
- Access to essential services such as clean water, sanitation, education, transport, healthcare
- Access to paid employment
- Qualitative needs including health and safe environment as well as ability to participate in decision-making.

The Basic Needs approach to development advocates for a focus on agricultural development and support for the urban informal sector, including greater research on labour intensive production appropriate for small scale production. It also advocates for an expansion of public services to meet the needs of the poor (Streeten, 1981; Ruth and Regan, 2002). This is so because at the time of its inception, it was believed that meeting the needs of the poor would help reduce poverty levels, improve education and skill levels of the population, and consequently contribute to greater economic growth (Ruth and Regan, 2002). It was also believed that once the poor got richer through having their basic needs met, they would be able to purchase more goods and services, which would further lead to increased demand for domestic firms (Hunt, 1986).

While this approach can be lauded for being the first to attend to the welfare of the poor by addressing their immediate needs, it has been criticised on a number of grounds. In the first instance, this approach was regarded by critics mainly as a brake to rapid economic growth hence trapping under-developed countries to primary production and low value-added manufacturing (Willis, 2005:95). By providing the poor with their basic needs, development agencies seemed to be admitting that the poor could not get themselves out of poverty in the current economic development frameworks. Scholars such as Regan and Ruth (2002) dispute the suggestion that one must start with basic needs, and then move on to higher needs. These scholars also question the way people's needs are identified, for example who decides who needs what? Alkire (2004) argues that needs should only be determined locally because they are related to a people's way of life and culture so could never be framed as a set of global goals. Reader (2004) also criticises the basic Needs approach for allowing aid agency experts to determine the

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development needs of recipient groups, thereby denying the recipient groups the right to determine their needs themselves. This was because proponents of the Basic Needs approach did not think that the recipient groups were competent enough to identify their real needs. This paternalism depends on the belief that being needy or subjected to other privations makes it harder for you to identify your needs correctly (Reader, 2004), a claim that has no basis at all. Consequently, as Reader (2004:4) points out, recipient groups with some sense of justice felt demeaned and patronised. Reader (2004:4) goes on to say that a life in which only the needs that were met were those judged by wealthier people to be worthy of meeting was a controlled and impoverished one. There too is an argument that the Basic Needs approach attempts to reduce human history to economics which in turn is reduced to the struggle against scarcity (Regan and Ruth, 2002). Other than these criticisms, Regan and Ruth (2002:38), as well as Willis (2005) have criticised the Basic Needs approach for suggesting that economic growth can bring about universal happiness, when we know it may not.

It is also worth noting that no single way has been agreed as to how basic needs should be met. For example, while some organisations such as the World Bank have emphasised the welfare approach in meeting the basic needs of the poor, scholars such as Streeten (1979; 1981) have advanced the self-reliance/ self-help mode of providing basic needs. Sen (1999) supports Streeten's (1979) view that the basic needs program which does not build on self-reliance of the poor countries and its people, is in danger of degenerating into a global charity program. He further warns that a country that is not committed to meeting the basic needs of its people is liable to transfer resources from the poor in the rich countries to the rich in the poor countries. Freire (1972) agrees that other than acting as instruments of manipulation and ultimately serving the purpose of dependence and domination, welfare programmes aimed at meeting a people's basic needs also distract the oppressed from understanding the true causes of their problems and finding concrete solutions to these problems. The argument advanced by Alkire (2004) earlier in this section, that there are other ways of meeting people's needs other than supplying them with goods, is consistent with that of Freire (1972) above.

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However, as early as the 1950's some theorists who generally subscribed to Modernisation theory, were uncomfortable with the various exploitive aspects of Modernisation theories. One of these was Dependency theory which came to prominence in the late 1960s. This theory opposed the exploitation of the poor countries by rich industrialised ones. The second strand of these theories came to prominence in the early 1970s and opposed capitalist exploitation of women. These approaches included; Women in Development, Women and Development, as well as Gender and Development. In this chapter I explore these two schools of thought beginning with the Dependency theory.

2.2.3 Dependency Theories of Development

Dependency Theory appeared in the 1950s in Latin America as a critical reaction to the conventional approaches to economic development that emerged in the aftermath of World War II (Dos Santos, 2002). However the theory came to prominence in the late 1960s and early 1970s mainly championed by Gunder Frank (1967) and other Latin American political economists. Dependency Theory sees development as a way in which rich industrialised countries cheat and exploit the poor ones. Therefore, Dependency theorists emphasise colonialism and economics but not cultural change, which can also result from Modernisation.

The key argument of Dependency Theory was that the core industrialised countries were experiencing growth and economic development through the exploitation of the non-industrialised peripheral countries (Gunder Frank, 1967; Willis, 2005). Gunder Frank (1967), one of its architects, argued that capitalism brought about a global system of dependency consisting of relationships of exploitation from the global scale to the individual level. For example, individual peasants were exploited by local land owners who did not pay them the full value of the commodities they produced even when these land owners sold their goods to urban merchants at far higher rates than what was given to the peasants. The chain of exchange and exploitation continued until the huge profits generated through these exchanges were taken out of the country to the core which is the industrialised countries. This created a situation of "dominant centres and dominated

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peripheries” which is still “inherent in the process of accumulation of capital operating on a global scale” (Amin, 2004:13). Amin (2005:1) goes on to say that in the run up to the 1970s, the “Third World had been constructed within the framework of capitalist development as the periphery of the newly arising centres of Europe’s Atlantic seaboard” (Amin 2005:1). What this means is that the centre of the global trade system is composed of the industrialised countries mainly in Europe and America while the periphery is composed of developing countries mainly in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. This situation enables the centres (developed countries) to control wealth, and marginalise the developing countries which are passively linked to the global system in a position that enables them to adjust to the global economy without the capacity to affect it significantly (Amin,1994). For example, the centres get raw materials from the periphery (developing countries) which they process to make goods that they sell at far higher rates. So, each of these categories of countries have their own specialisation which enhances the division of labour, that keeps developing countries in a helpless situation of producing the more valuable raw materials but being paid little for it by developed countries and their agents. These exploiters eventually process the raw materials and sell at far higher prices than those paid to the producers of the raw materials. Amin (2005:1; 2004) further notes the wide pay gaps between workers in developing and developed countries as an indicator of exploitation of the people in the peripheral. For example an engineer in a foreign capitalist firm in India earns \$1 for two hours of work, but another engineer with the same qualifications and productivity earns \$80 for two hours in America. When they produce a product, and the product is sold globally at the American cost of labour, the capitalist firm earns very sizeable profits or surplus value because of its exploitation of the labour of the Indian worker who is paid 80 times less his/her American counterpart.

It should be noted here that although Dependency Theory originated from Latin America, it also influenced development thought in other parts of the world. For example, Rodney (1974;1990) and Amin (1974) argued that the intervention of European powers in African social, economic, and political processes throughout the 19th century created a situation of dependency and impoverished African people.

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The Dependency Theory was very popular in the 1970s mainly because it originated from the South and therefore changed the monopoly of the Northern countries on theorising about development (Willis, 2005:70). However it had limited influence on development policy making, and has been criticised both for its claims, as well as the assumptions on which it was based. For example while proponents of Dependency Theory like Gunder Frank (1967) and Futardo (1976) argued that capitalist-style development was impossible for peripheral countries within the existing capitalist system, some newly-industrialised Asian countries such as Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, and Hong-Kong were emerging in the 1970's (Sachs, 2005; Willis, 2005:55,72). Also, Dependency theorists were criticised for focussing on economic factors thereby neglecting the social, cultural or political contexts in which development or under-development took place (Willis, 2005:72; Grosfoguel, 2000). Booth (1985) further criticises Dependency theorists and Gunder Frank (1967) in particular, for the contradiction in defining capitalist development as autonomous growth, which means that one country develops independent of others, and yet blame the under-development of Southern countries on industrialised ones.

Having explored Dependency theory, it is worthwhile to explore approaches to women and development, as another category of approaches which opposed the capitalist exploitation of women, inspite of their huge subscription to Modernisation theory.

In the 1970's there was a realisation that development theories up to that point had not paid attention to the specific needs of women. In 1970, Esther Boserup published a book, *The Role of Women in Economic Development*, in which she agitated for attention to the development needs of women. After this book was published, women started to question contemporary development approaches. Consequently, perspectives which targeted women emerged. These were: Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD), and Gender and Development (GAD). The following section briefly explores these perspectives.

2.2.4 Approaches to Development of Women

We have seen that the urge for women to have their contribution to development recognised led to various perspectives of women, gender, and development which attempted to achieve this. These perspectives emerged at different times although they at times informed gender and development practices concurrently. In this section, I briefly explore these approaches beginning with the Women in Development (WID) approach.

2.2.4(a) Women in Development Perspective

This was the first of the gender and development perspectives mentioned above. It emerged after the 1970's publication of Esther Boserup's book; *The Role of Women in Economic Development* (Visvanathan *et al*, 2005), making it the first development perspective to address the needs of women. The WID perspective emerged at the same time as the movement for the New International Economic Order in the United States of America. While the latter agitated for the redistribution of the world's economic resources in favour of developing countries, the WID perspective agitated for a redistribution of resources in favour of women so as to eliminate gender inequalities (Hunt, 2004:246). This perspective is rooted in, and mainly supports Modernisation theory. However it also questions the failure of Modernisation theory to address the specific problems of women.

The WID perspective argues that women should not only be integrated into the development process but should also share in its benefits. In order for this to happen, the WID perspective argues that women have to gain economic development, equality before the law, education, employment, and empowerment (Tinker, 2005: 36). To achieve its aims, the WID perspective has adopted a number of approaches namely: Welfare (1950's onwards), Equity (1970's), and Anti-Poverty (1970s).

The Welfare approach adopted by WID was mainly aimed at meeting women's practical needs such as food, health, and nutrition advice as opposed to strategic needs such as education and health (Willis, 2005:129). The Welfare approach also assumed that the

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reproductive roles of women kept them prisoners to their homes. Therefore, in order for women to be liberated from poverty, and have their domestic work burden reduced, the Welfare approach focussed on controlling the number of children women could produce by teaching them population control measures such as use of contraceptives.

The Equity approach on the other hand aimed at increasing women's rights and freedoms. So, it targeted social legislation which would eventually result in many civil and political rights for women in most countries (Willis 2005:129; Visvanathan *et al.*, 2005). However despite the equality legislations, most women still encountered continued resistance to their demand for equality with men, and remained poor. It was believed then that meeting their basic needs would empower them to eventually reduce their poverty. This thinking led to the emergence of the anti-poverty approach (Visvanathan *et al.*, 2005).

In the Anti-Poverty approach, women's low social status was interpreted as being caused by income poverty. This approach therefore aimed at enabling women to do waged work and generate income to meet their practical needs thereby neglecting strategic needs such as education and health (Visvanathan *et al.*, 2005), which were important factors in the sustenance of their liberation struggles.

The WID perspective is generally credited for making women visible in development theory and practice. More specifically WID agitated for, and led to the establishment of women's projects and desks in development agencies (Moser, 1991).

However, despite its contribution to the women's cause in development, the WID perspective has been criticised for its grounding in Modernisation Theory which assumed wrongly that women were not already integrated in the process of development, yet by their participation in agriculture, education, and as workers in industries, they were part and parcel of the development process (Mies, 1986; Walby, 1990; Visvanathan *et al.*, 2005:19; Kabeer and Anh, 2000:11,12). However, early development workers adopted Modernisation approaches which examined the roles of women through the "Western" lens and in so doing falsely assumed that women in developing countries

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were largely mothers and housewives not economic agents in trade and farming. It was mainly because of such false assumptions that early development projects ignored and neglected women's diverse roles in economic life. Some of these projects even made it worse for women by depriving them of land, denying them access to technical assistance, providing resources, training and education to men only (Rogers,1980), further escalating the existing gender inequalities.

Also, the WID perspective did not question why women had not benefited from development despite their long involvement mainly in farming and trade. Failure to question this meant WID narrowed its focus to solving the specific problems of women other than examining their situation as a whole. For example, development projects adopting the WID perspective often focus on income generation, the provision of credit to women and an improvement in their access to paid employment but neglect the exploitation of women in export processing zones, the sex tourism industry, and agri-business. Also they do not question the sexual division of labour and international division of labour which place women and poor countries at the bottom respectively. All these mean that their intervention strategies cannot effectively emancipate women since these strategies operate within economic, political and social frameworks of gender inequality. For example failure to address patriarchal structures of oppression, meant that women who did waged work as a way of increasing their incomes to attain economic emancipation were still exploited sexually or paid lower wages than men among other things (Willis, 2005; Alsop and Healey, 2008:14, Mies,1986). So, while there may be advantages in women having their own source of income, this cannot be divorced from the economic, political and social relations with in which they must work (Simmons 1997: 247). Also, the failure of WID to link the economic, political and social structures in which women live and work led to unsuitable development interventions for women. In particular most WID projects were supported in areas such as home economics, traditional crafts, and credit for income generation (Moser, 1991), many of which eventually turned into welfare-type projects (Buvinic,1986) that achieved little in terms of women liberation (Jahan,1995:126).

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The WID perspective also falsely assumed that economic growth was synonymous with development and improved standards of living for all, and that these were in turn synonymous with the Western way of life (Willis, 2005; Simmons, 1997). The major assumption was that all women want to be (and have the time to be) part of the international economy. Such a blanket assumption meant that the development needs of specific women were neglected and replaced with what we can call “assumed uniform” needs based on Western perceptions of a good life. Yet we know that in liberal feminist thought, economic growth and the aims of the Women’s Movement were regarded as being incompatible given the link between economic growth, capitalism and patriarchy as partners in the exploitation of women’s labour (Walby 1990, Mies, 1986).

These short-comings meant that WID was discredited as a suitable development perspective for women. Consequently some women proposed the Women and Development (WAD) perspective as an alternative to WID.

2.2.4(b) Women and Development Perspective

The Women and Development perspective emerged in the second half of the 1970s (Visvanathan, 2005; Moser, 1993). It is rooted in Dependency Theory of development commonly associated with Gunder Frank (1967). This perspective criticises WID and Modernisation theory in which WID is rooted. Unlike WID, WAD recognises that women have always been part of development, so we should focus on the relationship between women and the development processes rather than on integrating women into development (Visvanathan, 2005). It asserts that just like non-industrialised countries have been exploited by industrialised ones in the development process, so have women (Willis, 2005). Because of its emphasis on relations between men and women, the WAD perspective argues that women’s problems cannot be analysed independent of those of men, because both sexes are exploited by the oppressive global structure based on class and capital (Visvanathan, 2005). However, Mohanty (1988, 1991) sees WAD perspective’s assertion that both men and women are victims of the oppressive international global production system as a denial of the specific problems of women

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mainly caused by patriarchy, differing modes of production, and women's subordination and oppression (Visvanathan, 2005).

The WAD perspective has had major contributions to the emancipation of women, particularly with regards to its acceptance of women as important economic actors in their societies which has increased women's visibility in development debates and practices (Visvanathan, 2005). The perspective also advocates for a dismantling of existing international structures of inequality if women are to benefit from development (Visvanathan, 2005; Hunt, 2004). One can therefore be excused for arguing that the WAD perspective's holistic approach whose aim is to make women visible in economic, social and political structures of their local and global communities, is a worthwhile strategy for the emancipation of women.

However, these contributions notwithstanding, WAD has been criticised for assuming that because both men and women are disadvantaged by the oppressive global structure based on class and capital, women's position would automatically improve if international structures become more equitable (Visvanathan, 2005; Mies, 1986). This assumption overlooks the fact that both men and women have problems peculiar to themselves as individuals, members of their gender, and as members of both local and global communities. In fact women receive specific oppression and exploitation from men especially in the household (Kabeer, 1994), so homogenising the problems of women is masking the real situation of women's oppression. These criticisms point to the inadequacy of WAD in advancing the cause of women (Young, 2005).

At the Nairobi Women's Conference in 1985, a new "Southern" women's network called DAWN (Development Alternatives for Women in the new Era) criticised WID and WAD (Sen and Grown, 1987). The WID perspective was challenged for its Modernisation basis and claims (Hunt, 2004) while WAD was challenged for focusing solely on women and the development process, hence its failure to question the relationship between men and women (Hunt, 2004). DAWN and many other non-governmental organisations working in development around the world recognised that women needed to be mobilised and empowered to realise a different development vision

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which emphasised the relations between men and women hence the birth of the Gender and Development (GAD) perspective.

2.2.4(c) Gender and Development Perspective

This perspective was mainly influenced by Socialist and Marxist feminists who wanted a development framework that emphasised gender relations in both the labour force and the reproductive sphere, and one which looked at the relationship between men and women to find out why women were subordinated (Young, 2005) respectively.

The GAD perspective uses gender, not women, as a category of analysis, and views men as potential supporters of women not just their rivals. It therefore emphasises the relations between men and women and the power differentials therein, right from the household up to the national economy (Hunt, 2004:248). This perspective sees the development of women as a complex process influenced by political and socio-economic forces which cannot be understood without focusing on the connection between the household and public spheres (Young, 2005). Consequently, it rejects the public/private dichotomy by giving special attention to the oppression of women in the private sphere or family at the same time recognising the contribution of women who work outside the household including those in non-commodity production (Visvanathan, 2005).

When examining the impact of both planned and unplanned economic development, on any society or group within society, the proponents of GAD always ask; who benefits, who loses, what trade-offs have been made, and what is the resultant balance of rights and obligations, power and privilege between men and women, and between given social groups (Young, 2005: 52). Therefore this perspective acknowledges women's concerns for economic independence and supports activism such as community organising, transformative action, public education and coalition building which is aimed at emancipating women. It however warns that to achieve this level of activism and organisation at the family, local, and national levels, constraints such as less power to make decisions, which women might have at the family level should be removed

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(Visvanathan, 2005:53). Therefore we can say that GAD aims at upsetting the existing power relations between men and women in society as a pre-condition to the emancipation of women from patriarchy that oppresses them irrespective of where they live or their social class (Young, 2005:53).

Another important feature of GAD is that it views women as active agents, not passive recipients of development. However, it does not assume that women have perfect knowledge or understanding of their social situation. Rather it assumes that women as individuals may be aware of their subordinate position although they may not understand the structural roots of this discrimination and subordination. Also, GAD does not assume that all men are aware of the social bases of male dominance or that males work actively together to promote this dominance. It neither assumes that women are in some way unquestionably right in all forms of behaviours, as well as in all their aims or objectives nor that, men are invariably wrong headed or wicked. It just assumes that male privilege makes most men unlikely to ally themselves to the cause of women's advancement without strong persuasion (Young, 2005:51-52).

Unlike WID, GAD does not consider welfare, anti-poverty and equity approaches as three opposed alternatives. It accepts instead that the welfare and anti-poverty approaches are pre-conditions for equity (Hunt, 2004; Young, 1992). The perspective also assumes that political and economic powers are closely enmeshed. Therefore the first step in bringing about economic development for both men and women is to provide conditions to surmount poverty. The perspective argues that the poor are rarely able to tackle the conditions which create their poverty in the first place because these problems are usually well beyond their reach. Therefore GAD stresses that an element of consciousness-raising should be built into welfare or basic needs programmes so that women are aware as to why they are in the specific situations of deprivation in which they find themselves. In short, welfare is seen as a means not an end. Consciousness-raising has to encompass not only the nature of structures creating poverty for some and wealth for others, the mal-distribution of social wealth and capital and the unbalanced distribution of political power, but also the structures of inequality between men and

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women which weaken them both in their struggle for survival and betterment (Young, 2005; Hunt, 2004). Consciousness-raising has to show the importance of creating alliances and coalitions, of exerting influence, of communication and public education. Simply put, every attempt has to be made to “create the political will in the country which will enable welfare to be subverted for equity, and reform for radical restructuring” (Young, 2005:54).

To ensure fairness in gender relations between men and women, GAD emphasises “gender mainstreaming” as an analytical tool to check this relationship. Gender mainstreaming involves ensuring that every development strategy is assessed in terms of its benefits for men and women (Taylor, 1999:7). In order for gender mainstreaming to be successful GAD proposes gender analysis training, and gender planning approaches (Moser, 1993; Rathgeber, 1990). Both these approaches should help in the identification of practical and strategic needs of women as earlier identified in the discussion of WID.

The GAD perspective suggests that development should target women in their triple roles of reproduction, production, and community managing so as to avoid increasing women’s workload and focus on improving their lives instead (Hunt, 2004:249). This is important in counteracting the possible stress which comes with the double burden that women in public jobs face.

Despite the difficulties encountered in implementing gender mainstreaming, GAD has made a significant contribution to the field of women and development. Particularly, the perspective has been credited for recognising the contribution of women both inside and outside the household (Visvanathan, 2005:19). This has gone a long way in making women more visible in the public sphere and acknowledging their multiple contributions to development at family, community, and public levels (Hunt,2004). Also, its acceptance of the contribution of gender equality sensitive men in the struggle to emancipate women makes GAD a more sensible perspective than WID and WAD, although this very claim is the source of its criticism particularly by radical feminists who do not believe that men, however much equality minded they might be, can fight for the liberation of women. However, we need to note that this criticism comes only

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from radical feminists, and that a majority of liberal feminist may not see this as a problem at all.

In light of the persistent failure of Modernisation approaches to development in eliminating or reducing world poverty, the Post-development Theory to understanding development emerged (McGregor, 2007). The following sub-section examines this theory.

2.2.5 Post-Development Theory

The Post-development theory emerged between the mid 1980s and the 1990s. It is called post-development by some people and anti-development by others (McGregor, 2007). This approach was championed by people who felt that the existing Modernisation approaches to development had failed to eliminate poverty and bring about development (McGregor, 2007). Other than the failures of Modernisation-centred development approaches to eliminate poverty, Post-development theory also emerged from the various critiques that other theories had of Modernist-based development theories. These were: Post-modern rejection of meta-narratives such as Functionalism, Marxism, and Feminism, which attempted to account for all aspects of a people's lives from one standpoint; Dependency theory's rejection of capitalist/imperialist modernisation type development; Feminist rejection of masculine theories; and African/Orientalist rejection of cultural imperialism and cultural superiority of the West (Escobar, 1995; Goulet, 1995).

Escobar (1995: 215) summarises the hallmarks of Post-development theory as:

- An interest not in development alternatives, but in alternatives to development, and thus a rejection of the entire paradigm of development
- An interest in local and indigenous knowledge
- A critical stance towards established scientific discourses
- The defence and promotion of localised, pluralistic grassroots movements

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Post-development theory asserts that the development process which the Southern countries (Africa, Asia and Latin America) have experienced is based on Eurocentric assumptions and should be rejected in favour of development approaches that help us to think about non-Western countries in new ways (Escobar, 1995; Rahnema and Bawtree, 1997; Sachs, 1992). This links well with the argument made by Dependency theorists earlier that the countries of the South are in a situation of deprivation because of the history of colonialism and the resultant exploitative trade relations between the industrialised North and the former Southern colonies, although it does not support any form of Marxism. Post-development theorists argue that development has helped incorporate large areas of the globe into a Northern or Western-dominated economic and political system, and this has consequently destroyed indigenous cultures, threatened the sustainability of natural environments and created feelings of inferiority among people of the South (Rapley, 2004). Therefore rather than being neutral, the development process has perpetuated dominance of certain cultures over others by enabling Western ideas of development to be presented as correct while at the same time presenting those from developing countries as wrong (Willis, 2005). This has ended up in an attempt to impose Western ways of life on people in developing countries, something that is not acceptable to Post-development theorists. Rahnema (1997:384) further notes that the hidden yet clear message for every development project has been that the traditional modes of living, thinking, and doing things of the African and Asian people have doomed them to a sub-human condition, so that they need a fundamental change to be able to confront modern realities, emerge from that condition, and earn the respect of the civilised world. This means that Modernisation is assumed to result in the empowerment of women in developing countries leading to gender equality and the power to choose, freedoms that their counterparts in the industrialised world are assumed to have. According to Escobar (1995) this is a false claim based on the development agitators' ignorance of the traditional modes of living of the Asian, African and Latin American people. To support this claim, he explains that before outsiders came to Colombia, people had low life expectancies, many children lacked access to formal education and houses lacked water and electricity but these factors were not usually seen as problems and signs of under-development which needed to be rectified, but rather as part of these

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people's lives. But by imposing external norms and expectations on Colombian society, the outsiders interpreted the country as lacking development and called for aid and technical assistance (Escobar 1995) to "develop" the country. This view is further explained by Bond (2006) particularly in the case of Africa, when he argues that besides economic exploitation leading to impoverishment of Africa, and Africa's incorporation into the global economy on very unfavourable terms, mainstream development theories have degraded and demeaned Africans and their history, based on racist prejudices and cultural chauvinism, all aimed at justifying the subjugation of the African people.

Post-development theorists suggest that development processes have undermined and destroyed the diversity of social, cultural, economic, and political systems that pre-dated development, replacing them with externally imposed homogenous models of society (McGregor, 2007). According to Goulet (1995) Modernisation penetrates all aspects of a people's lives including family, schools, and economy. As we saw earlier, Willis (2005) links Modernisation to urbanisation, industrialisation, and cultural change, while Aboderin (2004) makes the point that both urbanisation and industrialisation lead to a breakdown of a people's social institutions, norms and traditions. For example, urbanisation, industrialisation and capitalism which are major features of Modernisation tend to weaken the extended family network wherever they establish themselves because they do not support the values of communalism often nurtured in extended families prevalent in developing countries such as Uganda. However, urbanisation, industrialisation, and capitalism have strengthened the nuclear family through rural-urban migration prompted by the desire to get jobs in industries and other sectors of capitalist economies all over the world. For example, Greif (2005, 2006) argues that nuclear families superseded other forms of family structure as part of the Modernisation process throughout Europe, suggesting that while nuclear family types encouraged industrialisation, so too did industrialisation help to bring an end to non-nuclear forms of the family (Greif, 2005: 3). It is also agreed that these forces support values nurtured in nuclear families such as individuality, independence, and self-sufficiency (OECD, 2008; Myers, 1992). Also, Modernisation emphasises individual effort or meritocracy through capitalism and the division of labour which has the potential to destroy the values of

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communalism (Willis, 2005). This is so because while limited resources may necessitate that deprived people pool resources together for survival, a modern industrial system with a specialised division of labour demands considerable geographical mobility from its labour force in search of personal economic gain. So, individuals with specialized skills are required to move to places where those skills are in demand. The nuclear family is suited to this need for geographical mobility because it is a small, streamlined unit which is not tied down by binding obligations to a wide range of kin as in the extended family. Clearly, the nuclear family structure benefits capitalism, urbanisation, and industrialisation which are main features of Modernisation. When Modernisation destroys the extended family structures of the people in developing countries such as Uganda, these people miss out on the benefits of this cultural institution. For example, Nyambedha, Wandibba, and Aagaard-Hansen (2001) researched the support that children orphaned by HIV got from their extended families in Kenya, and report that these children received considerable support for their education from their extended family members, however much resource-constrained these people sometimes were. Nyambedha, Wandibba and Aagaard-Hansen (2001) further found that the solidarity between co-wives in the institution of polygamy plays an important role in caring for double orphans as these women often see the orphaned children as their own children not their step-children. Therefore we can say that the extended family represents a system that provides social and economic security, as well as support, particularly during periods of crisis (Forster *et al.*, 1997). Yet Modernisation has destroyed, or threatens to destroy this important social institution.

The attempt to impose Western ways of life on the people in developing countries by Modernisation theorists is based on the wrong Eurocentric assumptions that all people want a perceived set of material things usually associated with Modernisation and that life as lived in the West is desired by all people in the world. Yet we know that this is not entirely true. For example, while some people cherish material wealth, others do not, because it interferes with other valued aspects of their lives such as freedom. In support of this, Goulet (1995) explains that while some communities scorn or pity the poor, other groups of people such as the gypsies in southern Spain, scorn the wealthy for

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allowing themselves to be tied down by their possessions thereby sacrificing their freedom to roam at will that the gypsies enjoy limitlessly (Goulet, 1995). This again points to the problems that may result from the cultural homogenising goal of Modernisation approaches to development, including trampling on people's freedom, self-esteem, and pride (Goulet, 1995; 2006b; Willis, 2005). Both Goulet (1995) and Mohanty (1988; 1991) agree that a good life is best lived locally, so there is no need to impose Western understanding of a good life on other people. Therefore, any development theory worthy of recognition should reflect on different accounts of a good life, including those accounts that are not limited to just material things but extend to other things that increase people's happiness such as life-sustenance (food, health, protection), esteem (the promotion of respect for all) and freedom in political, social, cultural, economic and spiritual matters (Goulet, 2006a, 1995, 1971:87-94, 124). Therefore for Goulet (2006a, 1995), esteem, as well as political, social, cultural, economic, and spiritual freedom, are as important goals of development as are material needs such as food, health, shelter and protection. This understanding moves the debate from a homogeneous Eurocentric version of development whose goal is wealth accumulation to a broader one which considers other goals such as happiness, esteem, gender equality and freedom besides material wealth.

Post-development theorists have also questioned the relationship between economic growth and people's freedom. While Modernisation economists such as Todaro (2000) have argued that economic growth enables governments to provide a range of life choices for the poor, scholars such as Arendt (1963:218) and Siegel (2006) argue that economic growth cannot or may not lead to freedom. While Goulet (2006b) acknowledges that Modernisation may contribute to freedom, it also tampers with people's freedom to preserve their cultural traditions, thereby killing their self-esteem and pride in their customs and traditions as seen above. Esteem alludes to every person's sense that he or she is respected as being of worth and one that others cannot use as a mere tool to attain their purposes without regard for one's own purposes (Goulet, 1995; Fanon, 1961). For Goulet (2006a) esteem, identity, dignity, respect, honour, and recognition are so paramount that all societies and individuals desire and seek them. So

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they are universal needs which any development approach should seek to achieve. However, despite these goals, modern societies only confer esteem, dignity and respect on technologically advanced societies and people, or on wealthy economies, and degrade poor countries, thereby reducing or destroying the self-esteem of these people. Indeed as Goulet (1995:43) says: "once the essential ingredient of the good life becomes material welfare...it becomes difficult for the materially under-developed to feel respected". Yet it is clear that in most traditional societies, a good life and society's worth was often distinct from, and opposed to an abundance of goods (Goulet, 2006b). Recent research on the relationship between material wealth and happiness supports the view that wealth does not necessarily bring happiness. For example, findings of a research by Easton (2006) show that 81 percent of the UK population then were of the view that the government's primary objective should be the creation of happiness not wealth.

In terms of gender, Mohanty (1991) explains that women's lives and struggles in the developing world have been understood from within ethnographic imaginations of the West. So, the ideas on development which women in the developing world put across, as well as their cultures have often been demeaned. For example, it is often assumed that women in non-industrialised Southern nations are subjugated and oppressed by traditional practices such as polygamy and that one of the reasons why development needs to take place is to help these women attain gender equality (Mohanty, 1991) by doing away with their traditions and living Western lifestyles. Both Lind (2003) and Wood (2001) warn Western scholars against demeaning women from the developing world and their traditions by attempting to Westernise these women. This argument is consistent with Escobar's (1995:170) warning that "one must be careful not to naturalise "traditional" worlds, that is, valorize as innocent and "natural" an order produced by history... The "local"...is neither unconnected nor unconstructed". Consequently, Post-development theory promotes the idea that voices of women from developing countries should not only be heard, but must also be interpreted in a fair and transparent manner (Lind, 2003).

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Post-development theorists have succeeded in critiquing Modernisation approaches to development, and in so doing highlighted the failures of the Modernisation project championed by these approaches. In so doing, Post-development theory has called for a change in the focus of development. By emphasising that development interventions be contextualised, Post-development theorists like Mohanty (1991), Stuart (1998) and Goulet (1995, 2006a) have helped development theorists and practitioners to focus on diverse development goals such as culture, self-esteem, and happiness other than mere material wealth as Modernisation approaches have always done. In summary, post-development theory has greatly contributed to the development debate especially regarding the way development has often been defined and presented with no consideration of the social, political and economic context of these formulations (Sidaway, 2002).

However, in spite of the contribution of Post-development theorists to development theorising, many development theorists have challenged the way in which post-development writers like Escobar (1995) have talked about development. For example in his study of development in South East Asia, Rigg (2003) highlights how Post-development theory talks about development as if it is only a Eurocentric/Modernisation style development, yet there are many variations of development today such as those in South East Asia where indigenous notions of development, based on Buddhism, Islam and other aspects of Asian culture are given prominence. In short, he says that the type of development that the Post-development theory champions already exists in South East Asia. Post-development theorists have also been criticised for not providing details of suitable alternative approaches to development, which are more than their grassroots communities' participation, in spite of their substantial criticism of current policies and theories (Pieterse, 2000; Schuurman, 2000; Andreasson, 2007). Finally, while development has in many cases not brought all the benefits it claims, there have been significant improvements in life expectancy, health levels, and education for some populations and regions (Rigg, 2003). One of these improvements which Post-development theorists tend to ignore (Storey, 2000) include an increase in years for Indian men's life expectancy at birth from 46-60 years and for women's from 44 to 58

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between 1965 and 1990 (Corbridge,1998:145; Corbridge, 2007:190).Corbridge (2007) further argues that Post-development theorists fail to realise that development is about dilemmas, and that its shortcomings should not be read as its failure.Corbridge (1998:145; 2007) also criticises Post-development theorists for associating the ills of the world such as debt, famine and environmental degradation with development rather than acknowledging that these ills may be a result of lack of development or a mal-development.

However, in defence of Post-development theory, scholars such as Andreasson (2007) argue that the criticism of Post-development theory is based purely on its assumed opposition towards much of that which is generally celebrated as modern.This creates suspicion that Post-development theorists want to return us to the confines of traditional societies something that is seen as a threat to individual rights, the rights of women, our ability to generate scientific knowledge and many other things often associated with modernity. The criticism against Post-development is also partly due to the failure of the critics to realise that “Post-development ... is different from anti-development ... in that it does not deny globalisation or modernity, but wants to find some ways of living with it and imaginatively transcending it”(Hoogvelt, 2001:172). Also, Post-development theorists face a challenge of linking their arguments about the problems of development to clear-cut politics of change, and translating it into real politics given that powerful people, organisations, and governments with vested interests in business and politics find such ideas not only disinteresting but also threatening (Andreasson, 2007). However, these are just challenges which should not be taken to mean that Post-development theory has nothing to offer. Simply put, the degree of difficulty in promoting a point of view is not indicative of its low value (Andreasson, 2007).

We have so far examined various approaches to understanding development. Central to the Modernisation and development process in general is the idea of globalisation, particularly cultural globalisation.This is so because Modernisation theories of development aim at creating global homogeneous cultures based on the Western lifestyles and values.The following section briefly defines and explains globalisation

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before exploring the influence of the Western media on cultures of developing countries such as Uganda.

2.3.0 Globalisation, Media and Cultural Change in Developing Countries

In this section, I point out that a globalised Western media can create partially homogeneous cultures which though primarily Western are also significantly local. This section will define globalisation, examine the role of the media in cultural globalisation, and explore the effects of a globalised Western media on the lifestyles of people in developing countries such as Uganda. It will not deal with other effects of globalisation other than those that are socio-cultural. I will start with defining and explaining the concept of globalisation.

2.3.1 What is Globalisation?

The term “globalisation” gained prominence in the 1980s. Sociologist Robertson (1992) who is considered as a key founder of the concept of globalisation provides a clear overview of the historical development of this concept. He notes that an interest in globalisation arose from a division between sociology, which dealt with societies comparatively, and international relations and political science, which dealt with societies interactively. However, with the emergency of new academic fields such as communication and cultural studies which focussed on globalisation, this division became destabilised (Movius, 2010:7). Globalisation is a highly contested term which has been defined in various ways and from different perspectives (Castells, 1997). Held and McGrew (1999) provide a useful framework for understanding globalisation by presenting to us three main schools of thought in globalisation research, namely: the hyperglobalists, the skeptics, and the transformationalists. Hyperglobalists focus on economic globalisation, which is argued to denationalise economies and create global markets that transcend state control, leading to the loss of autonomy and sovereignty for the state. They argue that we live in an increasingly global world where the nation state is greatly threatened, and its power diminished by the global market (Held and McGrew, 1999). This is consistent with the arguments made by Dependency theorists such as

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Gunder Frank (1967) about a global exploitative market in which the centres are in the industrialised countries while the peripheries are in developing countries.

The sceptics on the other hand argue that globalisation is a myth (Hirst and Thompson (1996), and that what the hyperglobalists describe as economic globalisation is just a heightened level of economic interdependences (Movius, 2010). Sceptics also argue that there is nothing “global” about globalisation because it is clearly not a universal phenomenon. For example, much of the economic interdependence said to have resulted from globalisation is limited to OECD countries, and is therefore not really global (Held and McGrew, 1999).

The transformationalists reconcile these two divergent views by arguing that globalisation has structural consequences and is a driving force in society which influences political, social, and economic change (Giddens, 1990; Held and McGrew, 1999). It is therefore not a myth as the sceptics argue but a real force in society which leads to a re-articulation of political, cultural, and economic power resulting in structural transformation and a global shift in how power and authority is organised (Held and McGrew, 2007). For example, there has been a reconfiguration of political power in most sovereign states as a result of foreign influence, a phenomenon understood as neither globalist nor skeptic, but transformationalist (Held and McGrew, 2007). Therefore globalisation is not a debate about either convergence or divergence, but represents a dialectical process, which can both integrate and fragment, creating both winners and losers (Movius, 2010:7). Finally, to the transformationalists globalisation is a multi-dimensional process, and not simply economic (Movius, 2010:8).

More specifically, some scholars equate globalisation to Western or American imperialism. For example, Ritzer (1995) argues that the term “globalisation” should be changed to “Westernisation or Americanisation” because globalisation tends to impose Western or American lifestyles and values on the rest of the world. This perspective is supported by Neeraj (2001:6-7) who describes globalisation as “...nothing but re-colonisation in a new garb”. However, other scholars adopt less critical approaches to defining globalisation. For example, Held *et al.*, (1999) see it as a widening, deepening,

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and speeding up of world-wide interconnections in all aspects of life. This view is also shared by Jegede (2001) and Beerkens (2004:13). Robertson (1992:8) defines globalisation as “the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole”. Finally, Shaw (1997) sees globalisation, as a complex set of distinct but related economic, cultural, social, political and military processes through which social relations are developed towards a global scale and with global reach, over a long historical period. Consequent upon this contestation, globalisation has not only had different meanings ascribed to it but also the phenomenon generally referred to as “globalisation” has become one of the most widely used but imprecise terms in political and economic debates (Castells,1997).

Looking at the above definitions therefore, we can see that globalisation is understood as both a phenomenon and a process (Castells, 1997; 2005; Rosenberg, 2005). Globalisation is an evolutionary phenomenon of human interactions at multiple levels creating conditions to further develop linkages among key domains of societies such as economic, social, cultural, legal, and political domains, but it is also a historical process (Baylis and Smith, 2005: 24). As a process, globalisation takes time and leads to certain outcomes such as the development of social relations towards a global scale and with global reach (Shaw, 1997). It can also lead to economic and political transformations in some states (Held *et al.*, 1999).Therefore, both as a phenomenon, and a process, globalisation has effects on society which are both positive and negative (Sirgy *et al.*, 2004; Baylis and Smith, 2005: 24). Held and McGrew (1999) as well as Movius (2010) argue that globalisation homogenises and differentiates.For example, while it encourages economic, political and cultural activities that create convergence across all levels, it also unleashes and fuels heterogeneous forces that recreate differences, raises barriers and establishes new frontiers (Movius, 2010). Therefore, while globalisation creates opportunities for societal transformation, it is also a source of major stresses and unbalances, all of which create great uncertainties about the social, political, economic, and cultural futures of societies (Held, *et al.*, 1999; Rosenberg, 2005).

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This section has defined globalisation. It has been pointed out that globalisation can have both negative and positive out-comes, and that it can both be a homogenising, and a heterogenising force. The following sub-section examines ways in which the media can be a mechanism for cultural globalisation.

2.3.2 The Role of the Media in Globalisation

We have seen that globalisation is linked to Modernity and Westernisation. This section points out that a globalised Western media can be a mechanism for cultural change particularly in developing countries. This is possible because improved technologies mean that media companies can transmit information to the world cheaply, conveniently, and quickly. This section also points out that the elite in developing countries are more likely to be affected by the globalised Western media than their non-elite counterparts because they often have access to both the technology and gadgets associated with both the print and electronic media, through which the Western culture is largely entrenched. Besides, they also understand and comprehend languages such as French, English and Spanish in which most of the media transmit.

The literature on communication and globalisation agrees that the two are deeply intertwined (Castells, 2005). The link is said to be so important that for Rantanen (2005:4) there is "practically no globalisation without media and communications". Flew (2007) notes that the media is central to the globalisation process because; firstly, media corporations have increasingly globalised their operations; secondly, the global communication infrastructure facilitates global information flows; and finally, the global media plays a key role in how we view events across the world by developing shared systems of meaning. The last point hints at the media's influence on global cultures which is a major concern of this section.

However, all said, the media can only influence cultures in developing countries if it is equipped enough to do so. This effectiveness is linked to the growth of media technologies which help inculcate Western/ American cultural values (Sklair, 2002). It is perhaps important that the media is itself globalised if it is to succeed in its globalisation

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project (Castells, 2007). According to Castells (2007) the idea to globalise the mass media, which began in the 1980s with a personalisation of technology has to a large extent been realised. This has mainly been enabled by the growth in information and communications technologies which have created a networked society (Castells, 1997). Appadurai (1997:4) agrees with Castells (1997) that the mass media has helped create what he calls “public diaspora spheres” which include among other things, shared tastes, pleasures and aspirations. Ianni (1998:17) says that the electronic, informational, and cybernetic technologies for information and communication, such as television, have turned themselves into “architects of the electronic agora in which everybody is represented, reflected, deflected or disfigured”.

The media has also enabled more interaction on a global scale through the internet. New technology and the global distribution of the internet allow people to create or contribute to the news, and provide new sources and forms of news (Castells, 2005). The internet has also created online communities who interact through networking sites such as facebook, twitter, bebo, and skype (Di Maggio, Hargittai, Neuman, and Robinson, 2001; Wellman, 2002). The internet and the communications revolution have also led to new forms of media activism. Hackett and Carroll (2006:96) note that “the digitisation and convergence of media technology which fuelled the accelerating process of globalisation has...generated new opportunities for democratisation through the media...and new incentives for democratisation of the media, as computers and the internet bring new policy issues to the fore”. It is important to note that with improved technologies, information travels at much higher speed, and so can have an immediate impact. For example, the media can easily spread the Western culture through the positive projection of Western images and stories to the world. The impact of the media can be seen by how often we speak with friends about a movie that was on the television the night before (Herman and McChesney, 1997). These capacities grant the media power to manipulate and re-construct cultures (Movius, 2010).

While there should be no danger in re-constructing cultures, people should not be manipulated into changing their cultural values, as often happens in the media where

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cultures of people in developed countries are projected as a yard-stick on which people from developing countries should re-construct their ways of life. This is consistent with the prime aim of Modernisation which is to globalise Western cultural values. Globalisation is therefore one of the mechanisms used by Modernisation to achieve its aims. To explain this point further, Barber (1997) notes that the media portrays Western cultures as being higher than those of people in developing countries. The global media is interested in Western cultures because most of those who own and manage global media outlets such as CNN, BBC, Reuters, and Google, America on Line (AOL) are mainly from America, and the Western world. Consequently, the global media is in most cases biased in its portrayal of other non-Western cultures, which they implicitly suggest should be discarded in favour of their Western/American lifestyles. Specifically the media representation of developing countries such as Uganda, to the rest of the world, is often characterised by images which are related to something catastrophic, such as famine or civil war (Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1995). On the other hand, the global media portrays the Western world as peaceful, successful, beautiful, clean, and full of happy people (Barber, 1997). However, we must note that while some people and media houses in the Western World may have some cultural superiority complex, others are positive about other people's cultures even when they may question certain aspects of these cultures, as indeed they would question some aspects of their own cultures. A similar situation prevails in the developing world. In light of these views we might need to find out if a globalised Western media can create a homogeneous culture. In the following section, I explore literature which may be useful in answering this question.

2.3.3 Media and Cultural Globalisation

According to Castells (2009:117) cultural globalisation refers to "the emergence of a specific set of values and beliefs that are largely shared around the planet". Movius (2010) notes that the source of most global informational flows is mass media and that throughout the developed world, the globalisation of the media is often argued to be tantamount to the globalisation of culture, which means the creation of a homogeneous

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global culture. This section attempts to find out if a globalised Western media can create a global homogeneous culture or otherwise.

This section uses three models largely adopted from Movius (2010) to explain how a globalised Western media impacts the local cultures of people in developing countries such as Uganda. These are: the homogeneity, the heterogeneity/pluralist, and the glocalisation or hybridity perspectives.

The homogeneity perspective is the most dominant of the three. It suggests that through the media, a Western /American culture will be entrenched in developing communities and will replace indigenous cultures (Movius, 2010; Giddens, 2002; Golding and Harris, 1997; Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1996; Straubhaar, 1991), thereby creating a unified, homogeneous culture (Tomlinson, 2003). This process has been referred to by Giddens (2002) and Tomlinson (2003) as cultural imperialism.

The homogeneity perspective has however been questioned on a number of grounds. In the first instance, the homogenising effects of a global media are much less clear, despite a clear global increase in the degree to which people's lives are mediated through the media (Movius, 2010). This view is confirmed by Tomlinson (2003: 173) who despite equating globalisation to Western imperialism, admits that we cannot infer deep and direct effects of media globalisation on the cultures of other people.

The other concern raised against the homogeneity perspective is that it fails to recognise the role of the active audience. Evidence from audience reception studies in communication literature shows that audiences in Western and non-Western contexts use different patterns of interpretation and media use when encountering Western mass media products. For example, research in the 1930s and 1940s, measured effects of the media on audiences by matching output with input following the model of communication in which the stages of sender, message, medium, and receiver are utilised (Machor and Goldstein, 2001), and found that audiences respond to media for the purpose of fulfilling their personal needs, not the producer's purpose (Movius, 2010). While the personal needs of the audiences and those of the viewers may be

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similar, there is no guarantee that Western cultural values communicated through the global mass media will be wholesomely taken up by people in the developing world resulting in their cultural colonisation. Therefore we can say that the effects of a global media on audiences can be very complex and may neither be homogenising nor differentiating. Consequently it is overly simplistic to assert that a globalised Western media leads to cultural homogenisation and imperialism, just as it is equally simplistic to claim that the localisation of the media resolves all cultural problems (Movius, 2010).

Also the claim by the homogeneity perspective that a homogenous culture is easy to achieve, tends to devalue people's attachment to their local cultures. There appear in every culture those values which people will never get rid of despite the influence of the global, imperialist media. Such strong attachments to some local cultural values could explain the existence of cultural diversity despite the existence of a global media (Movius, 2010).

Chadha and Kavoori (2000) and Tunstall (2008) argue that the cultural imperialism model of explaining the effect of a globalised media on local cultures ignores evidence which shows that mass media audiences prefer locally produced content. Tunstall (2008:3) notes that US media companies, especially Hollywood movies and TV series, bring in large foreign revenues, but are no longer dominant in terms of market share or audience time, since "the world's people spend very much more time with their own media than with imported media". However, some people would have concerns as to whether this is still the case especially in Africa where the audience has limited choice of what to watch on television, listen to on radio, as well as read in newspapers and on the internet, given that most of what their local media covers is Western/American in content, language, and style. Some scholars have however cast doubts on the findings of these audience studies which tend to deny that a homogeneous culture can result from media globalisation. These scholars argue that some of the audience reception studies exaggerated the impermeability of audiences to media influences (Curran, 1990: 151). Schiller (1991:13) and Seaman (1992) also argued that the audience-centred approach used by these studies to discredit cultural imperialism was a primary effort "to minimize

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or discredit the idea of cultural domination". Therefore, as Roach (1990: 296) pointed out, "the challenges to the media imperialism school are themselves subject to serious criticism". Most of them "have an essentially political agenda: to undermine the very idea of ideology, and its connection to capitalist expansion" (Roach, 1990: 296). All these challenges and counter challenges mean that the debate as to whether a globalised Western media creates homogeneous cultures is not resolved. In general though, it seems, the homogeneity perspective may not be a suitable model to explain the effects of a globalised Western media on cultures in developing countries. In view of this it is worthwhile to examine the heterogeneity perspective and find out if it offers a better explanation of how a globalised Western media impacts upon local cultures in developing countries.

Unlike the homogeneity perspective which claims that a global media creates cultural homogeneity, the heterogeneity/pluralist perspective argues that the spread of cultural products through the mass media leads to cultural diversity not cultural homogenisation (Movius, 2010; Hannerz, 1990). Hannerz (1990:237) argues that globalisation results in "an organisation of diversity rather than a replication of uniformity", and this diversity enables the native people to interact with people from different cultural, racial, and religious backgrounds, thus enriching their local cultures.

Proponents of the heterogeneity perspective believe that the media extends communication and culture (Movius, 2010). Gillespie (1995) has argued that a global media leads to enhanced understanding and democracy in developing countries. Citing an example from the US where Islamic groups use the internet to strengthen their identities, Khatib (2003) argues that while the media can promote ethnic and cultural diversity, it also sustains identities of diasporic communities. All this shows that a globalised Western media can sometimes lead to cultural cohesion among communities, thereby hindering cultural intergration which eventually creates heterogeneous cultures. However, other scholars such as Barber (1997), Robertson (1995), Appandurai (1996) and Movius (2010) argue that a global media neither creates homogeneous nor

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heterogeneous cultures, but mixed cultures. This brings us to our third perspective, the glocalisation or hybridity perspective.

The glocalisation or hybridity perspective is often championed by Robertson (1995) Barber (1997) Appadurai (1996) and Movius (2010) among others. This perspective suggests that the process of cultural change is neither local nor global, and that culture can be changed by both local and global influences. Therefore, heterogenising and homogenising forces intertwine and complement each other. The concept of glocalisation therefore involves the development of overlapping global and local linkages, or deterritorialised global scapes (Appadurai, 1996).

The argument made by this perspective is supported by the concept of transculturation. Transculturation refers to a process where cultural forms move through time and space, interacting with other cultural forms to produce new forms or hybrids. For Flew (2007:162), the concept of hybridity “suggests that the possibility that identity formation in the context of globalisation may not be so much suppressed as in fact proliferate”. Indeed as Appadurai (1997: 7) emphasises, “the electronic media, far from being the opium of the people, are actively processed by individuals, and by groups, and are fertile grounds for exercises in resistance, selectivity, and irony”. He goes on to say that the concept of cultural imperialism and the resultant homogeneous culture have failed because the processes of the diffusion and imposition of culture, imperialistically defined as universal, have been confronted throughout the world system by multiple and ingenious processes of cultural resistance, identification, and indigenisation (Appadurai, 1997:12). So, as Tomlinson (2003:16) says, “far from destroying it, globalisation has been perhaps the most significant force in creating and proliferating cultural identities”.

The glocalisation or hybridity perspective is important because it shifts the debate from homogenisation and heterogenisation, thereby de-constructing the local and global binaries as championed in the heterogeneous and homogeneous debates respectively (Movius, 2010).

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To wrap it all up, while the idea of a homogeneous global culture is clearly one of the main reasons behind globalising modernity, Castells (2005) argues that the new society which is emerging from the globalised media is not uniform because different societies have different historical influences which define how a country reacts to information technology and how they utilise it. This means that the globalised media does not have a uniform influence on all societies and that there are aspects of the Western/American cultures that people in the developing world have taken up and others they have discarded. Therefore, far from creating a homogeneous Western-oriented culture to replace local cultures in the developing countries such as Uganda, the global media has given rise to convergences, similarities, and hybrids between the different national cultures, whether they are architectural styles, fashion or eating habits (Held *et al.*, 1999). Consequently, the likely outcome of a globalised Western media will be partially homogeneous cultures (Held *et al.*, 1999). Partial in terms of the aspects of social life which they cover and in terms of the regions of the world they cover. This means that we are neither moving into a unified and harmonious world culture nor into an age in which cultures are in perpetual war with each other, but rather into hybrid cultures which, though primarily Western cannot pass for a homogeneous global culture (Isar, 2007). Given the costly nature of global media services in developed countries, and the fact that the media transmits its message through elite languages such as English, Spanish and French, it is highly likely that these hybrid cultures will be a common feature of the elite lifestyles in developing countries because they can access the globalised Western media and comprehend the messages there in. Indeed as Goulet (1995:147) notes:

No where do the values vectored by modern technology so quickly assert their primacy as in the behaviour of business and professional elites. Not only their language but their dress, ethical codes and stylistic preferences rapidly become modelled on those of rich world counterparts.

We now know the various approaches to understanding development and the role of a Western media in globalising the Western way of life, particularly among elites in developing countries. This chapter will now examine the benchmarks of a development approach that I seek.

2.4.1 What Should Development Do?

This chapter has so far examined and critiqued the various approaches to defining and understanding development. During this analysis, the weaknesses, and strengths of the various approaches have been identified. In light of both these strengths and criticisms, a better development approach than each of the conventional approaches on its own, has been devised. This section explains this approach.

One of the other weaknesses of Economic Growth/Modernisation theories pointed out by post-development theorists in section 2.2.4 of this chapter is that these approaches equate development to the Western way of life and in so doing wrongly assume that all people in the world have homogeneous development needs. This leads to homogeneous development strategies, which sometimes fail to bring about development for the people concerned. This proposed development approach supports the arguments of some Post-development theorists such as Escobar (1995), as well as Rahnema and Bawtree (1997) presented in section 2.2.5 of this chapter, that development should be defined from the perspective of the people for whom it is intended, and not from a Eurocentric Modernisation perspective. This is a neutral and fair way of understanding and defining development rather than the Modernisation approaches which enable Western ideas of development to be presented as correct and uniform to all, while dismissing other people's ideas (Willis, 2005; Escobar, 1995:170). Understanding development in its context further helps the concerned people to preserve their traditional modes of living. It also enables development agents to see the concerned people's cultures in a positive light contrary to the practice common with Modernisation approaches as earlier pointed out in section 2.2.5 where traditional modes of living, thinking and doing things of the African and Asian people are often seen as regrettable circumstances which have doomed them to a sub-human condition from which they need to be saved in order that they can confront modern realities and earn the respect of the civilised world (Rahnema, 1997:384).

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Other than these, development should also take into consideration the specific development needs of women, something that most mainstream development approaches have often failed to do. Gender mainstreaming as proposed by Taylor (1999) and emphasised by the GAD perspective discussed earlier in section 2.2.4(c) should be used to ensure that development benefits both men and women equally. Also, development should identify and address women's practical needs such as income and access to land, as well as strategic needs such as education and gender equality legislation at the same time, as proposed by Young (1992; 2005; Moser, 1993) in sections 2.2.4(a) and 2.2.4 (c) of this chapter. Also development should recognise the roles of women in development at both the individual and public levels if it is to draw clear intervention strategies to improve their situation as proposed by (Visvanathan, 2005:19; Hunt, 2004) in section 2.2.4(c) of this chapter. This approach supports the GAD perspective's proposal in section 2.2.4(c) that development should target women in their triple roles of reproduction, production, and community managing so as to avoid increasing women's work load (Hunt, 2004:249). This is important in counteracting the possible stress which comes with the double burden often experienced by women with jobs in the public sphere which can stress them. This issue has been documented by Irving (2008), as well as Dalla Costa (1995), and was presented in section 2.2.4(b) of this chapter.

We have so far seen the key components of the proposed approach to understanding development. So we now need to summarise what development should do. The first major aim of development should be achieving human development as earlier suggested by the UNDP (1992:2) in section 2.2.1 of this chapter. For human development to take place, people need to be enabled to get education and political freedom (UNDP, 2003), cultural liberty (UNDP, 2004) as well as personal security, the possibility of living in a clean environment, equality of chances regardless of gender, nation, race, religion, and social inclusion (UNDP, 2006). In terms of education, development should aim at achieving access to free education from primary to university level for all people irrespective of gender, nationality, race or religion. Education is essential because it can enable both men and women to acquire knowledge and skills which they can use to get

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employment and earn income. This income can give them freedom of choice, as well as self-reliance in taking care of their needs. Education can help people to develop not only self but also their societies through a range of benefits that come with acquiring an education as will be seen in chapter 4 of this thesis. Therefore any reasonable development approach should aim at providing free universal quality education for all at all levels. This is contrary to the Modernisation approaches to development which not only ignores the specific needs of women but also uses capitalism to exploit women (Mies, 1986; Walby, 1990; Visvanathan, 2005:19; Young, 2005), and the poor in developing countries (Gunder Frank, 1967) as earlier seen in sections 2.2.4 and 2.2.3 of this chapter respectively.

The Basic Needs approach to understanding development explored in section 2.2.2 of this chapter focuses on providing people with their basic needs such as water, food, shelter, health care, to mention but a few, as a goal of development. While we acknowledge that people's basic needs should be met for them to survive, a sound development approach should aim at enabling people to meet not just their basic needs but even those beyond basic ones. Talking of "enabling" here means that people should be given a range of opportunities, skills and competences to have sustainable self-reliance. Most of these competences can be acquired through proper feeding, proper health care, and education. Once people are empowered through meeting their needs, they can then rely on themselves for further sustainable development. However, while it is vital to have these needs met, people should decide what their needs are. Once this is done, they should be enabled to achieve them (Sen, 1999) not just handed on to them as is often done in the welfare approach often used by the World Bank and the World Food Programme (WFP).

The approach to development that this thesis proposes emphasises attainment of respect and esteem for the people concerned as earlier proposed by Goulet (1995; 2006a; 2006b) in section 2.2.4 of this chapter. In this section Goulet (1995; 2006a; 2006b) argued that development should give people a good life which includes not only material goods but other things that increase people's happiness, as well such as freedom, and self-esteem.

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This should be a goal of any development programme particularly in this period when a people's subjective well-being or happiness is gaining more importance in development literature than material wealth (Easton (2006). Therefore, the approach to understanding development which I propose agrees that development should aim at increasing a people's esteem, freedom in political, economic, and cultural terms, all of which will lead to human development, the ultimate goal of development.

Finally, development should aim at making people self-reliant as suggested by Remenyi (2004:24-25) in section 2.2.1 of this chapter. Self-reliance helps people to be responsible for their own livelihoods, welfare, and future. Self-reliance also helps people and nations to maintain their esteem as they do not have to humiliate themselves by begging from the rich industrialised nations.

This chapter has so far explored various approaches to defining and understanding development. The following section presents comparative development-related data on Ireland and Uganda, as seen from the various perspectives of development approaches explored in this chapter.

2.5.1 Comparative Development Data on Ireland and Uganda

This section presents comparative development-related data on Ireland and Uganda in terms of the perceptions of development reflected in conventional understandings of development and the approach to understanding development proposed in this chapter. This comparison will enable distinctiveness in state of national development between Ireland and Uganda, the two countries from which samples for this study were drawn, to be seen more clearly.

In consideration of Modernisation approaches to development, data from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) *World Economic Outlook, April, 2009* shows that in the year 2008, Uganda had a GDP of US dollars 14,529 million and a GNI per capita of 1,140 US dollars, while Ireland had a GDP of US dollars 273,328 million and a GNI per

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capita of US dollars 35,710 in the same period. Also, the Human Development Report (HDR, 2009), ranked Uganda at position 157 out of 179 while Ireland was ranked 5th.

An examination of more specific data on basic needs provision in the two countries helps us understand the development related context in which the samples of this study are drawn. Beginning with access to education, Ireland has a free-tuition policy from primary to university level education, while Uganda has some partial-fees policy at primary and secondary levels, and provides tuition-free education to less than 10 percent of all students who qualify for university education each year (DES, 2008; MOES, 2008). Because of these disparities in access to education between the two countries, 20 percent of Ugandans aged 15 years and above have never had any formal education and 43 percent have attained some primary education, but not completed primary seven (UDHS, 2006:14). Combined, 63 percent of Ugandans have no primary level educational qualification (UDHS, 2006:14) compared to only 14 percent in the same category in Ireland (CSO, Statistical Year Book, 2008:119). These disparities extend to tertiary level educational attainment. For example, by the year 2001 the total number of students in Irish universities was 69,254 (DES, 2007) and that of all students in Third-Level for the years 2005/2006 was 136,719 out of an estimated population of less than 4 million people (CSO, 2002; DES, 2007). Consequently, 99 percent of the Irish population are literate (UNDP, 2007/8). By comparison, only 45,573 out of a population of about 30 million people in the year 2005/6 were in post-secondary educational institutions including universities (MOES, 2007) and only 69 percent of Ugandans are reported to be literate (UDHS, 2006:15).

Data on health indicators also confirms gross disparities between the two countries. For example, in Uganda, average life expectancy is at 47 years (World Health Report, 2007, MOH, 2007) compared with Ireland whose average life expectancy for the period 2005-2007 was almost 80 percent, an average of almost 77 percent for men and almost 82 percent for women (*Irish Life Tables No. 15*, CSO Report, 2009). The mortality rate for children under 5 years is 131 per 1000 for Uganda, and 4 per 1000 children for Ireland. Also, 68 percent of Ugandan children compared with 87 percent of their Irish

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counterparts are immunised against measles (World Health Report, 2009). The high child mortality rate for Uganda could be due to the lack of health personnel. For example, only 42 percent of births in the country are attended by skilled health personnel as compared with Ireland where 100 percent of all births are attended by health personnel (World Health Report, 2009). The low life expectancy in Uganda is partly due to the HIV/AIDS pandemic in the country which stands at 5,155/100,000 people compared with Ireland where the rate is 161/100,000 people (World Health Report, 2009). Uganda's health problems are further worsened by the malaria/fever prevalence rate which stands at 50 percent (UDHS, 2006).

Other than these, the health sector in Uganda also suffers from lack of health infrastructure, facilities, and supplies. Health-related data shows that the majority of the people who became ill in 2005/2006 sought medical attention from private clinics which they could access easily, as the majority of government hospitals were located over 5kms from where they lived. This distance is long given the limited transport alternatives in rural areas of Uganda. While various reasons were cited by people who did not seek medical care when ill, the cost of treatment, and long distances to the health facilities were most prominent at 32 percent and 11 percent respectively (UNHS, 2006:47). Also while, malaria can be prevented by sleeping under mosquito nets, the UDHS (2006) shows that in 2005/2006, only 13 percent of Ugandan households had a mosquito net and only 8 percent of less than five year-olds usually slept under a mosquito net.

Data also shows that toilet facilities in Uganda are limited. For example, the UDHS (2006:15) reports that nine in ten households use non-improved toilet/latrines facilities, just over 9 percent of households use improved toilet facilities (flush toilet, Ventilated Improved Pit (VIP) latrines, composting toilet, and pit latrine with a slab), and 12 percent of the households in Uganda have no toilet facilities of any kind. While flush toilets may not necessarily be better than other toilet facilities especially if the waste disposal mechanism is not standard, people need a toilet to dispose of their waste. This is because the use of appropriate toilet facilities is important in preventing hygiene-related

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illnesses like diarrhoea, intestinal infections, and cholera among other diseases. Yet in spite of this, 12 percent of Ugandans have no toilet facilities.

With regards to shelter, it can be said that people in Ireland live in more protective houses than most of their Ugandan counterparts. While it is true that temporary grass-thatched houses are an important cultural feature of all pastoralist tribes in Uganda, the majority of the tribes in Uganda desire brick-built houses because they do not contradict their cultural values. However, data from the two countries shows that save for 5,581 homeless people (Habitat for Humanity, 2009), the majority of people in Ireland live in brick-built, better floored, and better roofed houses than those of their Ugandan counterparts in Uganda, although some of them struggle to keep their houses adequately warm. For example, in the year 2007, almost 8 percent of people in Ireland could not afford to keep their homes adequately warm (ESRI, 2008). On the other hand, between 2005 and 2006, 42 percent of Ugandans lived in mud-wattle houses, 74 percent of all households had earth floors, and 39 percent of the households were grass-thatched (UNHS, 2006:102). The earth floors are prone to dust which may cause breathing and influenza-related complications. They can also be a breeding ground for fleas which can be a health hazard to human beings. Also the grass-thatched houses may expose occupants to dangers of the weather. So, while keeping the house warm and earth floors may not be compared, each one of them is a housing priority in the respective country. For example, heating houses is irrelevant for the people in Uganda since they live in comparably warmer weather than the Irish, but dust is relevant to Ugandans given the dusty conditions prevalent in the country especially during the dry season. On the other hand, people in Ireland desire heated houses given the comparatively cold conditions in which they live.

Related to shelter is the issue of clothing as a basic need. The UDHS (2006:87-89) reports that 87 percent of all occupants in Ugandan households owned at least two sets of clothes, and all members in 50 percent of the households wore shoes. Also it was only in 35 percent of the households that each child had their own blanket. While there is no data to show that there are people who do not have shoes in Ireland, there is data to show

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that in 2008, only about 3 percent of the people in Ireland were unable to afford two pairs of strong shoes, under 6 percent were unable to afford new (not second-hand) clothes, while just under 3 percent were unable to afford a warm waterproof coat (ESRI, 2008:66). Therefore, while a good number of Ugandans walk with bare feet, the concerns for their Irish counterparts are whether people have at least two pairs of “strong” shoes and whether people can afford new clothing and waterproof jackets, all of which are a luxury to the majority Ugandans.

There is also an issue of access to clean tap water and electricity in both countries. For example, the Eurostat (2002) report showed that 90 percent of the people in Ireland had access to clean drinking water then. Also the World Health Organisation report (WHO, 2004) put safe drinking water coverage in Ireland at over 95 percent with a difference of about 2 percentage points between rural and urban areas. Comparably, available data for Uganda indicates that in 2005/2006 only 66 percent of households had access to some safe water either from taps, tube wells/boreholes or protected wells and springs.

In terms of electrical energy, 9 percent of households in Uganda had access to electricity (UDHS, 2006:16). Because of the shortage of electricity supply, less than 1 percent of Ugandan households used electricity as the main source of energy for cooking. The UDHS (2006:104) also reveals that 78 percent of Ugandan households depended on firewood for cooking and 18 percent on charcoal. Overall, 96 percent of the households depended on wood fuel for cooking purposes, since charcoal is also made from wood. This is different from Ireland where the majority of people use either electricity or gas for cooking, lighting, and heating, although the country still relies on fossil fuels (EuroStat, 2008). Leave alone the environmental impacts of gas, electricity, and firewood energy, one would be excused to argue that using electricity or gas for cooking is more convenient than using charcoal or firewood.

When food is considered, the UDHS (2006:90-91) indicates that contrary to the World Health Organisation's recommendations of three meals a day per person, overall, 8 percent of Ugandan households took one meal a day in the years 2005-2006. Also, on average, one in every ten households did not serve breakfast to children below 5 years

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and about 2 percent of households did not have salt for some days in the year 2005/6. In Ireland on the other hand, data from the ESRI (2008:66) indicates that 3 percent of the Irish population could not afford a meal with meat, chicken or fish every second day. Again while the concern of Ugandans is about being able to afford three meals a day, the worry in Ireland is on whether people can afford a meal with meat, fish or chicken at least once in two days.

Data on women development and empowerment in both Ireland and Uganda indicates disparities between countries in favour of Ireland. For example, by the year 2000 for which this data is available, women comprised 35 percent of students enrolled in Ugandan universities (African Recovery, 2000; Liang, 2004) compared with Ireland at 59 percent (CSO, Irish Statistical Year book, 2008:119).

It appears that in both Ireland and Uganda, women as a group are more prone to crime and violence than men, although at different magnitudes. For example, the Uganda Demographic Health Survey (UDHS, 2006:291) reports that 39 percent of women in Uganda experienced domestic violence in the period 2005-2006. For a population of about 30 million people, 51 per cent of whom are women, it means that about six million women experienced domestic violence, most of which went unreported to the authorities. For example in 2006, only 599 women mastered the courage to report domestic violence cases to police and other women protecting organisations, out of an estimated six million women who endured it. In Ireland on the other hand, statistics show that in the year 2005, there were 795 cases of sexual offences against women among which 354 were rape cases (CSO, 2007:130). This data is consistent with data from Women's AID (2005:5-6) which reports receiving 3,781 cases of physical abuse against women, 821 cases of sexual abuse, and 371 specific rape cases. Although women are not yet free in both countries the situation is worse in Uganda where an estimated 39 percent of women are described as not being free (UDHS, 2006:291). The consequence of all these is that in the year 2008, Ireland was ranked number 51 on the Gender Development Index (GDI) compared with Uganda which was ranked number 108th (HDR, 2008).

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This section has presented development-related data on Ireland and Uganda as seen from the points of view of the various conventional approaches to understanding development explored earlier in this chapter. This information is important because it enables us to appreciate the distinctiveness in states of national development between Ireland and Uganda, which together with globalisation, are important forces expected to impact the career-related educational choices, and the university life experiences of respondents in this study.

2.6.0 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed both development and globalisation literature. In reviewing development literature, this chapter has highlighted the need for development to be understood holistically as reflected in cultural, economic, political, and social freedoms. Some criticisms of different perspectives on development have also been highlighted. These criticisms include the tendency of Modernisation approaches to assume a need for cultural shifts to Western mindsets, as well as to ensure greater integration of men and women into the global economy, which may be exploitative. With regards to Dependency theory, the criticisms include a failure to adequately account for the role of gender in development and the weaknesses of the Marxist development models offered. In view of these criticisms, the chapter has argued for a concept of development that emphasises local participation in setting goals and a recognition of the roles played by both men and women in development processes.

Central to the development debates is the issue of culture. Does development mean greater levels of gender equality? This chapter has shown evidence of women oppression in Ireland, a developed country, as well as in Uganda, a developing one. As Mohanty (1991) has argued, Westernised world views can mis-recognise non-Western cultures. This suggests a need for a more sensitive, but critical appraisal of local cultures and their impact upon equality for women. This chapter has also argued that globalisation is associated with some degree of Westernisation which is likely to be most evident among elites, and to give rise to hybrids and glocal cultures rather than

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homogeneous Western cultures. This chapter has concluded with a review of evidence from development sets on Uganda and Ireland.

CHAPTER THREE- Women and Career-related Educational Choices

3.0 FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE WOMEN'S CAREER-RELATED EDUCATIONAL CHOICES

"I went in to her and said, "I want to be an electrical engineer, and she said, "Oh have you ever thought of doing anything about office skills?" And I just got this wonderful reaction that I should learn to type. (A female respondent quoted in Carey, 1997:102)

3.1.0 Introduction

The last chapter reviewed both development and globalisation literature. It suggested that development should be understood holistically as reflected in cultural, economic, political, and social freedoms for both men and women. It also identified gaps in the literature on development, in particular whether development leads to greater freedom for women. The chapter also argued that globalisation is associated with some degree of Westernisation which is likely to be most evident among elites and to give rise to hybrids and glocal cultures rather than homogeneous Western cultures. This is another issue which needs to be explored by research. This chapter explores literature on the factors that influence the career-related educational choices of women in both Ireland and Uganda, as shaped by globalised Western cultural values and state of national development of the respective countries. Using Bourdieu's (1993) concept of the "habitus and field", where by the habitus represents individual competences such as (personal abilities, interests), and the field, economic, political and socio-cultural environments in which we live, this chapter argues that the factors which influence women's career-related educational choices are: bi-psychological, socio-cultural (stereotypes, traditions and beliefs), policy factors (such as availability of resources and recruitment policies), economic factors (such as fees availability, structure of the labour force), and personal factors (such as individual competences, intelligence, socio-economic background, interests and career aspirations). The chapter also highlights a gap in literature on this area in Uganda, which needs to be addressed through research. Finally, points out that both state of national development and globalisation can impact the economic, political, and social environments in which women live and in so doing shape the factors that influence these women's career-related educational choices. For

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example national development can influence educational policies such as funding which may directly influence career-related educational choices. Also, globalised Western cultural values can influence women's career-related educational choices.

3.2.1 Gendered Careers: The Jobs That Women Do

There is a general tendency to dichotomise careers that people do on gender lines. Most often, we associate women with courses and careers in the arts, humanities, and social sciences, and men with courses and careers in science, engineering, and technology. While this is often the case, gender differences in career occupations can vary from one country to another. This is so because gender is not the only factor that influences people's career-related educational choices. An examination of data on gender and educational participation trends in both Ireland and Uganda helps us to understand that other factors apart from gender impact the career-related decisions people make. For example, while data on gender gaps in course/subject choices in Uganda is consistent with the assumption that women do arts, humanities, and social sciences, data from Ireland is inconsistent with this assumption as we shall see in the following paragraphs.

There is neither sufficient nor up-to-date data on university enrolments by gender in Uganda. However, the little data available shows that in 2001, females formed only 4 percent of students in technical colleges, and 16 percent of those in agricultural and animal husbandry colleges. Also, in the year 2000, only 30 percent of students doing human medicine in Makerere University were female, and only 26 percent of students doing veterinary medicine, and the natural sciences were female (Court, 2000; Liang, 2004:33-34). While Makerere University is not the only university in the country, it admits over 75 percent of all students who join university each year. In light of this fact therefore, this data merits consideration. Muloni's (2000) research paper also indicates that in the year 2000, female students formed just 18 percent of advanced sciences classes, and 13 percent of engineering classes. What this means is that most female students were enrolled in arts, humanities, social sciences, and related courses.

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By comparison, data on gender and course up-take in Ireland indicates that gender balance in course and subject up-take varies considerably between the different fields of study with women out-numbering men in 70 percent of the various disciplines. For example, in the year 2005/2006, females out-numbered males in social sciences, arts and humanities, business, law, teacher training, and nursing (92 percent female), medicine (58 percent female), veterinary medicine, the life sciences, and the physical sciences. However men still out-numbered women among engineering and architecture, mathematics, computing, and agriculture courses (O'Connor, 2007:8). Data from the Central Statistics Office's (CSO, 2009) is consistent with this data that women in Ireland remain grossly under-represented in mathematics, technology and engineering related subjects at second-level education. For example in 2007 girls accounted for about 4 percent of Leaving Certificate students taking higher level engineering, 6 percent in construction studies, and 9 percent in technical drawing examinations. By comparison, girls made up almost 69 percent of higher level biology, and considerably higher proportions of women than men were taking English and European languages at higher level (CSO, 2009). This gendered subject take up at second level is replicated at university level as seen above (see O'Connor, 2007:8).

The gendered subject and course participation in schools and universities is associated with a segregated labour market. Other than being under-represented in engineering, science and technological job sectors, fewer women than men hold management and senior-level positions, even in occupational fields like education and health where they dominate (O'Connor, 2007). For example, in Ireland, the Central Statistics Office (CSO First Quarter, 2009) indicates that in the year 2007, almost 80 percent of staff in clerical grades in the civil service, were women. However, only 10 percent of women were at assistant and deputy secretary compared with 90 percent for men. In 2007, women formed 80 percent of all employees in the Irish health sector, 85 percent in primary education, and 62 percent in second-level education. However, women formed only 31 percent of medical and dental consultants, only 51 percent of primary school managers (which is low compared with their share in total work force), and only 38 percent of managers in second-level schools (CSO, 2009).

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On the other hand, data on job market participation in Uganda is limited. However, available data on education shows that teaching at both primary and secondary levels is dominated by men. Specifically, the most recent national teachers head count exercise conducted by Uganda's Ministry of Education and Sports shows that over 60 percent of all teachers at primary level are men compared with women at almost 40 percent. Also, over 75 percent of secondary school teachers are men compared with women at almost 25 percent (MEOS, 2008). However, even when data on careers in Uganda is scanty, the fact that few female students take science, engineering, and technology courses as indicated by Liang (2004) earlier in this section, implies that few women later take up careers in these fields. This is because most jobs are very much tied to the respective courses in those fields.

When data on course and career occupations in both Ireland and Uganda is considered we see local distinctiveness in gender and career-related educational choices. In particular, while the gender and course situation in Uganda is consistent with the assumption that women do courses and careers in arts, humanities and social sciences, and men do science, engineering, and technology, data from Ireland is inconsistent with this assumption as can be seen in the fact that women out-number men in most courses including those in science, and medicine, although men still out-number women in mathematics, and engineering related courses. This means that gender and career choice patterns are not necessarily uniform across countries.

This chapter has so far explored the gendered nature of course and career choices in both Ireland and Uganda. It is clear from the data presented so far that it is not wholly true that more women than men do courses and careers in the arts, humanities, social sciences, while more men than women do courses in science, engineering, technology and related ones. As we have seen, this does not have homogeneous applicability for all societies. For example, in Ireland higher proportions of women take science and medicine courses while their Ugandan counterparts do not. The fact that gender gaps in respective courses can vary from country to country implies that there are other factors other than biology, which influence women's career-related educational choices. At this

point I will proceed to explore literature on some theories of career choice to enable us understand fully the factors that impact our career-related educational choices.

3.3.0 The Factors that Influence Female Students' Career-related Educational choices: A Look at the Theories

This section will explore three theories of career choice to explain the factors that influence women's career-related educational choices. These are: Essentialist, Social Construction, and Individual Differences. These theories will be explained and critiqued. Research findings which support the respective theories will also be presented where possible. I begin with the Essentialist Theory of career choice.

3.3.1 The Essentialist Theory

This is one of the theories used to explain not only the gender differences in career choices, but also the factors that influence people's career-related decisions. The theory asserts that other than having explicit biological differences, men's and women's natures are fixed, unified, and opposed to one another (Trauth, 2002; Trauth *et al.*, 2004; Wajcman 1991:9). Therefore, because of these fixed and opposed natures, men's and women's behaviour is also inherent, fixed, group-level, and based upon biopsychological characteristics. Essentialists also assume that all the observed differences between men and women result from their biological differences (Marini, 1990; Adya (2008). In this theory therefore, biology precedes culture in influencing occupational choices (De Cecco and Elia, 1993). For example, in relation to IT careers, essentialists argue that men as a group make decisions about technology basing upon different criteria from that used by women as a group, and this explains the gender differences in IT courses and careers (Trauth, 2002; Trauth *et al.*, 2004). These theorists also claim that the different or opposing inherent psychological characteristics that males and females possess affect their relationship to or their adoption of technology (Trauth, 2002).

There are various instances where essentialism has been used to explain people's career-related choices. For example, in the 19th century, it was claimed that because women menstruate, they could not enrol in scientific and medical professions (Kleinman, 1998).

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Recently in the 1970s it was claimed that because women menstruated, they were hormonally unstable, so could not be as good pilots as men (Rogers, 1999:11). Geddes and Thompson (1989) also used such views to argue against women's participation in politics. They explained that scientifically, women conserve energy while men expend it. Because women conserve energy, they are passive, conservative, sluggish, stable, and uninterested in politics while men who expend energy are eager, energetic, passionate, variable, and therefore interested in political and social matters. This claim was used to infringe on women's political rights (Geddes and Thompson, 1989). It was argued that women should not be granted political rights because they would simply not be interested in exercising these rights given their disinterest in political and social matters (Moi, 1999). More recently, a biological difference in the size of male and female brains has been used to claim that because women have smaller brains, they are not capable of performing some specialised visual-spatial skills, like reading maps (Gorman, 1992). However, in regard to this Anne Fausto-Sterling (2000b) has questioned the idea that differences in brain sizes cause behavioural and psychological differences. This is because, the brain is a highly variable piece of anatomy, so generalisations about its size, shape, thickness, and what it can do or not do, should be viewed with caution. Secondly, differences in adult human brains are not found in infants, suggesting that physical brain differences actually develop as responses to differential treatment (Fausto-Sterling 2000b).

The essentialist theory has been lauded for giving great attention to the topic of gender and career choice (Wajcman 1991). Some studies of gender and career choice have vindicated claims made by essentialists. For example, Venkatesh and Morris (2000) examined mean differences between women and men in terms of abilities, traits, and psychological constructs and concluded that women and men process information and make decisions about technology usage in very different ways. Also, Venkatesh, Morris, and Ackerman (2000) report that technology adoption and sustainability is different for men and women. Therefore, among other things, productivity-enhancement factors (usage) should be emphasised for men and balanced factors (support and claims by peers) for women.

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In spite of its contribution to the gender and career choice debate, the essentialist theory has been criticised by, among others, Adam, Howcroft, and Richardson (2001), for placing too much focus on psychology at the cost of examining individual gender characteristics. Adam *et al.* (2002) also argue that essentialist theory dichotomises males and females by relying on stereotypical characteristics at the expense of other characteristics to explain differences in course and career choices that men and women make. Finally, the essentialist theory has been criticised for adopting a determinist stance of gender traits and preferences thereby failing to account for the influence of context on career and course choices (Trauth, 2002; Trauth *et al.*, 2004). This limitation is further explained by Marini (1990) when she says that the existence of historical and cross-cultural variation in gender role differentiation and stratification provides strong evidence to show that biological differences do not fully account for differences between the sexes. For example, Marini (1990) argues that sexual division of labour differs by culture and society and changes over time. Therefore the absence or presence of women in male-dominated careers is due to social constraints rather than biological forces.

The theory also assumes women to be one homogeneous group who are influenced by their presumed bi-psychological characteristics, yet this is not true. As we know, women come from a range of classes, races, sexual orientations, geographic locations, and generations. This means that women have different interests, values, behaviours, and mannerisms (Schiebinger, 1999), all of which may influence their career-related educational choices in different ways.

These criticisms indicate a gap in the essentialist theory's explanations of the factors that influence women's course/career choices. So, in the presence of this gap, there is a need to look at other theories that explain women's experiences of career choice. In the following section, I explore one of these namely; the social construction theory.

3.3.2 The Social Construction Theory

Unlike the essentialist theory, social construction theory argues that human outcomes cannot be fully understood by biological factors. Rather, these outcomes must be explained from a socio-cultural perspective (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Therefore, according to this theory, societal factors, not biological ones, are the primary constructs that shape individuals and their relationship to courses (Marini, 1990). For example, IT has been socially shaped as “men’s work”, and in so doing IT careers have been placed outside the female domain (Trauth, 2002; Trauth *et al.*, 2004). Social constructivists argue that men and women have different or opposing socio-cultural characteristics which subsequently affect their relationship to, and adoption of technology (Marin, 1990). In short, the social construction theory gives primacy to cultural beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions in explaining the career-related educational choices that women make.

The social construction theory is a robust perspective because it accounts for a range of social influences and messages women receive in a given context and how these impact upon women’s career-related educational decisions (Trauth and Quesenberry, 2007). It is therefore a very useful theory in explaining the role of sociological factors such as stereotypes in shaping career aspirations. Lastly, the social construction theory helps us understand that it is not only bi-psychological factors which influence women’s career-related educational choices as the essentialists claim, but also social-cultural factors.

In order to fully understand this theory, we shall look at various issues which can help us to clearly understand the impact of socialisation on women’s career-related educational choices. These are: stereotypes, beliefs, role models, schools, curriculum and teachers. We shall deal with each of these at a time beginning with stereotypes.

Stereotypes are defined by Deaux and Kite (1987) as a broad set of beliefs about the kinds of traits, attributes, or behaviours that can be (or should be) expected of a person of a given sex category. On the other hand, Wagner and Berger (1997), as well as Ridgeway and Correll (2000) define gender beliefs as a specific component of gender stereotypes: they are beliefs that men are more socially valued and diffusely more

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competent than women at things that “count”. What this means is that gender stereotypes include both status beliefs and other types of beliefs, say about appropriate role behaviours, sexuality, and violence. Gender beliefs reflect a cultural system, representing what we think “most people” believe or accept as true about the categories of “men” and “women” (Ridgeway, 1997; Deaux and Kite, 1987). Combined, status beliefs and stereotypes operate as schemas for interpreting and making sense of the social world (Fiske 1998; Ridgeway 1997) and their effect is potentially far reaching in a sense that even individuals who do not personally endorse beliefs that men are generally more competent than women, know that these beliefs exist in the culture and expect that others will treat them according to these beliefs (Correll, 2004).

Some research on gender and IT careers finds that the social construction theory is useful in explaining the role of stereotypes in shaping career aspirations (Correll, 2004). In showing the primary role of gender stereotypes in the career choice formation process, Eccles (1986:19) notes that academic course selection, career choice, attribution patterns, expectations for success, and perceived importance are all influenced by gender-role stereotyping. Miller *et al.*, (2004), and Correll (2001) explain that stereotypes link a social category such as “females” with particular attributes, for example, “caring”, “emotional”. These attributes are then extended to perceptions of ability, and in the case of occupational stereotypes, abilities at different jobs. Because of such stereotypes, pupils may draw on “gender appropriate” curriculum, subjects, and occupational choices to bolster their constructions of gender identity (Letts, 2001; Hughes, 2001; Francis, 2002). Moreover, pupils draw on “what they know”, and tend to make choices they deem appropriate for “people like me” (Reay, 2001). In particular, Joshi, Schmidt, and Kuhn (2003) found that in the US, the IT workforce is plagued with negative stereotypes of IT employees who wear glasses, sit in front of a computer all day, and workers who are nerds. Interestingly, these stereotypes about IT professionals do not fade away even when students are informed about IT careers (Joshi, Schmidt, and Kuhn, 2003), confirming the greater influence of gender stereotypes especially on female students’ career-related educational choices (Balcita, Carver, and Soffa, 2002).

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The second aspect of this theory is that of role models. Role models influence women's career-related educational choices because they are "living, breathing, strong, intelligent, loving counter examples in positions of public recognition and respect" (Morgan, 1999:130). Significant research supports the view that role models are vital influences on female students' career-related educational choices. For example, Fitzpatrick and Silverman (1989) found that in the US, the paternal role model was a key factor in the selection of highly non-traditional career occupations such as engineering for women. O'Connor (2002) argues that lack of female professors in Irish universities demoralises women who want to take up careers in academics. This view is consistent with findings of O'Shea, Killeavy, and O'Shea (2005) whose study of female under-graduate computing students in Trallee Institute of Technology in Ireland, found that lack of female lecturers in computing meant that female students did not have sufficient role models who are often needed to mentor and support young women. Other than women professors, there too are few women managers in Irish academic institutions (Pettinger *et al.* 2006), both of which mean that young women do not have enough role models to inspire them. In explaining this, Slaughter and Leslie (2001) have argued that there is highly individualised capitalist-inspired entrepreneurialism at the heart of the new academy which has allowed old masculinities to remake themselves and maintain hegemonic male advantage in the academy. For example, Probert (2005) notes that in higher education, especially at senior levels, "the ideal worker continues to be seen as one with no interests or responsibilities outside of work" and this profoundly disadvantages women (Bailyn, 2003: 141) who have to do a lot of other work outside the academy, specifically domestic work in the home. Also, in Uganda, Muloni (2000) notes that lack of sufficient numbers of female engineers in the country, is one of the reasons why few female students take engineering courses.

While role models can be public figures or our relatives, significant literature has specifically pointed out the impact of parental role models on female students' career-related educational choices. For example, in the UK, Blattel-Mink (2002) found that girls who pursued non-traditional subjects tended to be influenced by their father's occupations. Also, Breakwell (2001) reports that parental influence, particularly a

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mothers' perceived support of science, was important in shaping children's positive attitudes and liking of science. Parental influence on the course and career choices of their children is further explained by Archer and Yamashita (2003), and Reay (2001) who note that student's educational choices and aspirations are shaped by the perceptions of people around them. Since parents are the closest people to their children, most students assume placements aligned to their parents' or other close family members (Archer and Yamashita (2003). Parental support such as help with homework and giving advice can have a tremendous influence on children's career-related educational choices. This is so because, while extending this support, parents may display stereotypical tendencies which can influence the career-related educational choices of their children. This view is consistent with the study by Kelly *et al.* (1982) in the UK, which found that fathers helped more than mothers with Maths, whereas the reverse was true for English. Kelly *et al.* (1982) also reported that the majority of parents considered the jobs of nurse, secretary, social worker, and hairdresser much more suitable for girls than for boys, while the jobs of engineer, electrician, and draughtsman were considered much more suitable for boys than for girls (Kelly *et al.*, 1982:287-88). Such gendered parental attitudes on subject and careers can have a significant influence on the career-related educational choices of female students.

Other than the home, the school is also recognised as another social institution which influences students' career-related educational choices. This happens through a range of mechanisms which reproduce gender divisions as reflected in the expectations that parents, teachers and friends have for girls and boys. For example, in most societies, girls are expected to be docile and to engage in domestic work, while boys are expected to be adventurous and to engage in the highly competitive science and technological fields of public life. Since schools are mechanisms for reproducing socio-cultural values that people of a particular community cherish (Lynch, 1989; Lynch and Lodge, 2002; Bourdieu, 1990), the gendered expectations mentioned inform school curriculum and pedagogy leading to non-inclusive classroom environments that negatively impact girls' participation in classrooms (Gobina, 2005; Lynch, 1989; Lynch and Lodge, 2004). However, different school types may have significantly different influences on female

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students' career-related educational decisions. For example, Vezeau *et al.* (2000) and Viadero (2001) argue that single-sex schools are sex-segregated environments which inadvertently reinforce gender stereotypes. Jackson (2002), as well as Jones and Clarke (1995) note that even when we should expect students in single-sex schools not to be gender biased since they are devoid of comparisons in the classroom, these students still choose gender-specific career choices partly because of the gender biases they get from the hidden curriculum (Lynch, 1989) and peer pressure as documented by Adya and Kaiser (2005). By comparison, evidence shows that in mixed-sex classrooms, boys receive more attention than girls, and that teachers often initiate more interactions with boys than girls (Lynch and Lodge, 2002). Therefore, as Lynch and Lodge (2004:19) have noted, women in co-educational environments are less likely to be the visible or dominant group across all subject areas although this invisibility tends to be more pronounced in non-traditional subject areas like engineering. Further studies show that being educated with boys tends to put girls under immense pressure to conform to traditional gender role stereotypes (Lees, 1993).

One of the major ways in which schools influence gendered course choices in both Ireland and Uganda is through the curriculum offered, and time tabling practices. There is evidence to show that curricula in both Ireland and Uganda constrain students' subject choices in gendered ways. For example, in Uganda, most girls' secondary schools do not offer metal work and technical drawing, and most boys' secondary schools do not offer home economics (MOES, 2008). Gender differentiation in curriculum and timetabling in Irish second-level schools has been clearly documented by Lynch and Lodge (2004). The two authors note that in these schools, certain subjects are more likely to be available to boys than girls and vice versa. This view is consistent with that of Smyth and Darmody (2005:5) who say that historically, girls' schools in Ireland have been less likely to provide technological subjects and physics, and more likely to provide "accomplishment" subjects such as Art and Music. Like in Uganda, very few girls' schools in Ireland offer the technological subjects such as materials technology (wood) and technical graphics (DES, 2000b). In mixed-sex schools where both "feminine" and "masculine" subjects are offered, time-tabling practices discriminate against respective

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genders by making it impossible to enrol for subjects other than those in their “gender domain”. Lynch and Lodge (2004:18) have noted that timetabling practices used in Irish schools differentiate subject access according to gender by:

- Discouraging non-traditional entrants to particular fields
- Operating timetabling practices that polarise subject choices (timetabling home economics against technical drawing so that students have to choose one of these not both)
- Simply not encouraging students to make choices that are non-traditional

In Uganda, Mirembe and Davies (2001) also report that schools encourage girls to take home management whose curriculum includes learning sewing, cookery, washing, and other home keeping skills, while boys are encouraged to take the technical subjects. The two authors recall particular incidents during their research when girls were discouraged from taking food and nutrition, one of the subjects offered at secondary school, which meant that girls could not gain access to a desired new professional course, food science and technology, which was on offer for the first time at Makerere University.

In relation to the curriculum is the issue of the gender stereotyping of school subjects and how this affects female students’ career-related educational choices. For example, in Ireland, Smyth (2005) reports that many girls are reluctant to take technological subjects because: they see them as “dirty”, “noisy” and requiring physical strength; they do not intend to go on to craft jobs, such as mechanic or plumber; and they do not want to be the only girl in a class of boys. Research shows that in universities, women who enter science and technology programs leave them at a greater rate than men (Matyas, 1985; Morrell, 1991), or defect to non-science careers (Nevitte, Gibbons and Coddling, 1988). There are many reasons for such outcomes, including discomfort of being in a minority (Thomas, 1990); lesser likelihood of being accepted as a serious colleague (Matyas, 1985; Taylorson, 1984); sexist humour and language; textbooks that omit women's contributions (Morrell, 1991); and the scarcity of female role models and mentors (Frieze and Hanusa, 1984; Morrell, 1991). Data on female students’ experiences in computing classes at third-level education in Ireland is consistent with these

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explanations. For example, O'Shea, Killeavy and O'Shea (2005) studied the learning experiences of female undergraduate computing students of Tralee Institute of Technology in Ireland and report that the minority status of women on computing courses derailed the confidence of these female students and led to feelings of inadequacy and self-doubt. These findings are consistent with earlier findings by McQuillan and Bradley (1999), as well as those of Irani (2003).

Other than the curriculum, and timetabling practices, seen so far, teachers can also be highly influential on female students' career-related educational choices. This is because teachers implement school policy, besides hugely interacting with students. So their attitudes, beliefs and opinions on subjects/ careers are likely to influence students' career-related educational choices. In support of this assertion, Dick and Rallis' (1991) research in the US found that teachers had a strong influence on girls' who opted for careers in mathematics. Further research in the US found that teachers/counsellors influenced students' career-related educational choices in a variety of ways including, directing girls towards traditional careers, and boys to non-traditional careers (Gates, 2002). Turner *et al.* (2002) also found that male professors discouraged female students to join IT courses while Canes and Rosen (1995) found that male professors at times encouraged women to move from other courses to IT. More specifically, teachers have been found to influence female students' career-related educational choices through career guidance and counselling services in schools. Carey (1997:102) reports the experiences of one female student's encounter with her career guidance counsellor at a school in Ireland, thus:

I went in to her and said "I want to be an electrical engineer" and she said, "Oh have you ever thought of doing anything about office skills?" And I just got this wonderful reaction that I should learn to type.

What this tells us is that teachers and guidance counsellors sometimes divert students' career aspirations basing on gender occupational stereotypes. In this case, the counsellor does not ask the student why she wants to be an engineer but simply diverts her aspirations because she (the counsellor) believes women should be secretaries, not engineers. Gibson's (2002:56) research in Irish secondary schools noted that career

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advisors often diverted female students from careers in engineering. Both these findings could explain why the enrolment of Irish women in engineering and technology subjects and courses has remained very low despite huge increases in women's enrolment in science and mathematics (O'Connor, 2007). There is no sufficient literature on gender-biased career guidance in Ugandan schools and this highlights a gap in the knowledge on career guidance in Ugandan schools.

What has been said so far indicates that the social constructionist theory has tremendously contributed to research on gender and career choice. However, in spite of this, the theory has been criticised for focussing on monolithic societal messages, which makes it challenging to investigate the diversity of people. This is so because men and women as groups do not receive or respond to societal messages in the same way (Trauth and Quesenberry, 2007). There are often other individual differences within groups of men and women, which influence the way the individuals in these groups perceive societal information. For example in his study of masculine formations at school, Mac an Ghail (1999) found that while the anti-school students he studied were all male, the English boys' anti-school behaviours were a result of not only being male like the others (Afro-Caribbean, Irish, Muslim, Sikh and Hindu) but also resulted from being English and therefore not having one unified culture like those mentioned above. This means that other than being boys, they also had another identity which affected the way they behaved at school. He concludes that there is likelihood of considerable variations in the style of anti-school male behaviour across the United Kingdom informed by the diversity in male perceptions of what is considered masculine, even when the societal perceptions of masculinity in the UK are generally similar. Also Lynch and Lodge's (1999a) study of gender relations in Irish second-level schools found that boys equated superior masculinity with various forms of physical prowess, sport, strength, height, body size, and sporting prowess. For example, the two authors found that boys who were small for their age, of thin build, or over-weight were negatively sanctioned by their peers through jokes, teasing, and bullying, and so were taken as less masculine even when they too were males. Also, Haywood and Mac an Ghail (2003) note that some school girls adopt "macho" or masculine tendencies either

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to protect themselves from male harassment, join dominant male groups, or harass the less powerful male and female students. So masculinity is not always about boys but girls can also have masculine tendencies. All these show the dangers of assuming that gender socialisation is homogeneous across all societies and people of one gender will adopt these messages in homogeneous ways, be they in Ireland or Uganda.

The social construction theory also tends to depict individuals as empty organisms that are filled and shaped by society. This under-emphasises the role of consciousness or intention (De Cecco and Elia, 1993). Also, like the essentialist theory, the social construction theory views gender and technology as fixed and consequently assumes that women in professions like IT as a group are different from men, as a group, for sociological reasons. This suggests a gap in the theoretical options available for analysing gender and career choice, particularly IT careers (Trauth *et al.*, 2004) especially with regard to the argument that there is no "universal woman" (Trauth and Quesenberry, 2007). Indeed as earlier noted, women are not one homogeneous group but have numerous identities such as race, social classes, and age which distinguish them. Consequently, they have different interests, values, behaviours, and mannerisms and as a group, women have experienced a range of challenges, needs, and aspirations. Therefore, more cross-cultural comparisons are needed which examine a range of factors such as social, economic, institutional, cultural, and political, and their role in encouraging or discouraging women from participating in science (Schiebinger, 1999) and related careers.

In light of these criticisms, it is clear that just like the essentialist theory explored earlier, the social construction theory too does not fully account for the factors that influence female students' career-related educational choices. There is therefore a need to look at other theories which give attention to other explanations which are neither essentialist nor social constructivist. In the following section I explore one such a theory, namely; the individual differences theory.

3.3.3 The Individual Differences Theory

This section relies on the analysis developed by Trauth and Quesenberry (2007) to explain gender differences in career choices that are not explained by both the essentialist and social construction theories. The individual differences theory rejects the explanations of essentialists and offers a refinement of various under-explored areas of the social constructionists. The theory argues that both the personal characteristics of men and women, and environmental influences shape people's career-related educational decisions. Hence, its focus is on differences "within" rather than "between" genders. The theory also examines women as individuals who possess different technical talents and inclinations and respond to social shaping in unique and particular ways (Trauth and Quesenberry, 2007). Trauth (2002) and Trauth *et al.* (2004) agree that gender-based characteristics are not assigned to a group level; rather they are applied or challenged at an individual level when appropriate, so women as individuals have different abilities, interests and perceptions for certain careers, and make individual career-related educational decisions basing on these considerations.

Trauth *et al.* (2004) group the individual differences believed to be most relevant to gender and career choice into three classes namely:

- **Personal Data:** This includes demographic data (age, race, and ethnicity), lifestyle data (socio-economic class and parenting status), and workplace data (job title and technical level).
- **Shaping and Influencing Factors:** These include personal characteristics (educational background, personal traits, and abilities) and personal influences (mentors, role models, experiences with IT, and other significant life experiences).
- **Environmental Context:** This includes cultural attitudes and values (attitudes about IT and/or women), geographic data (about the location of work) and economic and policy data (about the region in which a woman works).

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All the three categories of individual difference constructs collectively contribute to the differences in career-related educational decisions that women make.

The individual differences theory has greatly contributed to the literature on gender and career choice by offering an alternative point of view which calls for an examination of individual variations among women, so as to avoid stereotyping or generalising to a holistic group of women. The theory also stresses the need to think about issues of gender in conjunction with, and not in isolation from, issues of class, race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation (Trauth and Quesenberry, 2007).

A number of studies in Australia/New Zealand, Ireland, and the United States have been carried out basing on the individual difference theory. Some of these studies are:

- In Ireland, Morgan *et al.* (2004) investigated how women in the IT profession are affected by, and relate to predominantly male informal social networks. The research analysis demonstrated that women respond to exclusion from the network in a variety of ways, depending upon environments, personalities, and responsibilities.
- In Australia and New Zealand, Quesenberry *et al.* (2004, 2006) investigated the role of balancing work family issues in the IT profession, and the connection between these issues and the under-representation of women in technical careers. The findings illustrated that everywhere, societal messages are complex and difficult to digest, and are processed in different ways by different women.
- In the United States, Trauth *et al.* (2005b) analysed the role of environmental context in the under-representation of women in the IT workforce. The results suggest that economic factors (for example, size of the information economy, household income, and cost of living), as well as cultural factors (such as attitudes and values regarding women, women working, and women working in IT) exert an influence on the experience of women in the IT profession.

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Further studies in the US including that of Holland (1997), as well as Stevens and Macintosh (2003) have confirmed that personality traits classified as feminine or masculine, influence occupational choices. Also, Trauth (2002:110) reports that women in IT reported several personality characteristics that made them the “odd girl out” – powerful, forthright, strong, ambitious, driven, mathematical, logical, and less social than other girls. Still in the US, Turner *et al.* (2002), as well as Reinen and Plomp (1997) report that although generally, female students do not enjoy using computers as much as their male counterparts, and perceive more problems with software, most IT career women report enjoying computers. This confirms that within genders are individuals with different capabilities, perceptions, and interests for different courses and careers.

We need to note that individual differences are not limited to gender alone but also to a number of other conditions and opportunities which people of the same gender may access, such as learning facilities and resources. Individuals' access to privileged resources may for instance influence their career-related educational choices. For example, in the US, Turner *et al.*, (2002) found that women who had taken IT courses and careers often cited school access to computers as the most prominent reason for their interest in an IT career. Other learning facilities may include adequate and well-equipped libraries and laboratories, lecture rooms, and a range of other facilities that enhance the learning experiences of female students. For example, a woman enrolled in a school with ill-equipped laboratories may opt to enrol for arts courses despite her interest in science subjects like physics which require adequate laboratory equipment. We need to note here that access to these facilities may depend on state of national development of the country in which a school is located. For example, industrialised countries may have more advanced learning facilities when compared with less or non-industrialised ones.

Individual circumstances which may influence female students' career-related educational choices also include their socio-economic status particularly as epitomised in their parental level of education. For example, in the US, Hotchkiss and Borow (1985) found that family socio-economic status, in terms of parental occupational status, income, and education, affects children's educational and occupational choices.

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Specifically, parental education level has been found to influence career decisions in the US (Marini, 1978; Mitchell and Krumboltz, 1985; Zuckerman (1981). O'Connell *et al.* (1989) also found that in the US fathers of female students in non-traditional fields had significantly more education at an average of 15.2 years compared with 13.1 years for the fathers of girls in traditional female fields. The findings of a study by O'Donnell and Anderson (1978) had also earlier indicated that a mother's educational level influenced females to pursue non-traditional careers. However, the relationship between parental educational level and student's freedom to choose career goals is not always positive. Indeed, in the UK Osgood *et al.* (2006) has found that girls' post-compulsory pathways differ significantly according to social class and ethnicity. For example, research by Mirza (1992), Lightbody *et al.*, (1997), Pang (1999), as well as Francis and Archer (2005) indicates that in the UK, some groups of minority ethnic girls are more likely than other girls to aspire to non-gender-traditional occupations. By comparison, working class White girls appear more likely to pursue gender-stereotypical future occupations (Biggart,2002; Francis *et al.*, 2003). However we need to note that while data on the impact of parental educational level on children's career-related educational choices may be applicable to Ireland, which is a developed country like the UK and the US where most of these studies were carried out, no sufficient data exists in Uganda to support this theory. This highlights a gap in the literature on the appropriateness of the individual differences theory in explaining the factors that influence career-related educational choices of women in a developing country like Uganda. It is therefore hoped that this research will help fill this gap by making this literature available.

Finally, differences in specific policy factors may have a different impact on career-related educational choices of female university students. For example, the science and technology education policy in Uganda which gives 75 percent of all government university scholarships each year to science, technology, and related courses, may lure female students into applying and enrolling for these courses so as to benefit from such initiatives. Policy factors could also include putting a ceiling on a number of people that can enrol on a course each year thereby increasing the competition in terms of cut-off marks/grades and denying certain students opportunities to do courses of their choice.

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Again, policies on government funding and a ceiling on number of students to be admitted on courses largely depend on educational funding which is often influenced by state of national of development of a particular country. It is expected that developed countries would allocate sufficient funding to universities to enable them equip their libraries and laboratories. They may also provide tuition-free education or student loans to enable students pay tuition for the university courses they want. These interventions can enable students to enrol for courses of their choice. By comparison, less developed countries may not afford such interventions thereby denying students opportunities to enrol for their first choice courses, and eventually attain their first choice careers.

The individual differences theory has contributed greatly to the field of gender and career choice. However, the theory can be criticised for under-rating the role of gender socialisation in the career formation process. This is because by analysing individual differences in one gender instead of analysing the differences between genders, the theory assumes that relations between genders are irrelevant to career choice formation processes, yet we all know that gender socialisation breeds gender stereotypes, beliefs and traditions which influence individual characteristics and perceptions like motivation, career expectations, and performance in certain subjects. For example, Fatma and Nihat (2004), Bebbington (2002), Harding (1992) and Trauth (2002) all point to the under-representation of women in science, engineering and technology (SET) as being largely caused by structural and societal influences earlier explored in section 3.3.3 of this chapter.

This chapter has presented data to show that in both Ireland and Uganda, school subjects, university courses, and career occupations are highly gendered. It has also explored and critiqued three theories of career choice to explain the factors that influence female students' career-related educational choices. We have seen that each of these theories on its own is inadequate in explaining the factors that influence female students' career-related educational choices. In particular, the essentialist theory has argued that biological and psychological differences between men and women not social influences explain the gender differences in career-related educational choices that

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women and men make. We have seen that while this theory is lauded for flagging the gender and career-choice debate in the academia, it has been criticised for placing too much focus on psychology/biology at the cost of examining individual gender characteristics, for relying on stereotypical characteristics at the expense of other explanations, for ignoring the influence of context on career-related educational choices, and for assuming that women are one homogeneous group despite the clear differences between women in terms of class, race, sexual orientation, geographical location, and age. All these mean that the essentialist theory does not sufficiently explain influential factors on women's career-related educational choices and leaves a gap that needs to be filled.

The social construction theory on the other hand has argued that men and women have different or opposing socio-cultural characteristics which subsequently affect their career-related educational choices. Therefore cultural beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions clearly explain the gendered career-related educational choices that women and men make. We have seen that the social construction theory is important in explaining gender differences in occupational choices because it accounts for a range of social influences and messages women receive in a given context, which messages influence their course and career goals. However, the theory has been criticised for assuming that all women and men are one homogeneous group which is affected by gender stereotypes, beliefs and traditions in similar ways which may not be the case. It has also been criticised for depicting individuals as empty organisms that are filled and shaped by society thereby relegating the role of consciousness or intention in shaping people's career-related educational choices. These criticisms suggest a gap in the theory's explanations of the factors that influence women's career-related educational choices.

Finally, the individual differences theory has argued that irrespective of gender, individual characteristics such as age, race, ethnicity, socio-economic class, educational background, personality traits, and personal influences all combine with sociological factors to influence people's career-related educational choices. This theory has been lauded for attempting to explain differences in occupational choices using both personal

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characteristics and social factors, something that borrows from both the essentialist and the social construction theories. However, we have also seen that the individual differences theory has been criticised for under-rating the role of gender socialisation in the career formation process by analysing individual differences in one gender instead of analysing the differences between genders. By doing this, the theory assumes that relations between genders do not influence career choices, even when we know that gender stereotypes, beliefs, traditions, and attitudes influence individual characteristics like motivation, perceptions, and career expectations. This theory also leaves a gap in its explanation of the factors that influence women's career-related educational choices, and the gender differences in career occupations between men and women.

In light of the gaps left by each of the theories on its own as indicated above, it is clear none of these theories can independently explain both the factors that influence female university students' career-related educational choices, and why these choices are often gendered. Therefore, in the following section, I present another model of career choice. This model logically evolves from the strengths and weaknesses of each of the theories discussed in this chapter. It therefore offers more adequate explanations of factors that influence female students' career-related educational choices.

3.4.1 An Alternative Model of Career-Related Educational Choices

This chapter has noted that the theories discussed in here do not sufficiently explain the factors which influence university female students' career-related educational choices in both Ireland and Uganda. This section presents a model that helps fill the gaps identified at the end of section 3.3.3 of this chapter. This model is largely based on Bourdieu's (1993) concept of the "habitus and field". Bourdieu (1977a, :72) says that the "habitus" constitutes "a set of durable, transposable dispositions" (or competences) shared by all individuals who are products of the same economic, cultural, and social conditioning, that regulates mental activity to the point where individuals are often unconsciously aware of their influence (Houston, 2002). These dispositions include knowledge and skills that people have acquired in their lives, and which either empower or disempower them. The habitus is therefore a set of regulatory schemes of thought and action, which

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social subjects (people) acquire through their participation in social fields (Bourdieu,1993).The habitus is strongly influenced by historical, social, and cultural contexts (O'Brien and Ó Fathaigh, 2005). For example, we know that certain social groups strongly value education.Often such values are shaped by a general set of outlooks in their immediate environment such as parental/peer expectations and social position that afford them some advantage in utilising the formal education system.These values may be deeply embedded within certain individuals' cultural make-up (O'Brien and Ó Fathaigh , 2005).

Bourdieu (1977a; 1993) calls dispositions (competences) in the habitus "capitals". According to him, there are four types of capital namely; economic, social, cultural, and symbolic.Economic capital refers to income and other financial resources and assets. It is the most liquid capital because it may be more readily converted into other capitals (Rudd,2003). It is also very important in education because it gives those individuals who possess it the capacity to purchase different types of educational services (such as private education, additional grinds/tuitions, distance learning courses) and associated resources (for example, childcare, transport, books, ICT equipment). However, important as it is, economic capital on its own is not sufficient to buy "status" or position. To be able to do this, economic capital has to interact with other forms of capital such as social capital. Social capital is understood to be a set of lasting social relations, networks, and contacts (Putnam,2001;Bourdieu,1993). Investment in social capital, acts as a kind of strategy which, unconsciously or otherwise, serves as a mechanism to exchange other capitals (O'Brien and Ó Fathaigh ,2005). In educational terms, one may rely on significant "others" in one's life who are well-positioned to enable material (and/or symbolic) access to new areas of expertise, resources, and support (O'Brien and Ó Fathaigh, 2005).The third category is called cultural capital.This comes in three forms-objectified,embodied,and institutionalised (Grenfell and James, 1998). Each form serves as "instruments for the appropriation of symbolic wealth socially designated as worthy of being sought and possessed" (Bourdieu, 1977c; Rudd,2003:54). The objectified form is manifest in such items as books, qualifications, and computers. The embodied form is connected to the educated character of

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individuals, such as accent and learning dispositions, while the institutionalised form represents the places of learning one may attend, for example, different types of schools, colleges, or universities. Finally, symbolic capital refers to the ways in which capitals are perceived in the social structure, for example, the status value attached to certain books, values, and/or places of learning (Bourdieu, 1977c). It should be noted that all forms of capital (economic, social, cultural, and symbolic) are the key factors that define positions and possibilities for individuals engaged in any field, which in this case is education.

The “field” on the other hand, is the social positions or structure or, social, economic and political environments in which we live (McNay, 1999). The concept of the “field” relates to a structured space of forces and struggles, consisting of an ordered system, and an identifiable network of relationships that impact upon the habitus of individuals (O'Brien and Ó Fathaigh, 2005). Education is regarded as a field because it sets its own rules, which regulate behaviour within it. Bourdieu (1993) claims that as certain individuals enter the field, they are (consciously or otherwise) more aware of the rules of the game and/or have greater capacity to manipulate these rules through their established capital appropriation such as prior qualifications or strong occupational and social status. Strategies (actual and/or symbolic in form) are thus employed by individuals to distinguish themselves from other groups and place themselves in advantageous positions via the effective utilisation and exploitation of forms of capital that they possess (Rudd, 2003). For Bourdieu (1993) the field is always characterised by struggle to succeed, and the outcome of this struggle is often determined by how much capital or resources (habitus) each of the competitors in a given field possesses. Therefore, dispositions (habitus) inform the practices of individuals and the internal dynamics of the field (social, economic and political environments), and become entrenched with time. This interaction of our habitus and the field influences our life choice decisions including career-related educational choices (McNally, 2006).

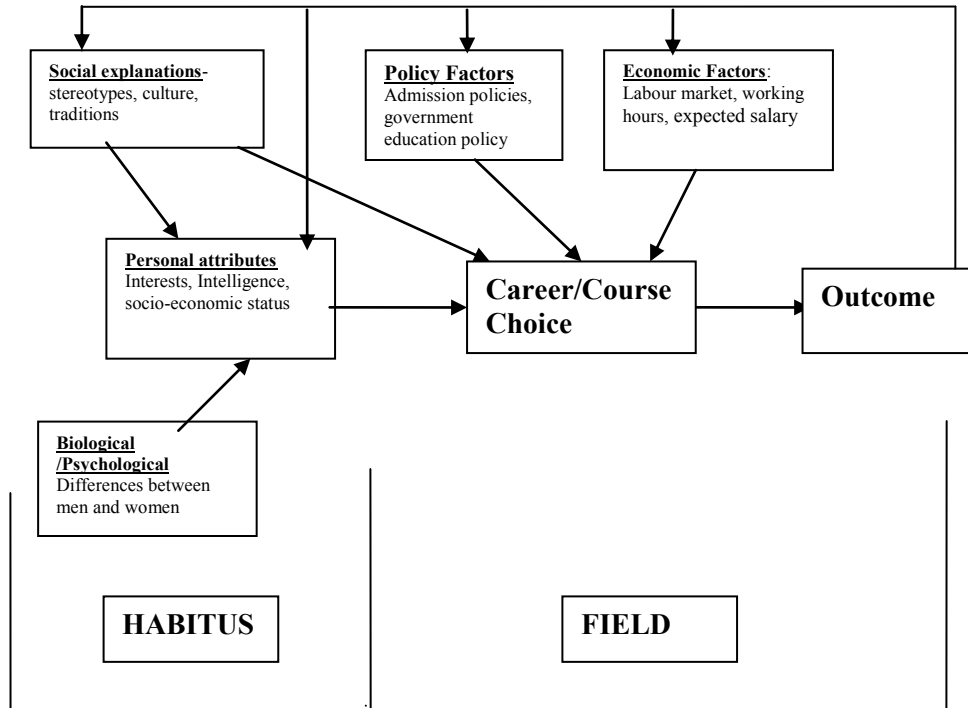
However, other than combining to influence our life choice decisions, the habitus and the field also influence one another. For example, our economic capital (habitus) may

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enable us to access education (field) and get qualifications, which may in turn influence our economic capital (habitus) by enabling us to get jobs and earn income. This is the idea of reflexivity. Reflexivity refers to the process whereby we continually reflect on how the assumptions underpinning our practice have been mediated through habitus and field (Houston, 2002). Bourdieu (1988) recommends that we often reflect on our personal values, attitudes, and perceptions (habitus) and how they shape our actions in the field. For example we need to consider how socialisation, education, gender relations, and social class, affect our decisions in the field. Simply put, the idea of reflexivity indicates the inter-connectness between the habitus and the field. The habitus is often acquired from the field and is used in various fields to achieve our goals. So the habitus is reflective of what takes place in the field just as the field determines what habitus people acquire.

The model of career choice proposed here shows that our career-related educational choices cannot be independently explained by biological, psychological, social and individual attributes, but rather by a combination of all these factors. In the following diagram, I present this model.

Figure 3: Alternative Model of Career-Related Educational Choices Representing Habitus and Field



This model shows that the “habitus” represented by social-cultural aspects, such as stereotypes, and traditions, as well as biological factors, influence individual attributes such as intelligence, interests, ambitions, which in turn influence career choice. However, the habitus (stereotypes, traditions, biological factors, intelligence, interests, ambitions) also combines with the “field” (policy, economic, and structural factors) to influence career choice. Also, this model shows that socio-cultural factors such as gender stereotypes or traditions can directly influence career choice. Finally, once an individual makes a career-related educational decision such as picking a course choice, the career that person gets after completing the course enables her/him to participate in the field, where he/she often influences structural, economic, and policy aspects of the field. In so doing, this person not only gains more habitus in terms of “capitals” but also contributes to the “capitals” or habitus of other players in the field.

3.5.0 Conclusion

This chapter has explored literature on the factors that influence the career-related educational choices of women in both Ireland and Uganda, as shaped by globalised Western cultural values, and state of national development of the respective countries. Using Bourdieu's (1993) concept of the "habitus and field", this chapter has argued that the factors which influence women's career-related educational choices are: bi-psychological, socio-cultural (stereotypes, traditions and beliefs), policy factors (availability of resources and recruitment policies), economic factors (fees availability, structure of the labour force), and personal factors (such as individual competences, intelligence, socio-economic background, interests, and career aspirations). The chapter has highlighted a gap in the literature on factors which influence women's career-related educational choices in Uganda. The chapter has also pointed out that both state of national development and globalisation can impact the economic, political, and social environments in which women live and in so doing shape the factors that influence these women's career-related educational choices. The following chapter examines the role of higher education in women's lives as impacted upon by state of national development and a globalised Western culture.

CHAPTER FOUR-Does Higher Education Liberate Women?

4.0 THE ROLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN WOMEN'S LIVES

Many students, especially those who are poor, intuitively know what the schools do for them. They school them to confuse process and substance. Once these become blurred, a new logic is assumed: the more treatment there is, the better are the results; or, escalation leads to success. The pupil is thereby "schooled" to confuse teaching with learning, grade advancement with education, a diploma with competence, and fluency with the ability to say something new... Medical treatment is mistaken for health care, social work for the improvement of community life, police protection for safety, military poise for national security...Health, learning, dignity, independence, and creative endeavor are defined as little more than the performance of the institutions which claim to serve these ends, and their improvement is made to depend on allocating more resources to the management of hospitals, schools, and other agencies in question.(Illich, 1970:1)

4.1.0 Introduction

The last chapter examined literature on the factors which influence women's career-related educational choices in both Ireland and Uganda as impacted upon by state of national development and globalised Western cultural values. While doing that, the chapter noted that no data exists on the factors which influence women's career-related educational choices in Uganda. This chapter examines the role of education in women's lives in both Ireland and Uganda. It shows that education can be empowering for women, but can also feed into a process through which the elites reproduce themselves. As such, it appears that it will rarely be liberating given that it does not often appear to challenge structural social inequalities. Also the chapter notes that save for the few broad correlational studies on health and childbearing, there is no data on the role education plays in elite women's lives in Uganda. This is an area that this research needs to address.

4.1.1 The Purpose of Education

Education is said to serve different purposes for different individuals or groups of people. Therefore, we need to understand the different approaches to describing the nature and function of education if we are to fully appreciate the role of education in women's lives. According to Lynch and Lodge (2002:1), education plays a foundational

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role in shaping the political, economic and socio-cultural life of any given society. It distributes cultural heritage, as well as legitimating and ordering socio-cultural relations. However, Lynch and Lodge (2002:1) further note that in a globalised geo-political order in which centralised knowledge greatly determines our occupational opportunities, education is a central player in the distribution of privilege. Consistent with this argument, Bourdieu (1996) notes that those who receive much formal education are more advantaged than those who receive little, and those who study from elite institutions are privileged over those who do not.

Other scholars note that education can serve different purposes for different political groups. For example, according to Carr (1998), education can be used for cultural transmission by the conservatives, for economic functionality by the modern-vocationalists, and for political liberation by the liberals. Askandar (2005:159) agrees, and explains these multiple functions of education clearly when he says:

For sociologists, education serves as a socialising institution for attaining norms and values within society. For educationalists, education is an institution for individual development and self-enhancement. For religious groups, education brings tranquillity to life and peace to the individual, and also to society. For rulers, education plays a role in creating a competent human resource for nation and state building. In politics, education is used to propagate the preferred ideology of the state in order to obtain support from the citizenry.... In economic terms, education provides for productive human resources...

Not only does this quotation show that there are various perspectives to understanding the purpose of education, but it also shows that education can both enhance and, or hinder the personal, economic, political, and social wellbeing of both the individuals who acquire it and their societies. It can therefore be used as a tool for enslavement or for liberation.

According to Freire (1966), education is never neutral. It either propagates the dominant ideology of a particular society or it becomes a practice of freedom which up-sets the status quo. This means that education can either reproduce or reform, economic, political, and social structures of society at the same time. However, most education systems in patriarchal and capitalist societies are designed to maintain and sustain the status quo,

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thereby keeping both the oppressor and the oppressed in their respective places. In the Foreword to Freire's (1996:16) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Richard Shaull explains Freire's conviction that:

There is no such a thing as a neutral educational process. Education either functions as an instrument that is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity, or it becomes "the practice of freedom", the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world.

So, while education can help women to deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world, it can also encourage conformity to the status quo. Consequent upon this dichotomy, this chapter uses two perspectives, namely; the reproduction/conforming, and the reforming/liberating perspectives to review literature on the role of education in women's lives. The following section explains one of these; the reproduction/ conforming perspective.

4.2.1 The Conforming /Reproduction Perspective

This perspective argues that education does not only conform to tradition but it also reproduces it. In so doing, education sustains the status quo with the oppressed and the oppressors in their respective positions (Sullivan, 2001). Bourdieu and Passeron (1977; 1990) use the theory of reproduction to explain how schools reproduce social and cultural inequalities. The two authors argue that despite ideologies of equal opportunity and meritocracy, few educational systems are called upon by the dominant classes "to do anything other than reproduce the legitimate culture as it stands, and produce agents capable of manipulating it legitimately" (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990:59-60). Bourdieu (1998), as well as Lynch and Lodge (2002) note that schools embody the culture of the dominant group, that is, the group that controls the economic, political, and social resources. Education is one of the most effective means of perpetuating the existing social pattern because it both provides an apparent justification for social inequalities and gives recognition to the cultural heritage which it treats as natural (Bourdieu 1974:32). It justifies inequalities through some of its practices such as ability grouping

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in schools and treats the cultural heritage as natural by transmitting this same culture without questioning aspects of it that reflect inequality.

According to Lynch (1989) the concept of education as an agent of cultural reproduction may not be so explicit in the open curriculum as in the the hidden one. The hidden curriculum refers to the unwritten social rules and expectations of behaviour that we all seem to know, but were never taught in school (Bieber, 1994). More specifically, the hidden curriculum is “a broad category that includes all of the unrecognised and sometimes unintended knowledge, values, and beliefs that are part of the learning process in schools and classrooms” (Horn, 2003:298). The hidden curriculum operates both in the classroom, and outside the classroom in co-curricular activities. It is therefore determined by what takes place in the pupils’ society. So, through both the hidden and open curricular, schools have the potential to reproduce society’s economic, political, and social inequalities (Lynch, 1989:4; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Drudy and Lynch, 1993; Lynch and Lodge, 2002).

We now know that education can reproduce economic, political, and social inequalities in society. Such an education is conformist or oppressive. We need to understand the nature of a conforming or oppressive education, before analysing literature on the specific role of higher education in women’s lives in Ireland and Uganda. The following section serves this purpose.

4.2.2 What is Oppressive/Conformist Education

Various scholars have attempted to define, and explain oppressive education. One of this is Freire (1996). According to him, oppressive education can be seen from both curriculum, and pedagogical standpoints. With regards to the curriculum, teachers in an oppressive education teach topics which are irrelevant to the needs of students. Consequently, education never helps students to understand their problems, and later on figure out solutions to these problems. In terms of pedagogy, oppressive education is characterised by a narrating subject who is a teacher, and patient listening objects who are the students. Rather than interest students in the subject, the teacher’s purpose in the

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classroom is to ensure that students take in all that they are taught, even when it may not relate to reality. That is why the teacher teaches students to record, memorise, and repeat statements such as, “two times two is four”, without stopping to think what “two times two” means or what “two” is to “four” and vice versa (Freire, 1996:54). This type of education is suffering from “a narration sickness” because its content, whether values or quantitative dimensions of reality, tend in the process of being narrated, to be “lifeless and petrified” (Freire, 1996:54). Freire (1996:54) refers to oppressive education as “banking education” which he describes succinctly when he says:

In banking education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those they consider know nothing. The teacher presents himself to these students as their necessary opposite. The teacher considers students’ ignorance absolute, he justifies his own existence and the students accept their own ignorance as justifying the teacher’s existence, but they never discover that they too educate the teacher.

Freire’s (1966) ideas on oppressive and liberational education are shared by other scholars among them Illich (1971). According to Illich (1971:22-23), the oppressive nature of education is evident in the power relations in student-teacher interactions where the teacher tramples on the student’s freedom, and privacy. Other scholars in Africa have documented ways in which education can be oppressive. For example, Biko (1971) describes the education which was used in Apartheid South Africa as oppressive because it was intended to humiliate the majority black people while elevating the minority whites. Biko (1971) explains that the white historians who taught in schools did not only distort African history, but they also disfigured African heritage by equating it to barbarism, tribal battles, and internecine wars. Consequently, African children learned to hate their heritage, and to admire that of the dominant white minority. Such an education could never liberate African men and women from a race-based oppressive economic, political, and social system. It could only reproduce, and sustain apartheid. Other than Biko (1971), Nyerere (1979), and Kassam (1995) have also critiqued colonial education for destroying the consciousness of the oppressed people and keeping them dependent on the colonial masters for virtually everything.

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A considerable number of feminist scholars have also questioned current educational systems with regards to their aims and pedagogy. For example, Arnot (2002:258) notes that colonial education was as “domesticating” to the colonised people as current education in patriarchal societies is “domesticating” to women. She believes that most current education contradicts liberal democratic principles which emphasise individual autonomy and a broad balanced curriculum. Other than this, gender discrimination is often evident in the selection, distribution and evaluation of educational knowledge for young men and women. Harding (1998) also notes that current education in patriarchal societies is highly gendered in favour of males because it reflects and supports male domination in terms of curriculum content, pedagogy, and social interactions outside the classroom. It is therefore only meant to keep men in power and convince women to conform to this arrangement. In short it domesticates women into the roles that society has prescribed for them (Arnot, 2002). It cannot therefore bring about equality between men and women (Weedon, 1987), and is therefore oppressive. As earlier pointed out by Lynch and Lodge (2004; 2002), schools in Ireland are places where gender, social class, racial, and other inequalities are reproduced and sustained. For example the two authors note that gender inequalities are sustained through time-tabling practices which deny girls chance to take technology subjects which are often timetabled with home economics particularly in mixed schools. The two authors note other mechanisms which sustain inequality in Irish schools as; ability grouping and banding, high cost of transport, uniform, and voluntary contributions (Lynch and Lodge, 2002; 2004).

We have seen that education often reproduces, and sustains social, economic, and political structures of inequality in society through both the open and hidden curricular, as well as pedagogy. In the following section, we explore another perspective which sees education as liberating.

4.3.1 The Liberational Perspective

Other than reproducing inequalities in society and enabling women to conform to patriarchal oppression, higher education can also empower women to resist this oppression and liberate themselves. However, proponents of the liberational perspective

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believe that education can only liberate women and other oppressed groups if it is specifically designed for this purpose (Weedon, 1987; Giroux, 2003). The key argument of this perspective is that rather than liberate the oppressed people, conventional mainstream education often helps them to conform to existing structures of inequality as we have seen in the previous section. To counteract this, liberational theorists such as Freire (1970), Steve Biko (1971), Weiner (1994), bell hooks (1994) and Arnot (2002), among others, call for a liberational form of education. So, before we examine ways in which higher education can be liberating, it is worthwhile to understand what is meant by liberational education. The following section serves this purpose.

4.3.2 What is Liberational Education?

There is no clear and precise definition of liberational education. However, various liberational theorists agree that a liberational education is one that builds freedom, equality, and social justice in both content/curriculum and instruction (Freire, 1996). Liberational education involves the exploration of ways in which education may be a liberational force within society. It is one of those theories collectively known as "people's educational theories", all of which hold that education at the national, local, and university levels should involve input from all stakeholders (Freire, 1996). This is important because it is through collective participation of all stakeholders, that people are empowered to take charge of their destiny. In short, we can say that a liberational education is one which builds democratic ideas in curriculum and methodology. It is also education which does not discriminate in terms of gender, social class, and race. So, liberational education aims at destroying structures of inequality in society. Therefore, unlike conformist/ reproductive education, liberational education reforms the status quo by destroying bases of oppression.

Proponents of liberational education such as Biko (1971), Freire (1996) and Weiner (1994), believe that oppressive power systems such as Apartheid in South Africa, colonialism, and patriarchy, often target and destroy the critical consciousness of the oppressed people rendering them powerless to comprehend, and later on resist their oppression. Therefore, the primary aim of any liberational education should be to enable

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the oppressed regain their critical consciousness without which they cannot regain their freedom (Biko, 1971; Burke, 2004; Freire, 1996; Weiner, 1994). Therefore the oppressed people require education that will enable them to be critical and in so doing regain their critical thinking powers through a process of “conscientisation” (Freire, 1996). Conscientisation is liberating because it helps the oppressed people to define the world, from their perspective, rather than passively accepting what is taught to them by the oppressors (Freire, 1996). That is why once begun, conscientisation should continue whenever and wherever needed (Freire, 1996). Biko (1971) also argues that since the first step in liberating the oppressed is to raise their consciousness on the problems that oppress them, conscientisation should seek to show the oppressed people the value of their own standards and outlook, so that they can judge themselves according to these standards, and not be fooled by the oppressors who have taken away the oppressed people’s identity, and used their standards as the yardstick by which even the oppressed people judge each other.

Giroux (2003:11-12) one of the proponents of liberational education argues that education should be a form of political intervention capable of creating opportunities for social transformation, while teaching should be a moral and political practice premised on the assumption that learning is not about processing received knowledge, but about actually transforming this knowledge as part of a more expansive struggle for individual rights and social justice. This implies that liberational education should help students to expand, and deepen their understanding of economic and political democracy, and social relations of power, and how such an understanding can be used to liberate the oppressed (Giroux, 2003). So, the biggest challenge facing progressive educators within oppressive societies is to provide students with the skills, knowledge, and authority they need to recognise anti-democratic forms of power, and to fight deeply rooted injustices (Giroux, 2003), including gender inequalities in society. In order to achieve this, liberational theorists call for a “problem solving education” which includes critical thinking and dialogue exercises in the classroom (Freire,1970; Weiner,1994; Giroux, 2003). Contrary to what is done in a “narrative education”, these theorists emphasise active participation in learning, and believe that students should be co-investigators in the classroom and not

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just passive recipients (Freire, 1996; Gould, 1993). This makes both teachers and students partners in the learning process. However, the classroom environment will need to be free enough to enable students' interaction with one another, and with their teachers. As bell hooks (1994: 207) one of the greatest feminist writers argues, learning should not only aim at bringing about freedom but the learning environment should also reflect this freedom. In her words, bell hooks (1994: 207) says:

The academy is not a paradise. But learning is a place where paradise can be created. The classroom with all its limitations remains a location of possibility. In that field of possibility, we have the opportunity to labour for freedom, to demand of ourselves and our comrades, an openness of mind and heart that allows us to face reality even as we collectively imagine ways to move beyond boundaries, to transgress. This is education as the practice of freedom.

Indeed this is a proper concept of liberational education which can hugely impact upon the liberational efforts to free women and other oppressed groups from dominant oppressive educational systems.

Because liberational education should be a means to effective social change, it should involve the oppressed, including women, in re-defining the process of education and learning in society (Gould, 1993). Weiner (1994:117-118) argues that for women to be liberated, feminist educators need to take part in developing anti-sexist and non-discriminatory curricular. For her, curriculum design should be a democratic process in which all stakeholders, including students participate. Weiner (1994) notes that engaging female students in curriculum design can help them to engage in a critical feminist counter discourse. For example, female students may be encouraged to think creatively if they participate in putting together sections of different curriculum units and if given space in the curriculum to enable them pursue major enquiries into women's lives, as well as explore the nature of patriarchal relations. Also, to make education relevant to the needs of women, feminist educators should both maintain their critique of existing school practices, and propose ways in which current educational practice should be changed to serve the interests of women, as well as offer new challenges to meet the ever changing circumstances (Weiner,1994:117-118). Finally, feminist educators should

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be consciously positioned within educational practices, such as teaching, policy formulation, and curriculum design, if education is to serve the interests of women (Weiner, 1994:118).

We have seen that education can enable people to conform to, and reproduce economic, political, and social inequalities in society, but that it can at times empower, or even liberate women. However, available literature shows that educational attainment often empowers women but rarely liberates them. This could be mainly because most of this education is designed to benefit men, not women. Indeed as Weedon (1987) and Giroux (2003) noted earlier at the beginning of this section, education can only liberate oppressed groups, including women, if it is designed for that purpose. The following section, explores the various ways in which higher education empowers women, but falls short of liberating them.

4.4.0 Higher Education Empowers, but Does not Liberate Women

On a more general note, it has been argued that education can play a vital role in enhancing wellbeing by empowering those oppressed by dominant economic, political and social systems. Swain (2005:1) argues that education is knowledge and knowledge is power. Therefore knowledge is pivotal to empowering disadvantaged groups (Swain, 2005:4). From a feminist perspective, education can empower women to resist some discriminatory patriarchal practices which affect them. In this major section, we look at ways in which higher educational attainment brings about health-related, economic, political, and social empowerment for women. We shall start with the health empowerment aspect.

4.4.1 Higher Education and Health-related Empowerment

Numerous studies have shown that women who have attained higher educational qualifications are more empowered health-wise than those who have no education. For example, in the US, Wolfe and Haveman (2002) have found that individuals with higher educational attainment have healthier habits, and lead better lifestyles than those without. The authors report that an additional year of schooling for women, is estimated

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to reduce their average daily cigarette consumption by 1.1 percent. Though not specifically about women, UK studies have also shown clear links between the level of educational attainment and patterns of smoking, with higher education graduates less likely to smoke, and more successful when attempting to quit (Sander, 1995). For example, Pulkki *et al.* (2003) found that those in the lowest educational group were eight times more likely to be smokers than those in the highest educational group.

Higher educational attainment has also been related to reduced risk of weight-related illnesses. For example, a study conducted in the US by Kenkel (1991) found that better-educated people were less likely to be over-weight and tended to engage in more exercise per week than the less educated ones. Most interestingly, Kenkel (1991) reports that each additional year of schooling adds about 17 minutes on exercise for an individual per week. Similar findings are reported in the UK and Ireland. For example, in the UK, individuals with upper secondary level qualifications or above were found to be more likely to take part in regular exercise than those with lower qualifications (Wadsworth, 1997). Also, a study of sports participation in Ireland found that those with lower second-level education or less were five times less likely to play sport than those with Third-Level education (Lunn, 2007). Research in the UK and Ireland has also found that higher education graduates have greater knowledge of health conditions and treatment regimens, as well as better self-management skills than those with less education. This has been found across a range of illnesses including HIV/AIDS (Layte, 2006) in Ireland, as well as diabetes (Goldman and Smith, 2002), and rheumatoid arthritis (Katz, 1997) in the UK. There is also evidence in the UK to suggest that those with more education have higher participation rates in prevention programmes such as cancer screening (Chiu, 2003; Sabates and Feinstein 2006). Very importantly, studies in the UK show that women with low educational attainment are less likely to be knowledgeable about the health effects of smoking, particularly during pregnancy for women (Arnold *et al.*, 2001; Logan and Spencer, 1996), and too much weight (Kennen *et al.*, 2005). Another study across 22 European countries found that, overall, people with low education were more likely to report poor general health (Von dem *et al.*, 2006). Other studies in Europe have also associated low education levels with increased

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risk of death from lung cancer (Mackenbach *et al.*, 2004), stroke (Avendano *et al.*, 2004), cardiovascular disease (Huisman *et al.*, 2005) and infectious diseases (Stirbu *et al.*, 2008). Also correlations have been reported between education and a range of illnesses including back pain (Dionne *et al.*, 2001), diabetes (Maty *et al.*, 2005), asthma (Eagan *et al.*, 2004), dementia (Fritsch *et al.*, 2002) and depression (Feinstein, 2002). All these studies show that higher education is associated with many health benefits for its graduates, including women, and is therefore empowering.

In Ireland, Higgins *et al.* (2008:5) report that higher education graduates are more likely to engage in healthy behaviours, and less likely to adopt unhealthy habits, especially with regards to physical activity, diet, smoking, and sex. This finding is consistent with findings from other studies in the UK and Ireland. For example, in the UK people with higher levels of education are likely to consume more fruit, vegetables and fibre, and be less fat than those with less education (Johansson *et al.*, 1999; Fraser *et al.*, 2000). Also a study conducted amongst young adults in Ireland found that those with lower levels of education were more likely to have sexual intercourse at a younger age, were less likely to use regular contraception, and were less well-informed about sexually transmitted infections such as Chlamydia (Layte *et al.*, 2006). Specifically for women, teenage births in the UK are more common amongst girls with less education (Kiernan, 1997). Also, de Walque (2005) found that educated women in Uganda were more likely to use condoms, and less likely to have AIDS, but this relationship emerged only in 2000 after a decade of information campaigns (in 1990 education did not predict incidence of AIDS). This positive relationship can be explained by the ability of highly educated women to understand messages in the anti-AIDS campaigns through the media. This is one classic example of how higher education empowers women, particularly in a country like Uganda where gender differences in educational attainment are still wide (UDHS, 2006).

A correlation has also been found between parental educational level and their children's health. For example, Leigh (1998) has shown that in the UK, the education level of mothers is likely to have a greater impact on children's health than that of fathers. Also,

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Vereecken *et al.*, (2004), and Roos *et al.* (2001) report that children whose mothers have higher education levels are more likely to consume a healthy diet. There is further evidence by Miech and Chilcoat (2005) to show that adolescents in families with low maternal education are more likely to use illegal drugs than those whose mothers have low education or no education. Parental educational level is also linked to children's vaccination. For example, a review of childhood vaccinations in the US found that mothers with low or no qualifications were less likely to have their children vaccinated than those with higher qualifications (Racine and Joyce, 2007). Further data shows that a mother's education is strongly associated with infant and child health, both in the US (Meara, 2001; Currie and Moretti, 2003), and in developing countries (Strauss and Thomas, 1995). More educated mothers are less likely to have low or very low birth weight babies, and their babies are less likely to die within their first year of life. However this is not always the case as studies in the UK have come up with different findings. For example, with regards to the Measles, Mumps, Rubella vaccine (MMR) in the UK, research shows there is a lower up-take of the single vaccine among children with highly qualified mothers (Hansen and Joshi, 2007). This is likely to happen if educated parents have unanswered questions about such programmes from health care workers. Therefore, while this may be seen as a negative effect of higher education, it can also be an indicator of health literacy of educated parents which enables them to question health programmes before committing to them. Also, while the studies presented here show that highly educated mothers reproduce their elite status by transferring their health-related privilege to their children, which in itself may not be liberating or reforming, the fact that highly educated women lead better health lives for themselves and their families as enabled by their health literacy, and the power to question health programmes such as vaccinations, all show that higher education empowers women.

All the health benefits that are likely to accrue from higher educational attainment may be due in part, to both occupational and locational choices. For example, highly educated people often choose occupations with relatively lower hazards, and also have the power to decide to live in less-polluted areas. Also, because highly educated people are health

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literate, they have the skills which enable them to acquire health-related information on issues like nutrition and life style, for example, more exercise; less or no smoking, and, or more appropriate health care methods, easily (Wolfe and Haveman, 2002). Kenkel (1991) agrees that highly educated individuals are likely to be better skilled at identifying relevant health-related information and using this information to achieve behaviour conducive to better health, although he cautions that most of the variation in health outcomes cannot be explained by differences in knowledge relating to health. However, despite this caution, Kenkel (1991) still insists that education appears to have an effect on health independent of income, race, social background and other factors. In so doing, higher educational attainment dismantles the possible influence of all background factors that often impact people's lifestyles such as social class or gender inequalities to influence similar health benefits for all educated people including women.

Higher education can also be said to enable women, particularly in developing countries, to reform some traditional concepts of the family such as the desire to have big families, particularly prevalent in Ugandan communities. For example, Gould (1993) found that in Uganda, more women with higher education used birth control measures than those without. Gould (1993) argues that children of highly educated couples are well spaced because these couples are aware of, and can afford contraceptive methods. This enables them to determine when to have children. Psacharopoulos (1991) says that educated couples desire and have fewer children because, other than their knowledge of family planning methods talked about by Gould (1993), education leads to late marriages, and consequently lower fertility rates. This assertion is consistent with data on fertility rates in Uganda presented in the Uganda Bureau of Statistics report (UBOS, 2000) which shows that the total fertility rate for Ugandan women then was 7.8 among women with no education, 7.3 among women with some primary education, and 3.9 among women with some secondary education. This means that on average, women with no education have about four children more than women with some secondary education. While this can be seen as the role of higher educational attainment in empowering women to have freedom of choice on the number of children they want to produce, it can also be seen as one of the ways in which higher education propagates Western family ideologies that

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stress fewer children, in developing countries such as Uganda, where big families are still largely valued. So, we can say that though it empowers women to make reproductive choices for themselves, higher education is in this case a mechanism through which Western notions of the family are spread to developing countries where they may impact family values, especially among the educational elites. In this case, it is one of the mechanisms through which Modernisation as we saw in chapter of this thesis, entrenches itself in developing countries such as Uganda.

Higher educational attainment has also been closely linked to psychological development in terms of personal behaviours and attitudes. It is believed that higher educational attainment enables individuals to have self-efficacy (Christensen *et al.*, 2006). It can also increase psychological resilience and improve coping mechanisms. For example higher education graduates report a greater sense of control over their lives which in turn may lead to better health (Ross and Van Willigen, 1997; Stevens *et al.*, 2007; Feinstein *et al.*, 2003). Also, highly educated older adults are likely to demonstrate more positive psycho-social traits than those without higher education (Murrell and Salsman, 2003). This could be because education may increase the likelihood of identifying more closely with attitudes that improve health, since educated people often mix in environments where others have acquired specific cognitive and personal development skills (Fuller, 1994). This data is however gender blind, so it is assumed that these benefits will accrue women with higher educational qualifications.

This section has explored the role of higher education in health-related empowerment of women. It has shown that higher educational attainment empowers women to lead healthier lives by giving them freedom to make health-related life decisions. However, it ought to be mentioned here that some of these benefits may be partially attributable to the socio-economic backgrounds of those who can afford the cost of higher education, rather than being direct outcomes of higher educational attainment. It has also been noted that higher education is also an agent of Western cultural imperialism, especially among elites in developing countries such as Uganda, where it has been found to upset family-related cultural values, such as the desire for big families. However, as noted at

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the beginning of this section, the empowerment which highly educated women get extends beyond their health-related life aspects to include economic, political, and social aspects. In the following section, I explore ways in which higher educational attainment empowers women economically.

4.4.2 Higher Education and Economic Empowerment of Women

Central to the role of higher education in economic empowerment is the issue of human capital. It is believed that higher education creates human capital, which enhances not only personal but also economic, political, and social wellbeing of individuals, and their societies (Bloom *et al.*, 2006; Halsey *et al.*, 1997; Haveman and Wolf, 2002). Human capital refers to individually possessed knowledge, skills and competencies that are largely acquired through learning and experience, although some are innate characteristics (Buchmann and Hannum, 2001). The human capital acquired through higher education can empower women economically. However before I go into the details of this matter, it is important to note the inherent conflict which exists between the role of education in creating human resources by imparting required knowledge and skills among its graduates. While scholars such as Todaro (2000), and Bloom *et al.* (2005), agree that education imparts job-relevant knowledge and skills in its graduates, others such as Bowles and Gintis (1976:131), Halsey *et al.* (1997), and Buchmann and Hannum (2001) disagree. Bowles and Gintis (1976:131) argue that education does not necessarily impart these competences but only enables its graduates to develop work habits that facilitate efficient individual and organisational functioning. Both at school and work, these characteristics tend to focus on following rules and procedures, submissiveness to authority, loyalty, punctuality, and others (Farkas, 2003). Similarly, Halsey *et al.*, (1997) argue that education does not impart job-relevant knowledge and skills, but simply acts as a screening device which enables employers to identify individuals who possess either superior innate ability, or certain personal characteristics like attitudes towards authority, punctuality, or motivation, which employers value and reward highly. Finally, Buchmann and Hannum (2001) also agree that educational credentials are a simple and readily measured proxy for skills and competence, but do

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not reflect human capital obtained through informal training or through experience. Moreover there are cases where different societies have different educational credentials that can be difficult to compare (Buchmann and Hannum, 2001). This conflict is pertinent to any discussion of the role of education in economic empowerment. Despite these arguments however, available literature points to a number of ways in which higher educational attainment empowers women economically.

Sen (1995) argues that the best thing you can give to a person if you want to develop him/her is a job. If this argument is to be believed, then higher educational attainment is crucial to the development of women. Significant data exists to show the relationship between higher educational attainment and the likelihood of being employed (see Halsey *et al.*, 1997; Haveman and Wolf, 2002; Bloom *et al.*, 2006; Todaro, 2000; Moore, 2004). Studies by Todaro (2000; UDHS, 2006) in Uganda, and Nolan, *et al.*, (2000), Healy and Cote (2001), and Doyle *et al.* (2005), in Ireland have all found that highly educated people earn more than those with less education. Specifically, in Uganda, Todaro (2000) found that on average individuals with higher educational qualifications earned 6.4 times higher than those with primary education. In Ireland, Doyle *et al.*, (2005) have also found that higher education graduates are more likely to be employed than those with low levels of education, and that, an additional year of education can yield between 8–10 percent higher earnings per annum for the individual (Healy and Cote, 2001). However, men and women may experience different rates of return. For example, a Northern Ireland study found that women earned up to 12 percent more per year of education compared to 8 percent for men (Walker and Harmon, 2000). Also, and very importantly, a number of studies suggest that higher educational attainment reduces gender disparities in earnings. More specifically, in New Zealand, Nair (2007) found that controlling for all other factors, differences in earnings between males and females tend to be lesser when individuals have tertiary level qualifications than when they hold lower qualifications. This can be partly explained by the fact that women with higher qualifications have greater engagement with the labour market. Therefore, other than increasing women's earnings, higher educational attainment for women helps in narrowing the gender pay gaps, and could therefore bring about gender parity in pay,

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other factors held constant. So, while women's up-take of public jobs in capitalist economies where there are evident inequalities, and the double burden of working women, may be seen as lending support to both capitalism and patriarchy, we should not be blind to the freedom of choice that comes with income, which is no doubt empowering to women. However, education falls short of liberating women because it rarely helps them to change societal bases of oppression. For example when women are empowered to work and earn incomes, they most often do so in capitalistic structures which keep them in low paid part-time work, where their chances of promotion are minimal, their educational qualifications notwithstanding (Mies, 1986; Manning and Petrongolo, 2006). There is also evidence to show that highly educated women who take up paid employment do so in areas which act as extensions of their domestic work such as social work, care, nursing and teaching (Solga and Konietzka, 2000). They also suffer from the double burden of public, and home responsibilities, because they retain their reproductive roles in the home (Irving, 2008). This double burden can increase stress and create health problems for these women (Dalla Costa, 1995; Irving, 2008). Therefore, while higher education might be seen as empowering women to do paid work, it is rarely liberating in that these women help sustain patriarchal and capitalist power systems which oppress women. In so doing, these women participate in their own oppression.

However, empowerment is more than jobs, and earnings. There is literature to show that even those educated women who do not take up public paid jobs are empowered to be effective in their reproductive functions in the home. For example, in the US, educated women who worked in the home were found to provide better sanitation conditions in the family, and prepared more nutritious meals than their less-educated counterparts. When this happens, members of such families fall ill less often and frequently attend to their economic activities, or even reduce the government's expenditure on medical care for its citizens, all of which contribute to the economic wellbeing of their communities (Wolfe and Haveman (2002). However, because for such women, education never changes traditional concepts such as the sexual division of labour (see Walby, 1990) which keeps them tied to reproductive functions in the home, it is clear that education

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empowers them to effectively do their reproductive functions as allocated by the patriarchal culture, but does not liberate them.

Other than enhancing employment opportunities, higher educational attainment also enables its graduates to work wherever they want, something that precipitates rural-urban and local global shifts of labour (Ki-Zerbo, 1997). This is well explained by Ki-Zerbo (1997:154) when he says: “the student with a primary school certificate goes to the little town, the one with a high school diploma to the capital, the graduate and the post-graduate to rich countries”. This shows that higher educational attainment makes it easier for people, especially in developing countries to move their labour to developed countries where there are greener pastures. So higher education empowers those who acquire it including women with the capacity to choose where to work globally.

We have explored the various ways in which higher education empowers women economically. The following section explores the various ways in which higher educational attainment can lead to political empowerment for women.

4.4.3 Higher Education and Political Empowerment of Women

In section, 4.4.0 of this chapter, it was pointed out by Swain (2005:1) that education can play a vital role in enhancing political wellbeing by empowering those oppressed by dominant economic, political, and social systems. This is so because education breeds knowledge which is pivotal to empowering disadvantaged groups (Swain, 2005:4). Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995) say that an individual's level of education is one of the most important predictors of many forms of political engagement and participation. They define political participation as “activity that has the intent or effect of influencing public action, either directly, by influencing the making of public policy, or indirectly, by influencing the selection of political decision makers” (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995:38). This definition includes voting, campaigning for a party, or supporting party work through other means such as policy development, membership drives, contacting policy-makers directly by writing, or telephone, protest activities, getting involved in organizations that take a stand in politics, taking part in

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informal efforts to solve community problems, and serving in a voluntary capacity on local governing boards, such as school or zoning boards (Goetz, 2003).

Going by the above definition of political participation, evidence exists to show that higher educational attainment increases political participation. For example, Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) note that in the US, other factors held constant, higher educational attainment increases political participation. Also, in the US, Halliwell and Putnam (1999) found that highly educated people were not only more likely to participate in the political affairs of their communities, but also to make more informed choices when voting. Also, Schuller *et al.* (2001) report a strong correlation between levels of education and membership of political organisations, environment or women's groups in the United Kingdom. One of the reasons for this is that highly educated people have high-level literacy skills which enable them to participate in political activities like voting (Swain, 2005). For example, in Ireland, highly educated people have been found to show greater interest in politics, and to take part in political activities such as voting (Green, Preston, and Sabates, 2003). Helliwell and Putnam (1999) also note that increases in average education levels increases levels of trust, and does not reduce political participation levels. Also, in Ireland, highly educated people have been found to show greater interest in politics and to take part in political activities such as voting (Green, Preston, and Sabates, 2003), partly due to the better level literacy skills they possess, which enable participation in political activities such as evaluating political programmes with a view to challenging them.

We need to note that political engagement for highly educated women can be both conforming, and reforming at the same time. For example, ability to make more informed political choices when voting is empowering to women although this may not lead to their liberation. Particularly, these women can vote in leaders who are insensitive to the plight of women thereby sustaining gender inequalities. So while the political benefits of higher educational attainment mentioned here, such as participation in political activities, may liberate women given that they often help sustain gender and other inequalities in society, they nevertheless show that educated women are empowered to

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take part in political activities such as voting to determine their political destiny, and that of their fellow less or non-educated women. Clearly, some of this data is gender-blind, implying a gap in the literature on the role of higher education in women's lives, which this study intends to fill.

This section has explored the various ways in which higher educational attainment can empower women to take part in the politics of their communities, although their involvement rarely changes political bases of inequality and discrimination that oppress them. So, while higher educational attainment has been shown as leading to political empowerment for women, no evidence has been presented here to show that it liberates women politically. The following section explores ways in which higher educational attainment empowers women socially.

4.4.4 Higher Education and Social Empowerment of Women

Other than empowering women economically, and politically, higher education also leads to social empowerment of women. This section explores some of the ways in which educational attainment does this.

Research has shown that higher education increases an individual's level of trust, which is good for society. For example, in the US, Bloom *et al.* (2005) found that highly educated people were more trusting of others than their less-educated or non-educated counterparts. Wolfe and Haveman (2001) also found a positive effect of neighbourhood human capital variables on anti-social behaviour in the US, which may result in savings on social welfare programmes and crime prevention/law enforcement budgets.

A correlation between higher educational attainment and charity work has also been documented. There is evidence to show that the amount of time and money devoted to charity is positively associated with the amount of schooling. For example, in the US, Hodgkinson and Weitzman (1988) found that college graduates volunteered nearly twice as many hours, and donated 50 percent more of their income, than high school graduates. In the UK, the National Child Development Study (NCDS) data reveals a strong correlation between levels of education, and membership of charity, residents,

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and parent-teacher associations (Schuller *et al.*, 2001). Bynner *et al.* (2001) also report that UK higher education graduates are three times more likely to be current or active members of a voluntary organisation than those who have not completed upper secondary (below A-Levels), and about twice as likely as upper secondary completers. Also, highly educated people are said have good social engagement skills which make it possible for them to participate in voluntary community activities (OECD and Statistics Canada, 2000). For example, using data from the United Kingdom, Bynner *et al.* (2001) report higher levels of “social skills” including organising, advising, and counselling skills for higher levels of education, and argue that these skills have the potential to enhance the quality of civic engagement. In Ireland, an individual’s level of educational attainment has been found to be very strongly related to engagement measured by volunteering or active community organisation membership (National Committee on Volunteering Ireland, 2002:16). It has also been documented that higher education graduates in Ireland are more likely to join voluntary associations and participate in community activities (Healy and Cote, 2001; McGill and Morgan, 2001).

All these studies show that higher education empowers women to partake in the social affairs of their communities. Having examined the various ways in which higher education empowers women, health-wise, economically, politically, and socially, this chapter presents its conclusions.

4.5.0 Conclusion

This chapter has explored literature on the role of education in women’s lives. Overall, this chapter has made the point that higher education can be empowering for women but, it can also feed into a process through which the elites reproduce themselves. As such, it appears that it will rarely be liberating given that it does not often appear to challenge structural, social, political, and economic inequalities. Save for the few broad correlational studies on health and childbearing, as well as, on higher educational attainment, earnings, and HIV prevention, there is no data on the role education plays in elite women’s lives in Uganda. This study intends to fill this gap by making this data available.

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The last three chapters have presented relevant literature on approaches to national development and the role of the media in cultural globalisation, on the factors which influence women's career-related educational choices, and on the role of higher education in women's lives, in Ireland and Uganda. Chapter 2 identified that the question of whether development leads to cultural change or not is more complex than it appears. If development is associated with a change in culture this may lead to improvement in women's lives towards equality with men. Nonetheless, seeing this requires a sympathetic, but critical review of the status of women in both the traditional and the globalised Western cultures. The chapter noted that since development and globalisation seem more likely to lead to hybrid cultures, we need to know what sort of hybrid culture develops, and what is the status of women in this culture? This requires us to explore the lives, and culture of elite women in Uganda. On the other hand, chapter 3 identified factors that need to be explored in order to understand women's career-related educational choices namely: socio-cultural, policy, economic, and individual-related. The chapter also highlighted that there is no data on this area in Uganda, which is an issue that needs to be addressed through research. Finally, chapter 4 showed that education can be empowering for women, but can also feed into a process through which elites reproduce themselves. As such, it appears that it will rarely be liberating given that it does not often appear to challenge structural social inequalities. The chapter noted that save for the few broad correlational studies on health and childbearing, as well as, on higher educational attainment, earnings, and HIV prevention, no data on the role education plays in elite women's lives exists in Uganda. This is another gap that this research needs to fill.

Having analysed the literature relevant for this study, the following chapter will present the methodology for this study. The methods used for this study were chosen because of their suitability and potential to generate appropriate data to answer the research questions for this research, and in so doing fill the gaps in the literature as identified in the preceding literature review chapters.

CHAPTER FIVE-Mixed Methods or Triangulation

5.0 METHODOLOGY AND STUDY DESIGN

There is no distinctive feminist research technique...a flexible approach is recommended so as to allow the nature of the research situation to determine which method(s) are the most appropriate (Daly, 2000:66-67)

5.1.0 Introduction

The last three chapters have presented relevant literature on approaches to national development and the role of the media in cultural globalisation, on the factors which influence women's career-related educational choices, and on the role of higher education in women's lives, in Ireland and Uganda. This chapter explores the research design of this thesis. In order to appreciate this thesis, it is important that we understand the methods used in collecting, presenting, analysing, and interpreting data collected for this study.

The methodology used in this study was mainly influenced by the aims of the research and the research questions, which were in turn influenced by the gaps identified in the review of the related literature in chapters 2-4 of this thesis, and presented at the end of chapter 4. This study employed both qualitative and quantitative research methods. I used quantitative methods, such as a survey questionnaire, mainly because I needed data from relatively large numbers of people in order to be able to meaningfully compare experiences. On the other hand, I needed to understand in greater depth those issues that had emerged from an analysis of quantitative data, and this could be achieved by using qualitative methods such as focus groups interviews. Besides, such qualitative methods were appropriate for exploring culture, process, and meaning in which I was interested. Mixing qualitative and quantitative research methods enabled triangulation, while case studies in particular enabled comparison between the two samples.

5.1.2 Rationale for the Study

Women in Uganda's universities are caught between two worlds. They lead lifestyles that are partly Western, and partly local. This study aimed at finding out the impact of a

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global media and a country's state of national development on the factors which influence women's career-related educational choices, and life experiences in higher education both in Uganda, and Ireland.

In 2004, I carried out a case study on factors which influenced career-related educational choices of female secondary school students in selected schools in Mbarara District in Western Uganda. This study was carried out as part fulfilment for the award of a Master of Arts Degree (Women Studies) of University College Dublin. The findings of the study indicated that gender stereotypes, beliefs, and norms greatly influenced the career-related educational choices of the female students. I also found that poverty, exorbitant school fees, inadequate learning and teaching facilities, as well as inadequate guidance and counselling services in schools, all influenced not just the career-related educational choices of the female students, but also their school life experiences. I understood this situation to be a result of Uganda's low level of national development, so assumed that the situation would be better if Uganda was more developed than it is. In order to find out if a country's state of national development was a significant factor in determining the career-related educational choices, and the school experiences of female students, I needed to study the career-related educational choices of Ugandan female students in comparison with those of female students from a more developed country than Uganda. At the same time, as soon as I went back to Uganda after the M.A course, I became aware of an increase in mobile communication technology, television stations, and internet use in the country, all of which exposed people to the Western way of life. Clearly, a significant number of my students talked, and dressed like the students I had seen in Ireland. They also had similar tastes, interests, and ambitions. This made me realise that other than distinctiveness in state of national development, globalised Western lifestyles especially through the media could be an important force in shaping influential factors on female students' career-related educational choices, and their school life experiences. So I needed to do a study that would help me find out what happened to female students' career-related educational choices and their school life experiences in a situation where distinctiveness in state of national development, and globalised Western cultural values meet. However, unlike in the M.A study, I wanted

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my sample to be drawn from university female students. This was because, at university level, the students are closer to the end of their academic careers, are much nearer to the world of work, and are expected to have concretised their career goals more than their high school counterparts in the M.A study. Besides, it was hoped that at this level, the young women would have clear perceptions of their university life experiences which I needed to capture if I was to really appreciate the wider role of development, and the cultural globalisation in their lives.

As already noted, I needed a group of female university students to compare with Uganda's cohort, but these students had to be living in a country that was visibly more developed than Uganda, but which was also similar in certain social, educational, and historical aspects. I finally chose Ireland for this study because the two years I had lived in the country had made me realise that although Ireland and Uganda are different in terms of national development, they share similar educational systems, and a patriarchal culture. The development levels of the two countries can be affirmed by various development data. For example, the UNDP (2006) report ranked Ireland as 4th richest country while Uganda was ranked number 145 out of 177 countries. In terms of human development (HDI), the (2008) HDI report put Uganda at 156 out of 179 countries in the world, while Ireland was at 5th position. In terms of gender equality, the Gender Development Index (GDI, 2008) put Uganda at position 108 out of 179 countries, while Ireland was number 51 on the index (UNDP, 2008). Given these development-related variations between the respective countries, I expected to find differences in the factors that influenced university female students' career-related educational choices, and their university life experiences. However, I also felt that the presence of Western cultural values, particularly among Ugandan elites, would impact respondents' career-related educational choices, and their university life experiences.

My reading and writing of related literature presented in chapters 2-4 of this thesis brought to the fore a number of gaps, presented at the end of chapter 4, but which I need to briefly review here for clarity purposes. Chapter 2 identified that the question of whether development leads to cultural change or not is more complex than it appears. If

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development is associated with a change in culture, this may lead to improvement in women's lives towards equality with men. However, the chapter further noted that seeing this requires a sympathetic but critical review of the status of women in both the traditional, and the globalised Western cultures. Since development and globalisation seem more likely to lead to hybrid cultures, we need to know what sort of hybrid culture develops and what is the status of women in this culture? This question requires an exploration of elite women's lives and culture in Uganda. On the other hand, chapter 3 identified factors that need to be explored in order to understand women's career-related educational choices, namely: socio-cultural, individual-related, policy, and economic. The chapter also highlighted that there is no data on this area in Uganda highlighting the need for this issue to be addressed through research. Finally, chapter 4 showed that education can be empowering for women but can also feed into a process through which the elites reproduce themselves. As such, it appears that it will rarely be liberating given that it does not often appear to challenge structural social inequalities. Save for the few broad correlational studies on health and childbearing, as well as, on higher educational attainment, earnings, and HIV prevention, there is no data on the role education plays in elite women's lives. This too is an area that this research needs to address.

So, the desire to fill the gaps in the literature as identified here instigated this study. These gaps also influenced the research objectives and questions of this study.

5.1.3 The Aims of the Research

This is a comparative study of the factors that influence female university students' career-related educational choices, and their university life experiences in Mbarara University in Uganda, and the University of Limerick in Ireland. The overall aim of this study was:

- To investigate the factors which influence female university students' career-related educational choices, and their university life experiences, as well as their perceptions of the role of higher education in their lives, in a situation where

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distinctiveness in state of national development, and globalised Western cultural Values interface

It was stated in section 5.1.2 of this chapter that a review of related literature for this study found that both development and globalisation led to hybrid cultures. There was need to understand the status of women in this hybrid culture in particular whether they enjoyed equality with men or not. To understand this clearly, there was a need to explore the lives of elite women's and culture in Uganda. On the other hand, chapter 3 identified factors that needed to be explored in order to understand women's career-related educational choices, as being socio-cultural, individual-related, policy, and economic. The chapter also highlighted lack of data on this area in Uganda. Finally, chapter 4 showed that save for the few broad correlational studies on health and childbearing and HIV prevention, no significant data existed in Uganda on the role higher education played in elite women's lives. In light of these gaps, as well as, the major aim, and objectives of this study, it was important that questions which can generate data required to achieve the aim, and objectives of the study, as well as, fill the gaps in the literature be asked. Consequently, the following research questions were formulated to guide me in the collection and analysis of data for this study. For clarity purposes, these questions are presented in relation to the gaps in the literature which they were intended to fill:

Nature of culture (Western, Uganda, Hybrid)

- How do female students in both Mbarara University in Uganda and the university of Limerick in Ireland , perceive of their term accommodation and pocket money?
- In what ways are the lifestyles of Mbarara University respondents similar or different to those of their University of Limerick counterparts, and what are the possible explanations for the differences and , or the similarities ?

Factors that influence Career-related Educational Choices

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What are the specific reasons behind respondents' career aspirations and course choices, in Mbarara University in Uganda, and the University of Limerick in Ireland?

- How do distinctive university education funding policies in Ireland, and Uganda, impact upon the career-related educational choices, and the university life experiences of samples of female students in both Mbarara University in Uganda, and the University of Limerick, in Ireland?
- What are the specific perceptions of the impact of parental educational level on their course and career aspiration choices, that samples of female students, one from Mbarara University in Uganda, and the other from the University of Limerick in Ireland, hold?

Role of Higher Education in Women's Lives

- What specific perceptions of the role of university education in their lives, do samples of female students in both Mbarara University in Uganda, and the University of Limerick in Ireland hold?
- What are the tuition fees experiences of a sample of female students from Mbarara University?
- What are the specific perceptions of the impact of parental educational level on their pocket money, accommodation, and tuition fees experiences, that samples of female students, one from Mbarara University in Uganda, and the other from the University of Limerick in Ireland, hold?

Having looked at the rationale, and aims of this research, it is important that we explore some of the research theoretical frameworks relevant to this study before examining the research design. This is because, theoretical research frameworks help us to comprehend research methodological paradigms, and consequently the methods we use in any study.

5.2.0 Theoretical Perspectives in Social Research

This section presents sociological research theories which explain the distinguishing characteristics of social life, and can help researchers in designing research questions, and formulating research methods. It is important that we look at these theories in order to understand the choice of methods used, the questions asked, the design, collection, analysis, and interpretation of data in this study. The section explores only those perspectives which form the basis of the methodology used in this study. These are: Positivism, Phenomenology, and Feminism. I will start with Positivism.

5.2.1 Positivism

Positivism is one of the major theoretical research perspectives which this study needs to explore in order to help readers understand the rationale for the methodology used in this study. The term Positivism was first coined by a French philosopher Augustine Comte who lived between 1798 and 1857 (Barbie, 2001:44), but it became a dominant theoretical framework in social science research from the 1930s through to the 1960s (Gray, 2004:18). Positivism proclaims that scientific methods of research are suitable to social sciences especially when both natural and human sciences are dealing with facts, and not values (Gray, 2004:18). Positivism claims that the social world is revealed to us, not constructed by us. It is therefore external to the observer although it consists of phenomena that can be observed (Yeats, 2003). If the observer wants to study the social world, he/she makes up theories that describe the phenomena, particularly the order in which events take place, and makes testable predictions about how that order will display itself in the future (Williams, 2000).

Positivism proclaims that only those phenomena, which are amenable to the senses, can be warranted as knowledge. Therefore, phenomena which cannot be observed either directly or through experience or indirectly with the aid of instruments should not be counted as knowledge (Bryman, 2004; Yeats, 2003). This means that metaphysical notions of feelings or subjective experience cannot be counted as knowledge unless they

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can be rendered observable. Consequently, positivists argue that knowledge should be separated from feelings and belief, because these two cannot be observed by the researcher through the senses. For example, we may believe in God but we cannot experience God through our senses, that is, we cannot see, hear, taste, smell, and touch God. Therefore, such belief is not knowledge, for knowledge statements about the world must be consistent with our senses" experience of the world (Payne and Payne, 2004:171). Positivism also argues that if research is to be objective and valid, researchers should be purged of values which may impair their objectivity, and in so doing, undermine the validity of knowledge they produce. Therefore, positivism does not support attitudinal research because attitudes are not exactly quantitative (Gray, 2004).

Positivists advocate for research hypotheses usually in form of postulated casual connections between the entities, which are then submitted to quantitative test (Judy and Judy, 2004). For example, science starts with general accounts of reality and uses a deductive approach to extract specific propositions from these general accounts of reality. This is usually done by constructing a scientific theory to explain the laws pertaining to a particular field or a hypothesis or hypotheses, in order to enable the scientist to test the theory. If the hypothesis is rejected when submitted to rigorous quantitative examination, the theory must be revised (Bryman, 2004).

Positivism champions research methods like surveys which collect numerate data because it is believed these render social phenomena objective and untouched by people's interpretive capacities. The data in a positivist model of social research is thus called "hard", and is presumed to be unadulterated by the interpretive process of either the subjects of the research or the researchers themselves. Such data is numerate, and therefore is said to describe natural phenomena by use of figures or numbers (Yeats, 2003:237).

In light of what has been said about this methodological perspective so far, it is clear that Positivism supports quantitative research methods such as surveys and experimental research, which it deems reliable and objective, given that their findings are achieved

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through observation, not, belief, values or feelings (Bryman, 2004). It also favours regularity, measurement, abstraction, and indifference to what is being observed (Judy and Judy, 2004). Positivism has therefore contributed a lot to current research practice, as seen in the popularity of experimental research, and surveys in the natural, and social sciences, respectively.

However, despite the above contributions Positivism has been criticised on a number of grounds. For example, Williams and May (1996:27) describe it as “one of the failures of modern philosophy” and question it on the assumptions it makes about scientific inquiry. These authors argue that while science is interested in producing theoretical explanations, these explanations do not only have to be on the basis of what can be observed. For example, some branches of science consist entirely of mathematical formulations. Typically, science does not begin from observation but from theory to make observations intelligible. So, even observations are theory laden, and may therefore not be as objective as is claimed by positivists (Williams and May, 1996). Therefore, as Crotty (1998) notes, while positivists often tend to present their research findings as objective facts and established truths, this is not always true. Also, Shutz (1967) and Bryman (2004:78) criticise positivism for arguing that the scientific method can, and should be applied to all phenomena being investigated. Shutz (1967) argues that there is a clear difference between the natural and the social worlds. For example, while people (objects of social world) interpret the world around them, this capacity of self-reflection cannot be found among the objects of the natural science like molecules, atoms, and electrons. For Bryman (2004), the connection between the measures developed by positivist-oriented social scientists, and the concepts they are supposed to reveal is assumed rather than real. He goes on to explain that reality is what the subjects of the research think of their circumstances rather than a pre-determined set of concepts that make acceptable knowledge. For example, values, beliefs, and perceptions usually tell us much about the subjects of our investigations, and should therefore be categorised as knowledge (Bryman, 2004).

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We have so far noted that positivism is the theoretical basis of quantitative research methods. We now need to understand what a quantitative research paradigm entails and how it champions the positivist methodological perspective. This is the focus of following section.

5.2.2 Quantitative Research Methods as Positivist

The quantitative research paradigm has a theoretical base in positivism and is an umbrella term covering different types of data collection methods whose major characteristic is the counting of how frequently things happen. These things may include for example, educational qualification levels among school leavers, attendance at doctor's surgeries, or rates of divorce. Once quantitative data has been collected, it is often presented as frequency summaries in tables and graphs (Frakfort-Nachmias and Leon-Guerrero, 2000).

According to Bryman (2004), quantitative research usually employs surveys in social science, and experimental investigations in social, and natural sciences, as methods of data collection. It has the following characteristics:

- The core concern is to describe, and account for regularities in social behaviour, rather than seeking out, and interpreting the meanings that people bring to their own actions
- Patterns of behaviour can be separated out into variables, and represented by numbers rather than treating actions as part of a holistic social process and context
- Explanations are expressed as an association, usually statistical, between variables, ideally in a form that enables prediction of outcomes from known regularities

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- Quantitative researchers explore social phenomena not just as they naturally occur but by introducing stimuli like survey questions, and collecting data by systematic, repeated, and controlled measurements
- Quantitative studies are based on the assumption that social processes exist outside of the individual actor's comprehension, constrain individual actions, and are accessible to researchers by virtue of their prior theoretical and quantitative knowledge (Judy and Judy, 2004).

The quantitative research methodology has been criticised on a number of grounds similar to those that Positivism has been criticised for in the preceding section (5.2.1) of this chapter. These include the failure of quantitative research to distinguish people and social institutions from the world of nature, and using a pre-determined set of concepts that make acceptable knowledge, instead of listening to what the subjects of the research think of their circumstances (Bryman, 2004; Shutz, 1961). Critics argue that failure to listen to the subjects of the research might lead to loss of important data such as values, beliefs and perceptions, which usually tell us much about the subjects of our investigations, and should therefore be categorised as knowledge.

The second major criticism is that most quantitative research methods rely heavily on administering research instruments such as structured interviews, and self-completion questionnaires to subjects. They also rely on controlling situations so as to determine their effects, as often seen in experiments (Bryman, 2004). But Cicourel (1982) asserts that we may not be sure whether respondents have the required knowledge to answer the questions or whether the topic is important to them in their daily lives to a similar magnitude. For example, people may answer questions about racial prejudice but their actual behaviour may be at variance with their answers. Racial prejudice may not be of equal concern to them, and they may not connect it to their daily lives in similar ways (La Piere, 1934; Bryman, 2004:79). Also, quantitative studies which aim to bring out the relationships between variables omit "the process of interpretation, or definition that goes on in human groups" (Blumer, 1956:685). Therefore, we do not know whether what

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appears to be a relationship between two or more variables has been produced by the people to whom it applies. So, quantitative research creates a sense of a static social world that is separate from the individuals who make it up (Bryman, 2004:79).

This chapter has so far shown that quantitative methods have their basis in positivist theoretical perspective. The following section explores one of the specific quantitative research methods, the survey, which has been used in this study.

5.2.3 The Survey as a Positivist Quantitative Research Method

A survey is a method of data collection commonly associated with positivism and the quantitative research paradigm. Verma and Mallick (1999:115), define a survey as "...a form of planned data collection for purposes of explaining or answering questions as a guide to action". Sarantakos (1993:157) defines survey research as "...a method of data collection in which information is gathered through oral or written questioning". Corbetta (2003:117) says that in a survey the individuals who are the objects of the research, belong to a representative sample, and are questioned through a standardised procedure with the aim of studying the relationships among the variables. Combined, these definitions say that a survey collects data using standardised written or oral questioning, of a representative sample of a whole population.

As a means of obtaining data, surveys are advantageous to the researcher because other than being quantifiable, the information they yield is controllable, and focussed on research issues (Reinharz,1992:79).Therefore surveys are appropriate when the goals of the research call for quantitative data, when the information sought is reasonably specific and familiar to the respondents, and when the researcher has prior considerable knowledge of particular problems and the range of responses likely to emerge. They are also likely to be preferred when there is concern to establish cause and affect relationships (Bryman, 2004).

However, effective data collection tools as they are, surveys may not provide wholly reliable information, so we should be careful in the analysis of survey data, and in

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making conclusions on the findings (Verma and Mallick, 1999). This is mainly because perceptions of respondents can change even before the collected data is coded.

The critiques of positivism and its associated quantitative research methods have led to an emergence of other theoretical research perspectives. While some of these perspectives agree with some elements of the positivist argument, others totally oppose the arguments made by positivists. In the following section, we explore some of these theoretical perspectives which are relevant to this study.

5.3.0 The Anti-Positivist Research Perspectives

The theoretical research perspectives presented in this section largely oppose positivism and its associated quantitative research methods. Consequently, these perspectives make a case for qualitative research methods. In this section, I explore two of these perspectives which I consider most relevant to this study namely: Phenomenology and Feminism, beginning with the former.

5.3.1 Phenomenology

This perspective is largely attributed to the Germany philosopher Edmund Husserl who lived between 1859 and 1938 (Shortall, 2003:227). It holds that any attempt to understand social reality has to be grounded in people's experiences of that social reality. It attempts to describe experience directly in terms of what is happening, and how people describe themselves and their actions (Woodward, 2008:84). The perspective argues that in order to understand phenomena well, we must lay aside our prevailing understanding of them, and revisit our immediate experience of the phenomena so that new meanings may emerge. In an attempt to avoid a possibility of the researcher's prejudices in biasing the data, our current understandings of the phenomena have to be "bracketed" to the maximum to allow phenomena to "speak for themselves" (Gray, 2004). This helps us to achieve our key aim which is to gain the personal experience of the subject, so that we can have new meaning, fuller meaning or renewed meaning of the phenomena (Woodward, 2008). Therefore unlike positivism which imposes an external

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logic on a phenomenon, phenomenology seeks to find the internal logic of the subject (Gray, 2004).

Phenomenology has been hailed as a critique of positivism which views social reality as a system without any respect for the grassroots of everyday interests (Srubar,1998). Wimpenny and Gass (2000), and Maggs-Rapport (2000) argue that phenomenology is highly appropriate in researching human experience because by emphasising the lived experiences of the research subjects, phenomenology helps in uncovering the concealed knowledge about phenomena. This is achieved by its rigorous, critical, and systematic investigation of phenomena (Streubert and Carpenter, 1999:49).

However despite the positive contribution of phenomenology to research methodology, Creswell (2003) has pointed out that phenomenological studies may be challenging to conduct given that the researcher needs a solid grounding in the philosophical principles of phenomenology. Creswell (2003) further says that the participants in the study need to be carefully chosen to be individuals who have experienced the phenomenon. Even then, bracketing personal experiences by the researcher may be difficult (Creswell, 2003). Finally, the researcher needs to decide how, and in what way his or her personal experiences will be introduced into the study (Gray, 2004).

The second theoretical perspective which opposes positivism, and is relevant to this study is that of Feminism. This perspective is briefly explored in the following section.

5.3.2 Feminist Research Perspective

Feminist research perspective is commonly referred to as an epistemology. Harding (1987:3) defines epistemology as “a theory of knowledge that delineates a set of assumptions about the social world, and about who can be a knower and what can be known”. Feminist epistemology originated from the rise of the women’s movement and activism in the 1960s and 1970s (Brooks and Hesse-Biber, 2007:5). The women’s movement questioned the world gender order at the time, including ways of doing research. Consequently, Positivism which was the dominant research perspective at the

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time was also questioned. The Feminist research perspective questions Positivism for defining society and science in terms of male values, thereby strengthening existing power relations in society, and in so doing sustaining gender inequalities (Cooper, 2003:118). While there are many strands of Feminist research perspective or epistemology, almost all of them emphasise the following issues.

Feminists emphasise action-oriented research which is reflected in the statement of purpose, topic selection, theoretical orientation, and choice of method, view of human nature and definitions of the researcher's roles. Oakley (2000) says that feminist research should be aimed at uncovering, revealing, understanding, and challenging inequality and discrimination. Mies (1983) suggests that the intention and method of feminist research should be consistent with the political goals of the women's movement and that research should be fully integrated into social and political action for social change and the emancipation of women (Devault, 1996). Therefore, in order to emancipate women, Feminist research should unearth facts about inequality and discrimination of women (Anderson *et al.*, 1990).

Both Stanley and Wise (2008) point out that reflexivity is a very important aspect of a Feminist research perspective. Reflexivity means the tendency of feminists to reflect upon, examine critically, and explore analytically the nature of the research process (Cook and Fonow, 1986). Stanley and Wise (2008:223) argue that producing accountable feminist knowledge requires analytical means of looking reflexively at the way knowledge is produced instead of dismissing certain things as unimportant. One of the ways in which reflexivity is employed involves the idea of consciousness raising so that people are made aware of their situation before they can be able to fight to change it (Collins, 1990).

Feminist research perspective also stresses recognising, taking into account, and focussing on specific situations of different groups of women (Brooks and Hesse-Biber, 2007). Unlike Positivism, Feminist research does not believe in the singularity of the truth. This is because the truth is socially constructed and therefore changes over time (Brooks and Hesse-Biber, 2007). Butler (1992) asserts that truth is contingent on the

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changing aspects of a people's identities which have been informed by various personal positions within different discourses, and therefore there can never be one truth. While Positivist research dismissed the personal in pursuit of knowledge and truth, Feminist research believes in the centrality of individual women's stories in its arrival to contingent knowledge and truths. Feminist theorising therefore is shaped and informed by women's personal lives and experiences. In short, facts have no meaning outside their context (Reinharz, 1997).

Finally, Feminist research puts gender in the centre of social inquiry (Harvey, 1990). The Feminist research perspective argues that gender relations are socially constructed and historically specific, therefore studying these gender relations is important. This is because as Stanley and Wise (2008:223) argue, all knowledge is created from a specific point of view, and all knowledge is therefore specific and grounded. Because they emphasise the study of specific situations, the knowledge claims that feminist researchers make should be modest, particular and specific (Stanley and Wise, 2008).

The Feminist research perspective shares a theoretical basis with Phenomenology because both perspectives emphasise that knowledge emerges from the subjects of the research themselves who are believed to be more knowledgeable than the researcher. This view is oppositional to positivism which takes the researcher to be more knowledgeable than the researched (Gray, 2004). Consequently, just like Phenomenology, Feminist research perspective advocates for qualitative research methods particularly action research, ethnography, personal testimonies, in-depth interviews, focus groups interviews, case studies, and content/ textual analysis, among others (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2007). This study attempts to understand the career-related educational choices, and the university life experiences of women in Ireland and Uganda. Given that women are central to this study, it can be described as feminist. This feminist mark influenced the choice of qualitative research methods in this study.

However it should be noted that while qualitative research methods are often associated with the feminist research perspective, some feminists argue that quantitative techniques can also be used in feminist research, mainly to perform the work of excavation, or

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making women visible (Sprague and Zimmerman, 1993). Oakley (2000:299) supports this view when she says:

Without quantitative methods, feminism as a political and social movement would not have got very far. Knowing about the oppression of women, the labour market, the health and welfare systems, political organisations and government, and the private world of the home and domestic relations...setting injustices right first requires a factual map of what has gone wrong.

Other Feminist researchers have argued that research methods should be determined by the specific goals of the research. In support of this, Daly (2000:66-67) recommends a flexible approach which allows the nature of the research situation to determine which method(s) are the most appropriate. Patai (1991:150) says that what is worth considering is whether research is worth doing or not, and then determine how to go about it in ways that let it best serve our stated goals. What makes research feminist is the way in which methods are used, and the frameworks in which they are located (Kelly *et al*, 1994). In fact, Fonow and Cook (1991) suggest that a well-designed and executed quantitative study is likely to be more useful to policy makers, and cause less harm to women, than a poorly-crafted qualitative one. However, despite this debate, most feminists have insisted on using qualitative research methods (Maynard, 1994:21).

The Feminist research perspective has contributed a lot to social science research, especially by pointing out the failures of a positivist-based research (Brooks and Hesse-Biber, 2007). Its emphasis on inter-disciplinarity has also helped to uncover the interconnections between various aspects of life such as gender, race, ethnicity, and class (hooks, 1984; Collins, 1990, Mohanty, 1988). In so doing the Feminist research perspective has brought to surface neglected aspects of social reality, added a new view to the perception of the world, drawn attention to problems in the conduct of social research, challenged gender ethics, female subjugation and discrimination. It has also helped to empower women by raising their consciousness, and offered a legitimate basis for social change in the area of gender (Crotty, 1998).

However, despite its contribution to social research, the Feminist research perspective has been criticised for advocating for a place of values in knowledge creation thereby

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making it possible to produce less objective knowledge (Silverman, 1993:154). Also, Cooper (2003:116) argues that the classic feminist argument that culturally-generated gender beliefs and practices play a part in the production of knowledge further makes the Feminist research perspective susceptible to accusations of bias and irrationality.

This is because objective, unbiased, and rational knowledge is expected to be value free. Therefore, once there is a possibility that values can influence the research process, the knowledge created by this research may not be taken to be objective and unbiased. Yet, the first goal of research should be to produce objective knowledge. It is only how this knowledge is used that is the political or value laden question (Silverman, 1993:154).

Other scholars have argued that feminists do not have a perspective of their own; rather, they use theoretical and methodological principles of other paradigms, such as Marxism, Naturalism, Critical Theory, and Psychoanalysis, so, cannot claim a separate methodology (Crotty, 1998). Indeed, Assiter (1996:8) agrees that there are different versions of feminist standpoints, values, outlooks, and diverse feminist branches, all of which mean that the Feminist research perspective does not present “a coherent and cogent alternative to non-feminist research” (Hammersley, 1992a: 202). It is therefore not surprising that most of the criteria and principles on which Feminist research perspective is based, and many of the methods this perspective employs, are also found in the non-feminist research perspectives (Hammersley, 1992a: 202).

In chapter 2, I argued that men can play a key role in challenging gender discrimination. Following on from this argument, the Feminist perspective's agitation for a methodology for women, on women, and by women seems neither logical nor valid. If the object is allowed to determine a methodology, then there should also be an ethnic methodology, a racist methodology, ageist methodology, and so on (Crotty, 1998). Also, by placing gender at the centre of the debate on methodology, and on other issues, the Feminist research perspective equates gender to women, yet we know that gender includes both men and women. Crotty (1998) further says that it is simplistic to argue that the “male paradigm” is wrong because it is male, and advocate for a “female paradigm” which can also be said to be equally wrong for being female. Also, the

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Feminist research perspective disqualifies men from studying women effectively, and from making judgments about them, yet these feminists have always researched men and made decisions about them (Crotty, 1998).

This section has explored Feminist research perspective. The perspective has been explained in terms of its major features such as, reflexivity, and putting women at the centre of the research process among others. Also, its contributions to social research, and its criticisms have been highlighted.

It has been pointed out that both Phenomenology and Feminist research perspectives favour qualitative research methods. We therefore need to understand what qualitative research entails if we are to fully appreciate the research methods used in this study. The following section serves this purpose.

5.3.3 Characteristics of Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is a methodological paradigm in social research which is opposed to the quantitative paradigm. It has the following characteristics:

- Qualitative research has an express commitment to viewing events, actions, norms, and values from the perspective of the people who are being studied. This helps the researcher to penetrate the frames of meaning within which they operate (Silverman, 2005; Bryman, 1988). Therefore qualitative research exhibits a preference for studying events and behaviour in their context. The basic message that qualitative researchers convey is that, whatever the sphere in which data is being collected, we can understand events only when they are situated in the wider social and historical context (Bryman, 2004).
- Qualitative researchers tend to favour a research strategy which is relatively open and unstructured, rather than one which is decided in advance. Qualitative researchers believe that an open approach to the examination of social phenomena allows them access to unexpectedly important topics which may not

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have been visible to them had they fore-closed the domain of study by a structured, rigid strategy (DeVaus, 2002; Silverman, 2005).

- In relation to the above, qualitative researchers favour an approach in which the formulation and testing of theories and concepts proceeds in tandem with data collection. This is because, they believe that the imposition of a pre-ordained theoretical framework on the study may excessively constrain the researcher, and, or, exhibit a poor fit with participants' perspectives (Bryman, 2004).

In spite its good approaches to social research, the qualitative research paradigm has been found to have some problems as well. For example, Ball (1984) argues that the interpretation of data, subjects, and phenomena that qualitative researchers emphasise is difficult because, it is not always feasible to perceive as others perceive. Consequently, there may be different interpretations of one set of data. Also, many qualitative researchers are not sure of the extent to which their findings can be generalised beyond the confines of their particular case (Lieberson, 2000). However, both Yin (2009) and Gummesson (2000) note that even in quantitative studies such as science experiments, most studies have to be replicated by various examples of the experiment, so there is no reason why qualitative case studies for example, when having multiple cases of the same phenomena, should be tied to a single interpretation.

It has been pointed out in this section that the qualitative research paradigm is associated with interview methods among other methods of data collection. Sometimes, one-to-one interviews are not appropriate as was the case in this study. The following section explores one alternative; focus groups interviews, which were used in this study.

5.3.4 Focus Groups

Focus groups are a qualitative data collection method in which a group discussion is the data collected (Ryan *et al*, 2006). They can be used as a stand-alone method, or they can be combined with other methods to check validity. Krueger and Casey (2000:5) define a focus group as "a carefully planned discussion designed to obtain perceptions on a given

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area of interest in a permissive and non-threatening environment". In terms of composition, Bornat (2008:358) advises that a focus group should normally consist of 6-12 participants and a moderator asking questions about a particular topic.

In focus group interviews, participants are asked to reflect on a series of questions or statements (topic guide) posed by the facilitator. The participants then listen to other participants' comments, and add their own views which may support or contradict the previous perspectives (Ryan *et al*, 2006). It is therefore vital to note here that focus groups interviews rely primarily on interaction and stimulation among the group participants themselves (Litoselliti, 2003). Therefore, while they should stay focused, focus groups should also be casual, and moderated by the researcher who guides, but does not lead them. The researcher should also control but not inhibit the discussions, and should allow all participants equal opportunity to contribute. This is recognised as potentially contributing to the depth and dimension of the data collected (Vaughn *et al*, 1996; Sim, 2002).

Focus groups interviews are a very important method of data collection because they are said to have the following advantages:

- They give the researcher invaluable insight into participants' views, perceptions and attitudes on a given topic (Litoselliti, 2003).
- They can help to clarify participants' views in ways that would be less easily accessible in one-to-one interviews. This is because they encourage participation of people who are reluctant to be interviewed alone or feel they have nothing to say, but who find it easy to engage in discussions generated by other group members (Kitzinger, 1995).
- They allow the generation of larger amounts of data with relatively little author input, compared with one-to-one interviews (Krueger, 1998).

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- They are flexible in format, and this allows the researcher to explore unanticipated issues. Discussions in focus groups can enable the clarification of issues, and also enable views to be both challenged, and, or accepted (Morgan and Krueger, 1993).
- They use people's voices as part of a research methodology, something that positively affects the power relationships between the researcher and the participant: to listen to people is to empower them (Casey 1995).
- They fill up the likely loop-holes of the questionnaire by allowing access to more information including attitudes, perceptions, experiences, and opinions, which are more likely to surface by virtue of the interaction with in the group (McDougall, 1999).
- They also help researchers to tap into many different forms of communication that people use in a day-to-day conversation, including jokes, anecdotes, facial expressions, and any other body language, all of which help to enrich the collected data (Geary and McNamara, 2007; Silverman, 2001).

However, focus groups interviews also have a number of disadvantages. It is important to understand these in order to devise strategies to avoid them during data collection. These are:

- They are time consuming, tedious, expensive, and difficult to conduct (Krueger, 1998). In fact the quality of focus group results may suffer significantly if proper resources are not allocated to them (Morgan 2002). For example tape recordings of group conversations can be problematic as they pick up extraneous background noises such as feet tapping. There too are cases where some participants feel uneasy about being tape recorded and so hold up information (Bloor *et al.*, 2001).

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- For Madriz (2000), focus groups interviews are not effective in getting people to talk about sensitive topics like intimate details of their private lives, and they can in fact create a safe environment for self-closure.
- The researcher has less control over the data generated in focus groups and there is a danger of being carried away and getting into a discussion that may not attend to the aims and objectives of the study (McDougall, 1999; Bryman, 2004:359).
- Focus groups interviews can have a weakness of a “group think” which occurs when members do not express their personal opinions but conform to a popular opinion or acquiesce to a particular group member (Kit zinger, 1995).
- Morgan (2002) argues that participants in focus groups may be more prone to expressing culturally expected views than in individual interviews to win the admiration of other people. He gives an example of a study in which group interviews with boys discussing relationships with girls were compared with individual interviews with same people on the same topic. In the later, the boys expressed a degree of sensitivity that was not present in the group context where more macho views tended to be forthcoming.

The measures taken to minimise the problems likely to accrue from poorly organised focus groups interviews will be explained in sections 5.7.1 and 5.7.3 of this chapter.

This chapter has so far examined the two dominant methodological paradigms in social science research namely, quantitative, and qualitative. What it has not said is that these two paradigms can combined in one study. When this is done, it is called mixed-method research or triangulation. In this study, I used a survey questionnaire which subscribes to the quantitative methodological paradigm, and focus groups interviews which subscribe to the qualitative methodological paradigm. It is therefore a mixed- method research. The following explains triangulation or mixed-method research and shows its suitability for this study.

5.4.1 Mixed Methods Research or Triangulation

The term triangulation was first used by Webb *et al.* (1966). However, it was Denzin (1978) who first outlined how to triangulate methods. Denzin (1978:291) defined triangulation as “the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon”. He outlined the following four types of triangulation:

- Data triangulation which is the use of a variety of data sources in a study
- Investigator triangulation which is the use of several different researchers
- Theory triangulation which means the use of multiple perspectives and theories to interpret the results of a study
- Methodological triangulation which refers to the use of multiple methods to study a research problem

Denzin (1978) also distinguished within-methods triangulation (the use of either multiple quantitative or multiple qualitative approaches), from between-methods triangulation, which involves the use of both quantitative and qualitative approaches.

Sosulski and Lawrence (2008) argue against within-methods triangulation because essentially only one paradigm, for example, quantitative research, is being used such that any inherent weakness stemming from the paradigmatic approach used, such as inability to explain why an observed causal relationship exists, will prevail regardless of the specific research design used within a methodological paradigm. This is true especially when we consider the purpose of triangulation as seeking to use the strengths of quantitative and qualitative research paradigms to build a stronger and more effective paradigm (Burke and Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

The legitimacy of combining qualitative and quantitative methods has been a hot topic of debate in research. While scholars such as Burke and Onwuegbuzie (2004), Johnson *et al.* (2007), as well as Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003b) advocate for a mixed-methods

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research design, others, among them De Leon (1998), and Xie (2005), argue that qualitative, and quantitative research methods represent distinct, mutually exclusive worldviews, and should therefore not be combined. However, for others like Newman and Benz (1998), as well as Creswell (2003), the talk of exclusive methods is unrealistic because there is hardly any research which employs purely qualitative or quantitative methods. For Creswell (2003), mixed designs reflect the iterative or repetitive process that all researchers employ, moving between induction and deduction at different stages to answer their research questions. Therefore, mixed methods studies simply reflect a natural course of action. However, all said, it is important to use research methods which best get the data we want to answer our research questions (Bryman, 2007).

Mixed method research or triangulation has both strengths, and weaknesses. The strengths include the following:

- Triangulation gives a more detailed and balanced picture of the situation because multiple methods attempt to explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint (Altrichter *et al.*, 1996; Cohen and Manion, 1986; Yin, 2009). This reduces bias, and makes the data presented more reliable (Cohen *et al.*, 2000)
- A dependence on purely quantitative methods may neglect the social and cultural construction of the variables, which qualitative research seeks to correlate (Silverman, 2005). For example, variables like attitudes, do not simply attach to the inside of people's heads, and researching them depends on making a whole series of analytical assumptions
- Triangulation helps researchers to test and revise their generalisations, and remove doubts about the accuracy of their assumptions about the data (Silverman, 2005; Burke and Onwuegbuzie, 2004)
- Triangulation can also help bridge the schism between quantitative, and qualitative research (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2004a)

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However, despite the advantages of triangulation pointed out above, combining methods is not easy, and researchers who aim at producing convincing results by using this approach must have a solid foundation in different methodological traditions, and be conscientious about planning, implementing, and evaluating the research design (Bryman, 2007: 8). Triangulation has a number of disadvantages namely:

- In triangulation, it is very challenging to document how methods are combined in a study (Bryman, 2007)
- Triangulation also increases the time and resources needed for research (Bryman, 2007; Creswell, 2003). Solo researchers must have, or develop expertise in all methodological techniques used in the study, while multiple researchers with different skills will most likely need to collaborate. Both these are likely to increase the cost of the research project
- Reconciling disparate research philosophies may introduce practical difficulties and complications in data outcomes, and interpretation (Bryman, 2007; Sale *et al.*, 2002)
- Triangulation assumes that sets of data deriving from different research methods can be unambiguously compared, and regarded as equivalent in terms of their capacity to address a research question. Such a view fails to take into account the different social circumstances associated with the administration of different research methods, especially those associated with a between-methods approach (Denzin 2000). For example, the apparent failure of findings deriving from the administration of a structured interview to converge with focus group data may have more to do with the possibility that the former taps private views as opposed to the more general ones that might be voiced in the more public arena of the focus group.

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However a close look at triangulation indicates that what are called disadvantages are actually difficulties involved in adopting a mixed-method research strategy, rather than impediments. Therefore, researchers who aim at collecting rich and full data should see the disadvantages of triangulation as obstacles which need to be overcome, but not impediments to using a mixed-method approach in social research.

This research aimed at an in-depth understanding of the influential factors on the career-related educational choices, and university life experiences of female university students in Mbarara University in Uganda and the University of Limerick in Ireland. Therefore, a case study approach to research was deemed appropriate for this study because it has the capacity to enable the researcher's a deeper understanding of the phenomena being investigated whether this phenomena is social or natural. It therefore fits well within a mixed-methods research strategy, which can be used in both quantitative and qualitative studies depending on the phenomena one is studying. The following section explores case study research.

5.3.5 Case Studies in Social Research

The case study research approach in social sciences was borne out of a desire to comprehend social phenomena in both their complexity, and natural context. A case study may involve the study of one individual, several people, or a particular event. The most common methods of data collection in case studies are interviews, direct observation, and participant observation (Sainsbury, *et al.*, 2003:23). Yin (2009:18) defines a case study as:

...an inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident

The major reason underlying case study research is always a desire to have deep understanding of the topic being investigated (Mabry, 2008:214). In social science, case study researchers usually scrutinise not just the demographics and other statistics of the case, like how many people are involved or affected, and how indicators of impact vary

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over time, but also more closely, the experiences, and perceptions of participants (Yin, 2009). This is so because understanding a case almost always requires going beyond its countable aspects and trends (Mabry, 2008:214). For example, inquiry into the social phenomena of homelessness may benefit from counting the number of persons dispossessed, their age, gender, and location. But this is not as important as inquiring about why these people live on the streets, whether sufficient resources are available for people who might chose not to do so, whether there are cross-generational effects, which policies and social structures push people into homelessness, and which ones tend to pull people from homelessness. Also the perceptions of the homeless regarding their barriers, opportunities, and the views of social workers and policy makers regarding the needs of the homeless, all help deepen understanding. This is because the social reality of homelessness is co-constructed by people who participate in the phenomenon, so their experiences, beliefs, and values must be studied in order to understand the phenomenon of homelessness. All these mean that case studies can be invaluable in adding to understanding, extending experience, and increasing conviction about a subject (Stake, 2000; Bell, 2005).

The case study method has not been universally accepted as a reliable, objective, and legitimate research method because some researchers argue that it is always difficult, and dangerous to generalise from a specific case (Mabry, 2008). However, in defence of case studies, Yin (2009) points out that, most scientific studies are based on a replication of multiple examples of the same experiment, so there is no reason why case studies cannot be based upon multiple cases of the same issue or phenomenon. This view is supported by Gummesson (2000) when he asserts that, even in medical practice, doctors' skills are often built up from the knowledge of many individual cases.

In this research, which aimed at gaining a deeper understanding of the factors which influence women's career-related educational choices, their experiences of higher education in Ireland and Uganda, and their perceptions of the role of university education in their lives, case studies are a natural choice. This is so because they allow

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for deep engagement in qualitative and quantitative research methods, and are also vital for a comparative study like this one.

We have so far seen the various theoretical perspectives in research. We have also seen that in consideration of the objectives of this study, mixed-methods research combining use of a quantitative survey questionnaire, and focus groups interviews as data gathering instruments, was seen as a suitable strategy to generate the data required to meet the research objectives for this study. At this point, we need to explore one aspect of social research which was given consideration in this study, which is the issue of research ethics. The following section serves this purpose.

5.5.1 Ethical Considerations

Ethics is one of the basic considerations when undertaking research. Ideally, other than being technically correct, and practically efficient, any research project should also be ethically sound (De Vaus, 2002). It is therefore important that researchers consider some ethical principles when conducting research, so as to avoid harming the subjects of the research. There are mainly two approaches to choose from when dealing with ethics in research (De Vaus, 2002). In the first instance, rules may be established and then followed regardless of the consequences (Kimmel, 1988:46). The second one would be to follow ethical guidelines, but also use judgement far more than the rule-based approach would allow. In this approach we take the consequences of a particular course of action and judge whether the potential benefits of the research out-weigh the risks to the participants.

It is often very difficult to meet the ethical interests of different groups of people during research, hence we may find ourselves having to meet conflicting ethical principles and balancing these with technical and practical considerations (Crespi, 1998). However, according to De Vaus (2002:59-63), the majority of research stresses that researchers fulfil the following ethical responsibilities towards survey participants:

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- **Voluntary Participation and Informed Consent:** This requires that research participants be given clear information about a range of matters relating to the study including, its purpose, its basic procedure, an outline of any reasonably foreseeable risks, embarrassment or discomfort, a description of the likely benefits of the study, and a description of how the respondents were selected
- **Anonymity and Confidentiality:** Research participants should be promised anonymity and confidentiality of their responses where possible, and appropriate. They should also be told in detail how their responses will be treated to ensure this promised confidentiality or anonymity (De Vaus, 2002:62)

In order to protect research subjects from harm that may accrue during the research process, the University of Limerick has a research policy which requires that all research conducted in the university gets ethics approval from the Research Ethics Committee. Consequently, this study was subjected to an ethics approval process. I applied for ethics approval to the University of Limerick research ethics committee explaining numerous issues including potential respondents, methods of data collection and presentation, questions to be asked, and the rationale for the study. The committee scrutinised the application and suggested changes, which I made before the application was approved. This process was to ensure that the study adhered to the university ethics policy, and was therefore protected by the University of Limerick. It was also to ensure our ethical responsibilities in the research were met. Other practical ethical procedures carried out in this study will be explained in the following sections of this chapter which deal with design and administration of research instruments.

5.6.1 Research Design

While the previous sections have pointed out the methods used in this study, nothing has been said yet about the actual process of designing research instruments and using them to collect, present, analyse, and interpret data in this study. This section serves this purpose.

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A research design involves describing and analysing the methods (techniques) used in the research, evaluating their value, detailing the dilemma their usage causes, exploring the relationship between the methods used and how we use them, and the production and presentation of our data (Letherby, 2003). Robson (1997:21) says that a research design should be linked to the research questions. At the beginning of this chapter, I indicated that the major aim of this study was to find out how both national state of development and globalised homogeneous cultural values impact upon those factors that influence the career-related educational choices and the university life experiences of two samples of female university students, one from Mbarara University in Uganda, the other from the University of Limerick in Ireland. In order to achieve this aim, I decided on a mixed-method approach. This was because a survey questionnaire was trusted to bring in quantitative data on these issues and focus groups interviews would provide me with an opportunity to discuss some of the findings deriving from the survey in more detail. Therefore, I was convinced that a mixed-methods approach would yield the data I wanted to answer my research questions, and achieve my objectives. Having explained the theoretical elements of research design, I will now move further to the practical part of my research beginning with questionnaire design.

5.6.2 Questionnaire Design

It has been noted in the previous section that I used a questionnaire to collect data for this study because I was aware of its effectiveness in bringing out quantitative data which was required to generate a general picture of the factors that influenced the career-related educational choices, and the experiences of higher education of two samples of female university students, one from Mbarara University in Uganda, the other from the University of Limerick in Ireland. I also hoped that the questionnaire would give me a snapshot of the respondents' perceptions of the role of university education in their lives. Therefore, in designing my questionnaire I made sure that only questions which would bring out quantifiable data on these issues were asked. I managed this by using closed, multiple-choice questions which provided all the possible answers I could think of, from which respondents would choose. However in order not to lose

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some important data, I also included the “other” option where necessary. This gave respondents an opportunity to give their opinion in case it was different from those they were asked to choose from in the given alternatives. I was aware of the fact that as data gathering instruments, questionnaires can have limitations, one of which was unclear questions. Given my teaching experience, and the expert advice from my supervisor, we made sure that the questions were clear, and to the point.

The first page of the questionnaire was an “Information Sheet” on the University of Limerick headed paper. This sheet sought the consent of potential respondents to take part in the study, assured them of their confidentiality in the research process, and assured them of their right to withdraw from the research process at any stage if they wanted to (see appendix one). It also highlighted the purpose of the questionnaire, its structure, and the nature of the questions expected. All these were meant to generate trust in the research process, and also give respondents some control over their data. The second page was an introduction to the questionnaire, and this re-emphasised most of the aspects in the information sheet. The questionnaire was 6 pages long and consisted of seventeen multiple choice questions which required information on respondents’ personal, family, and university life experiences. The questionnaire ended with a note thanking the respondents for their participation in the study, and wishing them success in their studies and future careers (see appendix two).

5.6.3 Piloting the Questionnaire

Bell (1991:65) strongly recommends that data gathering instruments be piloted, ideally on a group similar to the one that will form the population of the study. The purpose of the pilot exercise is to get the bugs out of the instrument, so that subjects in your main study will experience no difficulties in completing it, and that you can carry out preliminary analysis to see whether the wording and format of questions will present difficulties when the main data are analysed.

Therefore in line with Bell’s (1991) recommendation above, I piloted the questionnaire in both universities once its design was completed. The questionnaire was piloted on

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randomly selected female students in both Mbarara University in Uganda, and the University of Limerick, in Ireland, a month apart. In both universities, the exercise went on well although I was able to identify that in most questions I had used the word "college" to mean "university" which confused Ugandan respondents who understood college to mean a certificate or diploma awarding institution distinct from a university. So I decided to use the word "university" instead of "college" since both the University of Limerick students and their Mbarara University counterparts understood it in the same way.

5.6.4 Nature of the Sample, Sampling Style and Questionnaire Administration

Once the questionnaire pilot was over, I embarked on selecting a sample for the study. In most cases it is not possible to administer questionnaires to, or interview the whole population. Therefore as researchers, we have to choose our study respondents from a wider population in a process called sampling. Payne and Payne (2004:204), define sampling as:

A process of selecting a sub-set of people or social phenomena to be studied from the larger "universe" to which they belong, determined by a balance between resources available; anticipated techniques of analysis; how much variation there is believed to be in the universe; and the level of precision needed in estimates to be made about the universe on the basis of data from the sample.

There are various arguments about sample size. De Vaus (2002:81) says that the bigger the sample size, the less the probability error, and therefore the more reliable the data. For example, he calculates the percentage of a sampling error for a sample of 400 to be 5.0 percent. Bryman (2004:97) also notes that increasing the size of the sample increases its precision by reducing the sampling error. He argues that the most important consideration in determining the sample size is how much sampling error one is prepared to tolerate. However, Bryman (2004) also argues that the size of the sample will depend on the amount of time the researcher has, the resources available to him/her, the researcher's method of analysis, and the level of the sample's representativeness to the general universe.

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In this study, I opted for a sample of 400 respondents for the questionnaire, and 72 for the focus groups. This meant recruiting 200 questionnaire, and 36 focus groups, respondents in each of the two universities. According to Bryman (2004), this number would give a sampling error of about 5.0 percent, which I thought was acceptable. Also, although I would have loved to have a bigger sample, I was time constrained given that I had just three years to write my thesis. I was also assured of a hundred percent response rate, (at least in Mbarara University) the respondents who took part in the study were willing participants. This was because they had agreed to take part in the study after reading the information sheet that had been given to them a week before. Besides, I administered and collected the questionnaires myself. Therefore, I did not have to worry about unreturned questionnaires, which would have further reduced my sample size, and in so doing further increased my sampling error to unacceptable margins.

In this study, I used stratified random sampling technique to get respondents for the questionnaire. According to De Vaus (2002:74) stratified random sampling is a technique where the wider population is divided into clusters based on a stratifying variable such as course of study, before systematically selecting random samples from the clusters. In this study, I drew my sample from second year female university students because I felt most of them would be mid-way in their courses, so would have made a number of career-related educational choices, besides having obtained rich experiences of higher education. It would also be interesting to find out how female university students in the two countries perceived the role university education played in their lives.

To get the 200 questionnaire respondents in Mbarara University, I got course lists of registered second year female students from the academic registrar's office, grouped related courses together, and came up with four clusters with their respective number of potential respondents. These were: Science (47), Education (11), Business/Computer Studies (140) and Development Studies (193). I combined all the second year female students in the respective clusters, and came up with 391, as a population from which I would choose 200 respondents. I applied the formula: number of people in the group

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divided by the population, multiplied by the overall sample size, and came up with the following respondents in each group:

- Science.....24
- Education.....06
- Business/ Computer Studies71
- Development99

In the University of Limerick on the other hand, it was not possible to get all students together at in one room, and administer my questionnaire. Therefore, since all potential respondents had access to the internet, I decided to use this facility to collect my data. This was possible because I could get students’ names, e-mail addresses, their courses, and their gender by looking at the course lists. For comparison purposes, I categorised the courses into four broadly similar groups as those in Mbarara University. The first cluster composed of Science, Engineering and Medical-related courses, the second Education, the third cluster included Business, Computer Science, and Information Technology, while the fourth cluster composed of Arts, Humanities, Social Sciences, and Development Studies. I wanted 50 respondents from each of the four clusters, to get the required total of 200 respondents. However, I sent out recruitment e-mails to all the female second-year female students in these courses, on which was attached a Research Information sheet explaining the study. This was meant to enable potential participants make informed choices on whether to participate in the study or not. In each group, I decided I would recruit the first 50 people who positively responded to my e-mail. A few days after sending the e-mails, I received 84 acceptance e-mails from Education, 61 from Business Studies, Computer Science, and Information Technology, 26 from Science and Engineering, and 29 from Arts, Humanities, Social Sciences, and Development Studies clusters. This meant that I still had not got the required 50 respondents in the last two clusters. So, I resent the e-mails to Science and Engineering, as well as, Arts, Humanities, Social studies, and Development Studies clusters. However, I had not received any more responses after two weeks, so I decided to recruit

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all the respondents who had accepted to take part in the study in those clusters that had more than 50 respondents. In the end, I had the following respondents in each cluster totalling to 200 respondents:

- Science, Engineering and Medical courses.....26
- Education.....84
- Business, Computer Science, and Information Technology61
- Arts, Humanities, Social Sciences, and Development Studies.....29

Because I administered the questionnaire to the respondents in person in Mbarara University, and to consenting participants in the University of Limerick, I got a hundred percent return rate.

It is clear that while the sample for this research was generally obtained using stratified random sampling technique, the sample in the University of Limerick was not strictly selected in the same way as that of Mbarara University. After failing to get the required number of respondents in all the course clusters, I opted to recruit more respondents in those course clusters that had more than 50 willing participants. So, the University of Limerick sample ended up having more people from education than the other clusters. However, while the various clusters were not proportionally represented, controlling for course of study during data analysis meant that bias arising from the different models of data collection could be minimised. Also, triangulation meant that the analysis of quantitative data could be checked against qualitative data.

5.6.5 Quantitative Data Coding and Analysis

Once the questionnaire data had been collected, I embarked on coding and analysing this data. According to De Vaus (2002:147) coding is the process of converting questionnaire answers into numbers and categories. The essence of coding is to give a distinctive code to each category of variable. The questionnaire for this research was

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pre-coded, so it was a matter of entering the codes for each variable in an SPSS (Statistical Program for Social Scientists) work book to create a data set. Robson (1997) recommends that all data be “cleaned” after entry and that “one of the best ways of doing this is for data to be entered twice, independently, by two people” (Robson, 1997:316). Therefore, to avoid possible errors, I entered this data myself, and there after asked a colleague to enter it again, before finally going over it myself to check for possible wrong entries, that could have escaped both my attention, and my colleagues”.

Data from the questionnaire was analysed using the Statistical Program for Social Scientists (SPSS). I first created a system file with a full definition of the variables and all the data, and thereafter processed and summarised data into frequency distributions to show its spread across the values or categories of the variables. The summarised data was then presented as tables, and charts, which were then analysed and interpreted.

This section has explained how quantitative data was collected, coded, presented, and analysed. The following section explains the same procedure for qualitative data.

5.7.1 Focus Group Selection

When quantitative data was analysed, issues which needed deeper analysis for the research objectives to be achieved, were identified. There after, focus groups schedules highlighting these issues were designed. Morgan (1998) argues that the best way to get more detailed data on an issue is to conduct focus groups interviewson the same issue. He suggests however, that while recruiting focus group participants, we should ensure that they are comfortable talking to each other about the topic at hand, and that they are interested in the discussions. Litoselliti (2003:3) says that focus groups should comprise of few participants especially if the aim is to explore complex, controversial, emotional topics, or to encourage detailed accounts. This is because small groups offer more opportunity for people to talk and are more practical to set up and manage than larger groups. So in this study I ensured I had groups of six participants, which I considered a manageable number.

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The participants were recruited using snowball sampling technique. This is a technique for developing a research sample where existing study subjects recruit future subjects from among their acquaintances (Bryman, 2004:100). Thus, the sample group appears to grow like a rolling snowball, and continues to grow until the researcher gains enough data for the research. It is often used for hidden or hard to reach populations (Frank and Snidjers, 1994). Snowball samples are mainly obtained by asking the interviewed persons to nominate other individuals who are in the best position to give information on the topic. It should be noted however that usually, people tend to propose colleagues who share their own views. So, to compensate for this, one might ask them to nominate both people who share the same views as theirs, and those who are of the opposite opinion. The problem with snowball sampling is that you get neither an exact idea of the factual distribution of the opinions, nor any measure for the representativeness of the sample (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981).

The focus groups sample was selected using snowball sampling technique because I wanted to get people who were known to one another, and could actually feel free to discuss issues with one another. In both universities, I sought the help of lecturers, and, or tutors in the various courses to introduce me to six potential respondents who I eventually recruited as my first focus group. I then requested them to recruit colleagues from different courses, including those whose views on gender, education, and cultural globalisation differed from theirs. This was to curb the situation where people would recruit colleagues who shared their ideas on the various topics, thereby making the focus group discussion one sided, which is one of the potential weaknesses of focus groups, talked about earlier in the preceding paragraph. The colleagues selected by the first focus group members, were in turn asked to recruit other colleagues until I had six groups of six participants each, in both universities.

5.7.2 Pilot Focus Groups

Mock focus group interviews were conducted in each university using participants picked at random, before the real ones. A colleague with experience in interviewing was invited to watch, and later comment on the conduct of the pilot focus group interviews.

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The pilot allowed the practice of the focus group techniques including open-ended questions and the prompts; ensuring the validity of the questions, and checked if the discussions generated data to meet the research aims and objectives. It was also to ensure that the ethical principles were attended to. Once I realised all was fine, I went ahead to conduct focus groups interviews.

5.7.3 Administration of Focus Groups

The first step in conducting focus groups was designing a topic guide to enable me guide the focus groups interviews, facilitate analysis, and ensure a degree of consistency amongst different groups. The topic guide largely had those issues which were identified as needing further discussions after the analysis of quantitative data from the survey questionnaire. Once the topic guide was finalised, I appointed a clerk to write down whatever was said in the interviews. The choice to use a clerk and not to tape record participant conversations was based on the fact that participants may feel uneasy or mistrustful, and hold back once they know they are being recorded, as has been discussed in section 5.3.4 of this chapter. In Uganda, the clerk was a print journalist with good listening, writing, and reporting skills, essential for note taking. In the University of Limerick, the clerk was a teacher of English with vast experience in note-taking gained from her responsibility as secretary of various school boards and committees. With such a choice of clerks, and the researcher's alertness to every detail, there was good confidence that no relevant information was missed during the focus groups interviews. In both universities, focus group interviews were held in very quiet and relaxed environments. Even the environment in the discussions was kept relaxed, and non-threatening to support an open discussion among participants.

During focus groups interviews, I used open-ended questions and probes to stimulate responses, and interactions within the groups. In each focus group discussion, I welcomed participants, introduced myself, and asked the participants to introduce themselves, as well. I then explained to the participants the importance of the topics that were to be discussed. I also emphasised that the study was hoped to contribute to available knowledge on how a country's level of development influences female

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university students' career-related educational choices, their university life experiences, and their perceptions of the role of higher education in women's lives, but that I had no capacity to solve individual problems. I also assured participants that I would not use their names or any other identifiable information in any publications or reports arising out of the research, and that any individually identified information would remain confidential. This was partly to attend to my ethical obligations, but also explain the purpose of the discussions, so that participants could be more open and willing to participate in the discussions. After this introduction, I also introduced our clerk and explained his/her role in the discussions. Both the participants and I, then proposed, and agreed on some ground rules to guide the discussions. Precisely these rules were: respecting each others' opinions; there were no right or wrong answers; ensuring equal group participation; and getting closure on each question before moving on to another. After all this, I started the interviews, following the topic guide as closely as I could. I also noted both the participants' body language during the discussions, and whatever was said, so that I would later compare it with the notes taken by the clerk. I was aware that a sense of unease might develop in the focus groups given that I was a man interviewing women. To counteract any possible tension, I explained to respondents my research and academic interests in women studies, and my strong views on gender equality. This seemed to calm whatever tension that might have existed in the focus groups.

5.8.1 Qualitative Data Coding and Analysis

Qualitative data analysis involves coding of themes, patterns, and categories of evidence (Richards and Horder, 1999). Therefore, while coding focus groups data, the first step was to divide data into themes. These themes largely emerged from quantitative data analysis. They were those areas which had been identified as needing extra attention after the analysis of quantitative data. Having identified these themes, I went through the focus group notes, and came up with raw data which I recorded under the respective major themes, to which it was related. When this was completed, I carefully went back to check that what the respondents said was recorded under relevant themes. I was also

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interested in the frequency of the ideas expressed, in order to be able to find out the dominance of certain ideas, as proposed by Silverman (2005), Bryman (2007), and Krueger (2003), among others. When data had been coded, I reflected on it, and gave it to two colleagues with research knowledge to find out if they observed the same themes. They both felt the grouping of the themes was good, so I embarked on analysing the data. The data was analysed and presented using the narrative style.

5.9.0 Conclusion

This chapter set out to explain the methods used in the study, why they were used, how the study was designed, and why it was designed in the way it was. The methodology used in this study was mainly influenced by the aims of the research, and the research questions which were in turn influenced by the gaps identified in the review of the related literature in chapters 2-4 of this thesis. This study employed both qualitative and quantitative research methods. I used quantitative methods such as a survey questionnaire mainly because I was convinced they would enable me to collect data from relatively large numbers of people in order to be able to meaningfully compare experiences. On the other hand, qualitative methods such as focus groups interviews were appropriate given that I was interested in exploring culture, process, and meaning. Mixing both these methods enabled triangulation, while case studies in particular enabled comparison of factors which influenced career-related educational choices, the university life experiences of female students, and the respondents' perceptions of the role of higher education in women's lives, in both Mbarara University in Uganda and the University of Limerick in Ireland.

This thesis has so far explored the literature related to development, gender and career choice, as well the role of higher education in women's lives. The thesis has also explored the methodology used in this study. This thesis will now proceed to presentation and analysis of the data. The following three chapters serve this purpose.

**CHAPTER SIX- Family Influences on Women's Experiences
Of University Education**

6.0 THE IMPACT OF FAMILY BACKGROUND FACTORS ON RESPONDENTS' UNIVERSITY LIFE EXPERIENCES

“The older person... can no longer count as a matter of right, and of moral and legal obligation, on economic support by his children.... In Western cultures he turns to the government or other organisations.”(Burgess,1960: 17)

“What is a man? A man is nothing. Without his family he is of less importance than that bug crossing the trail. In the white ways of doing things the family is not so important. The police and soldiers take care of protecting you, the courts give you justice, the post office carries messages for you, the school teaches you. Everything is taken care of, even your children, if you die; but with us the family must do all of that.” (Quoted in Haralambos and Holborn, 2000:474)

6.1.0 Introduction

The last chapter explored the methodology used in this study. In this chapter, I present and analyse both quantitative and qualitative data on the family backgrounds of respondents, and how these impact respondents' funding, accommodation, and role model experiences. The chapter points out that the different family structures in Ireland and Uganda as represented by nuclear and extended family types respectively, influence funding, accommodation, and role model experiences of respondents differently. However, while this is the case, there is evidence of a minority of respondents in Mbarara University who appreciate the values of individualism, self-sufficiency, and independence often associated with nuclear families. This indicates the infiltration of Western family values among Ugandan elites.

6.1.1 Analytical Framework

In chapter 2 section 2.2.5 of this thesis, a link was noted between Modernisation and family structures. Specifically, we saw that Modernisation leads to urbanisation and industrialisation, and that these two forces have weakened the extended family network

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because they do not support the values of communalism often nurtured in extended families. On the other hand, these same forces have greatly contributed to the emergence of the nuclear family through rural-urban migration prompted by the desire to get jobs in industries and other sectors of capitalist economies all over the world. We also saw that these forces support values nurtured in nuclear families such as individuality, independence, and self-sufficiency (OECD, 2008; Myers, 1992). Finally, it was noted that Modernisation emphasises individual effort or meritocracy through capitalism and the division of labour, and that this has the potential to destroy the values of communalism prevalent in extended family networks (Willis, 2005). Therefore, in order to fully understand the impact of family background factors on respondents' university life experiences, this chapter employs the family structure analytical framework. Theoretical frameworks are a useful tool for analysing data because of the clarity that they bring to the analysis. In this chapter, I use the family structure theoretical framework to analyse and interpret data on both the family backgrounds of respondents, and how this impacts their funding, accommodation, and role model experiences. I note that the funding, accommodation, and role model experiences of respondents in both Mbarara University and the University of Limerick are shaped by family structures prevalent in their respective countries. I argue that Mbarara University respondents are largely supported both financially and morally by their extended family network which is prevalent in most Ugandan communities, while their University of Limerick counterparts rely more on social, economic, political, and educational institutions for much of the financial and moral support, than on their nuclear type family structure. In the following paragraphs, I explain the two types of family structures before presenting and analysing the data.

Lev-Wiesel and Al-Krenawi (2000) have noted that family structure is the most frequently acknowledged difference between cultures. Throughout the world, people have organised themselves into a variety of structures, from nuclear and extended families, to multi-household families (Batrouney, 1995; Lev-Wiesel and Al-Krenawi, 2000). However, in this chapter, we shall limit ourselves to only the extended and nuclear family types. Available literature points to the dominance, and importance of

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extended family structures in Africa, including Uganda, and the dominance of nuclear family structures in Europe, including Ireland (Stacey, 1996; Bittman and Pixley, 1997; OECD, 2008). However, we need to know the meanings of both extended, and nuclear family, so that we can be well-positioned to appreciate how the respective family types impact funding, accommodation, and role model experiences of respondents in this study.

Duranton, Rodríguez-Pose and Sandall (2007) have argued that family structures are not straightforward to define. A further review of literature on family structures seems to support this assertion. For example, while Bengtson (2001) understands the nuclear family as consisting of husband and wife, children, and sometimes a handful of close relatives, Todd (1990a, 1990b) categorises the nuclear family into two major types namely: the “absolute nuclear family”, and the “egalitarian nuclear family”. In the “absolute nuclear family”, children form their own independent families (a couple and their children) in adulthood, and inheritance is divided among children by testament or will, usually to a single individual, often the son. Also, brothers and sisters are treated as independent individuals (Todd, 1990a:37). In the “egalitarian nuclear family”, children are allowed to form independent families made simply of a couple and their children, and inheritance is completely divided among children after the death of the parents, although some of it takes place when the parents are still alive (Todd, 1990a: 37-38).

Todd (1990a:38) has also categorised the extended family structure into two types namely: the “stem family”, and the “communitarian family”. In the “stem family”, several generations live under one roof and one child usually the eldest, though not always, marries and has children that remain in the household in order to preserve the lineage. The other children have the choice of remaining unmarried within the household or of marrying and leaving the home. The house and the land are inherited by the son who stays at home, but other children may receive some financial compensation. The inheriting son, remains under the formal authority of the father (Todd, 1990a: 38). In the “communitarian family”, on the other hand, all sons can get married and bring their wives to the family home, and family wealth and assets are distributed equally among all

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children after the death of the parents (although a period of cohabitation between married brothers after the death of the parents is possible (Todd, 1990a: 39-40).

These variations in defining both the nuclear and extended family structures show that family structure, particularly the nuclear family, is not fixed, but changes from time to time, making it difficult to have a purely nuclear family. As Bittman and Pixley (1997) have pointed out, examining household types at one juncture obscures transitions such as children leaving home, thus creating single-person or couple households; having children; separating and divorcing; ageing and moving to live with married children or to supported accommodation; and then dying. Throughout this period, nuclear family households are created and broken up, and then recreated-sometimes several times. (Bittman and Pixley, 1997: 4-5). Therefore, as McDonald (1995) has argued, post-modern society exposes people to a wider range of family patterns, as travel, migration, changing behaviours and values challenge family boundaries. Therefore families are rarely purely nuclear or extended.

Given the variations in defining family types, it is important that clearer definitions of respective family structures for purposes of this thesis are devised. Therefore, in this thesis, I use nuclear family to mean, a family which is largely composed of parents, and, or their biological or adopted children, and in which the responsibility of children up-bringing solely rests on the parents. I also use extended family to mean, a family which is mainly composed of parents, their children, other relatives as may be appropriate, and in which the responsibility of children up-bringing rests not only with biological parents, but also, with siblings (brothers and sisters), as well as, distant paternal and maternal relatives such as cousins, uncles, aunts, and grandparents, who usually live under their own roofs with their own immediate families (spouse and children). However, despite these definitions, I acknowledge the variations in both family structures especially nuclear families. I point out that Mbarara University respondents mainly come from families which can largely be defined as extended families, while the University of Limerick respondents mainly come from families which can largely be defined as

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nuclear. I argue that local distinctiveness in the family structures between Ireland and Uganda shapes the respondents' university life experiences in distinctive ways.

6.2.1 Quantitative Data Presentation

This section presents quantitative data on family backgrounds of respondents, and how these influence funding, accommodation, and role model experiences of respondents in both universities.

The role of institutions as factors shaping human activity has attracted enormous attention in recent years (Duranton, Rodríguez-Pose and Sandall, 2007:1). One such an institution is the family. It is widely acknowledged that a person's family background shapes their general life experiences, including educational related ones (Lynch and Lodge, 2002; Moore, 2004). Therefore, understanding a people's family circumstances is central to understanding their life experiences. In this study, I particularly wanted to find out the family composition of respondents, and how this influenced their funding (both tuition and living expenses), accommodation, and role model experiences. Consequently, respondents were given a number of options and asked to pick one that best described their family situation. In the following table, I present their responses.

Figure 4: Family Status of Respondents

Family Status	University Attended					
	Mbarara		Limerick		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Both parents staying together	104	53.3%	160	80%	264	66.8%
One parent alive	41	21.1%	18	9.0%	59	15%
Parents separated or divorced	31	15.9%	20	10%	51	12.9%
Both parents Deceased	19	9.7%	2	1.0%	21	5.3%
Total	195	100%	200	100%	395	100%

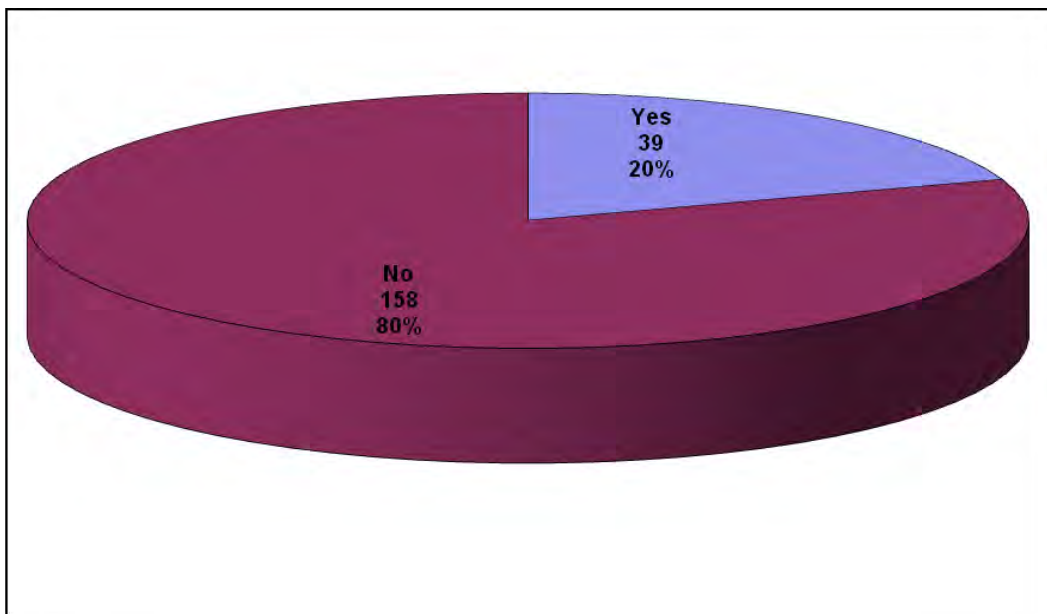
Note: 5 students in Mbarara University missed the question so are not part of the analysis.

This table indicates that over 9 percent of Mbarara University respondents compared with 1 percent from the University of Limerick had no parents, while over 53 percent of Mbarara University respondents compared with 80 percent of their University of Limerick counterparts, had both parents staying together. Also, this data shows that more respondents from Mbarara University (over 21 percent) than their University of Limerick counterparts (9 percent) had a single parent, while the parents of over 15 percent of Mbarara University respondents and 10 percent of their University of Limerick counterparts were divorced or separated. What is clear from this data is that there were more respondents in Mbarara University with no parent at all, less with parents staying together, more with divorced or separated parents, and more with single parents than their counterparts in the University of Limerick. This could mean that Mbarara University respondents had less parental support from their nuclear family than their University of Limerick counterparts. However, we will know if this was so after analysing qualitative data on accommodation, funding, and role models, later in section 6.3 of this chapter.

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We have seen that students' family backgrounds often determine their educational experiences. These experiences can range from non-academic related ones, such as tuition fees, accommodation, and pocket money, to academic related ones, such as performance in in school subjects. Clearly, understanding students' educational experiences also involves understanding their fees experiences. It was noted earlier in chapter 1 section 1.3.9 of this thesis that university students in Ireland are exempt from tuition fees. It was also noted in 1.2.4 of this thesis that each academic year, the Ugandan government funds tuition fees, accommodation, and meals of less than 7 percent of those applicants with the minimum qualification for admission to university. Therefore, in this study, I was mainly concerned with the tuition fees experiences of Mbarara University since the University of Limerick respondents were exempt from fees. We need to note that some respondents in Mbarara University were state-funded, while others were privately funded. So, as a starting point to understanding their tuition fees experiences, I asked Mbarara University respondents whether they were state-sponsored or not. In the following figure, I present their responses.

Figure 5: Respondents who have a Government Scholarship in Mbarara University



Note: 3 respondents missed the question and are not part of this analysis.

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This data tells us is that only 20 percent of Mbarara University respondents were state-funded while 80 percent were not. The state-funded respondents in Mbarara University were more than the national average of less than 7 percent as earlier seen in chapter 1, section in 1.2.4 of this thesis. So I asked those respondents who were not state-funded to reveal the sources of funding for their studies. This was because I wanted to find out the nature of support that respondents received from their immediate, and extended families, as well as, their other social networks. In the following table, I present their responses.

Figure 6: Who Pays Tuition Fees for the Non-State Funded Mbarara University Respondents?

Who pays Respondent’s Tuition Fees	Count	%
Parents	117	74.0%
Relative guardian (sisters, brothers, aunts etc.)	41	26.0%
Total	158	100%

This table shows that 74 percent of the non-state funded respondents got tuition from their parents, while 26 percent got it from their relatives including, sisters, brothers, aunts, and uncles. This means that other than the immediate family (parents and siblings), the other members of the wider extended family network, such as uncles, and aunts, also supported the respondents. The support given by siblings was also important because it shows that a child’s up-bringing and education in Uganda is not necessarily a responsibility of only the parents, although they do take primary responsibility. This issue points to the significant impact of the extended family on the funding experiences of Mbarara University respondents which I will discuss in detail in section 6.3.1 of this chapter when I present and analyse qualitative data.

Other than tuition, students also need money to meet their living and scholastic expenses while at school. Therefore, understanding students’ university life experiences involves not just understanding how their tuition is funded, but also how their living expenses are funded, and by who. It should be noted that while the University of Limerick respondents

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are state-funded, not all of them get living allowances to meet their financial needs. Therefore, the question regarding funding of respondents’ living expenses applied to them, as well as it did to their Mbarara University counterparts. In the following table, I present data on sources of funding for respondents’ living expenses in both universities.

Figure 7: Who Pays for Living Expenses of Respondents

Who Pays for Living Expenses	University Attended				Total	
	Mbarara		Limerick			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Parents	115	72.8%	105	78.9%	220	75.6%
Other relative (brother, sister, aunt, uncle etc.)	40	25.3%	4	3%	44	15.1%
Myself	3	1.9%	24	18.1%	27	9.3%
Total	158	100%	133	100%	291	100%

Note: 42 students in MUST were either state –funded or missed the question, while 67 respondents in UL either had scholarships covering their living expenses, or missed the question.

This data shows that parents paid for the living costs of over 72 percent of Mbarara University respondents, and those of over 78 percent of their University of Limerick counterparts. Also, while the living expenses of over 25 percent of Mbarara University respondents were paid for by other members of the nuclear family other than parents, particularly, siblings, or by members of the extended family network including, uncles, aunts, cousins, and others, the comparative figure for their University of Limerick counterparts was just 3 percent. Finally, less than 2 percent of Mbarara University respondents met their own living expenses compared with their University of Limerick counterparts at over 18 percent. Two distinctive issues emerge from this data. The first one is that more University of Limerick respondents than their Mbarara University counterparts financed their own living expenses. This distinctiveness between the samples can be explained by differences between national economies of Ireland and

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Uganda. In particular, the structured nature of the Irish economy and the hourly remuneration system both make students' part-time work possible even during term. By comparison, Uganda's subsistence economy, and a monthly remuneration system (most work in Uganda is full-time and on a monthly-paid basis unlike in Ireland where an hourly rate system is in place) most likely make part-time work less possible than in Ireland. The second distinctive issue which emerges from this data is that considerably more respondents from Mbarara University than from the University of Limerick, got support from their other relatives other than their parents. This can be explained by differences in the support that respondents in each university get from their respective family structures, namely, the nuclear family, and the extended family, for the University of Limerick, and Mbarara University, respectively. The correlation between family types and values has been explored by various scholars including Myers (1992), as seen in chapter 2 section 2.2.5 of this thesis. In this section, we also saw that the nuclear family is associated with Modernisation. In particular, we saw that Modernisation encourages industrialisation and urbanisation, which in turn encourage nuclear family types (Greif, 2005:3), with their associated values of individualism, independence, and self-sufficiency (OECD, 2008; Myers, 1992). We also saw that through capitalism, Modernisation emphasises individual effort or meritocracy, and the division of labour, both of which point to its association with the nuclear family. Consistent with this argument, Myers (1992) has noted that individuality, and independence are considered important values in nuclear families, and that, children in these families are encouraged to seek self-fulfilment through independence, not only from community/society, but also from their fellow family members, all in the name of self-sufficiency. On the other hand, children born and bred in extended families often value communalism, and dependency on their extended family network (Myers, 1992). However to suggest that all children born and bred in nuclear families desire, and work towards self-sufficiency or independence from other family members and their communities, is undoubtedly an exaggeration. Indeed as we can see here, the majority of respondents in Ireland relied on the support of their family members (parents) for their living expenses, and not on themselves, which would be the case if Myers (1992) argument of individualism and self-reliance by members of nuclear families, was as

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simple as he wants us to believe. Also, in both universities, the majority of respondents got their funding from parents implying that despite family type, parents still take the primary responsibility for their children’s education. However, the data presented here is just a pointer to a wider picture of the impact of family structures on the funding related university life experiences of respondents which I will explore further in section 7.3.2 of this chapter, when I present and analyse qualitative data.

Other than tuition fees and living expenses, students also desire proper term accommodation. In most universities, students often have a range of options, such as university halls of residence, private students’ hostels, their own homes, and sometimes their relatives’ homes. This means that ideally, students have an opportunity to choose accommodation that is best suited to their study, and personal needs, in full consideration of their financial capabilities. Therefore, in order to appreciate the impact of respondents’ family backgrounds on their term accommodation experiences, I started by asking them to say where they stayed during term time. In the following table, I present their responses.

Figure 8: Respondents’ Type of Accommodation

Place of Residence	University Attended				Total	
	Mbarara		Limerick			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Non-university rented	99	50%	116	58.6%	215	54.3%
University residence	48	24.2%	43	21.7%	91	22.9%
Parents’ home	26	13.1%	34	17.2%	60	15.2%
Relative’s home	25	12.7%	5	2.5%	30	7.6%
Total	198	100%	198	100%	396	100%

Note: 2 students in each university missed the question so are not part of the analysis.

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This table shows that 50 percent of Mbarara University respondents compared with almost 59 percent of their University of Limerick counterparts stayed in rented off-campus accommodation during term. Also, over 24 percent of Mbarara University respondents and over 21 percent of their University of Limerick counterparts, stayed in university accommodation. Over 13 percent of Mbarara University respondents, and over 17 percent of the University of Limerick respondents stayed at home, while over 12 percent of Mbarara University respondents compared with over 2 percent of the University of Limerick respondents stayed at a relative's home. Secondary data on accommodation facilities in both universities is consistent with data in this table. For example, data on student accommodation in Mbarara University for the 2007/2008 academic year shows that only 18 percent of the total student population of 2,699 resided in the university halls of residence then, while 82 percent resided outside the university (MUST, Academic Registrar's records, 2007/2008; Dean of Students' Office Records, 2008). Similarly, in the University of Limerick, data from Campus Life Services shows that in the academic year 2007/2008, university student villages accommodated 2,400 students out of about 13,000 students in the university then (Student Academic Administration Records, 2007/2008). When this figure is computed into percentages, we find that about 18 percent of all the University of Limerick students were accommodated in students' villages, while about 82 percent lived off-campus. So as we can see, this data is not just similar for both universities, but is also consistent with data presented in this table. However, the most notable issue in this data is that while over 12 percent of Mbarara University respondents stayed at a relative's home during term, the corresponding figure for the University of Limerick respondents was just over 2 percent. It is possible that this gap in percentage points is due to the differential impacts of nuclear and extended family structures on the respondents' university life experiences in the respective universities. Again this issue will be fully explored during qualitative data presentation and analysis later in section 6.3.4 in this chapter.

According to Rose (2004), role models are important in education because they bridge the gap between the ideal and reality. Bucher (1997:620) asserts that "models are one of the most important pedagogical agents in the history of education". Like Bucher (1997),

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other scholars such as, Mignot (2000), Blattel-Mink (2002), and Breakwell (2001), as earlier seen in chapter 3, section 3.3.3 of this thesis, argue that students’ role models are often people close to them, like parents and relatives. Bucher (1997) conducted research on students’ role models, and found that those personalities of social nearness to the participants, such as mothers, fathers, and relatives, were mentioned with the greatest frequency as role models. Rose (2004) argues that because students spend more time at school than at home, educators can be considered to have nearly the same “nearness” to these students as their own parents. Further literature on role model socialisation shows that role models are vital in shaping the educational experiences of students, particularly female students (bell hooks, 1989:50; Morgan, 1999:130). Given the importance of role models as documented here, I wanted to know if respondents had role models, how they were related to the role models, and in what ways these role models impacted the respondents’ university life experiences. So as a starting point to understanding the impact of role models on the university life experiences of respondents for this study, I asked respondents in both universities if they had role models. In the following figure I present their responses.

Figure 9: Table Showing Respondents With or Without Role Model

Have You a Role Model?	University Attended				Total	
	Mbarara		Limerick		Count	%
	Count	%	Count	%		
Yes	168	85.3%	102	51%	270	68%
No	29	14.7%	98	49%	127	32%
Total	197	100%	200	100%	397	100%

This table shows that over 85 percent of Mbarara University respondents and 51 percent of their University of Limerick counterparts had role models, while almost 15 percent of Mbarara University respondents and 49 percent of their University of Limerick counterparts did not. When a Chi-square test is computed, it returns a p-value of 0.000. So, the Mbarara University sample had significantly more role models than their

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University of Limerick counterparts. This could also be a reflection of reliance on other people, common in extended family networks such as those in which Mbarara University respondents live, as opposed to the self-sufficiency and individualism common in nuclear families.

Having identified respondents who had role models, I asked them to say how they were related to their role models. Their responses are presented in the following figure.

Figure 10: Respondent- Role Model Relationship

Relationship to Role Model	University Attended				Total	
	Mbarara		Limerick			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Parent/parents	38	22.4%	23	22.5%	61	22.4%
Sibling	32	18.8%	12	11.8%	44	16.2%
Extended family	22	12.9%	4	3.9%	26	9.5%
Friend	28	16.5%	7	6.9%	35	12.9%
Teacher	14	8.2%	38	37.3%	52	19.1%
Public Figure	36	21.2%	18	17.6%	54	19.9%
Total	170	100%	102	100%	272	100%

This table shows that in both universities, over 22 percent of respondents’ role models were parents. Also, over 21 percent of Mbarara University respondents’ role models were public figures, compared with their University of Limerick counterparts at over 17 percent. Siblings formed almost 19 percent of Mbarara University respondents’ role models while they formed almost 12 percent of respondents’ role models in the University of Limerick. Over 16 percent of the respondents’ role models in the Mbarara University sample were friends compared with their University of Limerick counterparts at almost 7 percent. In Mbarara University, members of the extended family network,

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namely, uncles, aunts, and cousins, formed almost 13 percent of respondents' role models compared with their University of Limerick counterparts at almost 4 percent. Finally, slightly over 8 percent of the respondents' role models in Mbarara University were teachers compared with the University of Limerick sample where teachers formed over 37 percent of respondents' role models. The data for both universities is consistent with the arguments earlier made by Rose (2004), Bucher (1997), Mignot (2000), Blattel-Mink (2002), and Breakwell (2001), that students' role models are often people close to them, such as parents, other relatives, and teachers. However, two distinctive issues emerge from this data. The first one is that while the majority of the University of Limerick respondents' role models were teachers, parents formed the majority of Mbarara University respondents' role models. Also, when combined, siblings and other relatives accounted for over 31 percent of role models for the Mbarara University sample compared with their University of Limerick counterparts at over 15 percent. So the substantial score of over 22 percent on parental role models in the University of Limerick, and the score of over 37 percent respondents on teacher role models, both show that the University of Limerick respondents relied more on teachers first, followed by their parents for educational support. On the other hand, the bigger scores of Mbarara University respondents on parents, siblings, and other relatives indicate that these respondents relied more on their parents, and other members of both their immediate families, and the extended family network. However, we need to be reminded that the majority of respondents in the University of Limerick sample were student teachers (see chapter 5, section 5.6.4), something that could explain the significant influence many of them receive from teachers. So in order to find out if this was the case, I controlled for course of study to find out if the bulk of the University of Limerick role models would still be teachers. This data will be presented later when I present cross-tabulations.

Having established the relationship between respondents and their role models, I also wanted to find out how role models influenced respondents' university life experiences. So, I asked respondents to mention one major way in which role models influenced their studies. This data is presented in the following figure.

Figure 11: Role Model Influence on Respondents

Way of Influence	University Attended				Total	
	Mbarara		Limerick			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Motivated by his/her achievements	126	75%	76	75.2%	202	75.1%
Gives academic guidance and support	30	12.5%	33	21.8%	43	16%
Gives financial support	21	12.5%	3	3.0%	24	8.9%
Total	168	100%	101	100%	269	100%

This table shows that in both universities, 75 percent of respondents were motivated by the achievements of their role models. The notable difference is that over 12 percent of Mbarara University respondents, compared with only 3 percent of their University of Limerick counterparts, received financial help from their role models. It is also evident that more University of Limerick respondents (almost 22 percent) than their Mbarara University counterparts (over 12 percent) received academic support from their role models. Again this points to the reliance on the extended family for financial support by Mbarara University respondents, compared with the University of Limerick respondents, who instead rely on public figures, such as teachers for academic support. Conclusions on the impact of role models on respondents' university life experiences will be made after the presentation and analysis of qualitative data in section 6.3.4 of this chapter.

6.2.2 Presentation of Cross-tabulations

It is clear from chapter 5, section 5.6.4, that the majority of the University of Limerick respondents were student teachers. Data presented in figure 34 has indicated that the largest group of the University of Limerick respondents' role models were also teachers. While this data can be explained by a number of factors, it is possible that the nature of the sample (majority respondents being student teachers) could have influenced this result. In order to establish if this was the case, a cross-tabulation of respondents' course

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of study, and their role model relationship was done. The results are presented in the following figure.

Figure 12: A Cross-Tabulation of Respondent-Role Model Relationship and Respondents’ Course of Study in the University of Limerick

Course Taken	Parents		Teachers		Friends		Siblings	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Education	12	30.8%	16	34.8%	1	20%	2	25%
Business/ Law	13	33.3%	16	34.8%	1	20%	4	50%
Others	14	35.9%	14	30.4%	3	60%	2	25%
Total	39	100%	46	100%	5	100%	8	100%

This data shows that irrespective of course of study, the majority role models of the University of Limerick respondents were teachers. For example, almost 35 percent of respondents in both education and business/law clusters had teacher role models, while almost 31 percent of respondents in education and over 33 percent of those in business/law had parental role models. Teachers were also role models of over 30 percent of respondents in other courses compared with parents at over 35 percent. So while it is true that parents also formed a big number of the respondents’ role models in the University of Limerick, teachers formed the majority of respondents’ role models, irrespective of course of study. It is therefore clear that the nature of the University of Limerick sample (the majority being student teachers) did not influence the results.

Quantitative data presented in this section has shown that the family backgrounds of respondents in both universities influence their funding (both tuition and living expenses), accommodation, and role model-related university life experiences. However, distinctive family structures namely, nuclear families in Ireland, and the extended family network in Uganda, have been found to impact on the university life experiences of respondents in both universities in largely different ways. For example, with regards to

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funding, we have seen that the tuition fees and living expenses of Mbarara University respondents were mainly funded by parents with the support of other members of both the immediate family, and the extended family network, such as, sisters, brothers on the one hand, and cousins, uncles, aunts on the other, respectively. However, the distinctiveness in job market structures, and the remuneration systems in the respective countries, was also seen as impacting the funding of respondents' living expenses. The extended family network in Ugandan communities was further seen as supporting Mbarara University respondents' educational endeavours in a variety of other ways. For example, more Mbarara University respondents than their University of Limerick counterparts stayed in a relative's home during term, and they had parents, siblings, and other relatives as role models, compared with their University of Limerick counterparts. Also this data shows that more Mbarara University respondents than their University of Limerick counterparts were financially supported by their role models. This is a further pointer to the impact of the extended family network on the university life experiences of Mbarara University respondents. On the other hand, there is evidence of strong reliance on both the nuclear family, and institutions for support by the University of Limerick respondents. For example, more University of Limerick respondents stayed with parents during term, and fewer stayed at a relative's home, than their Mbarara University counterparts. Also, more University of Limerick respondents had more teacher role models than their Mbarara University counterparts but also, significant numbers of parental and public figure role models. This data points to the fact that in the absence of extended family structures, institutional support such as that of teachers, and other public figures, tends to supplement parental support, as compared with Mbarara University where parental support is supplemented by the extended family network. Therefore, this data shows that local distinctiveness between Irish and Ugandan family structures as represented by the nuclear family, and the extended family types, respectively, largely impacts the life experiences of respondents from the respective universities in different ways. However, interesting as this data appears, we cannot base any conclusions on it because the numbers involved are small and may therefore not be statistically significant. Nevertheless, this data is important in that it points to a possibility of a significant impact of family structures on the university life experiences

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of respondents in this study. In the following section, I present and analyse qualitative data on these issues before making final conclusions.

7.3.0 Qualitative Data Presentation and Analysis

The last section has analysed quantitative data on the correlation between family backgrounds of respondents, and their university life experiences. This section presents and analyses qualitative data on the same issue.

6.3.1 Focus Groups Topics and Themes

The major topics of discussion in the focus groups, regarding the correlation between respondents' family backgrounds, and their experiences of higher education were: respondents' term accommodation, funding of tuition fees and living expenses of respondents, part-time work, and role models. During the coding process, major themes were generated, namely: Perceptions of family composition, family structure and accommodation experiences of respondents, family structure and funding experiences of respondents, as well as role models and the university life experiences of respondents.

6.3.2 Respondents Perceptions of Family Composition

During quantitative data presentation and analysis, it was noted that more respondents in Mbarara University had lost both parents, more had one parent, and more lived in families where parents had separated, than their counterparts in the University of Limerick (see figure 28). Further analysis of data on funding, accommodation, and role models showed that more respondents in Mbarara University than in the University of Limerick, were supported by, and depended on, their relatives, including distant ones, for their studies than their counterparts in the University of Limerick, who instead depended on their nuclear family members, themselves, and public personalities, such as teachers. Therefore, there was need to analyse the respondents' perceptions of family composition in both universities in detail, so as to fully understand the respective family structures prevalent in Ireland and Uganda, and the various ways in which these family

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structures impact the university life experiences of respondents in respective universities. Consequently the concept of family composition was discussed by respondents in both universities.

There were clear differences between universities on the respondents' perceptions of family composition. In Mbarara University, the majority of respondents understood a family to be a unit composed of parents, their biological children, and other distant relatives, who either stay in the same home, or live in their separate homes. In a view supported by the majority of respondents, one participant defined a typical Ugandan family thus:

In Uganda, most families compose of parents and their many children. However, due to high orphan rates mainly caused by death of parents from the HIV/ AIDS pandemic, most of our parents also take up our relatives, such as our cousins who become brothers and sisters. In Uganda, we also have responsibility towards our elderly parents so sometimes we stay with our grandparents. **(MUST respondent, Focus group 1)**

Similar views were expressed by respondents in other focus groups, particularly groups 3, and 4, all of which showed that respondents in Mbarara University perceived of the family as composed of an extended network of members who support one another. This view is consistent with that of Forster (2006) who argues that the extended family invaluablely supports its members in their pursuit of economic, political, and social goals.

However, while the majority of Mbarara University respondents perceived the family as composed of both immediate and distant relatives, a minority of respondents in Mbarara University understood a family to include only parents and their siblings. This view was expressed by respondents in two focus groups. Expressing this minority view, one respondent in focus group 1 said:

Our grandparents considered every relative however distant as family. It suited their times, but it does not suit ours. There are many demands on parents now that they can only afford to look after their own children, and not all relatives. The earlier we realise that we cannot keep thinking of the family as our grandparents used to, the better. Times have changed, and we need to change with them now. **(MUST respondent, Focus group 1)**

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This respondent seems to suggest that family structures change with time and circumstances. This alludes to the idea of Modernisation as an agent of cultural change in developing countries. The attitude of this respondent, who is part of an educational elite in Uganda, and therefore, in a way “modern”, tends to confirm the argument made earlier by scholars such as Greif (2005, 2006), Myers (1992), and Willis (2005) in chapter 2 section 2.2.5, that Modernisation supports the nuclear family because it nurtures individualism, self-sufficiency, and meritocracy among its members. This is because these traits are essential for industrialisation and urbanisation, the major features of Modernisation. As such, in cases where Modernisation establishes itself, most often among socio-economic elites in developing countries such as Uganda, it is likely that there will be a shift from extended to nuclear families. Therefore, what this respondent says could indicate how Modernisation among Uganda's educational elites is changing their attitudes to family structures.

The issue of family composition was also discussed by University of Limerick respondents during their focus groups interviews. The majority of these respondents perceived a family as composed of parents and few biological or legally adopted children. This majority view was presented by one respondent thus:

My parents often tell me that during their time, Irish families mainly consisted of husband, wife, and many children, sometimes as many as 10! Even distant relatives used to be considered as family then. This kind of family is rare in current Ireland where we continue to produce fewer and fewer children. In fact most families in present day Ireland consist of parents and a few children. **(UL respondent, Focus group 4)**

Respondents in all the other focus groups expressed similar views about families in Ireland. This indicates that families in Ireland are largely nuclear, compared with Uganda where they are largely extended. However, there is an indication of change in families even when they remain pre-dominantly nuclear. In particular, this quotation shows that the nuclear family in Ireland today is often smaller than it used to be years ago.

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However, despite the majority view on what constitutes a family, a minority of respondents in the University of Limerick perceived a family as composed of more than just parents, and their children. This view was expressed by one respondent in focus group 5 when she said:

Everyone here seems to think that a family is only limited to our parents, and siblings. Granted, those must be included when defining a family. However, I would wish to think that our cousins, uncles, aunts, and other relatives are family too because they are often there for us both in good and bad times. **(UL respondent, Focus group 5)**

Clearly, the respondents' perceptions of what constitutes a family, presented and analysed in this section, indicate that for the majority of respondents in Mbarara University, a family consists of parents, their children, and other relatives, who either live with them, or live outside in their homes, hence an extended family. On the other hand, the majority of respondents in the University of Limerick perceived the family as mainly consisting of parents and their children, in essence, a nuclear family. This data is therefore consistent with the literature presented at the beginning of this chapter which shows that family is a complex issue to define although there are widely accepted views on what constitutes a family as earlier pointed out by Durant, Rodríguez-Pose and Sandall (2007), Bengtson (2001) and Todd (1990a, 1990b). In particular Todd (1990a, 1990b) says that perceptions of what constitutes a family are not only various, but also range from society to society. The data also shows that just like Silverstein (1984) and the OECD report (2008) argued at the start of this chapter, extended families are dominant in Africa where Uganda is located, while nuclear families are dominant in Europe where Ireland is located. The other interesting issue is that in both universities, respondents associated modernity with a nuclear family, implying that Modernisation is associated with some level of cultural change, be it in Ireland or Uganda.

This section has presented and analysed qualitative data on respondents' perceptions of family composition in both universities. It has been noted that generally, respondents in both universities had different perceptions of what constitutes a family. Specifically, a

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significant number of respondents in the University of Limerick understood the family as being largely composed of parents and their children (nuclear family), while their Mbarara University counterparts understood it as being largely composed of parents, their children, and other relatives, whether close or distant (extended family). When related to the literature on family structures presented earlier in this chapter and referred to in the preceding paragraph, it appears that most respondents in the University of Limerick came from families which can largely be defined as nuclear while the majority of Mbarara University respondents came from those that can largely be defined as extended families. In the following section, I will present and analyse qualitative data on the correlation between family structure and funding experiences of respondents.

6.3.3 Family Structure and Funding Experiences of Respondents

In chapter 1, sections 1.3.5 and 1.2.4 respectively it was noted that while all university students in Ireland were state-funded, the majority of university students in Uganda (over 90 percent) paid their own fees, while just less than 7 percent were state-funded. Also, quantitative data presented in figure 5 indicated that slightly over 80 percent of Mbarara University respondents in this study were privately-funded while slightly fewer than 20 percent were state-funded. Further quantitative data presented in figure 6 indicated that 74 percent of the non-state funded respondents got tuition fees from their parents, while 26 percent got theirs from relatives including sisters, brothers, aunts, and uncles. Data in figure 7 further showed that in both universities, parents met the cost of living expenses of over 72 percent of Mbarara University respondents, and those of over 78 percent of their University of Limerick counterparts. Also, the living expenses of over 25 percent of Mbarara University respondents were met by relatives such as uncles, aunts, sisters, cousins, and others, compared with their University of Limerick counterparts at just 3 percent. Finally, less than 2 percent of Mbarara University respondents meet their own living expenses, compared with their University of Limerick counterparts at over 18 percent. As noted earlier, this data points to distinctiveness in family structures and the values each family nurtures in its children, and the different part-time employment opportunities between Ireland and Uganda. I explored these

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issues deeply during focus groups interviews so as to fully understand how respondents' family backgrounds impacted upon their university funding experiences.

Qualitative data shows that for the majority of respondents in Mbarara University, extended family members formed a supportive socio-economic security net for their studies. There is evidence to show that while the primary responsibility of children's education lay with the parents, other relatives including siblings, aunts, uncles, and cousins, all played a big role in shaping the funding experiences of respondents. It was noted in the focus groups data that while the support of the extended family members always existed, it increased during times of hardship, such as, unemployment, extreme poverty, death of the nuclear family head, and divorce, among others. Therefore, the support of respondents from the extended family network already seen in quantitative data could be explained by data in figure 4 which shows higher rates of orphan hood and divorce among the Mbarara University sample compared with their University of Limerick counterparts. All these views were expressed by various respondents in focus groups interviews. For example, on the issue of tuition fees payment, one respondent in focus group 3 noted that the entire extended family network helped with this issue because an educated family member was an asset to the whole family not just to herself or her immediate family. In a view supported by the majority of respondents, she said:

I lost my dad when I was just 9 years. My mum has been doing all she can to keep me in school and I have really worked very hard not to disappoint her. When I was admitted on government sponsorship, it was like a burden had been lifted off me, you know! My uncle was so pleased and started giving me money for my living expenses so that my mum could look after my two siblings in secondary school. I am hoping to get a job when I finish studies next year, so I can pay at least one of my sisters' school fees. **(MUST respondent group 1)**

Other than respondents with financial constraints, almost half of the respondents did not seem to have problems with paying their tuition fees and meeting their living expenses, but still got money from members of the extended family and friends as this respondent explained:

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I guess it is okay to belong to a big family. Sometimes you kind of get spoiled because everyone wants to give you money. They don't actually give us much but the little that the cousins, siblings, uncles, give us finally makes some form of a bundle. It's not that money can be enough, but it's like I come here with a considerable sum after daddy has topped up on the contributions from my relatives. It's amazing to see that love and generosity really, even those you would take to be more needy than you, will still dig deep in their pockets and get you something, even if it's a 500 shilling coin! (Equivalent to about 20 Eurocents). Even our friends who are through with school will drop a ten thousand note (about 4 Euros) or something like that whenever they visit, and all this keeps us going. **(MUST respondent group 3)**

A significant number of respondents also underlined the tremendous role of elder siblings in meeting both their tuition fees and living expenses. One respondent said:

For me it's like I am the luckiest of all people here! Being the last born in a family of seven, every one of my brothers and sisters seems to be competing to do something for me. **(MUST respondent group 5)**

What all this data tells us is that while parents were primarily responsible for their children's education, other members of both the immediate, and extended family network, also had the responsibility of looking after, and educating their relatives, especially when parents could not do it on their own. This data is consistent with the ideas of various scholars on the importance of the extended family to its members. For example, Forster (2006) has noted that extended families invaluablely support their members during the pursuit of economic, political, and social goals. Fleischer (2007) has also noted that extended families provide a sense of belonging, solidarity, and protection. However, they also involve expectations, obligations, and responsibilities (Tiemoko, 2004:157). Clearly, we have seen that the extended family network in Ugandan communities was seen as supporting Mbarara University respondents in their educational pursuits as Forster (2000) has noted. However, while this was the case, respondents had a responsibility to succeed in their studies, and give this same support to their other relatives if they needed it in future. This is consistent with the argument Tiemoko (2004:157) makes when he says that extended families involve expectations, obligations, and responsibilities.

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However, despite the support of the extended family to its members seen so far, a significant minority of Mbarara University respondents said that the extended family network was not always supportive. One respondent said:

My view is that people need to struggle on their own to succeed rather than rely on their relatives. I guess that in the modern world, everyone wants to be educated. However, because of too many life demands and no significant increases in people's incomes, most people are not able to help their relatives even if they really want to. People are now looking after their immediate family members. It's now coming to a point where "everyone is for himself but God for us all". (MUST respondent group 1)

While this quotation presents a minority view held by a few respondents, it shows that cultural values of communalism were being eroded by values of individualism and self sufficiency. These are values associated with Modernisation in general and the nuclear family in particular. This is consistent with the views of scholars such as Meyers (1996); Silverstein (1984), and Aboderin (2004) earlier noted in this chapter, all of whom argue that Modernisation threatens the extended family because it emphasises urbanisation and industrialisation which value individuality, meritocracy, and self-sufficiency commonly associated with the nuclear family, as opposed to values of communalism and inter-dependency often nurtured in nuclear families. However, this is only a minority view, implying that the extended family network in Uganda is still seen as positively influencing the university life experiences of Mbarara University respondents, despite the emergency of globalised Western family values.

In the University of Limerick, on the other hand, quantitative data on respondents' living expenses presented in figure 7 shows that parents met the cost of living expenses of over 78 percent of respondents while relatives met those of just 3 percent. Also, while less than 2 percent of Mbarara University respondents meet their own living expenses, the comparative figure for the University of Limerick counterparts was over 18 percent. This data points to the fact that more University of Limerick respondents relied on their parents, and on their own efforts, than their Mbarara University counterparts. However, as earlier noted in this chapter, this data is not sufficient to help us understand the

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funding experiences of respondents. We also need to look at qualitative data from focus groups interviews before making final conclusions on this issue.

Qualitative data in the University of Limerick is consistent with quantitative data which shows that the living expenses of respondents were mainly met by parents, followed by respondents themselves, and least of all by relatives. In a view supported by the majority, one respondent said:

My parents are still able to work, so they meet all my financial needs. I think it's because am the only child. So am kind of spoilt! They wouldn't let me work during term, but I do take up a few hours' work during the summer. It helps you get out there, and see what takes place in the real world, rather than remain daddy's and mummy's little girl! (UL respondent group 2)

However while this quotation is important in that it shows the primary role of parents in the education of their children in a nuclear family setting, the most important issue was the distinctiveness between universities with regards to respondents who met their living expenses. Qualitative data shows that the University of Limerick respondents were able to meet their living expenses mainly because of two reasons. The first one was the ability of their structured economy to provide student part-time work which gave students income to meet their financial needs while at college. The second was the possible commitment to values of independence and self-sufficiency often nurtured in nuclear families to which most of the University of Limerick respondents belonged. The need for independence and self-sufficiency was more dominant in the University of Limerick focus groups interviews than in Mbarara University ones. In the University of Limerick, the majority of respondents felt that meeting their living expenses would be reflective of their independence and self-sufficiency, although they continued to get money from their parents, as seen in the preceding quotations. However, a significant minority of them did not get money from their parents because they wanted to be independent and self-sufficient, despite the willingness and ability of their parents to extend financial help. This view was presented by one respondent thus:

I pay for my living expenses because I work part-time during college term. My parents would not mind giving me money, but I would not want to bother them

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when am able to provide for myself! They are not going to be there for us the rest of our lives, and we need to be independent at some point. We need to start being responsible for our lives and future if you ask me. (**UL respondent group 1**)

As noted before, this quotation tells us that the University of Limerick respondents valued individuality, independence and self-sufficiency, all of which are associated with nuclear families as earlier pointed out in section 6.2.1 of this chapter. In this section, Myers (1992) noted that other than nurturing values of individuality and independence, nuclear families also encourage children to seek self-fulfilment through independence from both the community/society, and their fellow family members, as a means to be self-sufficient.

When quantitative and qualitative data on the funding experiences of respondents in both universities as shaped by their family backgrounds is analysed, certain issues emerge. The first one is that parents are the primary providers of their children's tuition fees in Mbarara University and living expenses in both universities, despite the distinctiveness in family structures associated with the countries from which respective respondent samples were drawn. However, there are also, differences in both quantitative and qualitative data between the two universities which can be explained by local distinctiveness in family types that the respondents come from. In particular, more Mbarara University respondents than their University of Limerick counterparts, received considerable financial support for their tuition fees and living expenses from members of the extended family network, and very few of them personally met the cost of their living expenses. On the other hand, more University of Limerick respondents funded their living expenses, and fewer received financial support from their relatives, than their Mbarara University counterparts. So while the respondents in Mbarara University relied more on their immediate and extended family network for their tuition fees and living expenses, their University of Limerick counterparts, relied more on their immediate families, themselves, and institutions such as their structured economy, for their living expenses. Therefore, in light of these differences, we can say that distinctiveness in family and job market structures between Ireland and Uganda influenced the university life experiences of respondents in respective universities, in different ways. In the

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following section, I present and analyse data on the impact of family structure on respondents' term accommodation in both universities.

6.3.4 Family Structure and Term Accommodation Experiences of Respondents

Quantitative data presented in figure 8 showed that while the majority of respondents in both universities lived in either rented off-campus accommodation or university halls of residence, a few of them lived either in their homes or with other relatives. The most interesting data in figure 8 is that while over 12 percent of Mbarara University respondents stayed with a relative, the comparative figure was just over 2 percent for their University of Limerick counterparts. In order to gain a deeper insight into the impact of family structures on the accommodation experiences of respondents in this study, the issue of staying with a relative was discussed in focus groups interviews conducted in both universities.

Qualitative data from Mbarara University is consistent with quantitative data on accommodation of respondents presented earlier in figure 8. The extended family network was found to be a significant influence on the accommodation experiences of Mbarara University respondents. For example, the majority of Mbarara University focus groups participants said it was okay to stay at a relative's place during term, and that they would do so if there was need. In a view supported by the majority, one respondent said:

I have no problem staying with a relative during term especially if the relative stays near campus. I would feel more at home than in a congested hall of residence or private hostel. It also reduces the educational costs for my parents in a way. I personally stay with my sister, and it is cool! She is working in a bank in town here and she takes me out on some weekends. The fact that she is successful also makes me focus more on my studies so that I can get a good job like hers in future, you know! **(MUST respondent group 6)**

So, besides free accommodation and outings provided by her sister, this respondent was also encouraged by her sister's success to work hard on her course. Similar views were expressed in all focus groups conducted in Mbarara University.

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This data tells us that Mbarara University respondents acknowledge the role of relatives in their educational endeavours, and were often willing to accept this kind of support from the extended family network. That is why the majority of those respondents who did not stay with a relative said they would willingly do so if need arose. The relatives were also seen as taking responsibilities for the welfare of the respondents, both materially and morally. All these show that in most Ugandan communities, the responsibility of bringing up children is not just limited to the biological parents, but also extends to other members of both the immediate family and extended family network. This data is consistent with the ideas of Bledsoe (1990), as well as Lloyd and Blanc (1996) who argue that within a context of limited resources and economically valued alternative roles for children, extended family networks in sub-Saharan Africa enable many children to be educated than would otherwise have been possible if biological parents alone bore the full private cost of their children's education. In Africa, children with academic promise often move to the households of other relatives who serve as children's "patrons" in helping them gain access to better-quality schools or successively higher levels of schooling that are not available in their natal villages (Bledsoe, 1990; Lloyd and Blanc, 1996). Alternatively, relatives can provide support in cash or in kind to the household in which a promising child resides, thus enabling parents to absorb both the monetary and the opportunity costs of that child's school attendance (Lloyd and Blanc, 1996). All these show the extended family as a "social security net" which not only nurtures children's career-related educational choices, but also significantly impacts their educational experiences.

However, in a divergent view, a significant minority of Mbarara University respondents said they would not stay at a relative's place during term. One of them expressed this view thus:

For me, staying at a relative's place should never come as a choice. It is simply not appropriate since these relatives are likely to boss you around, and you end up falling out with them. We can visit our relatives but I don't buy into the idea of staying beyond a few days. It always ends up in problems believe me! I wouldn't want my life to be controlled by other people really. Yet, believe me, relatives can be very controlling! **(MUST respondent group 2)**

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What this quotation tells us is that while the extended family was seen as a “social security net” by most respondents, it was also seen as limiting the personal freedoms and independence, of others. This suggests that a minority of Mbarara University respondents have adopted globalised Western values of individuality and independence which threaten the values of communalism and interdependence that are highly valued in the traditional Ugandan extended family network. The presence of Western family values among a minority of Mbarara University respondents may reflect the effect of the globalised Western media on local cultures of people in developing countries which was explored in chapter 2 section 2.5.3 of this thesis. In this section, Held *et al.*, (1999) argued that while the global media has the potential to change the cultures of people in developing countries towards those of the West, this change is often partial and limited to certain aspects of life. This data supports this view in that, while a significant minority of Mbarara University respondents saw staying with their relatives as an inconvenience, and therefore threatened the values of communalism and interdependence nurtured in extended family networks, the majority of them upheld these values as reflected in their willingness to stay with relatives. Therefore, as Movius (2010), Held *et al.*, (1999), and Flew (2007) among others, have argued in chapter 2 section 2.5.3, a globalised Western media only inculcates some Western cultural values among people in developing countries, but does not destroy local cultures. In so doing, it creates hybrid cultures in which both local and Western cultural values are upheld.

In the University of Limerick on the other hand, qualitative data was consistent with the findings in quantitative data presented in figure 8 which show that the majority of respondents would not stay at a relative’s home. There is an evident perseverance of values of individuality, independence, and self-sufficiency nurtured in nuclear families, in qualitative data from the University of Limerick. More specifically, the majority of respondents said they would not stay at a relative’s home under whatever circumstances. This majority view was expressed by one respondent when she said:

I certainly find it unbelievable that people would even think of staying at a relative’s home, at university level. That to me is the fear of being independent

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and responsible. I don't even think my dad and mum would allow me to stay with any relative during college term. In fact they say I should be moving out after college. They prefer to see me independent than an innocent little baby for ever, and I love them for believing in my ability to survive on my own. **(UL respondent group 3)**

Respondents in other focus groups also highlighted the independence that came with staying in a hostel or rented accommodation. This data shows that unlike their Mbarara University counterparts, the majority of the University of Limerick respondents saw staying with a relative, which reflects communalism and interdependence (values associated with the extended family), as a threat to their independence, self-sufficiency, and individuality, all of which are ideas nurtured in nuclear family settings. There was therefore, resistance to any form of force against their much cherished values and freedoms. However, while this was the case, a small minority of respondents in the University of Limerick said they could stay with relatives. This view was particularly expressed by a respondent thus:

Nothing should be ruled out completely really. There are those relatives who are good to us and more understanding. I see no reason why I would not stay with them if they lived near college. It takes nothing from me really as long as they understand that I am mature enough to make my own decisions, which most of them would. **(UL respondent group 6)**

While this quotation shows that a minority of respondents were willing to stay with relatives, they could only do so if it did not threaten their much valued independence, and freedom commonly associated with nuclear families. It is therefore clear that the nuclear family structure prevalent in Ireland significantly impacted the accommodation decisions and experiences of the University of Limerick respondents.

This section has examined the impact of family structures on respondents' accommodation experiences in both universities. It has been noted that the extended family prevalent in Uganda significantly impacted the accommodation experiences of Mbarara University respondents, where the majority saw no problem with staying at a relative's home as their term accommodation, although a few of them actually stayed at their relatives' home, as earlier seen in figure 8. On the other hand, the accommodation

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experiences of the University of Limerick respondents were more shaped by ideas of individuality, self-sufficiency, and independence nurtured in the nuclear family prevalent in Ireland, as reflected in the resistance of the majority of them to using a relative's home as term-accommodation. Therefore, we can say that local distinctiveness in family structures between Ireland and Uganda shaped respondents' university term accommodation experiences in different ways, even when there was evidence of an emerging influence of globalised Western values of independence, individualism and self-sufficiency among a minority of Mbarara University respondents.

Other than funding and accommodation, qualitative data was also collected on role models. This data is presented and analysed in the following section.

7.3.5 Family Structure, Role Models and University Life Experiences of Respondents

We already know from quantitative data presented in figure 9 that over 85 percent of Mbarara University respondents, and 51 percent of their University of Limerick counterparts had role models. We also know from data presented in figure 10 that at over 22 percent, the majority of Mbarara University respondents' role models were parents, while those of the majority of the University of Limerick respondents' role models were teachers at 37 percent. Also, when combined, siblings and other relatives made up over 31 percent of role models for Mbarara University respondents compared with their University of Limerick counterparts at over 15 percent. This data shows that the University of Limerick respondents mainly relied, first on their teachers, and second, on their parents, for educational support. On the other hand, Mbarara University respondents relied more on their parents, and other members of both their immediate families, and the extended family network. Also, data presented in figure 11 indicates that while 75 percent of respondents in both universities were motivated by the achievements of their role models, a significant minority (over 12 percent) of Mbarara University respondents received financial assistance from their role models compared with 3 percent of their counterparts in the University of Limerick. However, in order to fully understand how the respondents were related to their role models, and in what

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ways these role models impacted the respondents' university life experiences, focus groups interviews were conducted in both universities on this issue.

Like quantitative data, qualitative data also found that role models significantly impacted respondents' university life experiences. Specifically the majority of Mbarara University respondents indicated that their role models were mainly relatives, and that they significantly influenced both the respondents' career-related educational decisions, as well as their university life experiences. In particular, Mbarara University respondents said that role models encouraged, advised, and motivated them to succeed in their studies. Role models also assisted respondents financially. One respondent summed up the majority views on the influence of role models on the career-related educational choices and the university life experiences of respondents thus:

Most of us here survive on the support from our immediate and distant relatives. Family bonds here are very strong that even what you would call your step-sisters or cousins in English, are simply called sisters or brothers in most Ugandan communities. This means that success of one family member, however distant, is celebrated by the whole community and as young women, we look up to these people. There is no place for selfishness in most Ugandan communities, and what belongs to one person belongs to all other relatives! They influence our educational choices, and attainment, as well as other aspects of our lives. They also make financial or academic-related contributions to our studies.
(MUST respondent group 1)

This quotation shows that the role models of Mbarara University respondents were not just part of the extended family network, but also supported respondents' studies morally, materially, and financially. This kind of support meant that these role models significantly impacted the respondents' university life experiences. Also, in this data there is strong evidence of values of communalism and togetherness reflected in shared responsibility for the education of fellow members of the extended family network, and the shared benefits as seen in phrases like "there is no place for selfishness in most Ugandan communities and what belongs to one person belongs to all other relatives!" in above quotation.

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However, while this was the case, a minority of Mbarara University respondents did not see members of the extended family as good role models, even when they acknowledged that role models influenced their university life experiences. This view was presented by one respondent thus:

While we may have public figures, or our distant relatives as our role models, the truth is that, it's our parents and sometimes siblings who contribute much to what we do. I would suggest that the days when your cousin was seen as your brother, or sister, and people took care of their nieces and nephews as their own children are gone. When you come to think of it, education costs have increased so much that one can only afford to take responsibility for their immediate family. To me the communal spirit which existed in our societies seems to be waning away. **(MUST respondent group 3)**

A similar minority view was expressed by a respondent in group 2 when she said:

My role model is my secondary school chemistry teacher. She did her best to encourage girls to do chemistry. This improved our confidence and self-esteem hence my good performance in the subject. I guess our teachers, and other public figures, influence our educational decisions and experiences a lot more than our relatives since we strive for public jobs. Sometimes, you look around and see no relative to inspire you. Some of them are envious of you and wish you bad luck. Honestly, how can such people influence you! **(MUST respondent group 6)**

So, while in the minority, some Mbarara University respondents felt that the extended family values of communalism and interdependency were slowly being eroded by financial demands of the education system, and replaced by modernist values of individualism and independence, often associated with nuclear families. This could also be explained by the presence of primarily Western hybrid cultural values acquired mainly through the Western mass media, especially in elite Ugandan families where most of these respondents come from, as seen in chapter 1, section 1.2.5 of this thesis. The role of the mass media in creating global homogeneous cultures has also been explored in chapter two, section 2.6.3 of this thesis. In this section, scholars such as Movius (2010), Giddens (2002), Tomlison (2003) and Castells (2005), have argued that the Western mass media can, and sometimes does, influence cultural values in the developing world leading to hybrid cultures. Also, Barber (1997) has argued that the

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elites in developing countries have been found to imitate some Western cultural values which they merge with local ones to create new cultures, a process that Movius (2010) calls "hybridisation". So, while the issue of cultural globalisation pointed out by the above respondent was in the minority, it nevertheless shows that family structures, and their associated values, are not static, but can change over time due to outside forces such as globalisation, and Western imperialism.

In the University of Limerick, qualitative data is consistent with quantitative data which shows that respondents' role models were mainly teachers and that they motivated, encouraged, and advised respondents to succeed in their educational struggles. One respondent expressed this majority view thus:

Role models hugely influence our educational experiences including our career goal choices. Most of us are not very sure of what we want to do, so we take advice from our role models who may have gone through situations similar to ours. Certainly if our role models are successful in their careers, this can encourage us to succeed too. For example, my role model is my former wood work teacher and that's why I want to become a wood work teacher too. She was great and showed me that women can also teach wood work which I was always told was a men's area. This increased my self-esteem and eventually enabled me to work very hard to become a wood work teacher. **(UL respondent group 2)**

Respondents in all the other focus groups also said role models influenced their studies by advising, encouraging, and motivating them.

However, there too was a significant minority of respondents in the University of Limerick focus groups who had parent role models whom they regarded more important in their education endeavours than teachers. This view was expressed by respondents in all the focus groups, but mostly in focus group 5 where one respondent said:

My daddy is my role model. He did not go to college but I find him very exemplary in what he does. He talks to me about my career dreams, my education, my worries and almost everything in my life. His perceptions of life and success often light up in me the desire to succeed. He also gives me financial support. **(UL respondent group 5)**

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This quotation shows that while the role models of the University of Limerick respondents were predominantly teachers, a significant minority of respondents also regarded parents as good role models, who encouraged, motivated, advised, and extended financial support to the respondents. So, parents also influenced the university life experiences of respondents, although not so much as teachers. This means that the university life experiences of the University of Limerick respondents were mainly influenced by a combination of the nuclear family structure, as seen reflected in parental and siblings support, and public figures as represented by teachers. This is consistent with the argument made earlier at the beginning of this chapter that in most developed societies, the support from the extended family network is often replaced by public institutions to shape the life experiences of the people in that society.

Qualitative and quantitative data from both universities tells us that there are both similar and distinctive role model experiences for respondents in respective universities. For example, in both universities, parents significantly influenced the university life experiences of respondents (they were the majority in Mbarara University and a significant minority in the University of Limerick). Also, in both universities, role models inspired, encouraged, advised, and motivated respondents. However, there are evident differences in role model experiences between the universities. The first one is that in the University of Limerick sample, role models were mainly members of the nuclear family such as parents and siblings, and members of the public such as teachers. This is consistent with the argument made earlier at the beginning of this chapter that in most developed societies, the support from the extended family network is often replaced by public institutions to shape the life experiences of the people in that society. In Mbarara University on the other hand, the majority of respondents' role models were both members of the nuclear family such as parents and siblings, but also those of the extended family network such as uncles, aunts, and cousins. Finally, while role models in both universities inspired, encouraged, advised, and motivated respondents, the role models of Mbarara University respondents also, extended financial support to the respondents. So we can say that the university life experiences of Mbarara University

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respondents depended on role models, more than those of their University of Limerick counterparts. While the financial contribution of role models to the education of Mbarara University respondents may be due in part to the absence of tuition-free university education enjoyed by the University of Limerick respondents, it also shows the tremendous support that Mbarara university respondents got from their extended family network.

This section has explored the impact of role models on the university life experiences of respondents in both Mbarara University in Uganda and the University of Limerick in Ireland. It has been noted that the different family structures namely, the nuclear family structure in Ireland, and the extended family network in Uganda, significantly impacted the role model experiences of respondents in the respective universities in different ways. We can therefore say that distinctiveness in family structures between Ireland and Uganda impacted the university life experiences of female university students in the respective countries in different ways.

This chapter has so far presented and analysed both qualitative and quantitative data on the impact of family background factors on respondents' funding, accommodation, and role model experiences of respondents. During the presentation and analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data, certain themes have emerged. In the following section, I present the conclusions for this chapter in relation to the overall objectives of the study.

6.4.1 Conclusions

In this section I present conclusions derived from both quantitative and qualitative data which has been presented and analysed in this chapter. These are:

There is Local Distinctiveness in Respondents' Perceptions of what Constitutes a Family in both Universities, although there is Evidence of Changing perceptions of the Family among the Mbarara University Sample-Data presented on the family composition in this chapter has shown that generally, respondents in both universities perceived of the family in distinctive ways. On one hand, the majority of the University

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of Limerick respondents perceived the family as nuclear (parents and siblings) while the majority Mbarara University respondents perceived the family as an extended network of relatives. It does appear therefore that the majority of respondents in the University of Limerick came from nuclear families, while the majority of Mbarara University respondents come from extended families. This is further evidenced by respect to values associated with either family type exhibited by the majority of respondents in respective samples. For example, those in the University of Limerick sample valued individuality, independence, and self-sufficiency, values often nurtured in nuclear families, and also, associated with modernist features of urbanisation, industrialisation, and capitalism. On the other hand, those in the Mbarara University sample valued communalism/togetherness, and inter-dependency, values often associated with extended family networks, but also not encouraged by capitalism, urbanisation, and industrialisation. This may not be very surprising given the low levels of urbanisation and industrialisation in Uganda compared with Ireland. However, while this was the case, a minority of respondents in Mbarara University appreciated the values of individualism, self-sufficiency, and independence often associated with nuclear families, indicating the infiltration of Western family values among Ugandan elites. However, this minority was not large. So, while Goulet's (1995) earlier argument (see chapter 2 section 2.2.4), that Modernisation penetrates all aspects of peoples lives including social structures might be indisputable, this study finds the impact of Modernisation on Ugandan family structures to be insignificant. This implies that the influence of Modernisation on social structures in developing countries is not uniform but varies across societies.

Distinctiveness in Family and Job Structures between Ireland and Uganda Led to Different Funding Experiences of Respondents in Respective Universities- Data on tuition fees experiences of Mbarara University respondents, as well as on living expenses of respondents in both universities, presented and analysed in this chapter, has indicated that the funding experiences of respondents were significantly influenced by their different family structures. For example it has been noted that Mbarara University respondents got more support in terms of both tuition fees and living expenses from their

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parents, siblings, and other members of the extended family, and that few of them worked part-time, mainly because Uganda's primarily subsistence, and less-structured economy did not give them this opportunity. On the other hand, University of Limerick respondents relied more on their nuclear family structure as epitomised in the support of their parents, and the respondents themselves, their government for tuition, and on their structured economy for part-time. We can therefore conclude that local and national distinctiveness in the socio-cultural and economic structures between Ireland and Uganda influenced women's experiences of university education in respective countries differently, despite the elitism of the Mbarara University sample, and therefore, a possible presence of globalised Western cultural values among these respondents.

Distinctiveness in Family Structures between Ireland and Uganda Led to Different Accommodation Experiences of Respondents in Respective Universities, although Evidence of Emerging Western Values Existed among the Mbarara University Sample-Both quantitative and qualitative data presented in this chapter has shown that the extended family network in Uganda had both real and potential impacts on the accommodation experiences of Mbarara University respondents, as seen in their willingness to stay at a relative's home during term. However there was evidence of an emerging minority of respondents in Mbarara University who exhibited values of individuality and independence common in nuclear families. By comparison, the accommodation experiences of the University of Limerick respondents were influenced by the nuclear family as seen in their reasons against staying at a relative's home, which included a desire for privacy, self-sufficiency, and independence often associated with the nuclear family type. Therefore, we can say that local distinctiveness in family structures between Ireland and Uganda shaped respondents' university term accommodation experiences in different ways, even when there was evidence of an emerging influence of globalised Western values of independence, individualism, and self-sufficiency among a minority of Mbarara University respondents.

Local Distinctiveness in Family Structures between Ireland and Uganda Largely Shaped Different Role Model-Respondent experiences in both Universities, although

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Few Similarities existed between the Samples-Both quantitative and qualitative data presented and analysed in this chapter has shown that there were both similar and distinctive respondent experiences of role models in respective universities. For example, in both universities, parents were either a large percentage of role models (in Mbarara University), or formed a large minority of role models (in the University of Limerick). Also in both universities, role models were seen as inspiring, encouraging, advising, and motivating respondents. However, distinctiveness in role model experiences has also been noted in this chapter. For example, role models of the University of Limerick respondents were mainly teachers and members of the nuclear family, such as parents, while the majority of Mbarara University respondents' role models were both members of the nuclear family, such as parents and siblings, and those of the extended family network such as, uncles, aunts, and cousins. Also, other than inspiring, encouraging, advising, and motivating respondents, the role models of Mbarara University respondents, paid respondents' tuition fees, living expenses, or both. It has been noted that the different family types namely, the nuclear family in Ireland, and the extended family in Uganda, impacted the role model experiences of respondents in the respective universities in the study in different ways. We can therefore say that the distinctiveness in family structures between Ireland and Uganda largely influenced the university life experiences of female university students in the respective countries in different ways, although a few similarities in this influence existed between the university samples.

6.5.0 Concluding Remarks

Using a family structure analytical framework, this chapter has presented and analysed both quantitative and qualitative data on respondents' family composition, funding, accommodation, and role model experiences in both universities. The chapter has pointed out that distinctiveness in family structures between Ireland and Uganda, as epitomised in nuclear families and extended family networks, impacted the funding, accommodation and role model experiences of respondents in respective universities in distinctive ways, although there was evidence of a minority of respondents in Mbarara University who appreciated the values of individualism, self-sufficiency and

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independence, often associated with nuclear families. In the following chapter, I will present and analyse data on the impact of respondents' socio-economic backgrounds on the university life experiences of female students in this study, as shaped by distinctiveness in state of national development and the presence of a primarily Western hybrid culture, among Ugandan elites.

CHAPTER SEVEN-Social Class and Reproduction in Education

7.0 THE IMPACT OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUNDS ON WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

“Personally I watch Western television programmes and listen to British and American news programmes any time I feel like, whether I am at home or at school. Most of what we watch is about the Western culture and lifestyle. It is like we have limited choice here because every time you switch on a television or radio, there will be Western stuff such as the English Premier League, or some Western drama or documentary. It's like we are trapped in the Western craze! We are also getting increasingly hooked to the internet. This media exposes us to Western cultural values such as dress, mannerisms of speech, and traditions like engagement before marriage, but we also lose some of ours, such as respect to the elders and other values related to love and marriage! If you ask me, I would say there is as much to learn as there is to lose in this exposure” (MUST respondent, Group 6)

7.1.0 Introduction

The last chapter employed the family structure analytical framework to explain how respondents' family structures influenced their university life experiences in both Mbarara University in Uganda, and the University of Limerick in Ireland. This chapter employs a social stratification framework to analyse the impact of parental social class as epitomised by their career occupations, and educational qualifications, on respondents' accommodation and pocket money experiences in both universities, as well as on the tuition fees and life styles of Mbarara University respondents. This chapter makes the point that parental socio-economic status impacts the life experiences of female students in both Mbarara University in Uganda, and the University of Limerick in Ireland, the distinctiveness in state of national development between the respective countries notwithstanding. However, the chapter also notes the existence of distinctiveness in parental educational attainment and career-occupations, as well as in accommodation, pocket money, and tuition fees experiences of respondents in both samples, even when the majority of respondents are both educational and economic elites in their respective countries. This chapter also points out that parental socio-economic status is a key factor in Mbarara University respondents' access to a globalised Western media and the consequent adoption of largely Western lifestyles, like those of their University of Limerick counterparts. Finally, this chapter points out

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that while parental socio-economic advantage is often reproduced among the wealthy, this is not always the case especially for people from low socio-economic backgrounds who, because of intervening factors such as the extended family network or institutional/government educational support, may acquire higher educational qualifications, get well-paying jobs, earn higher incomes, and move from lower to higher socio-economic strata. So, other than being a mechanism for reproducing and sustaining the privilege of middle, and higher social classes, education can also be a mechanism for social mobility.

This chapter is important because it provides new data on the impact of social class on the lifestyles, tuition fees, accommodation, and pocket money experiences of women in both Mbarara University in Uganda, and the University of Limerick in Ireland. It is therefore an important resource for people who want to understand the university life experiences of female university students in developed, and developing countries, as shaped by their socio-economic backgrounds, state of national development, and cultural globalisation.

I have noted that this chapter uses a social stratification framework to understand the relationship between respondents' socio-economic backgrounds and their university life experiences. The following section explains this framework.

7.1.1 Social Stratification Analytical Framework

As noted at the beginning of chapter 7 of this thesis, theoretical frameworks make the presentation and analysis of data clear, and simple. It has been said that this chapter uses a social-economic stratification framework to analyse both quantitative and qualitative data on respondents' socio-economic backgrounds, and how these influence respondents' accommodation and pocket money experiences in universities, as well as tuition fees and the life styles of Mbarara University respondents. However, before delving into the data analysis itself, it is important to explain the meaning of "social stratification". According to Crompton (2008), the word stratification denotes inequality. For example, "social stratification" describes the hierarchical ordering of society into

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strata or layers, occupied by different people who do not usually enjoy same privileges. Therefore, the term “social stratification” is used to characterise a structure of inequality where individuals occupy differentiated structural positions, which are situated in layers that are ranked hierarchically according to broadly recognised standards in a particular community (Crompton, 2008:10). This means that social stratification/class categories are relative to society, although some classifications may be applicable to diverse societal settings. The people grouped together during the stratification process are often known as a social class. According to Henslin (2004:192), a social class is a large group of people who rank closely to one another in wealth, power, and prestige, and occupy the same layer of the socio-economic hierarchy.

We need to note however that social classes are not static. They change and re-define themselves depending on circumstances and time. This is what is known as “social mobility” (Crompton, 2008). During social mobility, people may move up or down social layers due to an increase or reduction in income, wealth, and educational attainment, the most common indicators of socio-economic status (Henslin, 2004:192). Economist Schumpeter (1955) uses the hotel model to explain social class mobility. In this model, he likens social classes to rooms in a hotel. Schumpeter (1955:126) notes that in a hotel, the rooms at the top are luxurious, those in the middle are ordinary, and those in the basement are sub-standard. This means that on any given night, the occupants of the hotel experience quite unequal accommodations. However, at some point, hotel guests can change to different rooms on different floors all together, even when the rooms may remain the same, and on their respective floors. The difference in the quality of hotel rooms at each point in time shows inequality, while the movement of hotel guests among different quality rooms constitutes mobility. Likewise, while the social class descriptors such as upper, middle, and lower classes remain unchanged, people may move upwards or downwards between these classes because of the changes in their wealth or income, and educational qualifications. This model was adopted by other scholars including Sawhill and Condon (1992); Danziger and Gottschalk (1995), as well as Jarvis and Jenkins (1996). Bourdieu (1987:13) also acknowledges the mobility in social classes

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when he describes class boundaries as “a flame whose edges are in constant movement oscillating around a line or surface”.

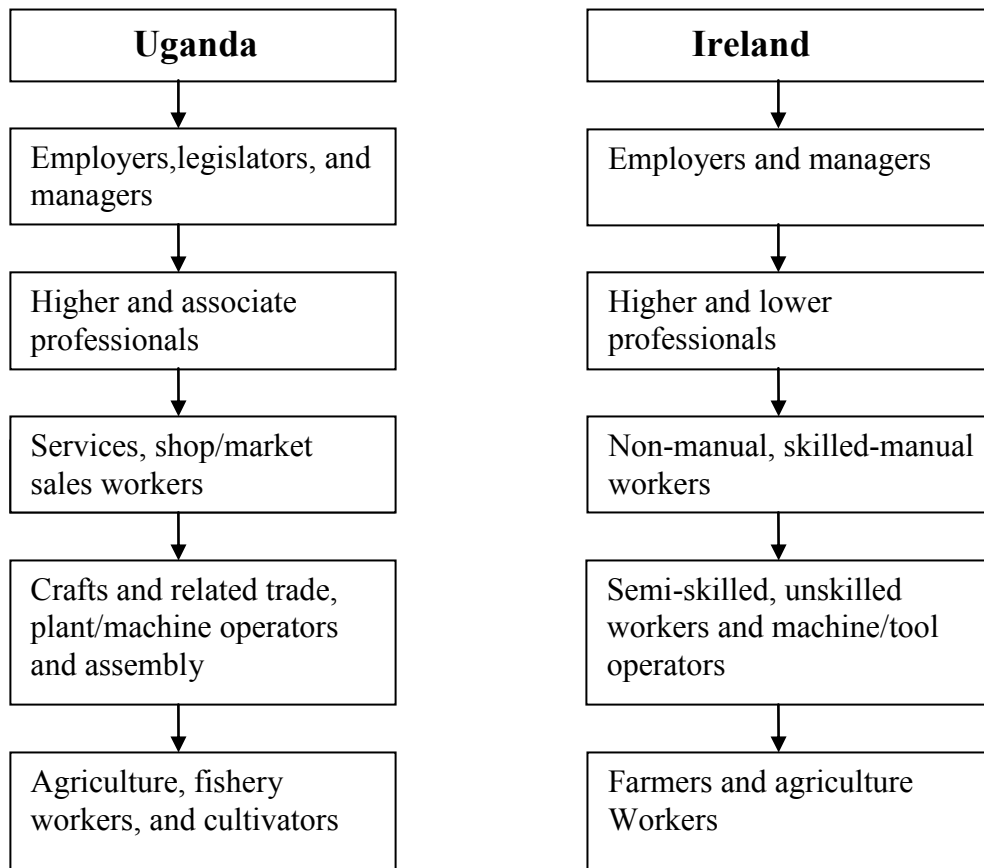
Evidence of social mobility abounds in different societies in the world. Social mobility transforms social class structures by bringing about shrinkage or expansion of various social classes. For example, Crompton (2008:103-104) notes that the middle class in the UK has been re-defined by shifts in occupational structure such as the emergence of new professions, to include a wide variety of professional groupings such as administrative, professional, and managerial occupations. This represents structural mobility. So, while middle class might include relatively low-level service employees such as first-line managers in hotels, it might also at the same time include new service professionals such as social workers, librarians, and physiotherapists. Middle class is therefore a diverse grouping which is considered by some people to be a multitude of fractions with often conflicting interests between men and women, or between public service and private sector employees, rather than a single entity. However, (Crompton, 2008) goes on to say that despite the fragmentation, and instability between the different groupings that make the middle class, these groupings are still better positioned to defend their own interests, and to pass them to their descendants. In other words, people in various social classes often reproduce either their privilege, or disadvantage (Bourdieu, 1998).

Scholars including Goldthorpe (2003), Bourdieu (1987), and Breen (1990) argue that career occupation is the most important signifier of social class. This is so because career occupations are related to people's incomes and wealth. According to Bourdieu (1986), wealth reflects economic capital, which to him is the mother of all capitals. However, our career occupations are also largely determined by the educational qualifications we hold (Halsey, *et al* 1997; Bowels and Gintis, 2001). Therefore, understanding people's social class involves understanding both their occupations and their educational qualifications. Basing on occupation, Fitzpatrick and O'Connell (2005:94-110) identify the social class structure in Ireland as including of: employers and managers, higher professionals, lower professionals, non-manual, manual skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, own account workers, farmers, agricultural workers, and machine tool operators. In

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Uganda on the other hand, the Uganda Demographic Health Survey (UDHS, 2006:31) identifies occupational classes as: managers and employers, professionals and associate professionals, service workers and shop/market sales, crafts and related trade, plant/machine operators and assembly workers, as well as agriculture and fishery workers. But we also know that most people in Uganda are subsistence farmers or cultivators who may not be defined as farmers in a way they would be in Ireland. However for purposes of clarity I will group these occupations into five broader categories which I can use to present and analyse data in this chapter. These groups are diagrammatically presented below:

Figure 13: A Diagram Showing the Different Social classes in Uganda and Ireland



Adopted from Uganda Demographic Health Survey (UDHS, 2006:31) and Fitzpatrick and O’Connell (2005:94-110) *A Review of Higher Education Participation in 2003*, in Ireland.

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We need to note that other than being slightly different for Ireland and Uganda, this stratification is also broad. For example, we have small scale and big scale farmers in Ireland, and these would not ordinarily fall in one social class. This same situation applies to Uganda. Besides, people in Uganda largely do some farming, whatever their occupation. People often have a piece of land on which they grow crops, and sometimes graze a few cows or goats. These people are often called peasants, but I have chosen to use the word “cultivators” instead since the word peasant carries other demeaning connotations of backwardness, other than describing those people who work on the land. This chapter heavily relies on the social class stratifications of the respective countries presented in figure 13 above to find out how parental social class influences respondents’ life experiences in both universities.

Having presented and explained the analytical framework for this chapter, I will now proceed to the next section where I present and analyse quantitative data.

7.2.1 Quantitative Data Presentation

This section presents and analyses quantitative data on parental educational attainment and career occupations. It also presents and analyses quantitative data on respondents’ perceptions of their accommodation, pocket money, for respondents in both universities, and tuition fees experiences for Mbarara University respondents. We need to note that at the time of this study, University students in Ireland were not required to pay tuition fees. Therefore, it was not necessary to collect data on the tuition fees experiences of the University of Limerick respondents.

We have seen that career occupations and educational qualifications are the biggest signifiers of social class. Therefore, in order to deeply understand the social class of respondents in this study, I asked them to say what their parents’ career occupations were. Once this data was obtained, I grouped it under the various social class ladders as identified in figure 13 above. In the following figure, I present this data.

Figure 14: The Occupations of Respondents’ Parents in Mbarara University

Occupation	Fathers		Mothers	
	Count	%	Count	%
Employers, Legislators, and managers	1	<i>0.7%</i>	2	<i>1.2%</i>
Higher and Associate professionals	66	<i>43.7%</i>	47	<i>27.5%</i>
Services, shop/market sales workers	46	<i>30.5%</i>	51	<i>29.8%</i>
Crafts, plant/machine operators and assembly	3	<i>1.9%</i>	2	<i>1.2%</i>
Agriculture, fishery workers and cultivators	35	<i>23.2%</i>	69	<i>40.3%</i>
Total	151	100%	171	100%

Note: 2 missed question on fathers and question was not applicable to 47 respondents. 1 missed question on mother’s occupation and question was not applicable to 28.

Data presented in this figure shows that the majority of respondents’ parents (mothers and fathers) were professionals, or worked in sales, services and other businesses, despite the variations in scores between the genders. Given the place of these occupational categories in Uganda’s social class structure presented earlier in figure 13, it is clear that these respondents were elites, although on average less than 1 percent of them had parents in the highest social class strata of managers, legislators or employers. There too were substantial numbers of respondents whose parents worked in agriculture and fisheries sectors of the economy, or as cultivators on their own land. This data is inconsistent with national data on occupations. For example, according to the Uganda National Household Survey (UNHS, 2006:31), over 4 percent of Uganda’s work force were managers, legislators and employers, professionals and associate professional combined, compared with an average of over 36 percent for fathers and mothers in this sample. Over 9 percent of Uganda’s labour force worked in services, and shop/ market sales, compared with an average of over 30 percent for both fathers and mothers in this sample. Also, almost 6 percent of the labour force was categorised as crafts,

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plant/machine operators and assembly, compared with an average of over 1.5 percent for fathers and mothers combined, in this sample. Finally, even when a substantial number of respondents’ parents worked in agriculture and fisheries in this sample (average of over 31 percent for both fathers and mothers) the comparative figure for the work force in Uganda, in 2005 was 70 percent (UNHS,2006:31).Clearly,the percentage of respondents’ parents in the three top clusters of managers, employers, legislators, professionals, and associate professionals, as well as services, and shop/ market sales, was higher than the national percentage, while it was vice versa for the lower sectors of crafts, plant/machine operators, agriculture, and fisheries. So this sample could largely be described as elitist. Notably, this data is consistent with data on the socio-economic status of university students in Uganda presented in chapter 1 section 1.2.5 of this thesis. In this section, we saw that the majority of students in Uganda’s universities (over 88 percent) come from middle class families where parents have university-level educational qualifications, and are wealthier than their peers in the general population (Kasozi, 2008:10-12). In the following figure I present and analyse data from the University of Limerick.

Figure 15: The Occupations of Respondents’ Parents in the University of Limerick

Occupation	Fathers		Mothers	
	Count	%	Count	%
Employers and managers	21	11.3%	10	5.3%
Higher and lower professionals	63	33.9%	99	52.9%
Non-manual, skilled-manual	35	18.8%	17	9.1%
Semi-skilled, Unskilled/Machine/tool operators	10	5.4%	6	3.2%
Farmers and agricultural workers	50	26.9%	8	4.3%
Works at home	7	3.7%	47	25.2%
Total	186	100%	187	100%

Note: 4 missed question on fathers and question was not applicable to 10 respondents. 1 respondent missed question on mother’s occupation and the question was not applicable to 12 respondents.

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This data shows that like their Mbarara University counterparts, the parents of the University of Limerick respondents were largely socio-economic elites. For example, combined, employers and managers, higher and lower professionals, as well as non-manual or skilled-manual workers, formed an average of over 65 percent for both mothers and fathers, compared with the national figure of people in these occupations which was 58 percent in the year 2007 (CSO, 2008:31). Data on the socio-economic status of respondents' parents presented here is also consistent with data on the socio-economic backgrounds of university students in Ireland which was presented earlier in chapter 1 section 1.3.4 of this thesis. In this data, we saw that the majority of university students in Irish universities come from middle-class families. Specifically, O'Connell and Fitzpatrick (2005:55-56) showed that children whose parents were in professional, managerial, and technical, as well as non-manual skilled occupations, continued to gain entrance in Irish universities at higher rates than their share of the population. For instance, while professional workers accounted for almost 9 percent of the population in 2002, their children took over 14 percent of university places for the academic year 2003/2004. By comparison, unskilled workers whose percentage share of the population was almost 5 percent, only got less than 3 percent of university places. Therefore while there are no wide gaps between access to university education and socio-economic background of students in Ireland as there are in Uganda, university education in Ireland is still something of an elitist venture.

Various scholars including Crompton (2008) in the UK, Lynch and Lodge (2002) in Ireland, and Kasozi (2008) in Uganda, have argued that educational attainment greatly determines people's career occupations, and therefore their social class. Following on from this argument, those who have higher educational qualifications belong to higher socio-economic classes than those without. Educational attainment is considered a vital measure of social class because it is believed that education imparts knowledge and skills among its graduates, and that these enable the graduates to get well-paying jobs, and consequently accumulate wealth. This view is held by many scholars including Halsey *et al.* (1997); Bloom *et al.* (2006); Todaro (2000), and Doyle *et al.*, (2005), as presented earlier in chapter 4 section 4.5.2 of this thesis. I wish to further argue that with

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higher incomes, these individuals accumulate resources which enable them to control both their lives, and those of other people. Therefore highly educated people are more privileged than those with little or no education.

In light of the relationship between education and socio-economic status pointed out above, understanding a people’s social class involves understanding their educational qualifications. So, other than collecting data on the career occupations of respondents’ parents, this study also sought data on the educational attainment of respondents’ parents. Respondents were provided with a range of educational attainment levels, and asked to choose which one best described their parents’ highest educational qualification. In the following figure, I present their responses, beginning with fathers.

Figure 16: Educational Attainment of Respondents’ Fathers in both Universities

Father’s Education Level	University Attended				Total	
	Mbarara		Limerick			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Primary Level and Below	26	17.8%	24	12.7%	50	15%
Secondary Level	14	9.6%	81	43.1%	95	28.4%
Post-secondary Level	106	72.6	83	44.2%	189	56.6%
Total	146	100%	188	100%	334	100%

Note: 49 students from MUST and 10 from UL did not have fathers, so the question was not applicable to them. 5 from MUST and 2 from UL did not answer the question.

This data shows that the fathers of almost 18 percent of Mbarara University respondents had attained no more than primary education, compared with almost 13 percent for fathers of the University of Limerick respondents. Also, less than 10 percent of Mbarara University respondents’ fathers had attained secondary education compared with slightly over 43 percent for the University of Limerick respondents’ fathers. Lastly, over 72

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percent of fathers of Mbarara University respondents, compared with over 44 percent of their University of Limerick counterparts had attained post-secondary education. Evidently, more University of Limerick respondents’ fathers had attained secondary and lower educational qualifications, while more of their Mbarara University counterparts had post-secondary education. When this data is compared with national data on male educational attainment in both Ireland and Uganda, inconsistencies are noted, especially for Mbarara University fathers who are hugely more educated than males in 15-64 year age range in the general population. In the following table, I present this data.

Figure 17: Educational Attainment of Respondents’ Fathers Compared with National Male Educational attainment for over 15 year-olds in Uganda, and 15-64 Year- olds in Ireland

Father’s Education Level	University Attended and Country			
	Mbarara/Uganda		Limerick/Ireland	
	Sample %	Over 15 years of age %	Sample %	15-64 age range %
Primary Level and Below	17.8%	70.9%	12.7%	16.9%
Secondary Level	9.6%	25.0%	43.1%	49.0%
Post-secondary Level	72.6%	4.1%	44.2%	34.1%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source for National Data: Uganda National Household Survey, 2006:17, and CSO, Irish statistical Yearbook, 2008:122.

Note: Data in the Irish Statistical Yearbook was presented as numbers. It has been calculated into percentages for clarity and comparison purposes with both Ugandan national data, and data collected for this study.

This table shows that generally respondents’ fathers in this study had higher educational qualifications than their counterparts in the general populations of the respective countries. For example, between the years 2005 and 2006, almost 71 percent of the over 15 year-old male population in Uganda had not progressed beyond primary education

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compared with almost 18 percent in this study. Also, 25 percent had attained secondary education (both ordinary and advanced levels) compared with over 9 percent in this study. Interestingly, just over 4 percent had a post-secondary educational qualification compared with over 72 percent in this study. This means that Mbarara University respondents' fathers were far more educated than those in the general population, in essence, educational elites.

In Ireland on the other hand, we see that in the year 2006, almost 17 percent of the 15-64 year-old males in the general population compared with over 12 percent in this study had either primary, or no education. Also, almost 49 percent in the general population compared with over 43 percent in this study had attained secondary education, while those who had attained post-secondary education were over 34 percent in the general population compared with over 42 percent in this study. Clearly, fathers of the University of Limerick respondents were also educational elites, though not so much as their Mbarara University counterparts. This is evidenced by the gaps between educational attainment of the respondents' fathers in both universities, and male educational attainment in the general populations in the respective age brackets for the countries in question, which are wider for the fathers of Mbarara University respondents than they are for their University of Limerick counterparts.

Having looked at the educational attainment of respondents' fathers, it is important that we also look at that of the mothers. In the following figure, I present this data.

Figure 18: Educational Attainment of Respondents’ Mothers

Mothers’ Education Level	University Attended				Total	
	Mbarara		Limerick			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Primary Level and below	38	22.9%	7	3.7%	45	12.7%
Secondary Level	33	19.9%	75	39.9%	108	30.5%
Post-secondary Level	95	57.2%	106	56.4%	201	56.8%
Total	166	100%	188	100%	354	100%

Note: 29 respondents from MUST and 12 from UL do not have mothers so the question was not applicable to them. 5 students from MUST did not answer the question. All these are not part of the analysis.

This data shows that mothers of almost 23 percent of Mbarara University respondents had attained primary education compared with over 3 percent of their University of Limerick counterparts. Also, almost 20 percent of Mbarara University respondents’ mothers had secondary education compared with almost 40 percent of the respondents’ mothers in the University of Limerick. Finally, over 57 percent of mothers of Mbarara University respondents had attained post-secondary education compared with over 56 percent of their University of Limerick counterparts. So just like with the fathers, the majority of respondents’ mothers in both universities had post-secondary educational qualifications. However, unlike fathers, the gaps between university samples with regards to mothers’ educational attainment are narrow at post-secondary level, and huge at primary and secondary levels. Specifically, Mbarara University respondents had over 19 percent more mothers with primary education than their University of Limerick counterparts, while the University of Limerick respondents had 20 percent more mothers with secondary education than their Mbarara University counterparts. This means that mothers of the University of Limerick respondents were more educated than those of

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Mbarara University. Like with fathers, this data is inconsistent with national data on educational attainment of females in both Ireland and Uganda as shown in the following table.

Figure 19: Educational Attainment of Respondents’ Mothers Compared with National Female Educational attainment for over 15 year-olds in Uganda, and 15-64 Year- olds in Ireland

Mothers’ Education Level	University Attended and Country			
	Mbarara/Uganda		Limerick/Ireland	
	Sample %	National %	Sample %	National %
Primary Level and Below	22.9%	82%	3.7%	14.2%
Secondary Level	19.9%	15.9%	39.9%	46.7%
Post-secondary Level	57.2%	2.1%	56.4%	39.1%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Sources: Uganda National Household Survey, 2006:17 and CSO, Irish Statistical Yearbook, 2008: 122.

Note: Data in the Irish Statistical Yearbook was presented as numbers. It has been turned into percentages for clarity, and comparison purposes with both Ugandan national data, and data collected for this study. This table shows that the educational attainment of respondents’ mothers in this study was higher than that in the general populations of Ireland and Uganda. For example, the Ugandan data shows that in the period 2005/2006, over 82 percent of the over 15 year-old females in the country had primary education or less, compared with almost 23 percent in this study. Also, over 15 percent had secondary education qualifications compared with almost 20 percent in this study. Interestingly, just over 2 percent had attained post-secondary education compared with over 57 percent in this study. This means that just like the respondents’ fathers above, the mothers of Mbarara University respondents were also educational elites.

In Ireland on the other hand, national data on educational attainment of the female population for the year 2006 shows that among the 15-64 year-olds, over 14 percent had

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attained primary education compared with over 3 percent in this study. Also, almost 40 percent had attained secondary education compared with almost 47 percent in this study, while almost 40 percent had post-secondary educational qualifications compared with over 56 percent in this sample. Therefore, the University of Limerick sample is elitist, but less so, in comparison with the Mbarara University sample. This is evidenced by the narrower gaps between the educational attainment of mothers in this study and those in the 15-64 year-olds, and the over 15 year olds, in the general populations of Ireland and Uganda, respectively.

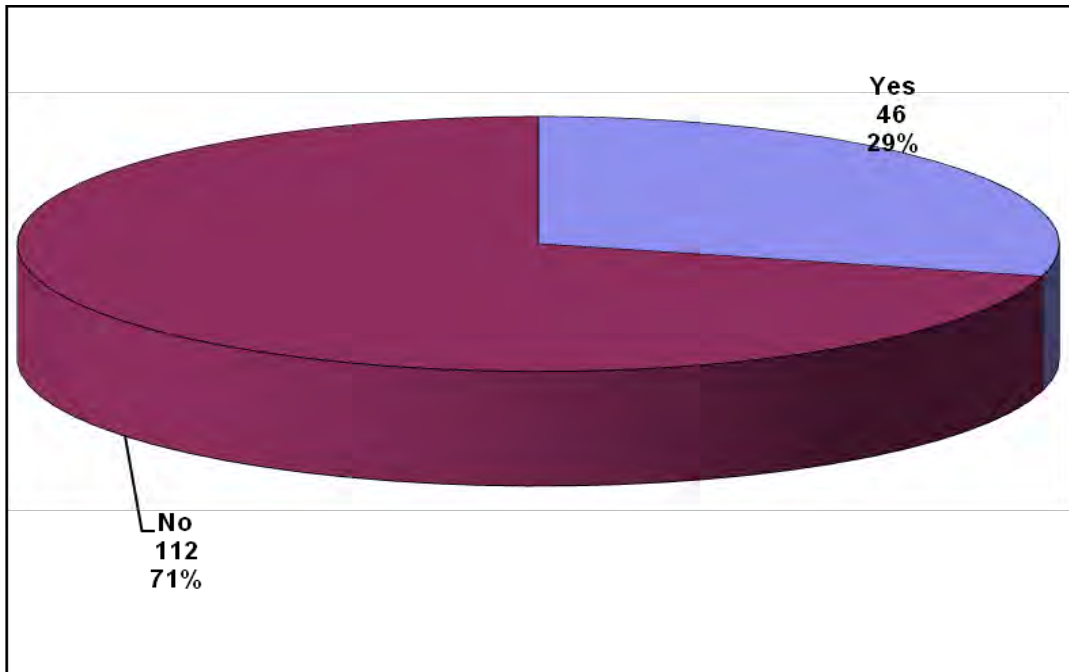
However, other than the University of Limerick sample being less elitist, significant gender differences between the samples were evident. For example, in Mbarara University, respondents' fathers were more educated than mothers, while it was vice versa in the University of Limerick. This distinctiveness in educational attainment by gender, is consistent with the national data on educational attainment as presented earlier in chapter 1 sections 1.2.3, and 1.3.3 for Uganda and Ireland respectively, and re-affirmed in figures 17 and 19 above, which shows that generally, fathers were more educated than mothers in Uganda, and in Ireland. However, what is very important is that despite these differences, in both universities, respondents' parents were educational elites whose children were likely to be more advantaged than their peers from lower socio-economic backgrounds. This alludes to the reproductive functions of education earlier explored in chapter four sections 4.2.1. In this section, scholars such as Bourdieu and Passeron (1990:59-60), as well as Lynch and Lodge (2002), argued that despite claims of equal opportunity and meritocracy, most education systems are mechanisms for reproducing economic, political, and social inequalities in society. As such education is one of the most effective mechanisms used by dominant groups to maintain their privileged socio-economic status, which they often justify as natural (Bourdieu, 1998; Sullivan, 2001). We shall come back to this issue after presenting and analysing qualitative data on respondents' perceptions of the impact of parental educational level on their university life experiences later in section 8.3.2 of this chapter.

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This data has pointed to the socio-economic and educational elitism of samples in both universities. Scholars such as Halsey, *et al.* (1997), Bowles and Gintis (2001), Bloom *et al.* (2005), and Healy and Cote (2001) among others, have shown that a relationship exists between educational attainment, and income, which income is a key determinant of social class. It was therefore important to find out if the respondents' privileged socio-economic backgrounds seen here positively impacted their tuition fees, accommodation, and pocket money experiences. All this data is presented in the remaining part of this section beginning with data on tuition fees.

In chapter 1 section 1.3.5 of this thesis, we saw that university education in Ireland is tuition-free for all students, while this is only the case for less than 7 percent of all students with minimum qualifications for university admission in Uganda (see chapter 1 section, 1.2.4). Data collected for this study, and presented in chapter 6 section 6.2.1 further indicated that over 19 percent of Mbarara University respondents were state-funded while over 80 percent were not. However, it was not enough to know how many respondents were state-funded and how many were not, rather how those who were non-state funded paid their tuition fees. Consequently, I asked respondents to say if their tuition fees were paid in full at the beginning of every semester as required. In the following figure, I present their responses.

Figure 20: A Chart Showing Timely Payment of Tuition Fees for Mbarara University Respondents



Note: 7 respondents missed the question so they are not part of this analysis.

This chart shows that in Mbarara University, 29 percent of the privately-funded respondents paid their tuition fees promptly, while over 71 percent did not. This means that despite being largely drawn from socio-economic elites, the majority of Mbarara University respondents struggled to pay their tuition fees.

However, to fully understand the tuition fees experiences of Mbarara University respondents, we needed to know what happened to those respondents who defaulted on fees. In most Ugandan universities the private sponsorship scheme operates on the principle of “delivery on payment”. Consequently, students who default on fees may be denied registration, as well as access to the university dining (unlike in Ireland, public universities in Uganda serve meals to government sponsored students and private sponsored ones on demand), lectures, computer laboratories, and university halls of residence. This exclusion may negatively influence the university life experiences of these fees defaulters. However, in order to be sure if this was the case or not, I asked the

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fees defaulting respondents to tell me what impact this exclusion had on their studies. In the following table I present their responses.

Figure 21: Effects of Delay in Fees Payment for Mbarara University Respondents

Effect	Count	%
I catch up easily and fast so it is not a problem at all	32	35.5%
I start my semester lectures late and take long to catch up with others	53	58.9%
I completely fail to catch up and perform poorly at the end of the semester	5	5.6%
Total	90	100%

Note: 22 of the respondents who indicated their tuition was paid late did not answer the question so are not part of the analysis.

This table shows that over 35 percent of respondents who did not pay their tuition fees promptly caught up easily, almost 59 percent took long to catch up with their course work, and almost 6 percent did not catch up at all. This means that the delay to pay tuition fees negatively influenced the academic experiences of over 64 percent of respondents in this category. It is therefore important to remind ourselves that the tuition-free university policy in Ireland saves the University of Limerick respondents from the problems associated with tuition fees seen among a large number of Mbarara University respondents. We can therefore say that the distinctiveness in tuition fees policies between Uganda and Ireland, which may be due in part to the distinctiveness in state of national development between the two countries, shapes the fees experiences of respondents in respective universities differently. Final conclusions on this issue will be made after the presentation and analysis of qualitative data in section 7.3.3 of this chapter.

Other than fees, there was need to explore respondents’ other life experiences such as, accommodation, and pocket money. This is because accommodation and pocket money

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can determine whether students enjoy their university experiences or not. In light of this, I asked respondents to say if they considered their term accommodation appropriate or inappropriate. In the following figure, I present their responses.

Figure 22: Respondents’ Perceptions of Term Accommodation

Place of Residence	University Attended				Total	
	Mbarara		Limerick			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Appropriate	154	79%	171	85.9%	315	82.5%
Inappropriate	41	21%	28	14.1%	52	17.5%
Total	195	100%	199	100%	394	100%

Note: 5 respondents from MUST and 1 from UL missed the question so are not part of the analysis.

This figure shows that 79 percent of Mbarara University respondents compared with over 85 percent of their University of Limerick counterparts described their term accommodation as appropriate for private study. On the other hand, 21 percent of Mbarara University respondents compared with over 14 percent of their University of Limerick counterparts described their term accommodation as inappropriate. When a chi-square test was done, it returned a significance value of less than 0.05. This means that there is a relationship between university attended, and the appropriateness of accommodation for private study, which favours the University of Limerick respondents. Therefore, going by what the respondents said, the University of Limerick respondents stayed in more appropriate accommodation than their Mbarara University counterparts. However, it is important to remember that as earlier noted in chapter 1 section 1.2.8, out of a student population of 2699 students in Mbarara University, only 485 students (18 percent) stayed in university halls of residence while 2,214 (82 percent) stayed in privately owned accommodation. A small percentage of these however stayed either in their homes, or the homes of their relatives (see figure 8, chapter 6 section

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6.2.1). Similarly, about 18 percent (2,256 students) of an estimated 13,000 University of Limerick students stayed in university student villages as seen earlier in chapter 1 section 1.3.8, while the rest stayed in privately owned off-campus accommodation. Also, very few of these stayed either in their homes or the homes of their relatives (see also chapter 6 section 6.2.1 figure 8). The fact that more University of Limerick respondents than their Mbarara University counterparts described their accommodation as appropriate could therefore reflect the distinctiveness in state of infrastructure and housing between Ireland and Uganda, with the former having more accommodation facilities specifically designed for students’ study needs than the latter. However, this data does not adequately explain the accommodation experiences of respondents, so may not stand on its own to support any meaningful conclusions on this issue. This is mainly because it falls short of telling us respondents’ perceptions of what to them, constituted appropriate accommodation, and vice versa. These perceptions will be explored later in section 7.3.4 of this chapter before making conclusions on this issue.

We now know a bit of the story on respondents’ tuition fees and accommodation experiences. However, we also needed to understand their pocket money experiences so as to appreciate their university life experiences fully. So, as a starting point to understanding the pocket money experiences of respondents, I asked them to say if they considered their pocket money to be adequate or inadequate. In the following figure, I present their responses.

Figure 23: Respondents’ Perceptions of their Pocket Money in both Universities

	University Attended				Total	
	Mbarara		Limerick			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Adequate	106	54.6%	154	81.5%	260	67.9%
Inadequate	88	45.4%	35	18.5%	123	32.1%
Total	194	100%	189	100%	383	100%

Note: 6 respondents in MUST and 11 in UL missed the question so are not part of the analysis.

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This table shows that over 54 percent of Mbarara University respondents compared with over 81 percent of their University of Limerick counterparts described their pocket money as adequate. On the hand, over 45 percent of Mbarara University respondents compared with over 18 percent of their University of Limerick counterparts described their pocket money as inadequate. A chi-square test gives a significance level of less than 0.05, meaning there is a relationship between description of pocket money, and university attended in favour of the University of Limerick. Therefore, judging by what the respondents said, more University of Limerick respondents than their Mbarara University counterparts had adequate pocket money for their personal needs. It is therefore interesting to see that while Mbarara University respondents' parents were more elitist than their University of Limerick counterparts, the majority of them could not provide their children with adequate pocket money. Again this issue points to the idea of a struggling elite in Uganda mentioned earlier in this chapter. The differences in pocket money experiences between the two samples can be explained by local distinctiveness in economic structures between Ireland and Uganda. For example, it is possible that the structured nature of the Irish economy makes it possible for students in Ireland to secure, and do part-time work, hence earn money to meet their personal needs more adequately. This argument is consistent with data presented earlier in chapter 6 section 6.3.3 which showed that more University of Limerick respondents than their Mbarara University counterparts met their living expenses partly because they accessed part-time work from which they earned income to meet their financial needs. By comparison, the unstructured labour market, and the dominance of a subsistence agricultural economy in Uganda did not support students' part-time work.

This section has presented and analysed quantitative data on the socio-economic backgrounds of respondents in both Mbarara University in Uganda and the University of Limerick in Ireland. Other than this, data on respondents' tuition fees, accommodation, and pocket money experiences has also been presented and analysed. During this analysis, certain issues have emerged. The first one is that in both universities, the majority of respondents' parents were both economic and educational elites. They were

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economic elites because they did largely professional, skilled jobs. They were educational elites because they were more educated than majority of their peers in the general populations of the respective countries. Both these attributes put them in higher social classes than the majority of their peers in their respective countries. However, while this was the case, Mbarara University respondents were generally more elitist than their University of Limerick counterparts.

The other important issues raised in this section relate to the impact of respondents' socio-economic backgrounds on their tuition fees, accommodation, and pocket money experiences. In the first place, national distinctiveness in educational policies was clearly evident in the fact that University of Limerick respondents did not pay tuition fees while their Mbarara University counterparts did. We note that even when the majority of respondents in both universities were elites in their respective countries, the majority of Mbarara University respondents struggled to pay their tuition fees, had less appropriate accommodation, and less adequate pocket money, compared with their University of Limerick counterparts.

Data presented and analysed in this section has also shown that while the socio-economic backgrounds of respondents might have significantly impacted upon their university accommodation and pocket money experiences, other factors namely, extended family support in Uganda, and availability of student part-time work in Ireland, also influenced these experiences. Therefore, while various scholars, such as Bourdieu (1998), Lynch and Lodge (2002) and Rudd (2003), have argued that socio-economic elites reproduce themselves through education, this data points to the fact that this is not always the case. This is so because, as we have seen, other factors like extended family members in Uganda, as well as institutional policies such as the government tuition-free education policy, and the availability of part-time work in Ireland, may enable students from lower socio-economic backgrounds to acquire education, and therefore move from lower to higher social classes. However this is not to deny that children from middle class families are often privileged by their socio-economic backgrounds, and that this privilege is reproduced and passed on through education as is strongly suggested in

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this data, but only to show that the status quo of low socio-economic classes is sometimes not reproduced in education.

Throughout this section I have noted that quantitative data presented and analysed here is a pointer to a number of important issues, but does not adequately explain respondents' accommodation, pocket money, and tuition fees experiences. Consequently, I have consistently noted the need for an analysis of qualitative data in enabling us to fully appreciate how respondents' social class influenced respondents' accommodation, pocket money, tuition fees, and general lifestyles. In the following section, I present and analyse qualitative data on these aspects, before making final conclusions for this chapter.

7.3.0 Presentation and Analysis of Qualitative Data

This chapter has so far presented and analysed quantitative data on respondents' socio-class backgrounds, accommodation, pocket money, and tuition fees experiences. In this section I present and analyse qualitative data on the impact of social class on same aspects. I also present and analyse qualitative data on the issue of social class and cultural change among Mbarara University respondents.

7.3.1 Focus Groups Topics and Themes

Data presented in this section was collected using focus groups interviews. The major topics discussed in these focus groups were: parental education, accommodation, and pocket money. In addition to these however, Mbarara University respondents also discussed other topics namely: parental wealth, life styles of university students in Uganda, Western media and cultural change in Uganda, and tuition fees. The major themes generated during the coding process were: the socio-economic status of respondents in both universities, respondents' perceptions of term accommodation and pocket money, the lifestyles of Mbarara University respondents and the impact of a globalised Western media on these, as well as the effects of delayed payment of tuition

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fees for the Mbarara University respondents. I will now present qualitative data starting with the socio-economic status of Mbarara University respondents.

7.3.2 The Social Class of Respondents from both Universities

Quantitative data presented in section 7.2.1 of this chapter has shown that respondents in both Mbarara University, and the University of Limerick, were largely socio-economic, and educational elites in their respective countries. However, there was need to find out if this privileged position in their respective societies influenced their lifestyles in general, as well as their tuition fees, accommodation, and pocket money experiences.

Qualitative data on the socio-economic status of Mbarara University respondents is consistent with quantitative data which shows that the majority of them were socio-economic elites. It is also consistent with data presented earlier in in chapter 1 section 1.2.5 of this thesis which indicates that these elites were more economically, educationally, and socially advantaged than their peers in the general population. Qualitative data also shows that a significant relationship existed between educational attainment, parental socio-economic status, and respondents' accommodation, pocket money and tuition fees experiences.

In focus groups interviews conducted in both universities, the majority of respondents associated middle class related jobs with higher educational qualifications. They said that highly educated parents are more likely to have middle class, professional, better-paid jobs which gave them enough income to provide for their children than those parents with less or no education. Participants further argued that because educated parents have experienced the benefits of attaining a higher educational qualification, they are more likely to prioritise and invest in the education of their children thereby providing appropriate accommodation, adequate pocket money, and paying their children's tuition fees promptly, unlike the less-educated or uneducated parents. In Mbarara University this majority view was expressed by one respondent thus:

When parents have low education, they will not bother paying school fees for their children. After all they will most likely be jobless. In Uganda, we all know

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that the more qualified people are, the higher their chances of getting well-paying jobs become. So, parents with higher education will have good jobs, and therefore income to provide a decent education for their children...educated parents also understand the importance of education for their children more than the uneducated ones. **(MUST respondent, Group 3)**

This quotation clearly shows that respondents' associated higher education with well-paying jobs, and consequently enough income to meet the accommodation, pocket money, and tuition fees needs of their children. However, this quotation also shows how the elites often take themselves to be more understanding than the masses, and in so doing justify their privilege, while at the same time blame the poor for their poverty, as Bourdieu (1998) argues. This stops the elites from appreciating the situation of the poor as reflected in the words of this respondent: "when parents have low education, they will not bother about paying school fees for their children". This statement implies that less-educated parents intentionally refuse to provide fees for their children, when we know that they cannot genuinely afford the fees due to their socio-economic situation for which the elites might be blamed.

Like in Mbarara University, the majority of respondents in the University of Limerick agreed that a significant relationship existed between parental educational qualifications and respondents' experiences of accommodation, and pocket money. This view was expressed by one respondent when she said:

Educated parents easily provide fees, pocket money, and other requirements for our studies. For example, parents who have university education will know what is involved in studying and provide it without complaining. I would like to think that this is mainly because they often have enough income which comes with professional jobs that they are likely to be doing. To me, it's like the more educated the parents are, the more likely it is for their children to have enough pocket money and decent term accommodation. **(UL respondent, Group 4)**

Again this quotation shows that a relationship is perceived to exist between educational attainment and income, which in turn enables educated parents to meet the accommodation and pocket money needs of their children more appropriately than the uneducated ones. It is important to note that the majority of respondents in other focus groups expressed views similar to this one. This data is consistent with the views of

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scholars such as Todaro (2000), Doyle *et al.* (2005), Healy and Cote (2001) among others, as presented in chapter 4 section 4.3.1, which show that education creates human capital (knowledge and skills) among its graduates, which human capital gives them employment from which they earn higher salaries, improve their incomes, and lead better lives than those of less-educated or uneducated people. The economic capital accumulated from higher incomes enables these parents to further reproduce their privilege over generations.

However in both universities, a minority of respondents felt that low parental educational attainment did not always translate into negative university experiences for children. Presenting this minority view, one respondent in Mbarara University said:

I think that whether we attain an education or not can be due to a number of factors and not necessarily about whether our parents are educated or not. For example, my parents are not highly educated but they are determined to have me get university education so that I am not in the same situation as theirs. It's like they will go all the way to make sure all my needs including accommodation and pocket money are met. **(UL respondent, group 2**

This quotation tells us that there is a minority of parents with less or no education at all, who also adequately provide for the educational needs of their children. So, while the capacity of highly educated parents to provide for the needs of their children is not disputed, it is also true that some less or non-educated parents sometimes meet the accommodation, pocket money, and tuition fees requirements of their children. According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1977b) such parents help to maintain the illusion of fairness in the system. However one can also argue that the ability of the less-privileged parents to adequately cater for their children's needs, shows that educating children is not wholly about incomes, but also about other factors such as prioritising the education of one's children. However, we need to be reminded that this is a minority view which does not significantly challenge the largely recognised reproductive function of education.

Other than the issues explored in this section so far, this research also sought to understand how the elite socio-economic status of Mbarara University respondents' parents impacted upon the respondents' economic lifestyles in a country where about 38

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percent of the population lived below the poverty line (UBOS, 2007). It was also to determine if the respondents lived in conditions similar to those of their University of Limerick counterparts, in economic terms.

Qualitative data collected for this study shows that Mbarara University respondents lived in conditions similar to those of their counterparts in the University of Limerick in terms of housing conditions, and home facilities. In terms of housing conditions, qualitative data shows that the majority of these respondents lived in brick-built, tiled or cemented floor houses with the comforts of running water, and electricity, which are luxuries for most Ugandan families, as we saw in chapter 2 section 2.5.1 of this thesis. For example, in this section, we saw that in 2005/06, 42 percent of Ugandans lived in mud-wattle houses, 74 percent of all households had earth floors, and 39 percent households were grass-thatched. This data shows that unlike the majority of Ugandans, a huge number of Mbarara University respondents lived in houses similar to those of their counterparts in the University of Limerick. This message was clearly expressed by one respondent thus:

I think I am comfortable with our home, even when i know its not ideal. We live in a three-bed iron roofed house with a tiled floor, running water, and electricity. We also have a television set, a fridge and a radio. My father also owns a car, and a boda-boda (a motorcycle which transports passengers for a fee), as well as a farm in the village. **(MUST respondent Group 5)**

Similar views were expressed in other focus groups in which respondents mentioned owning radios, television sets, cars, and land. These views also indicated that a large number of respondents lived in houses with running water, electricity, cemented or tiled floors, flush toilets, and bathroom/shower facilities. This data is consistent with data from a study of the socio-economic backgrounds of university students in Uganda by Kasozi (2008), presented earlier in chapter 1 section 1.2.5 of this thesis. In this study, Kasozi (2008:10-12) found that the majority of university students in Uganda were socio-economic and educational elites whose parents had more material possessions than their counterparts in the general population. For example, over 71 percent of them lived in houses built with brick and mortar compared with over 53 percent in the general population, almost 27 percent had piped water in their homes compared with only 15

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percent in the general population, almost 30 percent owned a fridge at home compared with just over 6 percent in the general population, over 87 percent owned a radio compared with 63 percent in the general population, and over 37 percent owned a car compared with almost 6 percent in the general population.

However, while this was the case, not all respondents came from wealthy families. A minority of them came from families that lived in earth-floored houses built with mud and wattle, with their wealth limited to small pieces of land and a few goats. This view was expressed by one respondent thus:

It looks to me that there is too much generalisation here. I would like to think that some of us are not as privileged as most of my colleagues want us to believe. My parents are not wealthy at all. We live in a mud and wattle, iron-roofed house, surrounded by a small banana plantation, and small piece of farm land in which my mother grows crops for our consumption. In fact for me, I joined university because of my hard work, not my parents' wealth. I was determined to study hard, get good A" level grades, join university, and later get a good job which would enable me avoid the deprivation that my parents endure each passing day. I got very good grades, and secured a government scholarship. Without this funding, I would surely not be in university! (**MUST respondent Group 1**)

This respondent therefore reminds us that while most respondents came from wealthy families, a minority of them were from poor families. Indeed this finding is consistent with that of Kasozi (2008) presented earlier in chapter 1 section 1.2.5 of this thesis, that while the majority (about 89) percent of university students in Ugandan universities come from wealthy elite families, a considerable minority (about 11 percent) of them come from poor families. However while economically disadvantaged, this group is not significantly different from their privileged peers, in terms of their values and perceptions. This is because they live and interact with friends from wealthy families while at university. Also, most of these would have wealthy relatives that they interact with on a regular basis.

A closer look at both quantitative and qualitative data makes it clear that in both universities, the majority of respondents related social class to higher educational

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attainment, well-paying jobs, and wealth. All these translated into more appropriate accommodation, adequate pocket money, and prompt payment of tuition fees for children of highly educated parents. The higher social classes of parents of Mbarara University respondents also enabled respondents to lead Western lifestyles epitomised by well-built and furnished homes with television, radios, computers, cars, and many other items which are only available to a tiny percentage of Ugandans. We can therefore say that parental social class influences respondents' accommodation, pocket money, and tuition fees experiences in both universities, the distinctiveness in state of national development between Ireland and Uganda, notwithstanding.

We have explored the wealth of Mbarara University respondents and noted that a large number of them were socio-economic elites. We can now find out if their elite status impacted upon their tuition fees experiences. The following section serves this purpose.

7.3.3 The Tuition Fees Experiences of Mbarara University Respondents

We know from figure 5 in this chapter, that over 80 percent of Mbarara University respondents were privately funded. We also know that of these, less than 30 percent paid their tuition fees promptly at the beginning of the semester (see figure 20). Out of over 70 percent respondents whose tuition fees was not paid promptly, almost 59 percent started their semester late and took long to catch up with their studies, while almost 6 percent completely failed to catch up and performed poorly in both course work, and end of semester examinations (see figure 21). In light of this data, there was need to further understand the tuition fees experiences of Mbarara University respondents as impacted upon by their socio-economic backgrounds. In particular, it was important to know respondents' perceptions of the tuition fees amount, whether it was easy to pay, and what happened to students who defaulted on tuition fees. Consequently, the issue of tuition fees was discussed during focus groups interviews in Mbarara University where the majority of respondents paid tuition fees.

Qualitative data on respondents' tuition fees experiences is consistent with quantitative data presented in figures 20 and 21 in this chapter. It shows that despite being socio-

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economic elites, the majority of Mbarara University respondents struggled to pay their fees. This is partly because the fees charged were higher than most of their parental incomes, even when the majority of these parents belonged to higher social classes than the majority of the people in the general population. Because of this, most privately sponsored students paid their tuition fees in instalments. However, for students to access all university services such as the library and lecture rooms, they had to have paid at least 50 percent of the total semester fees. In a view supported by the majority, one respondent explained these issues when she said:

I would like to say that the university administration is insensitive to the plight of privately sponsored students with reference to tuition fees. They seem to assume that getting money for fees is easy, yet it is not. For example, the university charges a minimum of 1.6 million Uganda shillings (about 600 Euros) per academic year for the cheapest degree course, yet most of our parents who are civil servants, earn between 200,000 and 700,000 Uganda shillings. And when we say 700,000 shillings, we are talking of medical doctors and other high professions! Yet the university shamelessly demands that at least 50 percent of all semester fees be paid before one is allowed to attend lectures, and that the full amount is paid a few weeks after that. Short of this, the fees defaulters are sent away from lectures, denied access to library services, and cannot hand in their course work, besides sitting for tests, and examinations. **(MUST respondent group 4)**

However while the majority of respondents agreed that defaulting on fees had serious academic consequences, a minority of respondents in all focus groups said the short-term exclusion of fees defaulters did not seriously affect their academic performance. This view was represented by one respondent in focus group 2 when she said:

I think the effects of exclusion for defaulting on fees are being magnified. I have defaulted on fees twice since I started my course, and was denied access to lecturers and library for two weeks on each occasion, but I scored good grades as usual. I was aware that I started late, so I doubled my efforts, and it was not so hard to catch up with others. Moreover, you only delay for a few weeks when most of the other students are still lousing around, so you don't miss much. It would definitely be bad if you started a month after the beginning of the semester but very few of us would go to that extreme. **(MUST respondent group 1)**

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While this respondent attempted to brush-off the effects of defaulting on fees, the fact remained that those who defaulted started their semester behind those who did not, and for the majority of them, this negatively affected their academic performance. An examination of secondary data on tuition fees experiences and economic conditions in Uganda shows that universities charge far higher tuition fees than the incomes of the majority Ugandans. For example, records from Mbarara University fees office indicate that for the academic year 2008/2009, tuition fees ranged from approximately 1.6 million Uganda shillings (about 550 Euros) per academic year for degrees in development, and business studies, to around 2.5 million Uganda shillings (about 900 Euros) for degrees in medicine and dental surgery. This tuition fees is mainly paid over two semesters. While this money might appear affordable by Irish standards, it is very difficult to come by especially for civil servants who form the majority of respondents' parents, as earlier seen section 7.1.2 of this chapter. For example, an examination of salary scales of Ugandan civil servants from Ministry of Public Service (Ministry of Public Service Salary Scales Schedule, 2010), shows that leave alone the wide gaps in monthly salaries between the lowest and highest paid public servants, which is around 200,000 shillings (approximately 70 euros) for primary school teachers and policemen, and about 2 million Uganda shillings (approximately 700 euros) for a permanent secretary respectively, the monthly earnings of most public servants do not match the the tuition fees charged by most universities. It is not surprising therefore, that while the majority of Mbarara University respondents' parents were both educational and socio-economic elites, a good number of them still struggled to pay tuition fees, leading to problems explained by respondents in this section. However, we need to remind ourselves that University of Limerick respondents studied tuition-free, so did not have to endure the problems associated with tuition fees as the majority of their Mbarara University counterparts. In light of this, we can say that distinctiveness in educational policies between Ireland and Uganda, shaped the tuition fees experiences of respondents in the respective universities, differently.

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We have now examined tuition fees experiences of respondents as impacted upon by their parental social class. We will now explore respondents' perceptions of their term accommodation. The following section serves this purpose.

7.3.4 Respondents' Perceptions of their Term Accommodation

Quantitative data presented in figure 22 showed that the majority of respondents in both universities said their term accommodation was appropriate for private study. Also, a chi-square test showed that a relationship existed between university attended, and appropriateness of accommodation, in favour of the University of Limerick respondents. However, in order to fully appreciate the accommodation experiences of respondents, we needed to explore their views on what to them, constituted appropriate accommodation. Therefore, as earlier pointed out in section 7.1.2 of this chapter, this study collected qualitative data on what respondents perceived as "appropriate accommodation".

This data is consistent with quantitative data that the majority of respondents in Mbarara University had appropriate accommodation. Also, the majority of Mbarara University respondents perceived appropriate accommodation as one with tap water, electricity, proper ventilation, a ceiling, and a security fence. Other than these, proximity to university was also a highly valued qualifier of appropriate accommodation. These views were well put forward by one respondent thus:

I think that we lack proper accommodation in Mbarara University. It's not like in universities around Kampala where there are standard student hostels. In most cases, hostels here are small houses which people vacate to rent out to students, and most of these have small rooms. To make matters worse, most of these rooms are often shared by two, three people. In my opinion, this type of accommodation is not appropriate for private study. For me a clean, quiet, spacious, room with electricity and tap water, and located within a kilometre from campus, would be ideal accommodation. **(MUST respondent group 2)**

However, while this was the case, a considerable number of respondents said appropriate accommodation facilities existed in, and around Mbarara University. For the

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majority of these, accommodation would be appropriate if they stayed with friends or in en-suite rooms. One respondent presented this view thus:

For me, I live with my friends, and the rooms are en-suite! That's what matters to me. If I lived with my friends in a house, or have an en-suite room, I would not mind so much about the size of the rooms or the other things that my colleagues have talked about. In order to study effectively, I need to feel secure with my housemates, and I definitely do with my friends. **(MUST respondent group 6)**

This quotation shows the extended family network explored earlier in chapter 7 of this thesis, also influenced Mbarara University respondents' perceptions of their term accommodation. Indeed, the extended family is still seen as a safety net for these women as seen in this respondent's assertion that she would feel secure if she stayed with friends.

Qualitative data on term accommodation for the University of Limerick was also consistent with quantitative data, in that, the majority of respondents said they had appropriate accommodation. It also shows that the majority of respondents believed sufficient appropriate accommodation existed around campus. Like their Mbarara University counterparts, these respondents also had a list of things that qualified accommodation as appropriate. These included broadband, reading tables, book shelves, en-suite facilities, and location in a quiet area. One respondent presented this majority view thus:

We are lucky to have good student accommodation both in, and outside campus. It's like we are spoilt for choice. However, some off-campus accommodation does not have broadband internet connection, and is not quiet. I would not stay in such accommodation because I find it unsuitable for my private study. Truth be told, I can only live in a well-heated house with spacious rooms, and a reading table. Once you have got all these together, then you have appropriate accommodation for me. **(UL respondent group 1)**

However a minority of respondents in the University of Limerick said accommodation was appropriate if they stayed with friends, and was located near campus. Presenting their views, one respondent in focus group 4 said:

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I rent a room in a house in Elm Park. I jump out of the house, and I am in college within minutes. I guess I would not be comfortable with the hassle of waiting for buses if I stayed far from college. So for me, proximity to campus is a very important qualifier of appropriate accommodation. **(UL respondent group 4)**

We can see from this data that there are both converging, and diverging points on how respondents from the two universities perceived appropriate accommodation. The converging points are that in both universities, respondents considered a quiet environment, and spacious rooms. Also, in both universities, a minority of respondents said staying with friends would make their accommodation appropriate. The point of divergence however is that while Mbarara University respondents considered accommodation with spacious rooms, electricity, tap water, as appropriate, the University of Limerick respondents said the availability of broadband, heating, en-suite facilities, and reading tables qualified accommodation as appropriate. Also, Mbarara University respondents considered proximity to university, while this was a minority view in the University of Limerick.

The emphasis on broadband by University of Limerick respondents is indicative of Ireland's state of national development which makes broadband a necessity, something that the Mbarara University respondents might see as a luxury, in spite of their largely elite status. This assertion holds more water when we consider national data on internet access in Ireland and Uganda. For example, in the year 2007, 57 percent of Irish households had internet connection, and 31 percent had broadband (CSO, 2008:329). In Uganda on the other hand, no data exists on home access to the internet at the national level, although the global ICT Development Index (2009:91-92), shows that only 0.5 percent of Ugandan homes have an internet connection. This figure is far below the Irish one of 57 percent. The emphasis on electricity and tap water by Mbarara University respondents, compared with their University of Limerick counterparts who did not mention these, can also be explained by the distinctiveness in national data on access to clean water and electricity between Ireland and Uganda, earlier presented in chapter two section 2.5.1 of this thesis. In that section, we saw that only 9 percent of Uganda's households have electricity (UDHS, 2006:16). In Ireland on the other hand, Eurostat

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(2006) figures show that all homes in the country have access to electricity for lighting purposes. With regards to water, only 15 percent of households in Uganda have access to piped water, mainly from a public tap (UDHS, 2006:13), while over 95 percent of the people in Ireland have access to clean drinking water, with a difference of about 2 percentage points between rural and urban areas in the country (WHO, 2004). These figures show that distinctiveness in state of national development between Ireland and Uganda significantly influenced respondents' perceptions of their term accommodation.

In the present world, everything has been monetised. As such money determines almost everything we do in our lives. It is little wonder then that examining the university life experiences of respondents without examining those related to their pocket money, is like talking of a car without an engine. Therefore, in order to fully appreciate the respondents' perceptions of their pocket money, the issue of pocket money was discussed in focus groups held in both universities. The following section, presents and analyses this data.

7.3.5 Respondents' Perceptions of their Pocket Money

Quantitative data presented in figure 24 showed that more respondents from the University of Limerick (over 81), than from Mbarara University (over 54), described their pocket money as adequate. The difference in pocket money perceptions between universities was significant as indicated by a chi-square test result of less than 0.005. However, quantitative data did not give us a yard-stick which respondents used to determine the adequacy or otherwise, of their pocket money. So, for clarity, the issue of pocket money was discussed in focus groups conducted in both universities. In this section, I present and analyse this data.

While quantitative data showed that a large number of Mbarara University respondents (over 54 percent) said they had adequate pocket money, qualitative data allows us to understand their perceptions of different degrees of "adequacy". In a view supported by the majority, one respondent in focus group 2 said:

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We may be advantaged over our peers who obtained sufficient grades for university admission but could not afford the required tuition fees. But when you come to think of it, our parents are simply struggling given their meagre salaries. They may have white-collar jobs but they still earn peanuts! And even if they spent all their income on us alone, we would still not get enough pocket money to meet all our needs. Yes, I agree that some of us have parents with high incomes, but these are few. Yet when it comes to needs, we almost have similar needs. I guess we survive because we sacrifice a lot, and also because our relatives sometimes help us here and there, you know. **(MUST respondent group 2)**

The message in this quotation is that despite being economic and educational elites, meeting their children's tuition and pocket money remained a struggle for most parents of Mbarara University respondents.

However, a significant minority felt they had adequate pocket money. This view was expressed by one respondent thus:

They say that one by one makes a bundle, and I think they are right. Every beginning of semester, my parents give me something like 50,000 shillings (about 17 Euros) but by the time I reach University I already have over 200,000 shillings (about 70 Euros) from my other relatives. And each time relatives and friends visit me at campus, they give me more cash, may be 20,000 or even 50,000 shillings at times. And I get visitors at least twice a month! So once my parents have paid my tuition fees, my other relatives come in to help because they see my education as an investment that will enable me live a comfortable life in future, and look after my parents, and my needy relatives too. **(MUST respondent group 1)**

This quotation further shows the significant financial support that Mbarara University respondents got from their extended family network, which was explored fully in chapter 6 section 6.3.3 of this thesis.

However, this information was not enough. In order to fully understand respondents' perceptions of their pocket money, there was need to understand their measure of "adequacy". So, respondents were asked to give a specific amount of money which they thought would meet all their financial needs while at university. The majority of them said any amount of money between 40,000 and 90,000 Uganda shillings (approximately

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between 14 Euros and 30 Euros) per week would be enough for their needs. These needs included meals, leisure, printing, photocopying, and call credit among others, but excluded rent. This view was expressed by one respondent when she said:

It is hard to give a figure of what money can be enough for me really. But I think that anything between 40,000 and 90,000 Uganda shillings per week would be enough for all my needs, excluding rent. The figure normally depends on the volume of notes to photocopy, or the work to print out, in a particular week. That's why it is hard to be exact on a figure. **(MUST respondent group 2)**

However, two divergent views were expressed by significant minorities regarding how much money they considered adequate. The first view was well expressed by one respondent thus:

Adequate pocket money may be relative as my colleagues have said but I am surprised at their calculations. I know many of us who spend a minimum of 100,000 per week (approximately 37 Euros), yet my colleagues here think 90,000 shillings is too much! So for me I put my figure at a minimum of 100,000 per week. With that, you can be sure you won't have to struggle. **(MUST respondent group 4)**

On the other hand, another respondent was supported by a significant minority when she put her figure at 30,000 shillings (approximately 10 Euros) a week. She said:

I do not see any reason why one would need more than 30,000 Ugandan shillings per week excluding rent! For what purpose would that money be? A good meal in Mbarara costs around 1,000 shillings (about 35 Euro cents) and a cup of tea will go for less than 200 shillings (7 Euro cents), photocopying is just 50 shillings (less than 2 euro cents) per page. So tell me why one would need 90,000 shillings for just one week! **(MUST respondent group 4)**

When quantitative and qualitative data are combined, it is clear that fewer respondents in Mbarara University than in the University of Limerick had adequate pocket money. Therefore, in this data, we see a sample of respondents who, despite being largely drawn from socio-economic elites, struggled to meet their financial needs. We also see that this elite group was fragmented in that others could afford to provide adequate pocket money for their children while others could not. The fragmentation of

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Ugandan elites can be understood clearly when we examine the wide gaps in earnings between public servants in Uganda, who form the majority of parents of university students in Uganda, as noted by Kasozi (2008) and briefly explained in section 7.3.3 of this chapter. For example, to explain further, a primary school teacher gets a monthly salary of 200,000 shillings (about 70 Euros) yet a secondary school teacher gets a monthly salary of 450,000 shillings from government, and an additional parental contribution which averages between 100,000 shillings per month (approximately 33 Euros) for the poor schools and 500,000 shillings (approximately 170 Euros) per month for the rich ones. Also a nurse earns 300,000 shillings, while a medical doctor earns over 700,000 shillings (approximately 100, and 235 Euros) per month, respectively (Ministry of Public Service Salary Scales Schedule, 2010). Therefore, given these wide gaps in the earnings of parents in Uganda, it is clear that respondents' satisfaction with their pocket money might depend on the socio-economic ladder that their parents occupy within the entire elite structure, rather than on them being just socio-economic elites.

Qualitative data from the University of Limerick is consistent with quantitative data which shows that the majority of the respondents perceived their pocket money as adequate. This view was presented by one respondent thus:

A good number of us work part-time, and the wages we get are enough for our needs, other than accommodation costs, which are often met by our parents. There too are those of us who get enough money from our parents. So, I think that most of us have adequate pocket money (**UL respondent group 5**)

Clearly we see that the availability of student part-time work in Ireland as earlier seen in chapter 6 section 6.3.3 of this thesis, greatly impacted the pocket money experiences of the University of Limerick respondents.

However, in all focus groups, there was a minority of respondents who felt that they did not have adequate pocket money. This view was expressed by one respondent thus:

My colleagues here are assuming that we all come from wealthy families. Some of us come from low socio-economic backgrounds, so we do not get enough

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pocket money from our parents. Sometimes, it is not easy to get part-time work too, as my colleagues are saying **(UL respondent group 3)**

Asked about what they perceived as adequate pocket money, majority of the University of Limerick respondents said that 60-90 Euros a week was adequate. This view was presented by one respondent thus:

They say money is never enough, but if you ask me 60-90 Euros is enough for my weekly expenses, rent excluded. That of course is just for coffees, sandwiches, call credit, and simple snacks. **(UL respondent group 5)**

However, just like in Mbarara University, there was a tiny minority of respondents who either felt that the 60-90 Euros range was more than enough and those who felt it was not adequate. The former put their figure at below 20 Euros excluding transport and rent. Their view was presented by one respondent in focus group 6 thus:

If we are to be honest, why would one need 60, Euros just for a week excluding rent and transport expenses? It's like we are consumed in the culture of spending and have forgotten that things may not always be as easy as they are now. For me I use no more than 20 Euros each week, and it's adequate for me. **(UL respondent group 6)**

On the other hand, another tiny minority put the figure of adequate pocket money at between 100 and 150 Euros a week. Their view was expressed by one respondent in focus group 2 thus:

I wonder whether people are being realistic here or not. If I were to get breakfast, hot lunches, and dinners, plus all the snacks in between, of what use would 60 Euros be? Besides, one needs money for fuel, call credit, drinks, cinemas, and gigs. I use about 140 Euros a week, and I don't see myself as an extravagant person. **(UL respondent group 2)**

So, we see that while there were varying opinions on what amount of money constituted adequate pocket money in the University of Limerick as in Mbarara University, the elites in Ireland did not appear as fragmented as their Ugandan counterparts. This can be evidenced by the fact that an overwhelming majority said they would be satisfied with 60-90 Euros a week. The other two extremes were very tiny minorities.

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When quantitative and qualitative data on respondents' perceptions of their pocket money in both universities is compared, we notice that more University of Limerick respondents perceived their pocket money as adequate compared with their Mbarara University counterparts. It is also clear that while the majority of Mbarara University sample was largely drawn from socio-economic elites, more respondents amongst them, than in the University of Limerick sample had less adequate pocket money. On the other hand, the University of Limerick respondents who were not as elitist as their Mbarara University counterparts had more adequate pocket money. These differences might be due to local distinctiveness in both economic and family structures between Ireland and Uganda, as earlier seen in chapter 6 section 6.3.3 of this thesis. For example, the University of Limerick respondents got their pocket money from parents (nuclear family) and part-time work, which is enabled by the structured nature of the Irish economy. On the other hand, Mbarara University respondents got pocket money from their parents and members of the extended family network, not part-time work, which is rare in Uganda's unstructured labour market, and largely subsistence agricultural economy. We can therefore say that local distinctiveness in economies, and family structure types between Ireland and Uganda led to different university life experiences for respondents in respective universities, the presence of shared Western cultural values among respondents in both samples notwithstanding.

We now know that Mbarara University respondents' were largely drawn from higher social classes than the majority of their counterparts in the general population. However, although social class is framed in terms of occupation, social stratification more generally includes cultural elements (having "the right culture") and political elements or social capital (Bourdieu Pierre, 1987) Understanding the status of female students in Mbarara University therefore requires a broader understanding of their culture and lifestyle, over and above the financial aspects discussed here so far. It is to this cultural element of their lives that we now turn. Our key question being: "is the elite culture of these women shaped by a globalised Westernising culture?" In the following section, I present and analyse this data.

7.3.6 The Impact of the Western Media on the Life Styles of Mbarara University Respondents

We already know from data presented in section 7.3.2 of this chapter that the majority of Mbarara University respondents lived in houses similar to those of their counterparts in the University of Limerick. Their homes had facilities such as electricity and running water, television sets, and radios sets, all of which are a luxury to the majority of Ugandan families. Their ownership of these gadgets could be due to their financial abilities to buy them, or their exposure to Western lifestyles which makes them relate ownership of these gadgets with decent modern living. Consequently, Ugandan elites watched similar television programmes as those watched in Ireland. They also listened to similar radio programmes, read similar magazines and newspapers, and used Facebook, and Twitter among other internet networking sites. The net result of this was that the respondents in Mbarara University adopted some Western cultural values in relation to speech, dress, food, and others. Clearly, this exposure to Western media was found to significantly influence their life decisions and choices. However, these respondents still held on to some of their local cultural values. In so doing, they created a hybrid culture of their own which was neither purely local nor Western.

Qualitative data on access to Western media by Mbarara University respondents shows that these respondents accessed Western electronic and print media mainly from Britain and America. Besides, the local Ugandan media was found to significantly cover Western lifestyles. This view was expressed by one respondent thus:

It is rare to find a university student who does not watch Western television programs. With DSTV and other satellite television service providers, the whole world is brought right here where we are. Even people in small trading centres watch the English Premier League. Some of the popular television channels and programmes include CNN, VOA, the Oprah Winfrey show, BBC, Sky News. Also, most local television stations such as Nation Television, show Western films and Soap operas. This is not to mention the internet which we access regularly in the university library, our homes or the numerous cyber cafes in town. So, most of us get all the information we want, when we want it. **(MUST respondent Group 6)**

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This quotation tells us that the Western way of life has been “globalised” through media and internet communications. This form of “media imperialism”, although appreciated by some respondents, is unwillingly accepted by others due to lack of options. This view was expressed by one respondent in focus group 3 when she resignedly said: “It is like we have limited choice here because every time you switch on a television or radio, there will be Western stuff such as the English Premier League, or some Western drama or documentary”. However, the important part of it all is not this exposure, but the significant impact this exposure has on their local cultures.

We need to note at this point that even the poor minority students in Ugandan universities are exposed to the Western media through internet and television services in both their universities, and private student hostels. They also interact with fellow students from wealthy families as well as, with wealthy members of their extended family network who may live largely Western lifestyles. All this exposure implies that even respondents from poor families can be influenced by Western lifestyles in the same way as their peers from wealth families.

In chapter 2 section 2.6.3, Appadurai (1997:7) noted that, “the electronic media, far from being the opium of the people, are actively processed by individuals and by groups, and are fertile grounds for exercises in resistance, selectivity and irony”. This means that people have the capacity both to resist media influence, and interpret the media. Because of this, there was need to find out whether the exposure of Mbarara University respondents to Western media significantly influenced their lifestyles and if so, in what ways. Qualitative data shows that all respondents in Mbarara University felt that the global media was slowly eating away some of their cherished traditional cultural values particularly with regards to music, dress, respect, relationships, and food. One respondent explained this:

When you look at the way girls dress these days, you realise that the Western media has taken away our decency. In most of our cultures, we are not supposed to expose our thighs or breasts to the public. But look at what is happening now! You meet someone with a mini-skirt, so short you can see her pants when she walks, or sits. Sometimes it is so tight that walking becomes a problem. We

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even have people who come to lectures like that because they want to appear as “modern” as the white women they see on television. Who can blame them when most of the white singers, musicians, and actors they watch on TV each day appear almost naked? **(MUST respondent Group 2)**

Respondents also expressed views on the presumed superiority of Western music over local music. For example, one respondent said:

We have very good musicians in Uganda most of whom are respected in the East African Community, and have also performed in Europe and America, but if one had any of these as their favourite, they wouldn't be thought of as cool as one whose favourite was Madonna, or Beyonce, or R-Kelly. The former would be seen as “backward” and the latter as “classy”. And it doesn't matter whether the girls understand the meanings of the Western songs or not! **(MUST respondent Group 3)**

In focus group 4, one respondent commented on relationships, love, and weddings as being highly influenced by Western cultures, thus:

Girls now have boyfriends whom they introduce to their parents. They have engagement parties just like the whites. They also kiss, cuddle, and hug in public, which is contrary to our traditional cultures in which love and sex issues are very private. And when you see all these happening, it gives you the impression that we are copying everything from the West as we see it on the net or TV, and pasting it here in our cultures, which is not good at all. We need to start sieving what we can, and cannot take in. **(MUST respondent Group 4)**

However, while the majority of respondents felt that they were taking in everything they saw in the Western media, a significant number of them were holding on to some of the cherished traditional values which varied from one individual to another. For example, in focus group 1, a respondent expressed this view thus:

While I agree that what we see in the media influences our lifestyles, I also know a good number of girls, including myself, who would never do some of the things talked about here, and do others in moderation. For example, most of us can wear trousers which are definitely not part of our cultures, but it is only a few of us who wear really tight ones, or very short skirts as those worn by characters in some Western movies or other celebrities! My understanding is that we can be modern and decent at the same time by adopting Western fashions to our tastes and values. After all, some of the white women we see on TV, for example, don't

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wear these revealing mini-skirts or blouses, and very tight trousers. **(MUST respondent Group 1)**

Similarly, a respondent in focus group 2 also said:

Some of our cultures can be limiting, so I would not mind adopting a bit of this and that from other people's cultures. For example, I see nothing wrong with having a boyfriend but there is no point in kissing and cuddling in public as if you are showing him off! If I have never seen my parents kiss in public, why should I do it because I have seen whites do it on TV? **(MUST respondent Group 2)**

Similar views with regards to music were expressed by a respondent in focus group 5 when she said:

I would like to think that not all that the whites do is good. For example, I like some of their music, but not all of it. Also, some Ugandan musicians sing very well, while others are a joke. So while I may listen to Western music, I cannot say it is superior to our local Ugandan music and vice versa. Therefore, to me, it is good that we have alternatives, and choices to make. **(MUST respondent Group 5)**

All these quotations tell us that while the Western media hugely influenced the life styles, values, and behaviours of Mbarara University respondents, this influence was not about to change the respondents' cultures completely. While all respondents accepted the significant influence of the Western media on their values and lifestyles, they also agreed that they modified whatever was adopted from this media to fit their tastes and values, besides holding on to some of their most cherished values. In so doing, these young women created a hybrid culture, which though primarily Western, also retained significant local cultural distinctiveness with regard to certain beliefs, norms, and values. Consequently, Mbarara University respondents were hugely similar to their University of Limerick counterparts in terms of their attitudes, perceptions, dress, speech, interest, ambitions. But they were also different in that they were still Ugandan women, conservative on some issues such as kissing in public. They also preferred some local music, and their dress code remained significantly Ugandan. The presence of a hybrid culture among Mbarara University respondents is consistent with the views of scholars

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such as Flew (2007:162) and Appadurai (1997:7) earlier presented in chapter 2 section 2.6.3. In this section, these authors noted that both local and global influences on cultures can lead to the emergence of hybrid cultures among the people concerned. However, in this case we see that the presence of a hybrid culture among Mbarara University respondents has been mainly influenced by the globalised Western media and not by local forces. However, as noted in chapter 2 section 2.6.3 of this thesis, the Western media often transmits in elite languages such as English, Spanish, and French (Flew (2007), which are usually understood by highly educated people. This, combined with low internet, television, and radio access by the majority of the poor people in Uganda, as noted in chapter 2 section 2.5.1 makes it more likely for globalised Western cultural values to be prevalent among elites.

This chapter has so far presented and analysed qualitative data on respondents' lifestyles, accommodation, pocket money, tuition fees experiences, and the impact of their parental social class on these. In the following section, I present conclusions which can be derived from the analysis of this data.

7.4.1 Conclusions

We have examined both quantitative and qualitative data on the family background factors that influenced respondents' university life experiences. In this I present conclusions which can be drawn from this data.

Mbarara University respondents led primarily Western life styles similar to those of their University of Limerick counterparts, but also maintained significant local cultural distinctiveness-Data presented and analysed in this chapter has shown that Mbarara University respondents led lifestyles similar to those of their University of Limerick counterparts. They lived in brick-built, tiled floors or cemented houses, with comforts of running water, and electricity, which are a luxury to the majority Ugandans. They also had family cars, and accessed Western television, and radio programmes, and also read Western magazines and newspapers, as their University of Limerick counterparts. These respondents also accessed the internet where they socially networked facebook, and twitter as their University of Limerick counterparts. Therefore their

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lifestyles, and values, such as those regarding dress, music, and relationships were in many ways similar to those of their University of Limerick counterparts. However despite these similarities, Mbarara University respondents maintained some local traditional values such as desire to wear long dresses, and skirts, preference for local music, and adherence to values of privacy in love affairs. What all this means is that despite the claims by scholars who subscribe to the homogeneity perspective of media and cultural globalisation as presented in chapter 2 section 2.5.3 of this thesis, among them Castells (1997; 2005), Giddens (2002) and Tomlinson (2003), that the a global media can lead to cultural imperialism and create a unified, homogeneous global culture, this study has found that this is not entirely the case. Indeed data presented in this chapter has shown that while the homogeneity, and heterogeneity perspectives earlier presented in chapter 2 section 2.5.3 hold some water, the globalised Western media neither produces homogeneous nor heterogeneous cultures. Instead, as the hybridity perspective championed by Flew (2007), Appadurai (1997), Held *et al.*,(1999) and Movius (2010) explored in chapter 2 section 2.5.3 argued, the globalised Western media produces hybrid cultures, more so among the elites of developing countries. These cultures though primarily Western are also local in some aspects.

The majority of respondents' parents in both universities were socio-economic elites although the Mbarara University sample was more elitist: This data has shown that the majority of respondents' parents belonged to higher social classes by virtue of their middle class related jobs, and higher educational qualifications. They were therefore both educational and socio-economic elites in their respective countries. However, the University of Limerick sample was less elitist than the Mbarara University sample. Also, consistent with national data in both Ireland and Uganda, the fathers of Mbarara University respondents were more educated than the mothers, while it was vice versa in the University of Limerick. Data has also shown that Mbarara University fathers were more educated than their University of Limerick counterparts while the mothers of the University of Limerick respondents were more educated than their counterparts in Mbarara University. Consistent with their educational qualifications, more Mbarara University respondents' fathers had professional middle class jobs than their

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counterparts in the University of Limerick, while more University of Limerick respondents' mothers than their Mbarara University counterparts, had professional middle class jobs. This means that education has an effect on jobs and consequently socio-economic status given the consistence between educational attainment and type of jobs. It also means that women have more access to education and professional middle class jobs in Ireland than they do in Uganda.

There is also evidence to show that despite being socio-economic elites as their University of Limerick counterparts, the parents of Mbarara University respondents were a more fragmented elite. For example, some respondents were privileged enough to get government sponsorship, while others were not. Even among those respondents who were privately sponsored, some paid their fees promptly while others struggled to pay fees.

Parental social class significantly influenced accommodation, pocket money, and tuition fees experiences of respondents in both universities, the distinctiveness in state of national development between Ireland and Uganda notwithstanding- This data has shown that respondents in both universities associated their parental educational qualifications with good professional middle class jobs, and higher incomes. This income enabled highly educated parents to provide more appropriate accommodation, more adequate pocket money, and pay their children's tuition fees promptly, compared with the less-educated lower class parents, whether in Ireland or Uganda. Therefore, this data is consistent with the views of scholars such as Lynch and Lodge (2002:1), and Bourdieu (1996), presented in chapter 4 section 4.1.1 of this thesis, that educational attainment is a central player in the distribution of privilege and advantage.

Education is a mechanism for reproducing social class inequalities but it also facilitates mobility between social classes, something that makes its reproductive function less-automatic- Data presented in this chapter has shown that while parental socio-economic advantage is often passed on to their children through provision of better educational conditions, the reproductive function of education is not always automatic. This is so because other than reproducing socio-economic privileges,

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education can also be a mechanism for social mobility from lower to higher social classes. Data presented and analysed in this chapter has shown that intervening factors such as the extended family network in Uganda, or institutional/government support to the educational sector may lead to free or subsidised education, thus enabling children from lower social classes to access education. For example, a significant number of Mbarara University respondents were financially supported by members of their extended family network in terms of pocket money, accommodation, and tuition fees, as earlier seen in chapter 6 section 6.3.3 of this thesis, while a tuition-free education policy in Ireland enabled children from lower social classes to attend university. Once these children have acquired higher educational qualifications, they can get well-paying jobs and move from lower to higher social classes. So, while education is often a mechanism for reproduction of the status-quo, it is also at times a force for up-ward social mobility.

Distinctiveness in infrastructural development, labour market structures, family structures, and educational policies, between Ireland and Uganda, leads to different accommodation, pocket money and tuition fees experiences of respondents in the respective university samples-

Data presented and analysed in this chapter has shown that while the majority of respondents in both universities were largely drawn from socio-economic elites, more University of Limerick respondents than their Mbarara University counterparts described their accommodation as appropriate and their pocket money as adequate. The distinctiveness in the infrastructural development between Ireland and Uganda has been used to explain the differences in respondents' perceptions of the appropriateness of their accommodation. On the other hand, local distinctiveness in labour market structures and differences in family structures between Ireland and Uganda have also been seen to impact the pocket money experiences of respondents in different ways. For example, we have seen that the structured nature of the Irish labour market, and a primarily services and industrial economy, enabled University of Limerick respondents to get part-time work, from which they earned income to meet their personal needs. On the other hand, the unstructured labour market, and a largely subsistence agricultural economy in Uganda did not favour part-time work. Consequently, a large number of the University of Limerick respondents got their pocket

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money from parents (nuclear family) and part-time work , while a large number of their Mbarara University counterparts got theirs from parents and siblings (nuclear family), as well as from members of the extended family network, including uncles, aunts, and sometimes friends. Also, distinctiveness in educational policies between Ireland and Uganda influenced the tuition fees experiences of respondents in the two universities differently. For example, while, the University of Limerick respondents studied tuition-free, the majority of Mbarara University respondents were privately sponsored students who struggled to pay their tuition, and sometimes defaulted with negative consequences on their studies.

7.8.0 Concluding Remarks

Using the social stratification analytical framework, this chapter has explored various ways in which parental socio-economic status influenced accommodation, and pocket money experiences of respondents in both universities, as well as the tuition fees experiences, and general life styles of Mbarara University respondents. This chapter has pointed out that social class greatly influenced the university life experiences of female students in both Mbarara University in Uganda, and the University of Limerick in Ireland, the distinctiveness in state of national development between the respective countries notwithstanding. However, the chapter has also noted differences in parental educational attainments and career-occupations, accommodation, pocket money, as well as tuition fees experiences between the two samples in this study, even when the majority of respondents in each of the samples were both educational and economic elites in their respective countries. This chapter has further noted that parental social class was a key factor in Mbarara University respondents' access to a globalised Western media, and the consequent adoption of largely Western lifestyles, similar to those of their University of Limerick counterparts. Finally, it has been pointed out in this chapter that while parental socio-economic advantage is often reproduced among the wealthy, people from lower social classes may, because of intervening factors such as the extended family network or institutional/government educational support, acquire higher educational qualifications, get professional, well-paying jobs, and move from lower to higher social

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classes. When this happens, education becomes a mechanism for social mobility, and not one for reproduction as is often the case.

The last data chapter and this one, have examined the impact of family, and socio-economic background factors on respondents' university life experiences. In particular, Chapter 7 has pointed out that distinctiveness in family structures between Ireland and Uganda as epitomised in nuclear family type, and extended family types, respectively, largely influenced the funding, accommodation, and role model experiences of respondents in respective universities in distinctive ways. On the other hand, chapter 8 has noted that in both universities, respondents' social class influenced their accommodation, pocket money, tuition fees experiences, as well as their life styles generally, the distinctiveness in state of national development between the respective countries notwithstanding. The chapter has also noted that parental social class is a key factor in Mbarara University respondents' access to a globalised Western media and the consequent adoption of largely Western lifestyles. Finally, chapter 8 has noted that as well as being a mechanism for reproducing, economic, political and social inequalities, education can also be a mechanism for upward social mobility. In both chapters, local distinctiveness between the samples has also been noted, and found to have differential influence on respondents university life experiences. Now that we know the factors which influenced respondents' university life experiences, it is important that we present and analyse data on the factors which influenced their career-related educational choices as shaped by both national development and cultural globalisation. This is the purpose of the following chapter.

**CHAPTER EIGHT-Respondents' Career-related Educational Choices
–A Case of Habitus and Field**

8.0 FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE RESPONDENTS' CAREER-RELATED EDUCATIONAL CHOICES

The boy will eventually be a breadwinner-But a girl's education is not wasted-a good education is just as important for girls, mainly to help them set up a good home (Respondent in Kelly et al., 1982:285).

I think money determines the course choices students make in Uganda, more than any other factor...it is like you invest money in education, and get it out when you get a good job. So, one must have financial ability to do chosen courses in order to get a well paying job...it is like without money, we are doomed! (MUST respondent group 6)

8.1.0 Introduction

The last chapter presented and analysed data relating to the various ways in which parental socio-economic status influenced the various university life experiences of respondents, and their general lifestyles. Using Bourdieu's (1977, 1998) concept of the "habitus and field" as an analytical framework, this chapter presents and analyses both quantitative and qualitative data, on factors which influenced female students' career aspirations and course choices, as impacted upon by both national development, and cultural globalisation.

This chapter notes that the career-related educational choices of respondents in both universities were generally influenced by socio-cultural, economic, policy, and individual-related factors. In particular, the socio-cultural factors included gender stereotypes, traditions, and beliefs, such as the traditional concept of the sexual division of labour. On the other hand, specific economic factors included financial ability to pay tuition fees, availability of jobs and their flexibility, as well as the salary expected from these jobs. Finally, specific policy factors included cut-off marks for admission to some courses, and the specific admission schemes particularly in Uganda, while those related to individual circumstances were mainly parental educational qualifications, and their socio-economic status. All these show the various ways in which the "habitus and the field" conspired to influence respondents' career-related educational choices in both

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universities. However, there were both differences, and similarities in the “habitus and the field” between Ireland and Uganda, which led to both distinctive, and similar influences on the career-related educational choices of respondents in respective universities.

Chapter 3 of this thesis indicated that no existed on factors which influence women's career-related educational choices in Uganda. Also, while there is gender-specific data on course enrolment in Ireland, this data is not from the female students' own perspective. This chapter contributes to knowledge in both Ireland and Uganda by making this data available.

8.1.1 Analytical Framework

In this chapter, I use Bourdieu's (1993) concept of the “habitus and field” earlier presented in chapter 3 section 3.4.1 of this thesis, to analyse data on factors which influenced respondents' career-related educational choices. As we saw in chapter 3 section 3.4.1, “habitus” constitutes “a set of durable, transposable dispositions” (or competences) shared by all individuals who are products of the same economic, cultural, and social conditioning, that regulates mental activity to the point where individuals are often unconsciously aware of their influence (Bourdieu,1977a,:72).These dispositions include knowledge and skills that people have acquired in their lives, which either empower or disempower them.The habitus is therefore a set of regulatory schemes of thought and action, which are to some extent, a product of prior experience.It is therefore strongly influenced by historical, social, and cultural contexts (O'Brien and Ó Fathaigh, 2005). For example, we know that certain social groups strongly value education.Often such values are shaped by a general set of outlooks in their immediate environment, such as parental/peer expectations, and social positions that afford them some advantage in utilising the formal education system. Also, these values may be deeply embodied within the cultural make-up of certain individuals” (O'Brien and Ó Fathaigh , 2005).

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We also saw that the habitus includes what Bourdieu (1977a; 1993) calls “capitals”, namely: economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capitals. Economic capital refers to income and other financial resources and assets, and is the most liquid capital, given that it can be more readily converted into other capitals (Rudd, 2003). It is also very important in education because it gives those individuals who possess it, capacity to purchase different types of educational services (private education, additional grinds/tuitions, distance learning courses), and associated resources (for example, childcare, transport, books, ICT equipment). However, important as it is, economic capital on its own, is not sufficient to buy “status” or position. To be able to do this, economic capital has to interact with other forms of capital, such as social capital. Social capital is understood as a set of lasting social relations, networks, and contacts (Putnam, 2001; Bourdieu, 1993). Investment in social capital, acts as a kind of strategy which, unconsciously or otherwise, serves as a mechanism to exchange other capitals (O'Brien and Ó Fathaigh, 2005). In educational terms, one may rely on significant “others” in one's life, who are well-positioned to enable material (and/or symbolic) access to new areas of expertise, resources, and support (O'Brien and Ó Fathaigh, 2005). Third is cultural capital. This one comes in three forms-objectified, embodied, and institutionalised (Grenfell and James, 1998). Each form serves as “instruments for the appropriation of symbolic wealth socially designated as worthy of being sought and possessed” (Bourdieu, 1977c; Rudd, 2003:54). The objectified form is manifest in such items as books, qualifications, and computers. The embodied form is connected to the educated character of individuals, such as accent and learning dispositions, while the institutionalised form represents the places of learning one may attend, for example, different types of schools, colleges, or universities. Finally, symbolic capital refers to the ways in which capitals are perceived in the social structure, for example, the status value attached to certain books, values, and/or places of learning (Bourdieu, 1977c). It should be noted that all forms of capital are the key factors that define positions and possibilities for individuals engaged in any field, which in this case is education.

The “field” on the other hand, is the social positions or structure, or social, economic, and political environments in which we live (McNay, 1999). The concept of the “field”

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relates to a structured space of forces and struggles, consisting of an ordered system, and an identifiable network of relationships that impact upon the habitus of individuals (O'Brien and Ó Fathaigh, 2005). Education is regarded as a field because it sets its own rules, which regulate behaviour within it. Bourdieu (1993) claims that as certain individuals enter the field, they are (consciously or otherwise) more aware of the rules of the game, and/or have greater capacity to manipulate these rules through their established capital appropriation such as prior qualifications, or strong occupational, and social status. Strategies (actual and/or symbolic in form) are thus employed by individuals to distinguish themselves from other groups, and place themselves in advantageous positions via the effective utilisation and exploitation of forms of capital that they possess (Rudd, 2003). For Bourdieu (1993), the field is always characterised by struggle to succeed, and the outcome of this struggle is often determined by how much capital or resources (habitus) each of the competitors in a given field possesses. Therefore, dispositions (habitus) inform the practices of individuals and the internal dynamics of the field, and become entrenched with time. This interaction of habitus and field influences our life choice decisions including career-related educational choices (McNally, 2006).

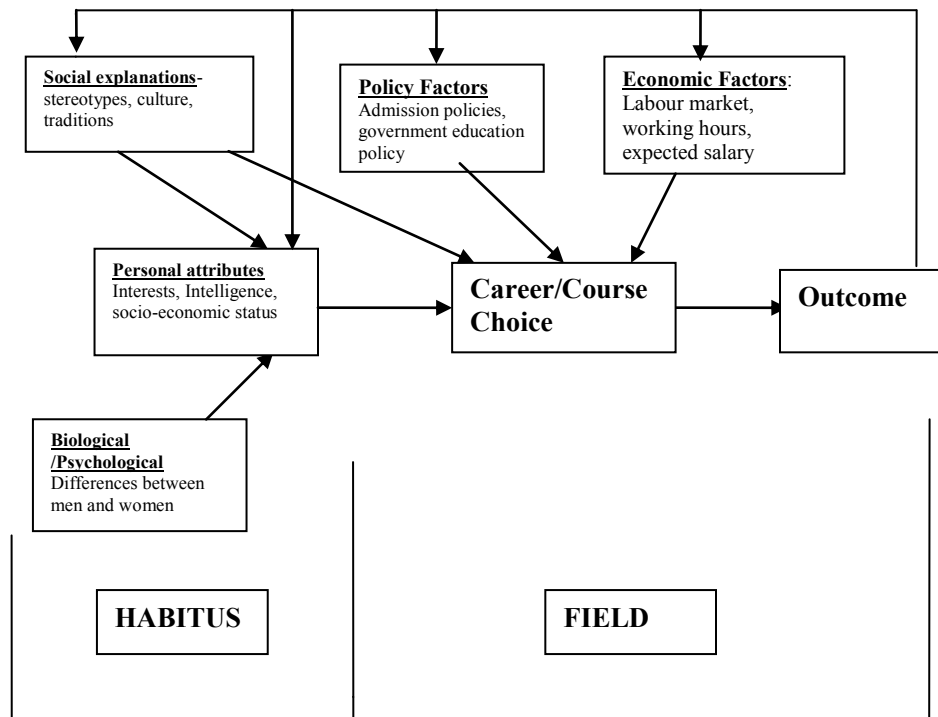
However, other than combining to influence our life choice decisions, we also saw that the habitus and the field influence one another. For example, our economic capital (habitus) may enable us to access education (field) and get qualifications, which may in turn influence our economic capital (habitus) by enabling us to get jobs and earn income. This is the idea of reflexivity. Reflexivity refers to the process whereby we continually reflect on how the assumptions underpinning our practice have been mediated through habitus and field (Houston, 2002). Bourdieu (1988) suggests that we often reflect on our personal values, attitudes, and perceptions (habitus) and how they shape our actions in the field. For example we need to consider how socialisation, education, gender relations, and social class, affect our decisions in the field. Simply put, the idea of reflexivity indicates the inter-connectness between the habitus and the field. The habitus is often acquired from the field, and is used in various fields to achieve our goals. So the

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habitus is reflective of what takes place in the field, just as the field determines what habitus people acquire.

This concept was used to design a model of career choice choice which was presented earlier in chapter 3 section 3.4.1 of this thesis. In this chapter, I use this model to analyse data on factors which influence respondents’ career-related educational choices. Therefore, as a reminder, this model is re-presented here.

Figure 24: A Figurative Presentation of the Concept of Habitus and Field



This model shows that the “habitus” represented by social-cultural aspects, such as stereotypes, and traditions, as well as biological factors, influence individual attributes like intelligence, interests, ambitions, which in turn influence career choice. However, the habitus (stereotypes, traditions, biological factors, intelligence, interests, ambitions) also combines with the “field” (policy, economic, and structural factors) to influence career choice. Also, this model shows that socio-cultural factors such as gender stereotypes or traditions can directly influence career choice. Finally, once an individual

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makes a career-related educational decision, such as picking a course choice, the career that person gets after completing the course enables her/him to participate in the field, where he/she often influences structural, economic, and policy aspects of the field. In so doing, this person not only gains more habitus in terms of “capitals” but also contributes to the “capitals” or habitus of other players in the field.

I have so far explained the concept of the habitus and field as an analytical framework used in this study to analyse data on factors which influenced respondents' career-related educational choices. In the following section, I present and analyse quantitative data on these factors.

8.2.1 Presentation and Analysis of Quantitative Data

In this section, I present and analyse quantitative data on the factors which influenced respondents' career-related educational in both Mbarara University in Uganda, and for comparison purposes, the University of Limerick in Ireland. In this study, data was collected on a number of issues related to career choice, in the hope of getting an in-depth understanding of those factors that influenced respondents' career-related educational choices. This data is presented using tables and graphs as appropriate.

Education is well known for producing human capital which is required for the development of most societies (Halsey *et al.*, 1997). This human capital makes those who have acquired education more employable than those who have not (Todaro, 2000; Healy and Cote, 2001 and Doyle *et al.*, 2005). As such, education and careers are intrinsically linked, and many, if not all of the people entering university education, will have given some thought to their career goals. In this study, I needed to know what the career goals of respondents in both universities were in the first place, before attempting to understand what factors influenced these goals. So, I asked respondents to tell me what their career goals were. The following table presents their responses.

Figure 25: Career Aspirations of Respondents

Pursued Career	University Attended				Total	
	Mbarara		Limerick			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Teaching	15	7.6%	93	47.4%	108	27.6%
Engineering/Science/ Technology	9	4.6%	10	5.1%	19	4.8%
Medicine/Healthcare	25	12.8%	11	5.6%	36	9.2%
Arts/Social/Development work	69	35.2%	13	6.7%	82	20.9%
Banking/Business	64	32.7%	49	25%	113	28.8%
Legal/Public relations	12	6.1%	13	6.6%	25	6.4%
Others	2	1.0%	7	3.6%	9	2.3%
Total	196	100%	196	100%	392	100%

Note: 4 respondents from each sample missed the question so are not represented in this table.

This figure shows that over 35 percent of Mbarara University respondents wanted to do development/social work after their studies, followed by banking and business at over 32 percent. In the University of Limerick on the other hand, over 47 percent of respondents wanted to be teachers, also followed by banking and business at 25 percent. This data is reflective of the nature of the recruited sample which composed of more respondents from development/social work and business/banking clusters in Mbarara University, as well as teaching and business/ banking clusters in the University of Limerick (see chapter 5, section 5.6.4 of this thesis). The low percentage of respondents who aspired for careers in medicine, science, engineering, and technology might also be due to the limited number of places available each year for the respective courses. I will come back to this issue in section 8.3.5 when I present and analyse qualitative data on policy factors which influenced respondents’ career-related educational choices.

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However, despite the possible limitations of the sample indicated above, data presented in this table is consistent with secondary data on careers in both Ireland and Uganda. For example, in Ireland, data on primary school teachers for the year 2006 shows that 84 percent of primary school teachers then, were females (CSO, 2007:115). Also, secondary school teaching in Ireland is dominated by women, at about 60 percent (O'Connor, 2007). In Uganda, on the other hand, teaching at both primary and secondary levels is dominated by men. Specifically, the most recent national teachers head count exercise conducted by Uganda's Ministry of Education and Sports showed that men formed slightly over 60 percent of all teachers at primary level compared with women at almost 40 percent. At second level, men formed slightly over 75 percent of teachers compared to women at almost 25 percent (MEOS, 2008). Therefore, teaching seems to be a popular career goal for women in Ireland, whereas it is popular for men in Uganda. This distinctiveness could explain why fewer respondents in Uganda opted for teaching as their first choice course, and vice versa in Ireland. No data exists on gender and careers in development or social work in Uganda. So, it might be difficult to link the popularity of these careers to the availability of jobs in Uganda's labour market. However, we will know more about this issue when qualitative data on same is presented and analysed in section 8.3.2 of this chapter.

There is evidence of gendered course up-take in both Ireland and Uganda. For example, data on new entrants to Irish universities for the year 2009 shows that females outnumbered males in admissions for courses in social sciences, business, law, education, health/welfare fields, and science, while males dominated engineering, manufacturing/construction, computer science, and physical sciences (HEA, 2009:25). In Uganda on the other hand, no data exists on university course enrolment by gender at national level. However, data for Makerere University, which admits the majority of university students in the country, shows that for the academic year 1999/2000, female enrolment was 30 percent in medicine, 27 percent in commerce, and 26 percent in agriculture, veterinary medicine, and the natural sciences (Liang, 2004:33-34). Muloni (2000) also notes that in the year 2000, female students formed 18 percent of those admitted for advanced sciences and only 13 percent for engineering.

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The primary and secondary data presented so far shows that while there are similarities in gender and career choice trends between Ireland and Uganda, in that, the career goals, and careers of women are still predominantly in the traditional female occupations of teaching and social work, there are also specific local differences with regards to gender and career choice, as seen in men dominating teaching in Uganda, compared to Ireland where teaching is dominated by women. However, this data is only a snapshot of the career aspirations of respondents. We need to find more about respondents’ career aspirations, and reasons for those choices before making any conclusions. This issue will be examined further during qualitative data analysis in section 8.3 of this chapter.

We now know something about respondents’ career aspirations. However, as a starting point to understanding those factors that influenced respondents’ course choices, we need to know how many respondents were taking their first choice courses, and vice versa. In this study, I asked respondents to say if they were taking their first choice courses or not. This data is presented in the following figure.

Figure 26: Respondents who were taking their First Choice Courses and vice versa

First choice course, or not?	University Attended				Total	
	Mbarara		Limerick			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Yes	124	62%	147	73.5%	271	67.8%
No	76	38%	53	26.5%	129	32.2%
Total	200	100%	200	100%	400	100%

This figure shows that 62 percent of Mbarara University respondents compared with over 73 percent of the University of Limerick respondents were taking their first choice courses, while 38 percent of Mbarara University respondents and over 26 percent of the University of Limerick respondents were not. Given the link between course choices and

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career aspirations, it is likely that the career aspirations of this significant minority in of respondents in both universities were negatively influenced.

However, knowing how many respondents were not taking their first choice courses is not as important for this study as the reasons why they missed these courses, which is at the core of understanding those factors that influenced respondents’ course choices. Consequently, I asked respondents to point out the main reason why they missed their first choice courses. The following figure presents their responses. An option on tuition fees was included among the alternatives to choose from because, unlike in Ireland, Ugandan students can fail to gain a government scholarship for a particular course, but be admitted for the same course on the Private Sponsorship Scheme (see chapter 1, section 1.2.4 of this thesis). In the following figure, I present their responses.

Figure 27: Reasons for not taking the First Choice Course

Reason	University Attended				Total	
	Mbarara		Limerick			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
I did not get the required points	35	46.1%	42	79.2%	77	59.7%
I could not afford tuition fees	15	19.7%	0	0%	15	11.6%
My parents advised against it	7	9.2%	0	0%	7	5.4%
I later changed my mind	19	25%	11	20.8%	30	23.3%
Total	76	100%	53	100%	129	100%

Data in this table shows that over 46 percent of Mbarara University respondents and over 79 percent of their University of Limerick counterparts, who missed their first choice courses, failed to get the points required for admission to the courses. Over 19 percent of Mbarara University respondents compared with none in the University of Limerick missed their first choice courses because their parents could not afford to pay the course’s tuition fees. Over 9 percent of Mbarara University respondents who were

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not taking their first choice courses compared with none from the University of Limerick in the same category, missed their first choices because their parents advised against the courses. Those respondents who changed their mind between the application and enrolment periods were 25 percent for Mbarara University, and almost 21 percent for the University of Limerick. However, as noted above, this data needs to be understood in light of the fact that registration fees paid by students in Ireland is uniform, and therefore may not affect course choices, as compared to Uganda where universities charge different tuition fees for different courses.

In chapter 1 section 1.2.4 of this thesis, we saw that less than 7 percent of all students who have the minimum qualifications for university entry in Uganda, study tuition-free, while the remaining students meet full costs of their education (MOES, 2008) privately. This means that the majority of students in public universities, including Mbarara University, and all those in private universities, are on the Private Sponsorship Scheme. In this scheme, students can be admitted for courses which they were denied on a Government Sponsorship Scheme, as long as, they have the minimum grades for these courses. This allows Mbarara University students greater opportunity to avail of their first choice courses than their counterparts in the University of Limerick. So, local distinctiveness in state of national development between Ireland and Uganda, which points to differences within the "field" between the two countries, makes higher education more of an elitist venture in Uganda than in Ireland, even though both samples are largely drawn from socio-economic and educational elites as earlier seen in chapter 8 of this thesis. This data is consistent with findings of Smyth and Hannan (1997) in Ireland, and Mayanja (1998, 2001) in Uganda, presented earlier in chapter 3 section 3.3.3 of this thesis, which indicate that social class can determine not only the type of school or university one joins, but also the subjects and courses one takes. However, while samples in the two universities are largely drawn from socio-economic and educational elites, a significant minority of Mbarara University respondents missed their first choice courses because they could not afford to pay the required tuition fees, which would not be a problem if the Uganda government provided tuition-free university education.

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We also see, that parental guidance plays some role in the course choice decisions of respondents in Mbarara University (over 9 percent) while it does not at all in the University of Limerick (0 percent). This can be explained by a number of factors. In the first place, given that different fees are charged for different courses in Mbarara University, parental input might be required to choose courses that are financially affordable to the parents, hence their considerable influence. However, it could also be that having grown up in nuclear families where values of independence are nurtured, as we saw in chapter 6 of this thesis, the University of Limerick respondents desire to be more independent and self-sufficient while making their course choices, than their Mbarara University counterparts. In light of these differences, we can say that distinctiveness in state of national development between Ireland and Uganda, results in different course choice experiences for two largely similar samples of female university students in this study.

Other than the reasons for not taking their first choice courses, I also wanted to find out the factors that influenced respondents' first choice course decisions. So, I asked respondents to say the most important reason behind their first choice course decisions, irrespective of whether they were taking these courses or not. This means that respondents were limited to one reason they considered most important, even when it was possible for them to have more than one reason for their choices. Their responses show that over 74 percent of respondents in both universities decided on their first choice courses because they felt the courses would give them skills needed for their future careers. Also, over 23 percent of Mbarara University respondents compared with over 18 percent of their University of Limerick counterparts picked their first choice courses mainly because they expected to get high paying jobs once they had done the courses. Finally, less than 4 percent of respondents in both universities picked their courses out of interest for them. This data shows that the desire to develop "habitus" in terms of competences (knowledge and skills), as well as economic capital (in terms of high wages), significantly influenced the course choices of respondents in both universities.

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While students may independently decide on the courses they want to take, making course decisions can be a challenging exercise. It is therefore, rarely the work of the students alone. Rather, it most often involves input from parents, relatives, friends and teachers. In light of this, I wanted to know if the respondents’ course decisions were influenced by any other party other than themselves. So, I asked respondents whether they were in anyway influenced to make their first choice courses or not. Their responses show that 42 percent of Mbarara University respondents were influenced to make their first choice course decisions, while 58 percent were not. In the University of Limerick on the other hand, over 49 percent of respondents were influenced, while over 50 percent were not. However, in order to adequately understand respondents’ course choice experiences, I needed to know who influenced their course choices. So I asked those respondents who were influenced, to say who influenced them most in their course decisions. Their responses are presented in the following table.

Figure 28: Sources of Influence on Respondents’ Course choices

Source of Influence	University Attended				Total	
	Mbarara		Limerick			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
One or both parents	32	38.1%	40	40.4%	71	39%
Relative	20	23.8%	8	8.1%	18	15.4%
Friends	19	22.6%	5	5.0%	24	13.2%
Teachers	13	15.5%	46	46.5%	59	32.4%
Total	84	100%	99	100%	182	100%

This table shows that over 22 percent of Mbarara University respondents compared with just 5 percent of the University of Limerick respondents were influenced by friends to make their first choice courses. Over 15 percent of Mbarara University respondents compared with over 46 percent of their University of Limerick counterparts were influenced by teachers. Also, over 38 percent of Mbarara University respondents

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compared with over 40 percent of their University of Limerick counterparts were influenced by parents.

This data points to the impact of family factors on respondents' course choices in both universities. For example, we see that over 38 percent of Mbarara University respondents were influenced by parents. Other than parents, Mbarara University respondents were also influenced by other relatives (almost 24 percent), and friends (over 22 percent). By comparison, the University of Limerick respondents were largely influenced by teachers at over 46 percent compared with over 15 percent of Mbarara University respondents. Also, over 8 percent, and 5 percent of the University of Limerick respondents were influenced by other relatives, and friends, respectively. A chi-square test to determine the strength of the relationship between source of influence and university attended returned a p-value of 0.000, indicating there was a significant relationship between source of influence and university attended, with teachers having less influence on Ugandan students as compared to students in Ireland, while on average parents had almost equal influence on respondents' courses choices in the two universities. These differences in the influence of parents, teachers, relatives, and friends on the career-related educational choices of respondents in the respective universities also point to nuclear versus extended family distinctiveness between Ireland and Uganda earlier explored in chapter 6 of this thesis. For example, the extended family network prevalent in Uganda is reflected in the influence Mbarara University respondents received from parents, other relatives, and friends, while the nuclear family structure prevalent in Ireland is reflected in the influence that the University of Limerick respondents received from parents and siblings, as well social, economic, and political institutions, such as schools (as epitomised by teachers), and other public figures.

In this section, I have presented and analysed quantitative data on factors that influenced the career-related educational choices of respondents in both universities. During this analysis, a few issues have emerged which show both distinctiveness and similarities in these factors. In relation to the similarities, the career-related educational choices of respondents in both universities were predominantly in the traditional female

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occupations, particularly teaching for the University of Limerick, and social/development work for Mbarara University. However, there was evidence of local distinctiveness both in these career goals, and secondary data in Ireland and Uganda. For example, while the majority of primary and second-level teachers in Ireland are female, the majority of teachers at the respective levels in Uganda are male. The other vital issue to note is that the course choices for the majority of respondents in both universities were influenced by a combination of the desire to acquire Knowledge and skills (*habitus*) to partake in the economic field through work (job availability, and pay).

However, while the career-related educational choices in both universities were generally influenced by the *habitus* and field, local and national distinctiveness between Ireland and Uganda, sometimes led to differential influences on the career-related educational choices of respondents in the two universities. Specifically, this data has shown that the extended family network as earlier seen in chapter 6 of this thesis, greatly influenced the career-related educational choices of Mbarara University respondents, while the nuclear family structure combined with institutions such as the educational system (represented by teachers), to influence the career-related educational choices of the University of Limerick respondents.

However while these observations are relevant for this study, they are just pointers to a bigger picture. We cannot therefore draw conclusions from this data before exploring a qualitative data which gives us a detailed account of factors which influenced respondents' career-related educational choices. The following section serves this purpose.

8.3.0 Qualitative Data Presentation and Analysis

This chapter has so far presented and analysed quantitative data on factors that influenced respondents' career goals, and course choices. In this section I present and analyse qualitative data on these factors.

8.3.1 Focus Groups Topics and Themes

Qualitative data on career aspirations, and course choices of respondents was collected using focus groups interviews. During coding, the factors which influenced respondents' career-related educational choices were grouped under the following major themes: Economic factors, socio-cultural factors, policy factors, and factors related to individual circumstances.

8.3.2 The Influence of Economic Factors on Respondents' Career-related educational Choices

Quantitative data presented and analysed in section 8.2.1 of this chapter indicated that in both universities, a number of factors influenced respondents' course choices. The most important of these was that respondents hoped to get knowledge and skills needed for their future careers, by doing their first choice courses. These economic considerations were re-echoed in focus groups interviews conducted in both universities. An analysis of qualitative data shows that respondents wanted their first choice courses primarily because they hoped these courses would easily secure them well-paying jobs after school, something that would boost their economic capital. One respondent in Mbarara University explained this majority view thus:

To me, we are in university so that we can be able to lead better lives in future when we get jobs and earn income. So when deciding on my first choice course, I considered the job opportunities ahead. **(MUST respondent group 2)**

Similar views were expressed by the majority of respondents in the University of Limerick. One of them said:

Students may take courses which will give them more job choices or success rather than doing something they have an interest in...here I mean economic success which I feel leads to other forms of success...all I need is a high paying job which will eventually give me high socio-economic status. **(UL respondent group 3)**

These views indicate that the major reason for the respondents' course choices in both universities was a desire to gain economic capital (Bourdieu, 1977; 1993).

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While respondents in both universities applied for their first choice courses, figure 26 shows that a significant number of them (38 percent in Mbarara University, and over 26 percent in the University of Limerick) did not take these courses. Quantitative data presented in figure 27 shows that in both universities, the major reason for this was failure to score required cut-off points for admission to the courses. However, in Mbarara University, a large number of respondents held the view that failure to get required cut-off marks conspired with tuition fees to deny them their first choice courses. This view was presented by one respondent thus:

The points required for admission on government sponsorship are unrealistically high. It's just a few students who get admitted and even then, very few get their first choice courses. Maybe they would turn down the government sponsorship and sponsor themselves on their first choice courses but not many of us can afford to go private, given the high tuition paid by private sponsored students! **(MUST respondent group 4)**

In the University of Limerick on the other hand, failure to score required grades was the sole impediment to respondents' taking their first choice courses. One respondent presented this view thus:

I guess a good number of us did not take our first choice courses for various reasons. However, in my case, I did not achieve enough CAO (Central Admissions Office) points for my first choice course. **(UL respondent group 1)**

However, while the Private Sponsorship Scheme explained earlier in chapter 1 section 1.2.5, can be seen as giving Ugandan students who would have otherwise missed their first choice courses an opportunity to do them as privately sponsored students, some of these students may not afford the financial cost of their first choice courses, particularly if it is an expensive one like law or medicine. In a view supported by an overwhelming majority, one respondent lamented:

It is hard for some of us to pay for the high courses. I was personally admitted on a private scheme for medicine, but could I afford the required tuition fees? I

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had to opt for education whose fees my parents could pay. **(MUST respondent group 1)**

This shows that economic capital significantly influenced respondents' course choices. However we need to understand that while some of the respondents in Mbarara University had problems paying university tuition fees, this does not take away their largely elite nature earlier seen in chapter 7 of this thesis.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that while a large number of the University of Limerick respondents did not take their first choice courses mainly due to their lower grade scores than the required, a large number of Mbarara University respondents missed theirs due to both lower grade scores, and the prohibitive tuition fees charged for the courses. This means that the inability of the Ugandan government to provide tuition-free university education negatively influenced the course choices of a considerable number of Mbarara University respondents. The centrality of finance as a factor influencing the course choices of Mbarara University respondents is further reflected in a view expressed by one respondent and supported by the majority, thus:

The major reason why most of us do not take our first choice courses is finance...it is all a question of money...I would not mind doing a course of my choice in any other university if my parents were rich. I would even go to another country and do my first choice course there if necessary. But come to think of it, how many of us can afford that amount of money? Yes, some of us do not get the required grades for admission to our first choices, but what causes that? Money! That's why most people who score highest are from the rich "first world" schools whose fees the poor can't afford. So in my opinion money is the major determinant of our course choices. **(MUST respondent group 2)**

Other than indicating the centrality of funding in influencing the course choices of Mbarara University respondents, this quotation also alludes to the reproductive functions of education as earlier pointed out in chapter 4 section 4.2.1 of this thesis, by Bourdieu (1998), Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), and Lynch and Lodge (2002). The centrality of economic capital in our life decisions is further explained by Bourdieu (1997:54) thus:

So it has to be posited simultaneously that economic capital is at the root of all other types of capital and that these transformed, disguised forms of economic capital, never entirely reducible to that definition, produce their most specific

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effects only to the extent that they conceal (not least from their possessors) the fact that economic capital is at their root, in other words-but only in the last analysis-at the root of their effects.

So, for Bourdieu (1997), both social, and cultural forms of capital are merely “transformed, disguised forms of economic capital” which is paramount. Indeed, we see that respondents who have more economic capital than others take courses of their choice compared with those who have less economic capital. In so doing, these elites reproduce themselves with all their privileges. Schools take centre stage in this reproduction. Ranson (1990:19-20) equated schools to a market place which he described thus:

The market is formally neutral but substantively interested. Individuals come together in competitive exchange to acquire possession of scarce goods and services. Within the market place all are free and equal, differentiated only by their capacity to calculate their self-interest. Yet, of course, the market masks its social bias. It elides, but reproduces the inequalities which consumers bring to the market place. Under the guise of neutrality, the institution of the market actively confirms and reinforces the pre-existing social order of wealth and privilege. The market is a crude mechanism of social selection.

This description is consistent with Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977;1990) concept of schools as mechanisms for reproducing economic, political, and socio-cultural inequalities in their respective societies, presented earlier in chapter 4 sections 4.2.1 of this thesis. The data is also consistent with literature on the role of socio-economic status on students' career-related educational choices, which shows that social class may determine the choice of field of study that individuals pursue. For example, Bourdieu's (1984) “cultural reproduction hypothesis” emphasises the role of “economic capital” and “cultural capital” in educational choices. According to this hypothesis, people from the economic elites prefer lucrative fields, which can ensure a luxury and comfortable life, while people from the cultural elites are less interested in economic returns, so prefer fields in which they can acquire cultural capital. Further literature presented in chapter 3 section 3.3.3 of this thesis from Hotchkiss and Borow (1985), Marini (1978), Mitchell and Krumboltz (1985), as well as O'Connell *et al.* (1989), supports the view that students from wealthy families participate and perform better in education than their

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peers from poor families, implying that distinctiveness in individuals' access to economic capital can influence different course choices for students.

This section has presented and analysed data on economic factors which influenced respondents' career-related educational choices in both Mbarara University and the University of Limerick. The following section deals with data on socio-cultural factors.

8.3.3 The Influence of Socio-cultural Factors on Respondents' Career-related Educational Choices

This section presents and analyses qualitative data on socio-cultural factors which influenced respondents' career-related educational choices in both universities. However, before delving into these factors, I will address one important issue which was left unresolved by quantitative data presented in figure 25, section 8.2.1 of this chapter. This data showed that the majority of Mbarara University respondents wanted to be social workers, while their University of Limerick counterparts wanted to be teachers. However, while there was consistency between the said quantitative data and secondary data on women careers in both Ireland and Uganda, doubts remained as to whether the nature of the sample (predominantly education in the University of Limerick, and development studies, in Mbarara University), had not affected the results. So, other than fully understanding the extent to which gender stereotypes, traditions and beliefs influenced the career aspirations of respondents, we also needed to find out if the dominance of respondents' career aspirations in teaching and social/development work for the respective universities pointed out by quantitative data would be upheld by qualitative data from focus groups interviews. Consequently, the issue of career aspirations, and the factors which influence these, was discussed during focus groups interviews conducted in both universities.

Like quantitative data, qualitative data indicates that the career aspirations of respondents in both universities were highly gendered. In particular, development/social work, and education remained the most popular career goal choices of respondents in Mbarara University, and the University of Limerick, respectively. Given that focus groups participants were randomly selected, it is very likely that the nature of the sample did

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not influence the career goals of respondents. Having addressed this issue, I will now look at the socio-cultural factors which influenced respondents' career-related educational choices.

Like economic factors, socio-cultural factors, such as gender stereotypes, traditions, and beliefs, were found to hugely influence the career-related educational choices of respondents in both universities. At the centre of these beliefs was the concept of the sexual division of labour. This was reflected in the reasons that respondents gave for their career and course choices. For example, in Mbarara University, a huge number of respondents said their career aspiration choices were influenced by the desire for future jobs. The jobs targeted were those which were extensions of their reproductive functions in the home, but also were flexible enough to allow them time to attend to their prospective families. This majority view was expressed by one respondent thus:

I would love to work with an NGO (Non-Governmental Organisation) that deals with children, and the development studies course I am doing is relevant to that. There are many such organisations in Uganda, and almost all of them pay better than government. It is also good to do a job that interests you! Moreover, being potential mothers, most women would be interested in a job that enables them to work with children. **(MUST respondent group 4)**

The reference to NGOs by this respondent should be understood from the fact that Non-Governmental Organisations provide most of the development related social services in Uganda. However, coming to this quotation, we see that while respondents wanted to partake in paid employment, which is in itself a form of liberation from patriarchal practices that keep women in the home, they wanted careers in social work, one of the traditional female occupations. This was so because the respondents believed that they were "naturally" suited to such careers since they involved nurturing aspects. Moreover, these careers were considered flexible enough to allow them time for their domestic work.

A similar situation pertained in the University of Limerick where respondents' career aspiration choices were also influenced by the gender stereotypes and the concept of

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sexual division of labour. For example, in a view supported by the majority, one University of Limerick respondent said:

Most of us women love careers in nursing and teaching because, naturally we are of a caring nature. We love nursing because we like helping people who are in worse off situations than us. We also like teaching because we are interested in children. Besides, the job isn't hectic, and you get time to attend to your family especially if you have kids. **(UL respondent group 2)**

The message here is that women like nursing because they are natural carers. They also like teaching because it enables them interact with children, as part of their natural nurturing roles. Also, teaching was considered flexible enough to afford them time to attend to their families.

On the other hand, a tiny minority of respondents in both universities wanted to do careers in engineering and medicine. While presenting this view, one respondent in Mbarara University said:

My colleagues seem to imply that we all want to do social work or other traditional women careers. These people forget that times have changed, and we need to look at careers in areas such as engineering which is my occupational ambition. Some of my female friends want to be medical doctors. We have to do jobs that will get us out of the home and take us out there. **(MUST respondent group 1)**

So while a minority view, it nevertheless shows that some respondents were opposed to the concept of the sexual division of labour by aspiring for careers in the traditional male occupations, such as engineering.

Similarly, a tiny minority of the University of Limerick respondents defied gender stereotypes and beliefs, so wanted careers in the traditional male occupations, such as engineering. One respondent expressed this view thus:

In the present day Ireland, we should not be tied down to tradition. We need to get out there and do those high-paying jobs which men often do, such as engineering. **(UL respondent group 2)**

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What this respondent says indicates that there are few women who are not tied down by gender beliefs, traditions, and stereotypes, even though they are a tiny minority.

Two important issues emerge from this data namely: the influence of gender stereotypes on women's career-related educational choices, and second, the issue of the double-burden endured by women who take up paid work outside the homes without any relief on their domestic responsibilities. In relation to the first, we see that, in both universities, respondents wanted careers in traditional female fields, such as social work, teaching, and nursing, because they believed that they were "naturally" suited to these careers. These stereotypes are based on the concept of the sexual division of labour which relegates women to the reproductive and nurturing roles in the home, while men take up careers in the public sphere (Walby, 1990). This is consistent with literature on care which shows that women often choose careers in areas which represent an extension of the activities traditionally undertaken in the domestic sphere (Irving, 2008: 164). In chapter 3 section 3.3.2, Eccles (1986:19) noted that academic course selection, career choice, attribution patterns, expectations for success, and perceived importance, are all influenced by gender-role stereotyping. This is clearly what we see happening in both universities where gender stereotypes and beliefs greatly influenced respondents' career goal expectations. Also in same section of chapter 3 of this thesis, Miller *et al.* (2004) and Correll (2001) showed that stereotypes influence specific beliefs by linking a social category such as "females", with particular attributes such as "caring" or "emotional", which in turn influence people's perceptions of their abilities at particular jobs. In this data, we see that the stereotype that women are naturally better carers than men influenced respondents' perceptions of their abilities, and therefore biased their career goals towards those associated with caring and nurturing, such as social work, teaching, and nursing.

With regards to the issue of the double burden, we see that while respondents in both universities wanted to take up paid employment, they wanted to do so without getting some relief from their domestic roles. This often creates a double burden (Irving, 2008) for women, sometimes leading to stress, and other health problems, as noted earlier in

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chapter 4 section 4.3.1 of this thesis. Chant and Craske (2003), as well as Dalla Costa (1995), have explained how the structural adjustment programmes of the 1990's forced some women in developing countries to take up employment to supplement their husband's earnings, without reducing on their reproductive functions in the home, something that increased their stress levels and negatively affected their health. Also, Irving (2008) has argued that the increased agitation for women to take up paid employment without relinquishing some of their duties in the home increases the work burden of these women making it double, that is, the home burden, and the public paid job burden. This double burden has also been found to exist for women who take up paid employment outside the home in Ireland. According to Russell *et al.*, (2009), while unemployed women in Ireland do much of the work in the household compared with those who do paid work outside the home generally, more women than men still do most of the caring work in the home irrespective of their employment status. Also, data from Australia shows that between 1963 and 1993, employed women still spent as much time on childcare as they did before taking up paid employment outside the home (Baxter, 2002). So, while it would have been hoped that women's increased access to paid work outside the home would reduce their work burden in the homes, this is not always the case. Indeed as Baxter (2002:419) said, "...the gender division of labour in the home appears to be one of the most enduring patterns in modern social life". It is therefore interesting to see that while the majority of respondents in both universities felt that the education they were getting would give them knowledge and skills to secure jobs and increase their economic capital, most of the careers they aspired for were extensions of their traditional domestic household work, which is largely based on the concept of the sexual division of labour (Walby, 1990). This means that irrespective of distinctiveness in state of national development between Ireland and Uganda, gender stereotypes, and the concept of sexual division of labour, significantly influenced the career choices of respondents in this study.

Quantitative data presented in this chapter (figure 49 shows that in both universities just about 5 percent of respondents wanted to do careers in engineering, science, and technology. In order to fully understand the factors which influenced women's career-

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related educational choices, the issue was discussed in focus groups interviews conducted in both universities. In Mbarara University, the majority of respondents perceived engineering to be a traditionally male-dominated occupation in which women would be discriminated against. In a view supported by a large number of respondents, one of them said:

Most times, employers are reluctant to employ females in science and engineering occupations because they think females are weak, and will not manage the work involved. And because society and our schools discriminate between us and boys, we are already stigmatised by the time we start work. This inferiority complex stops us from doing our work well, thereby confirming the suspicions of our employers. **(MUST respondent group 1)**

This quotation shows that the school and work place can be mechanisms for reproducing biased and discriminatory gender beliefs which work against women's up-take of engineering courses and careers. The school often does this through both the open and the hidden curricular, which teach societal values in schools. This view is consistent with those of Lynch and Lodge (2002), who say that schools often teach, and embody the cultures of dominant groups in society. This view is also shared by Moore (2004) who argues that as agents of their respective societies, schools propagate the social ideology of these communities. So it is no exaggeration to say that schools are extensions of society, and any form of gender socialisation that happens in entire societies also happens in school.

Similarly the majority of respondents in the University of Limerick perceived engineering as a traditionally male-dominated occupation in which women's equality would be compromised. This majority view was expressed by one respondent thus:

I wouldn't do a career in engineering myself because it is a male-dominated area, and women may not be taken seriously or treated equally because of the stereotypes. The Irish can be very judgmental, and it can be difficult for women to get ahead in such careers which men always see as theirs. **(UL respondent group 6)**

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The views from both universities show that some women have concerns about working in male-dominated occupations because of the pressures involved which are mainly caused by gender discrimination. The concerns about gender-based discrimination in the work place have been documented by some scholars. For example, Carey (1997:102) shows that in Ireland, women who seek employment in the traditionally male-dominated areas such as engineering and related occupations are often treated with suspicion. She narrates the experiences of a woman carpenter who explains that in order to survive in male-dominated jobs, "women must be clearly superior... or there will be a hundred reasons to lay them off". The fear of being targeted for dismissal among other things, puts pressure on women to perform better than men. Carey (1997:102) also presents the experiences of one female factory lorry driver as she describes her predicament:

You can't afford to make mistakes cos you're noticed more than a man. Let's face it, if it takes me two shunts to get on a boat and it takes a man ten, they are going to criticise me more. A man could come after me and take twice as long and they wouldn't even notice.

Simpson (2004) also notes that women who work in female-dominated occupations experience high visibility which creates increased performance pressures such as the ones reported by Carey (1997) above. She goes on to say that other than this visibility, the differences between the dominant group and minority group are exaggerated, leading to separation, and isolation of the genders. This scenario leaves the less-dominant group lonelier. There too is a problem of assimilation, whereby individuals are made to fit into stereotypical roles associated with their group, such as seductress, mother, pet, iron maiden, and constraining behaviour, so as to fit the "role trap" (Simpson, 2004). In short, gender imbalance strengthens career barriers, stunts career progress, and creates a hostile working environment for the minority women (Simpson, 1997, 2000). This hostile environment involves sexual harassment of women, which has been found to be both more prevalent and more virulent in male-dominated occupations (Collinson and Collinson, 1996).

However, other than the similarities between both universities with regards to women's concerns of working in male-dominated occupations, specific gender-based cultural

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beliefs and norms in some Ugandan tribes seemed to drive women away from engineering. In particular, it was noted that some traditions did not allow women to climb trees. This was found to strongly limit women's up-take of courses, and later careers in electrical engineering, since these often involved climbing electric poles. In a view supported by the majority of participants, one respondent said:

I really do not see why we cannot take up engineering and science courses, since I believe we are as intelligent as men...in fact better, sometimes. For example, I am often the best student in my male-dominated pharmacy class. However, I always see some unique challenges in some careers. For example, electrical engineering may involve climbing electric poles. This is both against tradition, as well as physically unfavourable for women...you know! Even with women emancipation, I still think it is not lady-like to climb poles the way electrical engineers do...may be I am a bit conservative, I don't know but to me it doesn't feel right at all! **(MUST respondent group 3)**

This quotation shows the extent to which certain gender stereotypes and beliefs can influence women's career aspiration choices. The quotation also helps us to understand that rather than liberate women from discriminatory traditions, higher education in Uganda sometimes acts as a mechanism for reproducing these traditions, and in so doing maintaining the status quo. This is consistent with the views of Bourdieu (1993; 1998), Lynch and Lodge (2002), as well as Moore (2004), presented in chapter 4 section 4.2.1 of this thesis. In this section, Lynch and Lodge (2002) in particular noted that education has the potential to reproduce economic, political, and social structures of society because schools embody the culture of the dominant groups which control economic, political, and social resources. This is similar to Bourdieu's (1974:32) argument that education perpetuates existing social pattern because it both provides an apparent justification for social inequalities, and gives recognition to the cultural heritage which it treats as natural. However, this data shows that while these views hold water, education can also lead to some form of empowerment. This is not just reflected in the minority views of respondents which seem to oppose the gendered traditional career divisions, but also in the fact that while women would be expected to sit at home and attend to their nurturing roles, all these respondents wanted to do paid jobs outside their homes after their courses, be they extensions of their domestic duties or not. As noted above,

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however, this does not mean challenging key aspects of socio-economic structures in society, such as capitalism or the double burden. So, education is seen to be empowering these young women, but not liberating them. That is why, even with higher education, the majority of respondents shunned careers in electrical or mechanical engineering because, to do that, would be to rebel against societal beliefs that scorn women who climb trees.

However, while Mbarara University respondents shunned engineering careers because they did not want to be seen climbing electrical poles, the University of Limerick respondents did so because they believed that careers in engineering were not flexible enough to afford them time to attend to their nurturing roles in the family. In a view supported by the majority of focus groups participants, one of them responded to the question as to whether she would consider a career in engineering, thus:

No way! I wouldn't dream of a career in engineering. Girls are not really suited to engineering. I want to have a family of my own. I think that family life is very important for a woman, so I need time for family life which I do not see myself getting in an engineering career. Those guys can really be busy! To be fair to myself, I wouldn't have the time for that kind of work... **(UL respondent group 4)**

Again, in this quotation, we see the concept of the sexual division of labour which the young women acquire during the socialisation process. So, as we saw earlier in this section, while education seems to be empowering women, as reflected in their desire for paid work, it does not seem to be liberating them given that it does not appear to change social structures of inequality that allocate domestic responsibilities largely to women. In short, these young women are caught in between full liberation, and conformism to their traditions.

However, we need to note that while gender traditions and beliefs in Uganda and Ireland hugely influenced the career goals of respondents, these were specific to the samples. In particular, while Mbarara University respondents shunned engineering because of the tradition against tree climbing in their society, their University of Limerick counterparts did so because engineering careers were not flexible enough to allow them time to attend

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to their domestic roles, rooted in the traditional and capitalistic concept of the sexual division of labour. So, while gender traditions, beliefs or stereotypes generally seemed to be pushing women away from engineering, these were specific for the respective samples, indicating that local distinctiveness in the social habitus and field between Ireland and Uganda bred specifically different traditions and beliefs, although the effects of these traditions and beliefs on respondents' career choices in both universities were generally similar.

Some gender beliefs, norms, and stereotypes can make women lose their self-esteem and confidence, because as Biko (1971) noted in chapter 4 section 4.2.2, after a life-time reminder of their supposed inferiority, the oppressed people may believe that they are indeed inferior. This view, though in the minority, came up in focus groups interviews conducted in Mbarara University. One respondent explained why women were not fit for courses and careers in engineering and medicine, thus:

I think women should not consider careers in engineering and science disciplines because women are fearful, for example, operating on a person is fit for males because males do not fear. Studying medicine needs a lot of commitment and sacrifice and women are not up to it. **(MUST respondent group 4)**

Though a minority view, it indicates that as a result of being constantly told they are not capable of doing science, engineering, and technology courses, some women have come to believe that they actually do not have what it takes to be scientists, physicians, and engineers by virtue of their gender. This inferiority complex, and lack of self-esteem, may be related to the son preference tradition prevalent in Uganda communities. According to LAWU (2008:35-37), son preference is where parents prefer, and give more attention to a boy child than to a girl child. Son preference can manifest itself either covertly or overtly, most especially in the way daughters and sons access family resources and privileges. In all Ugandan tribes, family lineage is carried out through the son, while daughters marry in another clan or even tribe, and take up the husband's name. Consequently, a son is seen as an asset, whereas a daughter is seen as a liability. It is no wonder then that in most Ugandan communities, there is a strong feeling that a

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son's education should take precedence over a daughter's, because the latter's education benefits the family into which she marries, not her parents' family. Indeed there is a common saying in almost all tribes in Uganda that "bringing up girls is like watering the neighbour's garden" (LAWU, 2008:35). The son preference tradition can have serious consequences for girl children, including, feelings of inferiority, early marriages, female genital cutting, widow inheritance, and access to education (LAWU, 2008).

This section has presented and analysed qualitative data on respondents' career aspirations, and the socio-cultural factors which influence these career goal choices, in both universities. We have seen that the factors which influence respondents career goals are similar in some ways, and different in others. With regards to the similarities, the career aspirations of respondents in both universities were largely influenced by gender stereotypes, beliefs and traditions, distinctiveness in state of national development between Ireland and Uganda notwithstanding. More specifically, respondents in both universities were influenced by the gender stereotype that women are better carers and nurturers than men. This stereotype combined with the concept of the sexual division of labour (Walby, 1990) to shape respondents' career goal choices. That is why these young women wanted paid employment, but one which was flexible enough to enable them to attend to their nurturing roles in the families. Also, the respondents in both universities had concerns about taking up careers in engineering, which they saw as a predominantly male area.

However, while it is true that in both universities, respondents' career goals were mainly influenced by gender stereotypes, traditions, beliefs, and the sexual division of labour concept, local distinctiveness between Ireland and Uganda existed in these stereotypes, traditions, and beliefs. In particular, the son preference tradition was found to influence only the educational choices of Mbarara University respondents, and not those of their University of Limerick counterparts, as it does not appear to exist in Ireland. Also, while Mbarara University respondents shunned engineering courses and careers because of the tradition against tree-climbing for women in their societies among other prominent reasons, their University of Limerick counterparts did so because engineering careers

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were not flexible enough to afford them time to attend to their domestic roles as allocated by the traditional concept of the sexual division of labour.

The similarities and differences in this data show that while socio-cultural factors generally influenced respondents' career-related educational choices in both universities, some local distinctiveness in the respective cultures led to differential influence of these on respondents' career-related educational choices in the respective universities.

Having presented and analysed data on the socio-cultural factors which influenced respondents' career aspirations, the following section explores factors related to individual circumstances which influenced the respondents' career-related educational choices.

8.3.4 The Influence of Individual Circumstances on Respondents' Career-related Educational Choices

In this section, I present and analyse qualitative data on those individual circumstances which influenced respondents' career-related educational choices. These factors were either unique to the individuals, or the respective samples. One of the major issues in this category, which I explore in this section, is the impact of parental education level on respondents' course choices.

Quantitative data presented in figure 28 showed that most influence on the course choices of Mbarara University respondents came from parents, while it came from teachers, followed by parents as a significant minority for the University of Limerick respondents. We know from data presented and analysed in chapter 7, and in this chapter so far, that education is often seen as a mechanism through which elites reproduce their privileges. There was therefore need to understand the relationship between parental level of educational attainment, and respondents' career-related educational choices in both universities. Qualitative data on this issue shows that the majority of respondents in both universities felt that highly educated parents did not only enrich their university life experiences through financial and moral support, but they also guided respondents on course and career choice decisions. In both universities, a large number of respondents

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said they received significant career-related educational advice from their educated parents. Interestingly, even respondents whose parents were either not educated or less-educated felt that their peers who had highly educated parents were more likely to receive informed career-related educational advice and encouragement than themselves. This respondent from Mbarara University presented the majority view when she said:

Highly educated parents will keep on advising their children to make informed course choice decisions because these parents easily understand what to do and allow their children to do what they feel they want to do. **(MUST respondent group 2)**

Similarly, a large number of respondents in the University of Limerick, also said that highly educated parents encouraged them to take more recognised courses which they would otherwise not have taken. Educated parents were also better career guidance counsellors than the less or non-educated ones. This majority view was expressed by a respondent in focus group 6 thus:

My parents are educated and knowledgeable, and I found their guidance invaluable when I was choosing my course of study. Without them I would probably have settled for another course unsuitable for my career prospects. I am doing an education course because, they laid everything on the table for me, and I made an informed choice as a result. **(UL respondent, Group 6)**

Data from both universities, tells us that highly educated parents were predominantly perceived as better career guidance counsellors for their children than their less or non-educated counterparts. While this might indicate that these parents have more knowledge on courses and careers, it also indicates that having acquired higher education themselves, these parents know the system better than the less-educated or non-educated parents. It also indicates how education systems mainly cater for the interests of students from middle and upper classes, whilst neglecting those of students from working class backgrounds. Again, this alludes to the reproductive function of education explained in chapter 4 section 4.2.1, and also noted in chapter 7 section 7.3.1 of this thesis. In the latter section, various scholars including, Lynch and Lodge (2002), Goldthorpe (2000, 2003), and Moore (2004) among others, have argued that educated parents are often better-positioned to pass on their privileges to their children through education than their less or non-educated colleagues. So, as Lynch and Lodge(2002:40) have noted,

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“privileged groups seem to be better able to utilise the education of their own children thus maintaining class stratification”.

Because educated parents had both economic and cultural capital which enabled them to provide material and moral support to their children, they were role models of a large numbers of respondents in both universities, than the less or non-educated parents. In Mbarara University, this majority view was more explicitly stated by one respondent thus:

Both my parents are university graduates and because of this I find them challenging and inspiring in many ways. In particular, my dad has inspired me to do a business administration course, like he did, and I work hard towards achieving my career goal. **(MUST respondent Group 1)**

This shows the influence of highly educated parents on the course choices of female students. This is consistent with the the argument by Archer and Yamashita (2003), as well as Reay (2001) presented in chapter 3 section 3.3.2, of this thesis, that student's educational choices and aspirations are shaped by the perceptions of people around them, especially their parents.

However, other than being largely perceived as reproducing the status quo, Mbarara University respondents also perceived higher education as a mechanism for liberation from discriminatory gender beliefs and traditions, which would otherwise negatively influence women's career-related educational decisions. In particular, these respondents said that highly educated parents were opposed to the son-preference tradition which discriminated against women, as explained in section 8.3.3 of this chapter. One respondent expressed this majority view thus:

Educated parents usually shun discriminatory gender traditions. For example, on many occasions, my parents have ignored and scorned the advice of my relatives not to bother with my education. These relatives still believe boys should be given priority over girls in education when there is not enough money to educate all children. **(MUST, respondent group 1)**

While this respondent feels that educated parents resist gender discrimination by educating both boys and girls alike, because they are educated, it is possible that they do

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so because they have the economic capital (Bourdieu,1998) arising from their well-paying jobs acquired by virtue of their possession of higher educational qualifications. Indeed, in the words of this respondent, son preference happened when parents were faced with financial constraints: “these relatives still believe boys should be given priority over girls in education when there is not much money for all the children”. Therefore, the fact that highly educated parents did not discriminate between genders could be because they were financially able to meet the costs of all their children’s education irrespective of gender, than their being ideologically liberated from discriminatory gender traditions and beliefs. It could also imply that highly educated parents, who are largely westernised (see chapter 7 of this thesis), have taken up some Western cultural values which largely favour women, compared with the majority of Ugandan cultures. Despite these arguments however, the non-existence of the son preference tradition in Ireland shows that local distinctiveness within social and cultural habitus between Ireland and Uganda, somehow influenced the course choices of respondents in different ways.

This section has presented and analysed qualitative data on the influence of parental educational attainment on respondents’ career-related educational choices in both universities. It has been noted that in both universities, highly educated parents had a more positive influence on their children’s career-related choices than the less or non-educated parents. In the following section, I present and analyse data on policy and structural factors which influenced respondents’ career-related educational choices.

8.3.5 The Influence of Policy Factors on Respondents’ Career-related educational Choices

This section presents and analyses data on policy factors which influenced respondents’ career-related educational choices in both Mbarara University in Uganda, and the University of Limerick in Ireland.

Qualitative data collected for this study indicates that policy factors significantly influenced respondents’ career-related educational choices in both universities. These

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included the duration of courses, cut-off marks, and tuition fees policies. With regards to course duration, for example, a considerable number of Mbarara University respondents showed concern over the duration of medicine and engineering courses which were prerequisites for careers in the respective occupations. They said they would not do engineering and medicine courses because the long duration of these courses meant that they would marry later than expected, and be ridiculed by society. It was therefore wiser for the respondents to opt for shorter duration courses. This view was expressed by one respondent thus:

Most of us shun careers in engineering and medicine because these courses take long to complete...Most of us cannot wait to complete six-year courses before we can marry...so we opt for short courses. **(MUST respondent group 2)**

What this respondent says indicated that policy factors (duration of courses) combined with societal expectations of these women, (marrying early enough), to influence the course choices of Mbarara University respondents. This issue did not arise in the University of Limerick focus groups. Nevertheless, some school-related policies influenced the career-related educational choices of the University of Limerick sample.

There is evidence in this data to show that in Ireland, schools used gender-biased curricula, and policies to drive women away from courses, and consequently careers in engineering, science, and technology. For example, a considerable number of respondents in the University of Limerick said that school subjects essential for admission to courses in engineering and technology, were biased towards males, and this denied females a chance to make free subject choices. One respondent clearly summarised the views of the majority when she said:

I think it is unfair to expect women to be engineers in Ireland when the education system works against it. While most of the courses in engineering and technology are based on hands-on Leaving Certificate or equivalent subjects such as woodwork and technical graphics, most girls' schools don't provide these subjects...instead they provide home economics, which can't help us to become engineers. Also, in mixed schools, these subjects are timetabled as alternatives to home economics or music, and they are not promoted on open days in girls' schools. **(UL respondent group 2)**

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This finding is consistent with literature earlier explored in chapter 3 section 3.3.2 of this thesis which shows that in Ireland, schools perpetuate gender inequalities through time-tabling practices. In this section, Lynch and Lodge (2004:18) noted that students' subject choices can be limited by timetabling practices such as discouraging non-traditional entrants to particular fields, operating timetabling practices that polarise subject choices (timetabling home economics against technical drawing so that students have to choose one of these, not both), and simply not encouraging students to take these subjects. All these practices differentiate subject access according to gender making it difficult for women to make subject choices that are non-traditional.

This section has presented and analysed qualitative data on policy factors which influenced respondents' career-related educational choices in both universities. During this analysis, differences between the samples have been noted. Specifically, the issue of the long duration of engineering and medicine courses as an impediment to late marriages, and consequent societal ridicule of respondents, only impacted upon the career choices of Mbarara University respondents, while it was not an issue in the University of Limerick. Also, gender-biased timetabling practices influenced the career goals of the University of Limerick respondents, while this was not relevant to the Mbarara University sample. These differences show that local distinctiveness between Ireland and Uganda influenced differences in policy factors that impacted upon the women's career-related educational choices in the respective countries.

This chapter has so far presented and analysed both quantitative and qualitative data on economic, socio-cultural, policy, and individual-related factors which influenced the career-related educational choices of respondents in both Mbarara University in Uganda, and the University of Limerick in Ireland. During this analysis, a number of conclusions have been arrived at. The following section presents these conclusions.

8.4.1 Conclusions

The conclusions presented in this section have been logically arrived at after a close analysis of the data presented in this chapter. They relate to those factors which

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influenced the career-related educational choices of respondents, as one of the major objectives of this study. These are:

The career-related educational choices of respondents in both Universities were largely influenced by a combination of individual-related, socio-cultural, economic, and policy factors: Data presented and analysed in this chapter has shown that in both Mbarara University and the University of Limerick, the career-related educational choices of respondents were mainly influenced by a combination of factors in the habitus and field of the respective samples in Ireland and Uganda. Specifically, socio-cultural factors which influenced respondents' career-related educational choices included gender stereotypes, traditions and beliefs. On the other hand, economic factors included tuition fees, job availability, expected conditions of work, expected pay and the desire to acquire knowledge and skills for jobs. Last but not least, factors related to individual circumstances which influenced respondents' career choices in both universities were parental educational level, and parental socio-economic status. Finally, policy factors included gender-biased timetabling practices, cut-off marks, admission schemes, and tuition fees policies.

Some factors which influenced respondents' career-related educational choices in both universities were similar, the distinctiveness in state of national development between Ireland and Uganda notwithstanding: This data has shown that the factors which influenced respondents' career-related educational choices in both universities were not just mainly socio-cultural, economic, policy, and individual-related, but that some specific factors were actually similar. In terms of social-cultural factors, the career aspirations of respondents in both universities which were largely in teaching, nursing and social work, were hugely influenced by the gender stereotype that women are better carers and nurturers than men. Relatedly, these choices were also targeted because they were potentially flexible occupations which will afford these women time to attend to their nurturing roles in the home. Similarities were also evident in the economic factors. For example, in both universities, the majority of respondents' course choices were influenced by the desire to acquire knowledge and skills for their future careers, the

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possibilities that the respective courses opened for future jobs, and the desire for well-paying jobs after school. This data also tells us that in both universities, highly educated parents influenced respondents' course choices and their educational experiences by giving better educational advice to their children, giving more financial support, and being better role models for their children than the less or non-educated parents. These similarities point to some level of homogeneity between the respective samples in this study. This homogeneity could be due to the shared Western cultural values prevalent among the Mbarara University sample as earlier seen in chapter 7 of this thesis.

Some of the factors that influenced respondents' career-related educational choices in both universities were different, despite shared cultural values between the samples:

Data presented and analysed in this chapter has shown that other being similar in some ways, the factors which influenced respondents' career-related educational choices between the respective university samples were also different in some ways. For example, the son preference and the "women never climb" traditions, funding constraints, the potential negative impact of long duration courses on appropriate marriage age, were unique influences on Mbarara University respondents. On the other hand, gender-biased time-tabling practices only influenced the career-related educational choices of the University of Limerick respondents. Other than these, distinctive educational policies in both Ireland and Uganda influenced the career-related educational choices of respondents in the respective universities differently. In particular, while all university students in Ireland studied tuition-free, less than 7 percent of university students in Uganda enjoyed this privilege. The rest of the students funded their education privately in public and private universities, where different tuition fees were paid for different courses. Despite being mainly drawn from socio-economic elites, a considerable number of Mbarara University respondents could not afford to pay tuition fees of their first choices, so ended up taking their second or third choices whose tuition fees they could afford. Other than these problems, insufficient funding to the higher education sector by the Ugandan government also precipitated other gender discriminatory traditions such as the son preference. It is clear in this data that in Uganda, the less-financially able parents rationed educational resources for their children by prioritising boys over girls, and by

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forcing their daughters to do less-expensive courses so as to save money to enable sons do their first choice courses. All these show that while the habitus and the field largely influenced respondents' career-related educational choices in both universities, distinctiveness in the specific elements of the habitus and field led to differential impacts upon the career-related educational choices of respondents in respective universities, despite the presence of shared Western cultural values in the two samples.

8.5.0 Concluding Remarks to the Chapter

This chapter has presented and analysed both qualitative and quantitative data on the factors which influenced the career-related educational choices of female university students in Mbarara University in Uganda, and for comparison purposes the University of Limerick in Ireland, as impacted upon by distinctiveness in state of national development and cultural globalisation. This chapter has noted that the career-related educational choices of respondents in both universities were generally influenced by economic, socio-cultural, individual-related, and policy factors. All these show the various ways in which the "habitus and the field" conspired to influence respondents' career-related educational choices in both universities. However, there were both differences and similarities in both the habitus and the field between Ireland and Uganda, which led to both differential and similar influences on the career-related educational choices of respondents in respective universities. The differences were mainly brought about by local distinctiveness in the habitus and field between the two countries, while the similarities resulted from shared Western cultural values between the two samples.

In chapter three of this thesis, it was noted that no literature existed in Uganda on the factors which influence women's career-related educational choices. It was also noted that there is no comprehensive data on the factors that influence female university students' career-related educational choices, from the students own perspective, in either Ireland or Uganda. This chapter contributes to knowledge in both Ireland and Uganda by making this data available. Also by comparing Ireland with Uganda, this chapter enables the distinctiveness of the Uganda situation to be seen more clearly.

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The last three chapters have presented, analysed, and interpreted data on the factors that influenced the career-related educational choices, and the university life experiences of female students in Mbarara University in Uganda, and the University of Limerick in Ireland. The following chapter presents the over-all conclusions of this study in relation to the aims of the research.

CHAPTER NINE-Wrapping it up All

9.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1.1 Introduction

This study has explored women's experiences of higher education and career-choice in both Ireland and Uganda, as impacted upon by both national development and globalisation. It has also explored women's perceptions of the role of education in their lives in the two countries. The study has noted both differences and similarities between Mbarara University and the University of Limerick samples. This chapter summarises this study. It reviews the study's objectives and research questions, and presents overall conclusions for this study in relation to these research objectives. Other than these, this chapter also presents recommendations based on the conclusions of this study, and examines the implications of this study to existing research on development and globalisation, gender and career choice, as well as on the role of higher education in women's lives. This chapter also explores the implications of this study to existing theories, particularly those used in this study such as theory of career choice, theory of family types, theory of social class reproduction in education, liberational versus conformist theories in education, and hybridity or glocalisation theory in cultural globalisation. Finally, the chapter reviews the assumptions and biases which I had at the beginning of this study and my position on these now, presents emerging issues from this study and their implication for future research, and ends with concluding remarks.

9.1.2 The Review of the Study

This study set out to explore factors which influenced female university students' career-related educational choices, and their university life experiences, as well as these women's perceptions of the role of higher education in their lives. The samples were drawn from Mbarara University in Uganda, and for comparison purposes, the University of Limerick in Ireland. In order to clearly understand the issues under investigation, relevant literature was explored.

Chapter 2 explored literature on theories of development, and the role of a globalised Western media in changing cultures of people in developing countries, such as Uganda.

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It identified that the question of whether development leads to cultural change or not is more complex than it appears. If development is associated with a change in culture, this may lead to improvement in women's lives towards equality with men. Nonetheless, seeing this requires a sympathetic but critical review of the status of women in both the traditional and the globalised Western cultures. It was noted that since development and globalisation seem more likely to lead to hybrid cultures, there was need to know what sort of hybrid culture develops, and what is the status of women in this culture? It was noted that there was need to explore elite women's lives and culture in Uganda, in order to be able to answer this question.

On the other hand, chapter 3 identified factors that need to be explored in order to understand women's career-related educational choices, namely: socio-cultural, policy, and structural, economic, and personal factors, among others. The chapter also highlighted that no data existed on this area in Uganda, and that this was an issue that needed to be addressed through research.

Finally, chapter 4 showed that education can be empowering for women, but can also feed into a process through which the elites reproduce themselves. As such, it appears that it will rarely be liberating given that it does not often appear to challenge structural social inequalities. The chapter also noted that save for the few broad correlational studies on health and child bearing, as well as on higher educational attainment, earnings, and HIV prevention, no data existed on the role higher education played in elite women's lives in Uganda. This too was noted as an area which this research needed to address.

So, the desire to fill the gaps in the literature as identified here instigated this study. These gaps also influenced the research methodology in general, as well as the aims, objectives, and research questions of this study, in particular.

9.1.3 The Aims of the Research

In chapter 5 section 5.1.3 of this thesis, the overall aim of this study was stated as being: To investigate the factors which influence female university students' career-related educational choices, and their university life experiences, as well as their perceptions of the role of higher education in their lives, in a situation where distinctiveness in state of national development, and globalised Western cultural Values interface.

In order to generate data that would answer the main objective of the study, and fill the gaps identified by the literature as reviewed in section 10.1.2 above; the following guiding research questions were formulated. For clarity purposes, these questions are reviewed in relation to the gaps in literature they intended to fill, below:

Nature of culture (Western, Uganda, Hybrid)

- How do female students in both Mbarara University in Uganda and the university of Limerick in Ireland, perceive of their term accommodation and pocket money?
- In what ways are the lifestyles of Mbarara University respondents similar, or different to those of their University of Limerick counterparts, and what are the possible explanations for the differences, and or, the similarities?

Factors that influence Career-related Educational Choices

- What are the specific reasons behind respondents' career aspirations and course choices, in Mbarara University in Uganda, and the University of Limerick in Ireland?
- How do distinctive university education funding policies in Ireland and Uganda impact upon the career-related educational choices, and the university life experiences of samples of female students in both Mbarara University in Uganda, and the University of Limerick, in Ireland?

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- What are the specific perceptions of the impact of parental educational level on their course and career aspiration choices, that samples of female students, one from Mbarara University in Uganda, and the other from the University of Limerick in Ireland, hold?

Role of Higher Education in Women's Lives

- What specific perceptions of the role of university education in their lives, do samples of female students in both Mbarara University in Uganda, and the University of Limerick in Ireland, hold?
- What are the tuition fees experiences of a sample of female students from Mbarara University?
- What are the specific perceptions of the impact of parental educational level on their their pocket money, accomodation, and tuition fees experiences, that samples of female students, one from Mbarara University in Uganda, and the other from the University of Limerick in Ireland, hold?

In order to achieve these objectives, I employed both qualitative and quantitative research methods in this study. I used quantitative methods, particularly a survey questionnaire, mainly because I needed data from relatively large numbers of people in order to be able to meaningfully compare experiences. On the other hand, qualitative methods such as focus groups interviews were appropriate for exploring culture, process, and meaning in which I was interested. Mixing qualitative and quantitative research methods enabled triangulation, while case studies in particular enabled comparison between the two samples.

Once the data was collected, the study presented demographic data on higher education sector performance in Ireland and Uganda (chapter 1). The thesis then presented and analysed both quantitative and qualitative data on the impact of family structures, and socio-economic background factors on respondents university life experiences, in

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chapters 6 and 7 respectively. When this was done, chapter 8 presented and analysed both quantitative and qualitative data on factors which influenced respondents' career-related educational choices, and this chapter reviews the entire study, and presents the study's overall conclusions.

Having reviewed the study, it is important that we look at the conclusions which can be made from the data collected for this study in relation to the aims and objectives of this research. The following section serves this purpose.

9.2.0 Conclusions

This section presents conclusions which can be made from the data presented and analysed in chapters 6, 7, and 8 of this study. These conclusions largely relate to the major objectives of this study as presented in chapter 5 section 5.1.3, and reviewed above in section 9.1.3 of this chapter. These objectives were designed to generate data that would fill the gaps identified during the review of related literature presented in chapters 2, 3, and 4 of this thesis. These conclusions will be presented under the major objectives of the study to which they relate.

9.2.1 Factors that Influenced Respondents' Career-related Educational Choices

The factors which influenced respondents' career-related educational choices in both Universities were largely socio-cultural, economic, policy, and individual-related: This study has shown that in both universities, respondents' career-related educational choices were mainly influenced by a combination of socio-cultural, economic, individual-related, and policy factors. In relation to socio-cultural factors, this study has underlined the role of gender stereotypes, traditions, and beliefs in influencing the career-related educational choices of women. For example, in chapter 8 of this thesis, we saw that the majority of respondents in both universities aspired for careers in the traditionally female occupations of social work, education, and nursing. Their choices of these occupational areas were largely influenced by the gender stereotype that women are better carers and nurturers than men, and the concept of the sexual division

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of labour. That is why these women mainly aspired for careers in social work and teaching, which they believed were naturally suited to them as women, and also flexible enough to allow them time to attend to their domestic responsibilities in the home, despite their up-take of paid work outside the home. Therefore, we can clearly see that the concept of sexual division of labour which allocates reproductive roles in the home to women, and paid jobs outside the home to men, significantly influenced women's career-related educational choices in this study. The influence of this concept has been found to be so strong that even when the majority of respondents in both universities wanted to take-up paid employment, this was often in occupational areas that are extensions of their reproductive roles in the home. As Irving (2008) noted before in chapter 8 section 8.3.3 of this thesis, this creates a double burden for these women, since they do not get any relief from their domestic roles. This finding is consistent with findings of Russell *et al.* (2009) in the same section of chapter 8, which show that while unemployed women in Ireland do much of the work in the household compared with those who do paid work outside the home generally, more women than men still do most of the caring work in the home irrespective of whether these women are working outside the home or not. So, clearly, as Baxter (2002:419) noted in chapter 8, section 8.3.3 of this thesis, "...the gender division of labour in the home appears to be one of the most enduring patterns in modern social life".

Other than socio-cultural factors however, this study has also found that economic factors such as, parental ability to pay tuition fees, and job market conditions including expected salaries, and working hours, also significantly influenced respondents' career-related educational choices. For example, in both universities, the majority of respondents' course choices were influenced by the desire to acquire knowledge and skills for their future careers, the possibilities that the respective courses opened for future jobs, and the desire for well-paying jobs after school. In relation to policy factors, this study has also found out that policy factors such as gender-biased timetabling practices, cut-off marks, admission schemes, and tuition fees policies also significantly influenced the career-related educational choices of respondents in this study. For example, the majority of respondents who missed their first course choices in both

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universities did so because they failed to get the required cut-off points or grades for admission to the courses, which is a policy factor. In Uganda, some respondents missed their first choice courses because they could not pay for them. Also, in the University of Limerick, gender-biased timetabling practices negatively impacted upon respondents' career-related educational choices.

Finally, this research has shown that individual-related factors, such as respondents' socio-economic backgrounds, significantly influenced their career-related educational choices. Central to the issue of socio-economic backgrounds was the educational attainment of respondents' parents. This study has shown that in both university samples, highly educated parents exerted significant influence on respondents' course choices and their educational experiences by giving better educational-related advice to their children, more financial support, and being role models for their children, than the less-educated or non-educated parents. All these mean that higher education was perceived by respondents to be a mechanism through which elites reproduced their own privileged positions in society, and by implication the disadvantage of the non-elites. While this has been well documented in Western societies, by among others, Lynch and Lodge (2002), Boudieu and Passeron (1977; 1990), Moore (2004), and Sullivan (2001) as we saw in chapter 4 section 4.2.1 of this thesis, this research explores the way in which a similar dynamic operates in Uganda.

These similarities point to some level of homogeneity between the respective samples in this study. This homogeneity could be due to the shared Western cultural values of formal educational attainment between the samples as earlier seen in chapter 8 of this thesis. However, whether this is the case or not, these similarities show that distinctiveness in state of national development between Ireland and Uganda did not in this case influence the career-related educational choices of respondents in this study, but shared Western cultural values between the samples did.

Though largely similar, some of the factors which influenced respondents' career-related educational choices were distinct to the respective samples: This study has shown that other than those factors which influenced the career-related educational

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choices of respondents from both universities being generally similar, some of them were distinct to the respective university samples. For example, the son preference, and the “women never climb” traditions, funding constraints, the potential negative impact of long duration courses such as engineering and medicine on appropriate marriage age, were unique influences on Mbarara University respondents’ career-related educational choices. On the other hand, gender-biased time-tabling practices only influenced the career-related educational choices of the University of Limerick respondents. The issue of gender-biased timetabling practices documented by this study is consistent with the views of Lynch and Lodge (2004:18) presented in chapter 3 section 3.3.2 of this thesis. Also, distinctive educational policies such as the tuition-free policy in Ireland, compared with free-tuition for just 4000 applicants in Uganda (who are often less than 7 percent of university applicants each year), all had differential impacts upon the course choices of respondents in the two samples. This study has documented evidence of limited government funding of higher education in Uganda, and its negative influence on the career-related educational choices of Mbarara University respondents. We have seen that despite being mainly drawn from socio-economic elites, a considerable number of Mbarara University respondents could not afford tuition fees for their first choices, so ended up taking other cheaper courses. All these show that the factors which influenced respondents’ career-related educational choices in the respective samples were to some extent shaped by local distinctiveness in the habitus and field in the respective countries, the presence of shared Western cultural values in both samples notwithstanding.

Other than these conclusions however, other issues stood out in relation to the factors which influenced respondents’ university life experiences. These are presented in the following section.

9.2.2 Factors which Influenced Respondents’ University Life Experiences

Respondents in both samples were socio-economic elites although the Mbarara University sample was more elitist than the University of Limerick one: This study has shown that Mbarara University respondents were mainly drawn from socio-economic,

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and educational elites. The majority of respondents from the two samples had parents with post-secondary educational qualifications, professional middle class jobs, and by implication more incomes than the majority of their counterparts in the general populations of both Ireland and Uganda. However, while this was the case, the Mbarara University sample appeared to be more elitist than the University of Limerick sample.

Though largely drawn from socio-economic elites, Mbarara University respondents struggled to pay their fees and rated their accommodation and pocket money lower than their University of Limerick counterparts: There is evidence in this study to show that while Mbarara university respondents were largely drawn from socio-economic elites, and appeared to be more elitist than their University of Limerick counterparts, a significant number of them struggled to pay their tuition fees. For example, data in this study showed that 80 percent of these respondents did not have government scholarships, and of these over 51 percent did not pay their fees promptly. With the burden of respondents' education on their parents, a significant number of them paid their tuition fees late, and this led to exclusion from course work assignments, tests, examinations, library, computer laboratories, and lectures until the fees was paid. All these resulted in poor academic performance, as well as humiliation, both of which negatively influenced the respondents' university life experiences. We have also seen that a significant number of Mbarara University respondents neither had adequate pocket money, nor appropriate accommodation. Simply put, they were a struggling elite.

Though respondents from both universities were largely socio-economic elites who led mainly Western life styles, Mbarara University respondents' maintained some level of cultural distinctiveness: This study has shown that respondents in both samples were largely drawn from socio-economic elites of their respective countries. It has also shown that the lifestyles of respondents in the two university samples were largely similar in terms of housing conditions, access to Western media and the internet, as well as in cultural values on dress, music, and relationships. However despite these similarities, Mbarara University respondents were found to stick to some local traditional values such as long dresses and skirts, local music, and values of privacy in love affairs among

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others. These findings vindicate the argument by the globalisation perspective of media and cultural globalisation seen in chapter 2 section 2.3.3 of this thesis which argues that media globalisation leads to hybrid cultures rather than homogeneous or heterogeneous ones. The argument for a hybrid culture is supported by the concept of transculturation which refers to a process where cultural forms move through time and space, interacting with other cultural forms to produce new forms, or hybrids (Movius, 2010). In that section of chapter 2, Appadurai (1997:7) argued, that “the electronic media, far from being the opium of the people, are actively processed by individuals and by groups, and are fertile grounds for exercises in resistance, selectivity, and irony”. This research finds that while Mbarara University respondents were expected to copy everything Western, they have not. Instead as Appadurai (1997) has argued, these women have taken on some Western cultural values, discarded others, and stuck to some of their own. So, in answer to the question raised in chapter 2 of this thesis: What is the nature of hybrid culture which can develop from development and cultural globalisation, and what is the status of women in this culture?, this study finds that the globalised Western media in Uganda has led to the emergence of a hybrid culture among elite Ugandan women. This hybrid culture is primarily Western, although it still maintains significant local distinctiveness. The place of women in this culture will be commented upon in section 9.2.3 of this chapter when I present conclusions on respondents’ perceptions of the role of higher education in their lives.

The different family structures namely the nuclear family in Ireland and the extended family network in Uganda, influenced respondents' funding, accommodation, and pocket money experiences in both universities in distinctive ways:

This study has shown that the extended family network in Uganda, which is often associated with values of communalism/togetherness and inter-dependency, significantly influenced accommodation, funding, and role model experiences of Mbarara University respondents in very positive ways. Specifically, Mbarara University respondents relied more on both their immediate and extended family members for term accommodation, tuition fees, and pocket money. On the other hand, the nuclear family and its associated values of individuality, independence, and self-sufficiency, was found to significantly

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influence funding, accommodation, and pocket money experiences of the University of Limerick respondents. Also, University of Limerick counterparts relied on their government for tuition fees, as well as their structured economy (part-time work) for their pocket money. So, while Goulet's (1995) earlier argument presented in chapter 2 section 2.2.4 that Modernisation penetrates and significantly changes people's lives, and social structures wherever it establishes itself, might be true in some cases, this study finds the impact of Modernisation on Ugandan family structures to be insignificant. This means that the influence of Modernisation on social structures in developing countries is not uniform as Goulet (1995) argues, but varies across societies.

However, other than setting out to understand the factors which influenced respondents' university life experiences, this study also aimed at finding out respondents' perceptions of the role of higher education in women's lives. The following section presents conclusions which relate to this objective.

9.2.3 Respondents' Perceptions of the Role of Higher Education in Women's Lives

Higher education empowers women, but rarely liberates them given that it does not often appear to challenge structural bases of women's oppression and discrimination in society: This study has shown that in university samples, highly educated parents significantly influenced respondents' course choices, and their educational experiences. They gave better educational advice to their children, provided more financial support, and were good role models for their children compared with less or non-educated parents. Higher education has also been found to empower women economically. Evidence has been presented in this study to show respondents' desire to do paid work outside the home and earn some income although most often in traditional female occupations such as nursing, teaching and social work, often seen as extensions of their domestic responsibilities. However, while this can be seen as a reproductive function of education, the fact that these women eyed paid employment in itself mirrors some form of empowerment. Also, in chapter 8 of this thesis, we saw that highly educated parents in Uganda shunned the „son-preference“ tradition by educating both their sons and

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daughters, which shows that the respondents perceived higher education as a mechanism for social empowerment to resist traditional practices which discriminate against women. This means that higher education is one of the effective means to granting women the freedom to choose which was identified as one of the goals of human development by the Human Development Report (1992:2), in chapter 2 section 2.2.1.

However, while higher educational attainment has been found to empower women, no evidence has been shown to indicate that it liberates women. That is why even when these women perceived higher educational attainment as economically empowering them to take up paid employment outside the home, an overwhelming number of them still wanted to do so in traditional occupations as assigned to them by the concept of the sexual division of labour. As such the higher education they were receiving was seen as empowering them to work outside the home, but not enabling them to challenge structural bases of discrimination that women often experience whilst working in capitalist institutions outside the home. As such, it is empowering, but not liberating.

While it is largely a mechanism for reproducing socio-economic inequalities, higher education is also a mechanism for up-ward social mobility. In chapter 4 section 4.2.1 of this thesis, we saw the theory of reproduction in education as explained by Bourdieu and Passeron (1990:59-60), Sullivan (2001), as well as Lynch and Lodge (2002), among others. In particular Lynch and Lodge (2002) argued that despite its claims to equal opportunity and meritocracy, educational systems often reproduce the culture of dominant groups, which control economic, political, and social resources that enable them to provide the necessary requirements for their children. This study has shown that this is largely true. For example, we saw that in both universities, those respondents whose parents were middle class professionals had more appropriate accommodation, more adequate pocket money, and paid their tuition fees promptly compared with those who had less or non-educated working class parents, irrespective of distinctiveness in state of national development between Ireland and Uganda. However while this is the case, this study has also shown that education is at times a mechanism for social mobility between classes. This means that the reproductive function of education is not

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as automatic as is often articulated. For example, we saw that intervening factors such as the extended family network in Uganda, or institutional/government support to the educational sector in Ireland, can subsidise the educational costs of students leading to increased accessibility to education for children from low socio-economic backgrounds. Once these children finish their studies, they can get well-paying jobs, earn substantial incomes, and consequently move from lower to higher social classes. Therefore, other than being a mechanism for reproducing social classes, higher education can also be a mechanism for up-ward social mobility.

9.3.0 Implications of the Study to Existing Studies and Theories

This study has examined the factors which influenced women's career-related educational choices and their university life experiences, as impacted upon by distinctiveness in state of national development, and shared cultural values between Ireland and Uganda. It has also examined women's perceptions of the role of higher education in their lives. While doing all this, certain theories and theoretical frameworks have been used to explain the data collected for this study. Also, some of the findings of this study have confirmed the findings of other studies in development and cultural globalisation, gender and career choice, as well as in the role of higher education in women's lives while others have departed from findings of existing studies. In this section, I will explain the implications of this study to existing theory and literature, beginning with the study's relevance to existing studies.

9.3.1 Study's Relevance to Existing Studies

This study, confirms substantial literature on gender and career choice, globalisation and cultural change in developing countries, as well as literature on the role of higher educational attainment in women's lives. For example, this study has confirmed that factors which influence women's career choices are largely socio-cultural, economic, policy, and those related to individual circumstances. However the study has highlighted the need to examine the interconnection between these factors. It has pointed out that we can not look at these factors in isolation because there appears to be constant overlaps in

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these factors. To elaborate more, economic factors sometimes overlap with policy factors, and factors related to individual circumstances can at times be related to economic and social factors. For example, this study has found that the „son preference“ tradition in Uganda is precipitated by lack of sufficient funds to educate both sons and daughters. We have also seen that individual-related factors such as intelligence can also be linked to people's social class which is largely determined by their economic capital. Finally, this study has shown that gender discriminatory practices such as biased timetabling practices in schools are often informed by gender stereotypes and other essentialist notions, even when they can be categorised as policy factors. This interconnection between the factors which influence women's career-related educational choices makes it difficult to elevate one category of factors over the other, as each of the theories on career choice presented in chapter 3 sections 3.3.1-3.3.3 attempts to do.

With regards to the issue of development, this study has confirmed that development leads to some form of gender equality, whether this is accidental or not. For example, we have seen that women in Ireland were less constrained by economic factors such as funding, when making their career choices, which can be explained by Ireland's level of development which makes it possible for her to provide tuition-free education. While this may not necessarily be a direct result of development, it is very likely that Ireland would not be in position to provide tuition-free education if it was not developed. And because of this, the issue of „son-preference“ did not arise in Ireland. Related to the issue of development is that of media globalisation and cultural change in developing countries. The findings of this study are consistent with those of other scholars such as Appandurai (1997), Movius (2010) and Tomlison (2003) presented in chapter 2 section 2.3.3 of this thesis, that media globalisation leads to hybrid cultures rather than homogeneous or heterogeneous cultures. This study has also confirmed the findings of other scholars presented earlier in chapter 6 section, 6.1.1, such as Forster (2006), that extended families invaluablely support their members during the pursuit of economic, political, and social goals and that they provide a sense of belonging, solidarity, and protection (Fleischer, 2007). This is confirmed by data presented and analysed in chapter 6 of this thesis which shows that Mbarara University respondents received tremendous

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support from members of their extended families in terms of accommodation, tuition fees and pocket money funding as well as advice and encouragement to succeed in their studies. However, while the extended family network prevalent in Ugandan communities supported Mbarara University respondents in their educational pursuits as Forster (2000) has noted, respondents also had a responsibility to succeed in their studies, and give this same support to their other relatives if they needed it in future. This is consistent with the argument made by Tiemoko (2004:157) that extended families involve expectations, obligations, and responsibilities. This study has also confirmed the findings of other scholars such as Lynch and Lodge (2002) who have highlighted the importance of the family in the education endeavours of children.

Finally, with regards to the role of higher education in women's lives, the findings of this study are largely consistent with conclusions made by other scholars such as Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), Lynch and Lodge (2002), Moore (2004), Kasozi (2008), Carroll (2005), and Mayanja (1998), among others presented in Chapter 4, section 4.2.1 of this thesis. These scholars have concluded that education reproduces economic, political, and social inequalities in society by enabling its graduates to maintain their privileged positions in societies, and in so doing maintaining the status quo. However, the findings of this study slightly depart from the conclusions made by these scholars relating to the reproductive functions of education, and the role of higher education in women's lives. For example, while these scholars have all implied that the education experiences of students from middle class elite families are always positive and hassle-free; the findings of this study indicate that this claim is a bit of an exaggeration. Instead this study supports the views of Power and Whity (2006:450) that even for children from middle class families, academic progress is not a painless, successful path through higher education into assured prestigious career occupations, but that it also involves some struggles. This view is vindicated by the fees payment and other funding related struggles witnessed among the Mbarara University sample, in full disregard of the fact that the majority of them came from elite middle class families. Also, the findings of this study indicate that the reproductive functions of education are over-assumed while the role of education in social mobility is under-estimated. This is particularly so in a

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situation where institutions such as the government, as is the case in Ireland, and social institutions such as the extended family network, as is the case in Uganda, support the education of students from lower socio-economic backgrounds, who later attain jobs, increase their incomes, and move from lower to higher social classes. These arguments however do not totally dispel claims of the reproductive functions of education; neither do they deny the very likely possibility that children from middle class will have more positive experiences of education than their counterparts from lower social classes. Rather, these arguments show that some of the claims made with regard to the reproductive functions of education, and the educational experiences of students from middle class families, are often over-stated and at times too generalised to the extent that we lose sight of the other possibilities of education.

9.3.2 Theoretical Implications of the Study

Throughout this thesis, a number of theories and concepts have been used to explain the literature and also to analyse data collected for this study. These are: the Model of Career Choice, the Family Structure Analytical Framework, Social Class Stratification Theory, the Reproduction-Conformity Theory in Education, the Liberational Theory in Education, and the Theory of Globalisation or Hybridity. In the following sub-sections, I explain the relevance of these theories to the findings of the study.

9.3.2(a) The Model of career choice-The theory of Habitus and Field

In an attempt to explain the factors which influenced women's career-related educational choices, this thesis developed a model of career choice. This model logically evolved from the strengths and weaknesses of the essentialist, social construction, and individual differences theories of career choice presented in chapter 3, sections 3.3.1-3.3.3. This model is also highly reliant on Bourdieu's (1993) concept of habitus and field. This model was presented and explained in Chapter 3 section 3.4.1, and was represented in chapter 8, section 8.1.1 as a theoretical framework to analyse data on the factors which influenced respondents' career-related educational choices. Briefly, this model argues that the "habitus" represented by social-cultural aspects, such as stereotypes, and

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traditions, as well as biological factors, influence individual attributes like intelligence, interests, ambitions, which in turn influence career choice. However, the habitus (stereotypes, traditions, biological factors, intelligence, interests, ambitions) does not influence career-related educational choices alone, but combines with the “field” (policy, economic, and structural factors) to influence these choices. Also, this model shows that socio-cultural factors such as gender stereotypes, traditions, and beliefs can directly influence women’s career and course choices. Finally, the model argues that once we have made career-related educational decisions, such as picking, and doing a course, the careers we get thereafter enable us to participate in the field, where we often influence structural, economic, and policy aspects of the field. In so doing, we not only gain more habitus in terms of “capitals” but also contribute to the “capitals” or habitus of other players in the field.

This study has found that the concept of habitus and field is a more suitable theoretical framework in explaining the factors which influence women’s career-related educational choices, than the conventional theories of career choice presented in chapter three of this thesis. For example, this study has found out that the career-related educational choices of respondents in this study were largely influenced by socio-cultural, economic, individual-related, and policy factors, and not just a single category of these. This highlights the weaknesses of each of the conventional theories on its own. Also, as the model suggests, an interconnection has been found between these factors. For example, a connection has been found among Mbarara University respondents between the socio-cultural factors such as the „son preference“ tradition, and the economic factors such as lack of sufficient finances. In particular, this study has indicated that the „son preference tradition“ which is a socio-cultural factor, was often used to discriminate against daughters in cases where the parents were faced with insufficient funds to pay for the education of both sons and daughters. This gives the impression that sufficient funding for all could mitigate this practice, although it may not completely uproot it. Also, a relationship was found between the socio-cultural concept of the sexual division of labour, the economic factors, and individual related circumstances. For example, the majority of respondents wanted to have careers in teaching (University of Limerick) and

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social work (Mbarara University) because they felt these jobs and others like nursing, were suited to their nurturing instincts as potential mothers, which is related to the essentialist and social constructionist theories, incorporated in the model, but also because they felt these jobs were well paying, and flexible enough to afford them time to attend to their reproductive roles in the home as allocated to them by the socio-cultural concept of the sexual division of labour. Clearly these interconnections mirror the interconnectedness between habitus and field, evident in the model of career choice developed in Chapter 3 and used to analyse data on factors which influenced women's career-related educational choices in Chapter 8 of this thesis.

The other issue worth noting is the primacy that this model gives to socio-cultural factors. This model suggests that while other factors such as economic, policy, and individual circumstances, often interact with individual competences to influence career choice decisions, socio-cultural factors can directly influence women's career choices. Simply put, the model suggests that socio-cultural factors such as gender stereotypes, beliefs, and traditions (cultural capital or habitus) can over-ride other factors such economic and individual competences(which are also part of the habitus), to directly influence women's career-related choices, while the other factors cannot.

However, while this model is largely suitable in explaining the factors which influence women's career related educational choices, data from this study indicates that this model tends to underestimate the impact of other factors on women's career-related educational choices, at the expense of socio-cultural factors. For example, data in this study has pointed out cases where policy factors such as the cut-off marks or the failure of respondents to secure the required grades, influenced respondents' course choices single-handedly. There were also cases where economic factors, not socio-cultural factors or individual competences, influenced respondents' course and career goal choices. In fact this study has shown that economic factors have the potential to mitigate the effects of socio-cultural factors in some cases, as seen in the son-preference tradition scenario in Uganda, where the discriminatory son preference tradition is more pronounced in cases where no sufficient finances exist to educate both boys and girls.

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So, while Bourdieu's (1997:54) argument presented in Chapter 8 section 8.3.2 of this thesis, that "economic capital is at the root of all other types of capital", might be seen as exaggerated, it nevertheless holds water in light of the findings in this study. Yet this model has given economic factors less prominence compared with socio-cultural ones. However, despite these few criticisms, this study has indicated the model of career choice developed in Chapter 3 of this thesis which is largely based on Bourdieu's (1993) concept of the habitus and field, is a more useful model in explaining factors which influence women's career-related educational choices than the other existing models.

9.3.2(b) The Social Class Stratification Theory

The other theory that has been used in this thesis is that of social class stratification. This theory was used to analyse data on the impact of respondents' socio-economic backgrounds on their university life experiences. These experiences included accommodation, tuition fees, pocket money, and general lifestyles. This theoretical framework suggests that society is divided into strata or layers. Each of these layers is occupied by people with similar education qualifications, jobs, income, and wealth (Crompton, 2008:10). This means that "social stratification" implies a structure of inequality where individuals occupy differentiated structural positions, which are situated in layers. However, this theory also argues that social classes are not static, but they change, and re-define themselves depending on circumstances such as educational attainment, new educational and occupational structures, and time. This is what is known as "social mobility" (Crompton, 2008). Social mobility may be downwards or upwards, since it is more often determined by an increase or reduction in income, wealth, and educational attainment for the individuals involved (Henslin, 2004:192). Social class mobility can transform social class structures by bringing about shrinkage or expansion of various social classes. For example, shifts in occupational structures, such as the emergence of new professions can redefine the social class structure. This means that we can have relatively low-level service employees such as first-line managers in hotels, new service professionals such as social workers, librarians, and physiotherapists, and senior managers or professionals all classified as the middle class. However, despite the

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fragmentation, and instability between the different groupings that might make a social class, higher classes such as the middle class, remain better positioned to defend their own interests, and to pass them to their descendants. In other words, people in various social classes often reproduce either their economic, political, social, and educational privilege, or disadvantage (Bourdieu, 1998).

Data from this study is consistent with most of the claims made by social class theory. Both secondary data on Ireland and Uganda, as well as data from this study suggests that educational attainment leads to well paying jobs, increased wealth, and consequently a higher social class. The fact that in these samples, the majority of respondents' parents had post secondary education, middle class professional jobs, and were wealthier than the majority of their counterparts in the general populations of their respective countries, confirms the largely held view of social class reproduction. However, this is not all. Both secondary data on Ireland and Uganda, as well as data from this study have shown that respondents in both universities, the majority of whom came from middle class families, took more university places than their shares of the general population in the respective countries. The respondents also acknowledged that they were more advantaged than their counterparts with parents with less or no education. In essence they were elites in their respective countries, who were busy reproducing themselves without any regard to the plight of the under-privileged. In short these respondents sustained the status quo by following in the footsteps of their parents' educational, economic, and social success, thereby confirming the validity of the theory of social class reproduction.

There is also evidence of social class mobility in this study. For example, respondents acknowledged that among other roles, higher education would enable them to jump from one social class to another, thereby enabling them to be more advantaged than their less educated or uneducated parents. However, other than these two, this study has also confirmed the fragmentation of the middle class pointed out the social stratification theory. For example, this study has shown that despite their mainly middle class backgrounds, a large number of Mbarara University respondents struggled to pay their fees, had less adequate pocket money, and lived in less appropriate accommodation than

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their University of Limerick counterparts. Secondary data on incomes and pay of most civil servants in Uganda, majority of whom formed the parents of Mbarara University respondents revealed a very fragmented middle class. This fragmentation was fuelled by wide gaps in salaries of public servants who form Uganda's middle class, as was discussed in detail in chapter 7, section 7.3.5 of this thesis. All these show that the social stratification theoretical framework is a very useful tool in analysing factors which influence students' educational experiences.

9.3.2 (c) Reproduction Theory in Education

Related to the issue of social class reproduction is that of reproduction in education. This theory was explored in chapter Chapter 4 section 4.2.1 of this thesis. In this section, some scholars among them Lynch and Lodge (2002), Moore (2004), and Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), argued that education reproduces economic, political, and social inequalities in society. This means the rich remain rich and the poor remain poor. In terms of gender, male chauvinism remains and women remain subjugated in all aspects of their lives. Education reproduces these inequalities because it is specifically designed to do exactly that. In most societies, education is designed to pass on the cultural, economic, and political values of any given society (Carr, 1998), and it should do so for if the continuity of these societies is to be sustained. This is what Freire (1996) means when he says there is no neutral education system. Sadly though, in patriarchal and capitalist societies, education favours men and the wealthy over and above women and the poor, and strives as much as it can to ensure this status quo remains unchanged.

Data from this study largely supports the theory of reproduction in education. In both universities, the majority of respondents were socio-economic elites. Secondary data on higher education participation in both Ireland and Uganda was also consistent with data collected for this study. It cannot be mere coincidence that in both Ireland and Uganda, the majority of respondents' parents had post secondary education, and skilled, professional middle class jobs. This reproduction was further evident in what the majority of respondents in both universities said, with regards to the role of highly educated parents in their lives. The widely held views in both samples were that highly

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educated parents paid their children fees in time, advised, encouraged, and counselled their children, while their non or less educated counterparts did not. The majority of respondents also said that highly educated parents were better role models for their children. All this support enabled children of highly educated parents to sail through the education system and acquire as much education as their parents, or more, and get well paying jobs, hence maintaining their privileged status.

However, while this theory is largely vindicated by this study, some data from this study disagrees with some of the claims made by this theory. For example, this study has shown that some children from lower social classes often get through the net and acquire education, which in turn helps them to secure well paying jobs and move from lower to higher social classes. This can be possible due to a number of factors such as policy interventions from institutions, governments, non-governmental organisations, and the extended family network, as is largely the case in Uganda, which may fund the education of children from lower social classes. So, this study shows that reproduction in education does not depend solely on social class, but also that intervening factors as mentioned above sometimes play a significant role, and in so doing tilt the balance in favour of children from lower social classes. Therefore while we cannot deny the usefulness of the reproductive theory in education in explaining the role and functions of education in society, this theory is also to some extent over exaggerated, as this data has shown. However, the fact that this study has not shown evidence of students from higher social classes moving down the social class ladder means that the theory is still very suitable in explaining the possibilities of education. So, the criticism about its failure to recognise the role of institutions, and other factors at play in the field of education, is not intended to deny its suitability and relevancy, but to show other possibilities of education, instead of taking the purely extreme view of the champions of this theory such as Bourdieu (1987).

9.3.2(d) Liberation Theory in Education

Related to the theory of reproduction is that of liberation or empowerment. While exploring the different perspectives to understanding the nature and function of education in chapter 4 section 4.1.1 of this thesis, it was argued that education can liberate or enslave. When it aids reproduction and conformity to the status quo as seen above, education will have failed to liberate the oppressed groups of people. A detailed analysis of the liberational/ empowerment perspective in chapter 4 sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 showed that education liberates the oppressed people when it helps them change the social, political, economic bases of oppression and discrimination. It was also noted that for education to be able to liberate, it should provide students with the skills, knowledge, and authority they need to recognise anti-democratic forms of power, and to fight deeply rooted injustices (Giroux, 2003), including gender inequalities in society. The liberational theory of education calls for a “problem solving education” which includes critical thinking and dialogue exercises in the classroom (Freire, 1970; Weiner, 1994; Giroux, 2003). Contrary to what is done in a conformist or reproductive education, liberational theorists emphasise active participation in learning, and believe that students should be co-investigators in the classroom, not just passive recipients (Freire, 1996; Gould, 1993). This means that the classroom environment should be free enough to enable students“ interact with one another, and with their teachers. As Bell Hooks (1994:207) one of the greatest feminist writers argues, learning should not only aim at bringing about freedom but the learning environment should also reflect this freedom.

In terms of womens“ emancipation, the liberational theory of education argues that education should be a means to effective social change. In order to serve this purpose, educators should involve the oppressed, including women, in re-defining the process of education and learning in society (Gould, 1993). Weiner (1994:117-118) argues that for women to be liberated, feminist educators need to take part in developing anti-sexist and non-discriminatory curricular. For her, curriculum design should be a democratic process in which all stakeholders, including students participate. Weiner (1994) notes that engaging female students in curriculum design can help them to engage in a critical

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feminist counter discourse. For example, female students may be encouraged to think creatively if they participate in putting together sections of different curriculum units, and if given space in the curriculum to enable them pursue major enquiries into women's lives, as well as explore the nature of patriarchal relations. Also, to make education relevant to the needs of women, feminist educators should maintain their critique of existing school practices, and propose ways in which current educational practice should be changed to serve the interests of women, as well as offer new challenges to meet the ever changing circumstances (Weiner, 1994:117-118). Finally, feminist educators should be consciously positioned within educational practices, such as teaching, policy formulation, and curriculum design, if education is to serve the interests of women (Weiner, 1994:118) and liberate them.

The findings of this study largely depart from this perspective in that education has not been found to liberate women in both Ireland and Uganda which are both largely patriarchal societies. The findings of this study find can be explained by the views of some of the champions of the liberational theory of education such as Weedon (1987), Giroux (2003), and Weiner (1994) that education can only liberate women or any oppressed groups, if it is designed for that purpose. It would therefore appear that as both Freire (1996) and Biko (1970) have argued, current education systems in oppressive societies must be redesigned to target the mind of the oppressed and develop within it an element of critical consciousness if education is to be truly liberating. This is so because as Biko (1971) argued, the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed. It is this mind that needs to be liberated first if full liberation is to take place. Clearly, this study has shown cases of respondents whose minds were enslaved by gender stereotypes to the level that they did not believe they were as capable as men. Specifically, some respondents in both universities felt they could not do medicine and engineering courses and careers, because they were simply not suited to these careers, by virtue of their being women. Such essentialist claims show that these young women had not attained critical consciousness, so could not be liberated despite their high level of education.

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However, while largely convincing, this theory overlooks accidental outcomes of education, even in patriarchal societies where it is often designed to reproduce male dominance and privileges. This study has shown that there are cases when education in patriarchal societies liberates women whether this liberation is accidental or intended. For example, as has been pointed out above, data presented in Chapter 8 of this thesis has shown that educated parents, including women, shunned the „son preference“ tradition in Uganda and educated both sons and daughters. While it is possible that the sense of gender equality exhibited by these highly educated parents was due to their financial abilities to pay for their children's education irrespective of gender, rather than their ideological liberation, the fact that this only happened among educated parents could possibly mean that their sense of gender equality resulted from their ideological liberation obtained through education, whether this effect was accidental or not.

Also, while not largely liberating, this study has found that higher education empowers women health-wise, economically, politically, and socially. For example evidence has been presented to show that in both universities, respondents associated higher educational attainment with jobs, although usually in female-dominated occupational fields often related to their reproductive functions in the home. They also do not relinquish their reproductive functions in the home even when they take up paid public employment, in which they are also often underpaid and rarely promoted. However, despite these drawbacks these women are paid for the work they do so earn income which in turn gives them some power to make choices. All these show that educational attainment empowers women economically. This study has also shown that highly educated parents in Uganda were more socially and economically empowered to resist the son preference tradition in Uganda. So, while this study has found out that education in patriarchal societies, particularly, Ireland and Uganda, does not liberate women, the fact that it empowers women means that it is still important that women acquire higher education which is available.

9.3.2 (e) Family Structure Theoretical Framework

This theoretical framework was used in chapter 6 of this thesis to analyse data on the family background factors that influenced respondents' university life experiences. This framework underlined the role of the family in shaping the higher educational experiences of women. The family structure theoretical framework argued that the extended family network prevalent in Uganda, and the nuclear family type prevalent in Ireland, had differential impacts on the respondents' tuition fees, accommodation, and role model experiences. In particular, it was argued that the nuclear family combined with institutions such as schools and the state to influence the university life experiences of respondents in Ireland, while in Uganda this was done by both the nuclear family and the extended family network. This theory also associated the nuclear family with Modernisation and values of individuality, self-sufficiency, and independence. On the other hand, the extended family network was associated with values of communalism, and inter-dependency (OECD, 2008; Myers, 1992). However, a complexity was noted in explaining family types. It was noted that purity did not exist in either family type. For example, it was noted that nuclear families are extended at some point, while extended families sometimes become nuclear. Both these cases are largely due to migration or movement of some of the family members in the respective types for educational, work, and other reasons (Bittman and Pixley, 1997).

This study largely agrees with the claims by the family structure theoretical framework. Specifically, this study found out that values of individualism, independency, and self-sufficiency were actually associated with the nuclear family while those of communalism and dependency were associated with the the extended family network. Also, these values played a significant role in shaping the university life experiences of respondents in the respective samples. For example, this study has indicated that more Mbarara University respondents than their University of Limerick counterparts stayed with relatives during term, wanted to stay with friends, and were financially supported by not just members of their nuclear families but also by members of their extended family network including friends who were also regarded as family. They also had more

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closer-to-home role models such as uncles, aunts, parents, siblings, and friends than their University of Limerick counterparts whose role models were largely parents, teachers, and other public figures. These show the communalism and interdependency on the part of Mbarara University respondents, common in extended family networks. By comparison, the University of Limerick respondents relied more on their nuclear family, themselves and institutions such as schools, as epitomised by teachers for advice, and their economy for pocket money. They wanted to be so self-reliant that a good number of them said they would rather work for their pocket money than get it from their parents, or other relatives. However, this study finds that while institutions greatly supported the educational endeavours of the University of Limerick respondents, their role was only secondary to that of the parents. Similarly, despite its tremendous support to the educational endeavours of Mbarara University respondents, the extended family network usually also came in to help where the nuclear family had failed implying that its role though significant was secondary to that of the nuclear family, though not in the same measure as for the University of Limerick respondents. Therefore in light of this data, it is clear that the theory of family structures can be very useful in explaining the factors which influence women's experiences of higher education although care should always be taken to understand the flexibility involved in family types, since as we have seen most family types can be described as largely nuclear or largely extended, but rarely as pure nuclear or extended.

9.3.2(f) Theory of Hybridity or Glocalisation

This theory was used in chapter 2 section 2.3.3 to explain the possible influence of a globalised Western media on the cultures of people in developing countries. Championed by Robertson (1995), Barber (1997), Appadurai (1996), and Movius (2010) among others, this perspective suggests that the process of cultural change is neither local nor global, implying that culture can be changed by both local and global influences. This means that both heterogenising and homogenising forces intertwine and complement each other. The concept of glocalisation therefore involves the development of overlapping global and local linkages, or deterritorialised global scapes (Appadurai,

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1996). The argument made by this perspective is consistent with the concept of transculturation, which refers to a process where cultural forms move through time and space, interacting with other cultural forms to produce new forms or hybrids. Proponents of this theoretical perspective, such as Appadurai (1997: 7) argue that “the electronic media, far from being the opium of the people, are actively processed by individuals, and by groups, and are fertile grounds for exercises in resistance, selectivity, and irony”. He goes on to say that the concept of cultural imperialism and the resultant homogeneous culture have failed because the processes of the diffusion and imposition of culture, imperialistically defined as universal, have been confronted throughout the world system by multiple and ingenious processes of cultural resistance, identification, and indigenisation (Appadurai,1997:12). So, as Tomlinson (2003:16) says, “far from destroying it, globalisation has been perhaps the most significant force in creating and proliferating cultural identities”. This means that the globalised media does not influence all societies in the same way, and that there are aspects of the Western/American cultures that people in the developing world have taken up, and others they have discarded. Therefore, far from creating a homogeneous Western-oriented global culture to replace local cultures of developing countries such as Uganda, the global media has given rise to convergences, similarities, and hybrids between the different national cultures, whether they are architectural styles, fashion, or eating habits (Held *et al.*,1999). This theoretical perspective therefore argues that the likely outcome of a globalised Western media will be partially homogeneous cultures (Held *et al.*, 1999), particularly in terms of the aspects of social life which they cover. They will be hybrid cultures which, though primarily Western, also maintain significant aspects of local cultures, hence cannot pass for a homogeneous global culture (Isar, 2007). This theory also argues that given the costly nature of global media services in developed countries, and the fact that the media transmits its message through elite languages such as English, Spanish, and French, it is highly likely that these hybrid cultures will be more common among the elites of developing countries.

The findings of this study are largely consistent with this theoretical perspective. This study has shown that despite their huge exposure to Western media, Ugandan elite

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women have not given up their cultural values in totality. Instead they have held on to some of them, while at the same time taking in some Western cultural values. Some of the traditional values that the Mbarara University respondents held on to were those related to dress, music, as well as love and relationships. For example, with regards to dress, they could wear trousers which are largely associated with a Western dress code, but they would ensure that the trousers were not tight on them. In terms of relationships, they could also get boyfriends which would be against most traditional Ugandan cultures, but they were not going to kiss their boyfriends in public. Music wise, these women had some admiration for Western singers but their love for some of their local singers remained strong. This was the same for food. These, and other cases of glocalisation show that Mbarara University respondents were caught in between Western and local cultures. In essence their exposure to Western media had led to a glocal culture as the theory of glocalisation suggests, and not a totally Western, or local culture.

The other concept of glocalisation worth commenting on is the claim that cultural globalisation largely takes place among elites in developing countries. While this study finds this claim to be largely true, data from this study also indicated that in a country like Uganda where the extended family network is prevalent, media globalisation can as well impact the cultures of non-economic elites. This is so because the non-elites interact with their wealthy relatives who can afford the technological gadgets such as radios, television sets, and computers through which the globalised Western media transmit. Again, this is another indicator of a theory ignoring the role of institutions, such as the extended family network in Uganda, as the case was with the reproductive theory in education above. Yet evidence from this study suggests that such institutions enable people from low socio-economic backgrounds to gain some form of access to privileged resources in this case television, radio, and the internet hence get exposed to the globalised Western media which enables to form hybrid or glocal cultures.

9.4.0 Recommendations

This chapter has so far reviewed the objectives of the study, presented the conclusions of the study in relation to these objectives, explained the relationship between this study and previous ones, and explained the theoretical implications of this study. This section will present the recommendations which can be made in relation to some of the key findings from this study. Some of the recommendations are specifically related to data from Mbarara University, while some are related to data from both Mbarara University and the University of Limerick.

9.4.1(a) Mbarara University/Uganda

This section presents the researchers thoughts on the possible ways in which the problem of inadequate funding in Mbarara University in Uganda, which was identified as serious impediment to women's educational attainment in this study, can be remedied.

(i) Improve Higher Education Funding

This study found that that funding does not only influence the career-related educational choices of female university but also their university life experiences (see chapters 6, 7 and 8). Sadly, this study has identified a shortage of funding in Uganda's higher educational sector particularly in Mbarara University. This has disastrous effects for respondents including; being forced to opt for second or third choice course because of inability to pay tuition for the first choice courses, as well as being denied attendance at lecturers, examinations, tests, library, at the beginning of term for failure to pay tuition fees promptly. Also, this study has indicated that the „son preference“ tradition was often used to discriminate against daughters in cases where the parents were faced with insufficient funds to pay for the education of both sons and daughters. This gives the impression that sufficient funding for all could mitigate this practice, although it may not completely uproot it. Given the effects of funding constraints which have been identified by this research, there is need for Uganda government's intervention in alleviating problems caused by inadequate higher education funding in the country. This intervention can take the following ways:

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Means Tested Funding: There is need to transform the scholarship award system in university education in Uganda from a mainly exam grade-based one to a mainly means-tested one. This is so because evidence has consistently shown that the majority of university students on government sponsorship are actually sons and daughters of the rich. It is often these children who have easy access to preparatory high fee paying quality secondary schools in the country which enable them to score higher grades than majority of those in less facilitated public or private secondary schools, thereby gaining government sponsorship in public universities. This only serves to entrench social class inequalities and denies the majority of students from poor socio-economic backgrounds chances of acquiring higher education, which might empower them politically, economically and socially. The means- tested scheme should consider parental yearly incomes and award scholarships to those students who qualify for university education, but cannot afford it due to their socio-economic backgrounds. The rich can then pay tuition fees for their children because they are financially able to do so. Another option could be to give bursaries to the students from poor socio-economic backgrounds to be repaid later when these students graduate and secure employment. This however can be problematic given the high unemployment rate of university graduates in Uganda.

Re-distribution of Government Funding: There is need to prioritise areas within the operations of universities so as to save the money spent on non-priority areas. The money saved could then be used to increase the number of government sponsored students. For example, it does not help to give government sponsored students free accommodation and meals when the majority of other students are struggling with tuition and all the other living costs. A redistribution model would reduce the financial burden of students from low socio-economic backgrounds by privatising halls of residence in public universities, and renting them out to all students at subsidised rates. This means that the government sponsored students will pay for their accommodation in these halls of residence as well as the private ones. The money saved from granting free accommodation to respondents could then be used for other purposes such as increasing

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the number of scholarships or stocking the libraries and computer laboratories, all which would reduce fees for fee-paying students hence making university education affordable.

This section has presented the researchers thoughts on what can be done to remedy the serious problem of higher education funding in Uganda in general and Mbarara University in particular. The following section will present the researchers' thoughts on what can be done to remedy the problems identified in findings from both the Mbarara University and the University of Limerick samples.

9.4.1(b) Both Mbarara University and the University of Limerick

This study has shown that education in both Ireland and Ireland does not liberate women, although it empowers them. It is my conviction that much as it may not be easy to have a type of education that totally liberates women given the largely idealistic nature of liberational education, some interventions within our education curricular and pedagogy can go a long way in bringing women closer to the liberational dream. This section presents some recommendations the researcher hopes could help remedy some of the problems identified by this study, in relation to the respondents' career-related educational choices, and their university life experiences in both Ireland and Uganda.

(i) Provide Gender Neutral Curricular and Adopt Gender Sensitive Timetabling Practices

Data presented and analysed in chapters 6, 7 and 8 of this thesis has clearly indicated the persistent influence of gender stereotypes on the career-related educational choices that young women in both universities make. These stereotypes are nurtured in communities, schools, the curriculum, text books, and sometimes teaching methods. This research has particularly found that gender stereotypes determine both the career-related educational choices of respondents, and their university life experiences. For example, in both universities, the majority of respondents shunned careers in engineering because it was taken to be a male domain. Instead, they opted for courses which promote the traditional nurturing roles like social work and teaching. We also saw the existence of the „son preference“ tradition in Uganda which made parents prioritise son's education over the

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daughter's, particularly when there was not enough money in the family to educate children of both genders. This study has also shown that schools in both countries limited the subject choices, and therefore career goals of respondents by denying them certain subjects considered "masculine" like technical graphics to girls, while at the same time encouraging them to take "feminine" subjects like home economics, based purely on gender stereotypes. The influences have been found to be so significant that even high levels of development as in the case of Ireland have failed to change the mindset of stakeholders in education, with regards to gender stereotypes. Therefore there is need for a sustained campaign to tackle gender stereotypes in a holistic way. Parents need to be educated to change their mindset on gender and careers through community outreach programs, as well as school events to which they should be invited and these issues clearly explained to them. Schools need to be seen as agents of change and bastions of equality and respect of both genders, and not agents of reproduction. There is need for schools to organise events that help female students to gain self-esteem to enable them compete with male students. There is need to have female versions of male sports like football in the extra curricular activities. Also, and particularly in Uganda, there is need for guidelines on mainstreaming gender into education designed by gender technocrats, not politicians, to reduce the gaps of gender inequalities in our schools. The curriculum development centre in Uganda and the National Council for Curriculum Assessment in Ireland need to develop teaching guidelines to guide the handling of gender equity issues in the curriculum, in the general administration of schools and in the classroom, among other areas. These will go along way in guiding teachers on how to avoid teaching that encourages stereotypes, for example those stories where Jane is always helping mum with cooking but John goes hunting with dad or helps dad to construct a barn. Teachers need to employ teaching methods that make every one in the classroom feel treated with respect irrespective of their gender. As Weiner (19994) argued in chapter 4 section 4.3.2 of this thesis, education should be a means to effective social change, so it should involve the oppressed, including women, in re-defining the process of education and learning in society. Weiner (1994:117-118) argued that for women to be liberated, feminist educators need to take part in developing anti-sexist and non-discriminatory curricular. For her, curriculum design should be a democratic

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process in which all stakeholders, including students participate. So I would argue that women should be engaged in curriculum design if anti-women curricular which encourage discriminatory and demeaning gender stereotypes are to be eradicated.

(ii) Make Learning of Science More Friendly to Girls, and De-construct Societal Elevation of Science and Technology-related careers over those in the Arts, Humanities and Social science

This research found out that few respondents were considering careers in engineering and technology (chapter 8). Other than the gender stereotypes already mentioned above, this problem is also often caused by the perceptions of the female students that science is hard. In chapter 3 section 3.3.2 of this thesis various scholars among them Harding (1998) convincingly showed how science is often socially constructed as rational and hard, qualities associated with masculinity, while the arts and humanities are portrayed as simple and irrational, therefore fit for women or the feminine. There has also been mention of the pedagogical aspects of science particularly the way it is taught in schools which also tends to push women away from science classes. While all people do not have to take science, engineering, and technology, as indeed a society can not develop by merely having scientist and engineers, the clear gender gaps in students' occupational choices should alarm us to something amiss in the gender relations in our societies. In order to increase the number of women in science classrooms, different strategies need to be employed. These should mainly to target the content and pedagogical aspects of teaching science. For example, Gibson (2002:16) suggests that the engineering profession should target secondary school children at an early age to explain the career paths and intrinsic attractions of the profession before the students make choices for mathematics and science courses at secondary level. Encouraging girls to take up engineering-related subjects requires a multi-faceted approach which includes for example, modifying the teaching of science to make it more appealing to all students especially those who consider it difficult as some respondents in both universities claimed, by among other things emphasising the feminine aspects of science. The other approach could involve giving awards to female students who enrol in engineering courses at university as away of encouraging secondary school students to take and pass

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subjects that form the basis of science and engineering courses at university. Other measures could include putting up infrastructure necessary for the teaching and learning of science subjects at secondary school level, such as building and fully equipping science laboratories, particularly in Uganda.

There is also need to deconstruct the notion that careers in sciences and technology, for example, are better than those in social sciences and humanities. The grading of careers basing on pre-conceived notions of how important they are makes it possible particularly in patriarchal societies, for careers mainly done by women to be under-valued. For example, it defeats logic to say that because most women are teachers, and men engineers, then teaching is a less important career than engineering, and that therefore women should simply do engineering to show they are as capable as men. There seems to be a misconceived notion that all people need to be scientists, which is not the case. If the entire work force of a country was made up of only scientists and engineers, who would teach our children or run the more prized social services in our communities? Who would work in our banks, and how would doctors do their work without nurses. Who would care for the elderly, and who would secure our peace and security? So, we need various people to do their chosen courses but every effort should be made to ensure people make the freest course and career choices, without anything, be it gender stereotypes, some gender biased policy or insufficient funding standing in their way. The researcher therefore agrees with O'Connor (2002:12) who says that the relative value attached to science and technology (male) as opposed to arts and humanities (female) subjects in the academic world is indicative of patriarchal society's attempt to denigrate the arts as well as the women that mainly take them up. This view is also supported by Lynch (1999).

(iii) Use Role Models to De-Construct Occupational Gender stereotypes

This study found that role models influenced the career-related educational choices of respondents in both universities (Chapter 8), although their influence was greater in Mbarara University, where they had financial obligations to the respondents. Role

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models also influenced the respondents' university life experiences (Chapter 6). Therefore, one would not be wrong to think that one of the ways in which gender occupational stereotypes can be deconstructed is by making role models available to female students, especially those working in male-dominated occupations such as engineering. Role models are important because their success shows female students that they too can succeed. This is accomplished by increasing the self-esteem of their admirers. Role modelling can also be done by appointing women into high positions in society particularly in non-traditional occupations, so that other than acting as examples, they too can encourage and support university female students to succeed and attain their desired careers, be them in no-traditional areas or not. Indeed, in Ireland, O'Connor (2002:12) as well as O'Shea, Killeavy, and O'Shea, (2005) have noted that the absence of women in senior positions in the academia is a symptom of male dominance which should be resisted. Also in Uganda Muloni (2002) shows that role models particularly in areas where there are few women such as engineering need to be used to encourage young women to take up courses and later careers in these occupational fields. However we should be aware of Diller *et al* (1996) warnings against the loss of identity that can result from role modelling. Diller *et al* (1996) argue that role modelling should be targeted at creating an identity of self worth, and hope to succeed among young women, so that they have the freedom to choose what they want to be, other than simply replicating their role models. This freedom should remain paramount to the role modelling strategy, and all effort should be made to discourage replication of the role models' identity. The ultimate goal should be to help women to create or model their own selves.

9.4.2. Assumptions, Biases, and the Position Now

In Chapter I section 1.4.1 of this thesis I indicated the biases and assumptions that I had when I started this study with. These included assumptions and biases about the major aspects of this study, such as the link between development and gender equality, women and careers in Ireland and Uganda, role of education in women's lives among others. In this section I revisit these biases and assumptions to see how far I have come. In the first

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place I assumed that the higher a country's level of development is, the higher its level of gender equality, and vice versa. In fact, my first impression of Ireland which stayed with me till my analysis of quantitative data was that women in Ireland were already liberated from gender inequalities, and oppressions. This was so because I could see that many of them held public offices and other paid jobs as bus drivers, lecturers in universities, medical doctors, teachers than their Ugandan counterparts. This kind of blinded me to the possible existence of gender inequalities in career choice. To emphasise my point, I assumed that development liberated women from discriminatory gender traditions, beliefs and stereotypes, so led to gender equality. This issue was revisited in Chapter 2 of this thesis, where a pertinent question as to whether development leads to greater equality for women was posed. From what we saw in Chapter 2 of this thesis, development should bring about all forms of freedom including gender equality. However, the findings of this research indicate that sometimes development results in greater equality for women, some times it does not. Specifically, this study has found that while development as epitomised by higher educational attainment, and paid employment, empowers women, it falls short of liberating them. For example, it can precipitate greater equality for women as seen in the non-discriminatory attitudes of educated parents with regards to sending their children to school irrespective of gender, as well as in women taking up employment outside the home like men, despite the drawbacks to this pointed out in Chapter 8 of this thesis. However, in most patriarchal societies, development does not bring about gender equality. Indeed this study has shown that discriminatory gender stereotypes and beliefs continue to influence women's career and course choices in Ireland. We have also seen that gender discriminatory policy practices, such as biased curricular and timetabling practices continue to negatively impact upon women's career-related choices as pointed out by respondents in the University of Limerick in this study. So, why is it that gender discrimination continues to defy development? Charles and Bradley (2009), as well as Shelley (2009) provide a very convincing answer to this question. They argue that gender bias in education exists even in developed countries where it leads to sex segregation of occupations, and overall structures of societies. This is so because all patriarchal societies operate in what Shelley (2009) calls a gender frame, which shapes

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cultural and other developments in affluent societies (Charles and Bradley,2009; Charles and Grusky,2004). The concept of the gender frame can explain why some of the societies that have achieved the highest levels of material equality between men and women, such as the Scandinavian countries, still have some of the most sex-segregated occupational structures (Charles and Grusky,2004), despite the existence of institutional, political, and economic processes that undermine gender inequality in these countries. Simply put, the concept of the gender frame means that societies operate in pre-determined arrangements and for patriarchal societies like Ireland, and Uganda, such arrangements are determined by male chauvinism. Consequently, social relations are designed to fit a pre-determined patriarchal social model which is opposed to equality between men and women. In short, the concept of a gender reflects a “universalised patriarchy”. Therefore the one can argue that the gender frame talked about here is a mechanism used by patriarchy to pre-order social arrangements in society such that women remain dominated by men, even when the system may give them some level of freedom as some form of tokenism. It is little wonder then that with a shared patriarchal culture, male chauvinism, and female domination largely persists in both Ireland and Uganda despite the distinctiveness in states of national development between the two countries. Indeed as Charles and Bradley (2009) argue, irrespective of how wealthy a society is, the background gender frame powerfully influences women’s educational related choices. To wrap it up, development sometimes leads to cultural change and greater freedoms for women, while at other times it does not.

In relation to the above, I also assumed that because the Irish women lived in a developed country where gender equality was expected, their experiences of career choice and higher education, as well as their perceptions of the role of higher education in their lives would be largely different from those of their Ugandan counterparts. In particular, I assumed the gender divide in career goals as well as in the factors which influenced these career goals would be less prominent in Ireland than in Uganda. Looking back now I realise that the career goals of respondents, their university life experiences and the factors which influenced these choices were not as widely different as I anticipated. For example, while distinct to the samples in some cases, the factors

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which influenced women's career-related educational choices were largely socio-cultural, economic, policy and individual-related. Their university life experiences such as pocket money, accommodation as well as their perceptions of these were not as different as I had anticipated. Lastly, the respondents in both samples seemed to perceive the role of education in their lives in largely similar ways. In particular, respondents from both samples mainly perceived education as a mechanism for reproducing social, economic, and political inequalities in society at worst, and empowering at best, although Mbarara University respondents saw it as more liberating, in addition to its empowering functions. Also, while I was aware there were some shared cultural values brought about by the global media, as well as shared cultures of patriarchy, capitalism, and Christianity, I could not bring myself to believe that in particular, the globalised Western media would have a significant impact on women's experiences of higher education in Uganda. This study has shown that a gender divide in career choices exists very much in Uganda as it does in Ireland. It has also shown that the globalised Western media significantly influenced the lifestyles of respondents in Uganda, and led to a hybrid or glocal culture among Mbarara University respondents, contrary to my expectations.

Finally, at the beginning of this study, it was assumed that development enabled more comfortable lifestyles for women so much so that women who lived in Ireland had completely different lifestyles from their counterparts in Uganda. In fact my conviction was that women in Uganda were poor because they came from a poor country while women in Ireland were rich because they lived in a rich country. As the findings of this study have shown however, this is not entirely true. Indeed, this study has shown an existence of some form of "a global elite" and "a global poor" groups. This is consistent with the Jones" (2000) argument presented in chapter 2 section 2.2.1 of this thesis, that there are very rich people in poor countries whose standard of living surpasses those of the majority in rich countries, just as there are very poor people in rich countries who live much more deprived lifestyles than those of people in developing countries. It is therefore important to remember that as Jones (2000) notes, high levels of economic

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development do not mean greater equality, and experiences of marginalisation in terms of poverty and disadvantage are not restricted to certain parts of the world.

9.5.1 Emerging Issues and Suggestions for Future Research

A close look at the findings of this study shows that certain issues which have emerged from this study can be useful for future research. One of these is the issue of gender and career choice. This study analysed the factors which influence women's experiences of career choice and higher education in Ireland and Uganda. During the course of this study, it was found out that while there were fewer women than men in Ugandan universities, it was vice versa in Ireland. A review of literature on gender and course choice in chapter 3 further revealed that while boys held on to their dominance in engineering, information technology and other technological subjects such as technical graphics, women dominated science and medicine, a situation different in Uganda. Therefore any study which examines men's experiences of career choice and university life experiences in Ireland would be worthwhile.

The second issue is that of education and what it can and cannot do for women. This study has shown that higher education empowers women but rarely liberates them. This is because higher education does not often appear to challenge structural bases of social, economic and political inequalities. I have also noted in section 9.4.2(b) of this chapter that a more liberational form of education should be implemented if education is to be more liberating to women than it does at present, be it in Ireland or in Uganda. However, while there is theory as to what this education should entail, this theory is not enough as it sometimes borders on extreme feminism. There is therefore need to do further research about an education which can be more liberating to women without oppressing men or being a danger to equality in society. Particularly there is need to explore this education in terms of its aims, content, and pedagogy, which should all reflect a sense of equality of all forms, and social justice. Contrary to what feminist like Weiner (1994) have suggested in this thesis, there is need to explore an education in which both men

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and women are involved at the same level but which highlights the need for women to be liberated in a more coherent way.

This study has underlined the role of the globalised Western media in cultural change particularly among elites in a developing country, Uganda. However, this study did not examine the influence of Ugandan media on the lifestyles of Irish students. This was so because, these students were presumed, and rightly so, not to be significantly exposed to the Ugandan media, or media of any other developing country especially from Africa. However, my experience of living in Ireland indicates that such a study can be undertaken to explore cultural change among the elite women in Ireland brought about by their exposure to an American media, or to their interactions with the various women from other countries who reside in Ireland. It is my conviction that this would make an interesting study on cultural globalisation and the concept of glocalisation. Besides, it would provide comprehensive data on the role of the media and immigration on cultural change in Ireland which is not readily available in the country.

9.6.0 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has presented a summary review of the entire study. It has reviewed the study's objectives and research questions, and presented overall conclusions for this study in relation to these research objectives. Other than these, this chapter has also presented recommendations based on the conclusions of this study, and examined the implications of this study for existing research on development and globalisation, gender and career choice, as well as on the role of higher education in women's lives. This chapter has also explored the implications of this study to existing theories, particularly those used in this study namely, theory of career choice, theory of family types, theory of social class reproduction in education, liberational versus conformist theories in education, and hybridity or glocalisation theory in cultural globalisation. Finally, the chapter has reviewed the assumptions and biases which I had at the beginning of this study and my position on these now, presented emerging issues from this study and their implication for future research. It has ended with concluding remarks.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE: Research Information Sheet

In the current world where there is demand for higher-level knowledge and skills in the job market, education is increasingly becoming an important gateway to our careers. Career choice is however a complex issue which is mainly influenced by economic, political, socio-cultural and individual-related factors. While people have different career goals which they often work hard to accomplish, a number of factors can enhance or hinder our chances of attaining these career goals. This research sets out to compare factors which influence female university students' career-related educational choices and their university life experiences in both Mbarara University in Uganda, and the University of Limerick, in Ireland. It also aims at understanding these students' perceptions of the role of university education in their lives. The comparison between Ireland and Uganda is aimed at finding out how both national development and cultural globalisation impact upon the said factors.

You are being asked to participate in this study by filling out a survey questionnaire. This questionnaire will take approximately 20 minutes to complete. You will be asked some questions about your personal choices, as well as your parents' social, economic and educational backgrounds. You will also be asked, if you have a government scholarship, role models and your relationship to them, the course you are taking, why you chose this course, your perceptions of your accommodation, pocket money and many others. All this information is necessary for this research.

Please be advised that you are under no obligation to take part in this research. Even when you have completed the questionnaire, you may still decide that you do not want your data to be used in the analysis and your decision will be respected. The completed questionnaires will be stored in a secured environment in The University of Limerick for a period of seven years (as required by the UL Research Ethics Committee) and will only be accessed by the research team. For purposes of confidentiality, questionnaires will not bear names of respondents.

If you have any further questions you can contact the principal investigator, Dr. Roland Tormey, Department of Education and Professional studies, University of Limerick (e-mail: roland.tormey@ul.ie). If you have concerns about this study and wish to contact someone independent, you may contact: *The chairman of the University of Limerick Research Ethics committee, c/o Vice President Academic and Registrar's Office, University of Limerick, Limerick, Tel: (061) 202022.* The University of Limerick is subject to the freedom of information Act and all Research procedures will adhere to the provisions of Data Protection Legislation.

APPENDIX TWO: Questionnaire

Introduction

You are being asked to take part in this research by answering the questions below. This is a comparative study of the factors which influence female university students' career-related educational choices and their university life experiences in both Mbarara University in Uganda, and the University of Limerick, in Ireland. It also aims at understanding these students' perceptions of the role of university education in their lives. The respondents are two hundred second year students of Mbarara University of Science and Technology in Uganda and two hundred second year female students of the University of Limerick in Ireland. This is an academic research intended to contribute to available knowledge on gender, career choice, development and the role of education in women's lives. The research may therefore lead to papers being presented at conferences, as well as some publications. If you wish the data you provide should not be used for any of the mentioned purposes, feel free to withdraw your permission by contacting the chief investigator, Dr Roland Tormey of the Department of Education and Professional Studies, University of Limerick, Limerick, Ireland. All the information given will be treated with the highest level of confidentiality. In order to keep your identity secret, do not write your name anywhere on the questionnaire.

Note: Please tick the boxes in front of your chosen answer on the questionnaire or as otherwise requested. Only Mbarara University respondents are required to answer questions 14-17.

Personal Information

1. What is the name of the university you are currently attending?

- Mbarara University of Science and Technology..... 1
- University of Limerick..... 2

2. What course of study are you enrolled for?

- | | |
|---|--|
| B.Sc (Educ.)..... <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | B. Computer Science..... <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| B.Medicine and B.Surgery..... <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | B.Pharmacy..... <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| B.Medical laboratory Science <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | B. Nursing <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| Aeronautical Engineering..... <input type="checkbox"/> 7 | Psychology and Sociology..... <input type="checkbox"/> 8 |
| Biomedical Engineering..... <input type="checkbox"/> 9 | Computer Engineering..... <input type="checkbox"/> 10 |
| Electronic Engineering..... <input type="checkbox"/> 11 | Music and Dance..... <input type="checkbox"/> 12 |
| Law and Accounting <input type="checkbox"/> 13 | Environmental Science..... <input type="checkbox"/> 14 |
| B.Information Technology..... <input type="checkbox"/> 15 | B.Business Studies..... <input type="checkbox"/> 16 |
| Mechanical Engineering..... <input type="checkbox"/> 17 | Industrial Biochemistry..... <input type="checkbox"/> 18 |
| Development Studies..... <input type="checkbox"/> 19 | Public Administration..... <input type="checkbox"/> 20 |
| Other..... <input type="checkbox"/> 21 | |

3(a) Was this course your first choice when you applied for admission to the university?

- Yes 1
- No 2

(b) If your answer to the above question is no, what was the main reason why you did not enrol for your first choice course?

- I did not get required points/marks for the course..... 1
- I could not afford the tuition for the course..... 2
- My parents/guardian advised against it..... 3
- I later changed my mind..... 4

4. What was the main reason for choosing your first choice course initially, whether it is the one you are enrolled for or not?

- I thought it would enable me acquire skills needed for my future career.....1
- I felt it was an easy course.....2
- I could easily access course material for it.....3
- I felt it would give me a high paying job after university.....4
- Other.....5

5(a) Were you in anyway influenced to choose your first choice course?

- Yes.....1
- No.....2

(b) If the answer to the above question is yes, where did most of this influence come from?

- One or both Parents.....1
- Brothers and sisters.....2
- Aunts, Uncles, Cousins.....3
- Friend/friends.....4
- Teacher/Teachers.....5

(c)How were you influenced in making your decision?

- Encouraged by parents.....1
- Encouraged by teachers.....2
- Convinced by friends.....3
- Through career guidance and counselling at school.....4

6. In what area do you mainly wish to pursue your career after you have finished your course?

- | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|----|
| Teaching..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 | Business..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 8 |
| Engineering..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | Legal/judicial work..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 9 |
| Medicine..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | Music..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 10 |
| Health care..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 | Drama/acting..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 11 |
| Social work..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 | Public relations..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 12 |
| Development work..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6 | | | |
| Banking..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 7 | | | |
| Other (please specify)..... | | | | | 13 |

7(a) In regard to your career expectations, do you have a role model, someone you emulate?

- Yes..... 1
- No..... 2

(b) If you have a role model, how are you related to this person?

- | | | | | | |
|-------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Parent..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 | Brother..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |
| Aunt..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | Teacher..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 7 |
| Uncle..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | Other Public figure..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 8 |
| Sister..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 | Friend..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | 9 |

(c) In what one major way does your role model influence your studies?

- I am motivated by his/her achievements so I work hard to succeed..... 1
- He/she gives me moral support..... 2
- He/she gives financial help towards my studies..... 3
- He/she gives me academic support..... 4

Family Background

8. From the alternatives below, tick one that best describes your situation.

- Both my parents deceased 1
- Both parents alive and staying together..... 2
- Only my father alive..... 3
- Only my mother alive..... 4
- My parents separated or divorced.....

9. From the table below tick what best describes your parents’ highest level of education?

Level of Education	Father	Mother
No Formal Education		
Below Primary school		
Primary level		
Ordinary/junior secondary		
Advanced/senior secondary		
Tertiary education certificate		
Tertiary education Diploma		
First Degree		
Post-Graduate level		

10. Where do you stay during University term?

- I stay in a university hall of Residence..... 1
- I stay at my parents’ home 2
- I stay in rented accommodation..... 3
- I stay at a relative’s home..... 4

11. What is your mother's occupation?

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Teacher..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | Solicitor/Lawyer..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 7 |
| Banker..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | Farmer..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 8 |
| Managerial..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | Business woman..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 9 |
| Medical..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | Secretary..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 10 |
| Engineer..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | Nurse..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 11 |
| Agriculture and Food Production... | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 | Housewife..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 12 |
| Other (specify)..... | | | 13 |

12. What is your father's occupation?

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Teacher..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | Solicitor/Lawyer..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 7 |
| Banker..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | Farmer..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 8 |
| Managerial..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | Business woman..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 9 |
| Medical..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | Secretary..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 10 |
| Engineer..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | Nurse..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 11 |
| Agriculture and food production... | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 | Works at home..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 12 |
| Other (specify)..... | | | 13 |

13. How appropriate is your place of residence for private study?

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| Highly appropriate..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Appropriate..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Less appropriate..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |
| Inappropriate..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |

14(a) Do you have a scholarship/funding for your course at university?

- | | |
|----------|----------------------------|
| Yes..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| No..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |

(b) If you have a scholarship/funding what does it cover?

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Only tuition..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 |
| Only living expenses..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Both living expenses and tuition..... | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 |

15. If you do not have a scholarship/funding who pays:

(a) Your tuition fees

- Parent/parents..... 1
Guardian..... 2
Other relative..... 3
I pay it myself..... 4

(b)Your living expenses

- Parent/parents..... 1
Guardian 2
Other relative 3
I pay it myself..... 4

16 (a) Is your tuition fees paid timely at the beginning of each semester?

- Yes..... 1
No..... 2

(b) If your answer to the above question is no, how does the delay in paying your tuition fees affect your studies?

- I start my semester Lectures late so take long to catch up with others..... 1
I catch up easily and fast so it is not a problem at all..... 2
I completely fail to catch up and perform poorly at the end of semester..... 3

17. How would you describe your pocket money while at university?

- | | |
|---|--|
| Very adequate..... <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | Adequate..... <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| Less adequate..... <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | Inadequate..... <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |

Thanks very much for taking part in this study. I wish you success in your studies and in your future career.

Naboth Namara

(Investigator)

Dr Roland Tormey

(Principal Investigator)

APPENDIX THREE: Focus Group Schedule

1-The investigator will briefly introduce himself, review the research project, and introduce the clerk

2-Brief Introductions will be allowed before the start of the discussions so as to let members know each other. This is aimed at reducing the tensions that may arise from people discussing issues with total strangers.

3-Confidentiality will be emphasised and re-affirmed, and ground rules set

Focus Groups Topics

1- Parental level of educational attainment and respondents' career-related educational choices, and their University life experiences.

2-Women and arts, humanities, social sciences courses and their low up-take of Science, Engineering and Technology courses

3-Role models

4-University term accommodation

5-pocket money

6-The socio-economic backgrounds of Mbarara University respondents

7-The exposure of Mbarara University respondents to the Western media and its effect on their lifestyles

Focus Groups Guiding Questions

1-I have interacted with many people who think that women should not study Science, Engineering and Technology courses. These people say that women should instead do

courses in the arts, humanities and social sciences. Tell us your views on this. Also tell us why you chose your present course?

2-Educated parents may or may not have much influence on the education of their children particularly their daughters. What views do you hold on this matter?

3-Do you find it easy to pay tuition fees or not? What are the specific tuition fees experiences that you hold?

4-What facilities would you expect from an ideal term accommodation in order for you to meet your study needs?

5-Tell us about your pocket money while at University-that is who gives it to you, do you consider it to be adequate for you and if not how much money would be adequate sufficient enough to meet all your needs?

6- what kind of house do you live in at home and what forms of physical assets do your parents own?

7- How do you often spend your leisure time at home and in university? How would you rate your access to internet, television, radio, newspapers and magazines? What stuff do you always read, hear or see in the media, and how does this influence your ambitions, decisions, attitudes, and tastes, towards a range of life aspects?

8-In what ways has access to the Western media and internet impacted upon your beliefs, interests, ambitions, attitudes, and values with regards to love, dress, food and music.

APPENDIX FOUR-Map of Uganda Showing the Location of Mbarara



APPENDIX FIVE- Map of Ireland Showing the Location of Limerick



APPENDIX SIX-Some of the Buildings in Mbarara University

Figure 1: Mbarara University Main Gate



Figure 2: Anatomy Block Mbarara University



Figure 3: Faculty of Development Studies Building



Figure 4: Students in a Development Studies Lecture Room



Figure 5: Science Students in a Laboratory



Figure 6: Pharmacology Lecture Theatre



Figure 7: The University Library Building



Figure 8: Students using Computers in Mbarara University Library



Figure 9: The Pharmacology Grounds on Graduation day in February, 2009



Figure 10: Medical Graduands take the Hippocratic Oath in February, 2009



Figure 11: Chancellor Addresses the Congregation at Pharmacology Grounds During a Graduation Ceremony in February, 2009



Figure 12: A Students Hall of Residence



Figure 13: The Inside of Student Rooms in Hall of Residence



APPENDIX SEVEN-Some of the Buildings in the University of Limerick

Figure 1: University of Limerick West Gate



Figure 2: The Glucksman Library



Figure 3: The Health Science Building located in the North Bank Campus



Figure 4: A Graduation Ceremony in the Concert Hall



Figure 5: The Computer Science Building



Figure 6: The Living Bridge



Figure 7: The Living Bridge Crossing River Shannon from the South to the North Campuses



Figure 8: The Fountain in front of Schumann Building and Kemmy Business School



Figure 9: A Proper View of the Newly Built Kemmy Business School



Figure 10: Thomond Students Residence



Figure 11: A Kitchen and Living Room of an Apartment in Cappavilla student Village

