**Thesis
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THE UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

GENDER AND MANAGEMENT POSITIONS IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES IN SOUTH-WESTERN NIGERIA

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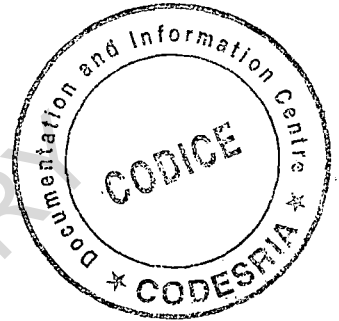
GENDER AND MANAGEMENT POSITIONS IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES IN SOUTH-WESTERN NIGERIA

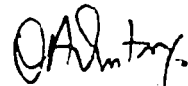## BY

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B.Sc; M.Sc (Ibadan)

A THESIS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN.

JUNE, 2006.

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this work was carried out by **ALUKO, YETUNDE ADEBUNMI** in the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan.

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DEDICATION

This Thesis is dedicated,

First, to my mother

MRS. FRANCES ADERONKE DEHINSILU

Who basically sacrificed her life

To make certain that myself,

brothers and sisters got a

head start.

Second, to my children

MOJOLAOLUWA; MOBOLUWAJOYE

AND

MOJOLUWALOPE

Who made my life complete

as a woman, and for making life challenging

and interesting for me.

Above all, to **GOD ALMIGHTY**

Who made all things beautiful

In **HIS** time!

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ABSTRACT

In most patriarchal societies, like Nigeria, women gender continues to face numerous barriers in every sphere of life. The labour market, in the manufacturing industry, is a site of complex and interrelated inequalities. Thus, job segregation and occupational segregation, both horizontally and vertically, remain major problems. These have largely affected the terms on which women participated in paid employment, their choice of jobs and their opportunities for advancement. They are largely represented in subordinate work roles. Only a small proportion succeeds in breaking through the glass ceiling. This study, therefore, assesses women/men in management positions in terms of their perception of these jobs, the extent to which both genders are exposed to the same technology/opportunity, and their level of acceptance by their subordinates.

Four companies with fairly large female labour force were surveyed in Lagos and Oyo states. Interviews were conducted among a selected sample of 85 women / men managers at the entry, middle and top management levels. Sixty respondents were females, while twenty-five were males. Focus group discussions were held among 480 subordinates working under these women/men managers. Ancillary instruments include the case study approach, content analysis, and a review of company records. The data gathered was processed mainly through qualitative method along with some frequencies and cross tabulation.

The findings revealed that majority (68.3%) of the women in management were motivated into this profession as a result of the desire to satisfy their intellectually challenging work. Women from high parental, educational and occupational background are prevalent in management positions. More (68.7%) men than women (21.3%) occupy positions within the organization authority structure. Therefore, men are responsible for making policy decisions. Sixty percent of the 480 subordinates among whom focus group discussions were held preferred the sex-appropriate style. Only very few are indifferent about the sex of their boss. Finally, the study reveals a striking difference in the perception of acceptability of women in management positions. Among the two categories of respondents (managers/subordinates), 25% and 50% respectively revealed dominant social values about femininity and masculinity in defining job requirements and job placement. The findings obtained from qualitative data also support the survey. Even though, an ideology emphasizing equality of man and woman (gender-neutrality) prevails in the contemporary society, gender discrimination is still prevalent in cases of promotion, training and recruitment. Women have to do better than men to get the same job/positions as men, and to maintain their position once there.

In view of the findings, it is suggested that to attract and retain skilled professional women, human resource strategies should include gender sensitivity, networking, career tracking, training, mentoring and succession plan.

Keywords: Gender, Women, Manufacturing, Industry, and Management.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background and Statement of the Problem

The term 'gender' has been used and defined for a number of decades in many feminist discourses and in a multidisciplinary way. The gender of a person is their sex, inclusive of and never exclusive of, social and cultural meanings attributed to this sex. Gender identity, therefore is relative to external forces. Gender works to define women and men in society and affects the roles they play in life. The social construction of gendered identities however is changeable because of the changeable relations humans have to the idea of the self, to bodies, to nature and to ways of perceiving and understanding the world at a particular historical moment. Our identities, and meanings associated with them, are fluid. Gender identities, therefore can be transgressed through political mobilization. We use gender to refer to the social meanings given to being either a man or a woman in a given society, and to the expectation held as to the characteristics, aptitudes and likely behaviour of men and women. As such it involves both ideology and material practices.

The reason that women are a particular concern in the study of gender relations is because within this patriarchal culture, women suffer from discrimination and subordination, which prevents equality between the sexes. Patriarchy is the system of male domination and female subordination in economy, society and culture that has characterized much of human history to the present day. In fact,

women currently make up 70% of the world's poorest population, still earn comparatively less money than their male counterparts, hold fewer seats in national governments, and face an alarming amount of sexual violence (World Bank 2001). As far as work is concerned, 'women suffer from the effects of unemployment, job stereotyping, workplace sexual harassment, wage disparity, reduced access to top jobs and occupational training and difficulties in accessing promotions.

In Nigeria, gender inequalities persist in all spheres of life. The labour market for example is a site of complex and interrelated inequalities. Gender has an important influence on occupational distribution of employment in the Nigerian labour market. In Nigeria, as at 1999, the female labour forces accounted for 36.5% of the total labour force (World Bank, 2001). Although, according to Okojie (2000), statistics on employment in Nigeria show that the national female labour force participation rate is 45.1%, participation rates vary between states. In Lagos and Oyo states for example, the rate of participation is 51.35% and 63.85% respectively (FOS, 1991). However, although a large number of women are working, they predominate in low status occupations, primarily in agriculture and sales occupations; where productivity and incomes are low and the incidence of poverty is high. There are relatively few women in professional-administrative position where incomes are higher and the incidence of poverty lower. Thus women predominate in the informal sectors of the rural and urban labour markets in Nigeria (Okojie, 2000).

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In the formal sector, women are found mainly in the Federal and State civil services, teaching and health services. However, they are mostly found in lower level occupations. Very few have reached higher level and decision-making positions in these services. Although more women are now gaining employment in the private sector, they are yet to break through the "glass ceiling" to reach management positions. Similarly, there are few women in the higher income and male-dominated professions such as Accountancy, Medicine, Engineering and Architecture. Moreover the proportion of women faculty in Nigerian Universities is also very low (Okojie, 2000).

In the past, the lack of adequate education, training and experience, to some extent, explained the difficulties women experienced in obtaining management jobs, which was exclusively reserved for men. Today, a large and increasing proportion of women, in Nigeria are well qualified, yet, occupational segregation, both horizontally and vertically, remains a major problem. More women now hold management jobs than before, but they tend to be clustered in less vital areas. Despite the increasing number of women entering occupation formerly reserved for men, the management field has become one of the most frontiers of female entry. According to the National Commission for Women (1994), in Nigeria, at the corporate leadership level, women constitute 10% as against 90% for men. For middle management, women constitute 35% against 65% for men. Women's access to top management posts is still severely restricted, though they frequently matched

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or exceeded their male counterparts in terms of formal qualifications and technical know-how.

In the light of the foregoing, this study is designed to carefully examine and to provide answers to the following questions:

(1) Given the existing shortage of highly qualified managers, why had this ceiling persisted in the era of equality policies and improved educational opportunities for women?

(2) In spite of the structural hindrances, how did some women get into supposedly male occupations, especially, management with its rigours?

(3) How have gender differences in industry been generated by the organizational opportunity structure? And;

(4) How have gender differences been generated by the subjective conditions of work, particularly attitudes of senior managers/co-workers toward female employment?

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The major objective of this study is to highlight, the possible determining factors of the prevalence and success of women in management positions, and to discover, whether patterns of achievement exist along professional or socio-economic lines.

In order to achieve this objective, the specific objectives include:-

(1) Identifying the characteristics, features or attributes of women/men in management positions in the manufacturing industry.

(2) Assessing women/men in management positions in terms of:- (a) their perceptions of these jobs, (b) the extent to which women/men in these occupations are exposed to the same technology/opportunity, and (c) the level of acceptance of these women/men's style of management by their subordinates in these organizations.

(3) Assessing the extent to which gender is an organizing feature of the occupational structure of these organizations.

1.3 The basic Assumptions of the Study

To achieve the objectives of this study, the study is premised on three major assumptions, which are: -

(1) Women/men with the same characteristics can manage well in corporations.

(2) Women/men who hold the same ideological values about gender role relations will tend to view female bosses the same way.

(3) The presence of women/men in upper management positions in corporations with the same structural conditions is likely to produce positive effects.

1.4   The Significance of the Study

The major significance of this study lies in its attempt to explain why there is a dearth of women in management positions. Various studies on the quality and dynamics of women's working relationships are a reflection of a sex-role stereotype operating in organizational systems. The research process of this study will involve Nigerian women directly so that they will not be divorced from their subjective experience. Consequently, a framework of thinking from outside will not blind us to ideas generated from our own experience.

The result of this study will add to existing stock of knowledge by describing clearly patterns of segregation in the workplace, their consequences, how they develop overtime and how they differ in organizations.

This study will also, focus on women as a distinct socially disadvantaged sub-group in science and technology. The issues underlying the under-representation of women in science and technology fields, particularly the technical aspects and strategies for encouraging greater participation of women in the field, will be expounded. Most studies have revealed that women managers are common in personnel, human relations, education and related fields. This study, however, will focus on women managers in the technical/ production aspects of the manufacturing industry.

1.5   Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is presented in nine chapters. The first chapter presents the background to the study and defines the problems studied; states the objectives and assumptions of the study; the significance of the study; the structure of the thesis.

The second chapter has two parts. First, the literature review, which presents the conceptual issues; gender and the labour market; gender and industrial/occupational distribution; gender and management; and constraints on women in management. The second part of this chapter presents a theoretical discussion.

The third chapter presents the research methodology, which focuses on the following: population; sample selection; methods of data collection; problems encountered in the field; and procedure for data analysis.

The fourth chapter describes the location of the study and gives a brief profile overview of the four companies surveyed. The fifth chapter presents data on men/women in management positions in the four establishments.

The sixth chapter focuses on factors influencing women's rise to management positions. The seventh chapter focuses on other sociological factors, while the eighth chapter focuses on the organizational factors.

The ninth chapter, which is the final chapter, presents summary of the findings; conclusions, recommendations, future prospects and areas of further research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL/ CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This section covers six major sub-themes, which are:

➤ Conceptual issues/clarifications;
➤ Gender and the labour market;
➤ Gender and industrial/occupational distribution;
➤ Gender and Management;
➤ Constraints on women in management; and
➤ Theoretical framework.

2.1 CONCEPTUAL ISSUES/CLARIFICATIONS

For clarity, relevant concepts used in this study are defined and explained below:

Gender:

Western political philosophy has been founded on theories of human nature (Roberts, 1997). In the main, these have assumed that women and men are different in nature and are therefore, entitled to different rights, or lack of rights, in political systems of government. A key concept relating to difference is that of 'rationality'. Rationality has been understood as the ability to reason, based on the ability to pursue one's own intentions independently of others. The Ancient Greeks believed that rationality was lacking in women and in slaves, whether women or men. As a result, they were not allowed to participate in government or to own property. This example indicates that it is not only biology that is involved in understanding the differences between women and men in a society.

Western feminists have argued that the differences between women and men lie in culture, not in nature. 'Gender' is the term appropriated to indicate this position. Gender is socially constructed not biologically determined. 'Gender roles and relationships' have no relationships to intrinsic qualities: these are assumed to be the same and equal in men and women. The capacity for rationality is hence, viewed as being the same for women as it is for men. Thus 'gender' is a concept equivalent to 'class' and 'race'. In addition to being male or female, we are also members of classes or ethnic groups or races.

Since gender is understood to be independent of biology, it follows that there may be as many social constructions of gender as there are of class and race. In most societies, it has generally been assumed that there are only two genders, masculine and feminine. The advantages of the concept of gender to feminist theory and methodology is that it enables us to recognize the 'differences between women' in terms of gender formation and identity, and the way these are also found around class, race, sexuality and so on. The concept rejects the notion of a universal category of 'woman' or, of 'man'. A further advantage is that it enables us to recognize masculinities as gender, which also varies. Gender alone does not define our existence. There are many interconnected dimensions which form an identity and which constitute our relationships with other members of society.

Gender identity is the outcome of cultural learning. Socialization in childhood is one process but by no means adequate as an explanation, since learning

about gender continues throughout life. Infact, far more attention is paid to socialization during childhood than is necessary. Moreover, gender is enforced through cultural practices, such as the use of space, socio-political and legal institutions. The term 'gender role' is usually inadequate to describe the outcomes. A role is something you learn and not act out. With gender however, you cannot change your role or move on to another one. In addition, one's gender may be experienced as oppressive and coercive.

However, there are a number of difficulties with the concept of gender. One of which is, despite the infinite possibilities of gender identities, it appears that in every society masculine genders are socially valued more highly than feminine genders. A number of explanations for this have been offered. The 'nature/culture' debate refers to the thinking that nature is inferior to culture, and the association of women with nature rather than culture (Hartman, 1981; Evans, 1982; Cott, 1986; Scott, 1986; George, 1990; Olutayo, 1999). Accordingly, women's reproductive abilities are viewed as less important than the ability to be a professional. The debate over the division between 'the public and the private' is one in which men are associated with the public sphere (and hence with rationality) and women with the private sphere (which connotes dependence and the lack of rationality). This explains why women are a particular concern in the study of gender relations. Women suffer from discrimination and subordination, which prevents equality between the sexes.

Management

Management as an actuarial science is a field of study with both theoretical and practical explanations. Its methodology and knowledge is gained through experience, which makes it opened to all who have acquired the skills and are capable.

Management represents one important level in leadership. It refers to the process of coordinating and integrating work activities so that they are completed efficiently and effectively with and through other people. Managers participate in policymaking including the allocation of resources. They are usually responsible for providing direction for implementation of policy, planning and budgeting, project formulation and design, organizing, monitoring and evaluation, motivating others, mobilizing support of influential and pressure groups.

Management has several universal characteristics. Regardless of level in an organization, all managers perform the same four functions (that is, planning, organizing, leading and controlling); however, the emphasis placed on and content of each function varies from the manager's position in the hierarchy. In a traditionally structured organization, managers are classified into levels. First-line managers are the lowest level of management and are often called supervisors. In a manufacturing plant, the first-line (or lowest-level) manager may be called a foreman and are responsible for operative employees. Middle managers include all levels of management between the supervisory level and the top level of any organization.

They may have titles such as department or agency head, project leader, plant manager, unit chief, dean, bishop, or division manager. They are responsible for translating general policies made by top management into decisions to be implemented by lower echelons.

Top managers are managers at or near the top of the organization who are responsible for making organization-wide decisions and establishing the policies and strategies that affect the entire organization. These individuals typically have titles such as executive vice president, President, managing director, chief operating officer, chief executive officer, or chairman of the board. While top or senior management concentrate on planning activities, lower level management spends more time directing and controlling.

Considering all management functions, processes, roles, and skills, there is no biological evidence, nor any statistical basis to show that men make superior managers or that the field is best suited for men. However, ample literature (Okojie, 1990, 1998, 2000; Akande, 1996, Oloyede, 1992) exists to back up the fact that for a long time in the past, management was viewed as an exclusive 'male domain'. Similarly viewed were all positions of power as designed by salary, prestige, decision-making and authority. Although presently, there is evidence to show that this thinking has changed in favour of women, the change however is more theoretical than practical.

Industry and Manufacturing Industry

Industry is conceptually more general and simply denotes an economic ability, which in turn is the production of utility. Industry comprises agriculture, mining, manufacturing, utility construction, trade, transport, finance and service.

Manufacturing, which is a branch of industry, is the mechanical or chemical transformation of inorganic substance into new products, whether the work is done in a factory or the workers' home, and whether the products are sold at wholesale or retail.

Generally, the manufacturing sector plays a catalytic role in a modern economy and has many dynamic benefits crucial for economic transformation. In a typical advanced economy, the manufacturing sector is a leading if not the leading sector in many respects. It is an avenue for increasing productivity related to import replacement and export expansion; creating foreign exchange earnings capacity; and raising employment and per capita income which causes unique consumption patterns (Ogwuma, 1995). Furthermore, it creates investment capital at a faster rate than any other sector of the economy while promoting wider and more effective linkages among different sectors. In terms of contribution to the Gross Domestic Product, the manufacturing sector is dominant, but it has been overtaken by a number of OECD countries.

Before Nigeria's political independence, only a small number of industries existed in the country. These industries were essentially concerned with the

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processing of agricultural goods for domestic and export markets. This rather low-level industrialization was associated with the institutional obstacles inherent in the British colonial economic structures (Egbon, 1995). Though the colonial administration had a Ten-Year Plan of Development and Welfare for Nigeria (as passed in the Legislative Council Act of 1945), it neither articulated nor pursued a systematic industrial policy.

Early efforts in the manufacturing sector were oriented towards the adoption of an import substitution strategy in which light industry and assembly-related manufacturing ventures were embarked upon by the former trading companies. Up to about 1970, the prime mover in manufacturing activities was the private sector, which established some agro-based light manufacturing units, such as vegetable oil extraction plants, tanneries, tobacco processing, textiles, beverages and petroleum products.

In this context, the appearance of new and diversified industries broadened the proletarian base, and more pertinent to our discussion, drew numbers of women into its ranks, taking advantage of the sexual division of industrial labour (Chinchilla, 1977). Women have always provided a cheap source of labour for industrial capitalism. They are utilized by labour-intensive industries because they can be paid low wages, are manually dexterous and will willingly subordinate themselves to patriarchal authority (Beneria, 1978).

Women in industrial employment in Nigeria make up a tiny contingent of the labour force. An FOS survey of manufacturing industries, for example, which covered 3,212 establishments in 1997/98, reveals that industry is almost exclusively owned by men and the bulk of the women in industry are labourers and service workers. Out of the total number of workers of 27,746, only 3,854 are females. In the same vein, from a survey conducted by Imoukhuede (2003) at the Federal Ministry of Mines, Power and Steel, the Nigerian Coal Corporation, Nigerian Railway Corporation, Federal Civil Service Commission, and Federal Ministry of Employment and Productivity, a percentage distribution of the population employed by industry reveals that in the private sector, Nigerian women only show an appreciable presence in agriculture (subsistence farming, which is mostly done by rural women) and trading. Women represent 18.81% of the agricultural industry, while men were 46.71%. For trade, women were 19.13%, while men were 9.4%. For manufacturing, women were 1.56%, while men were 2.73%.

Women's work within the industrial sector is not without its problems, as women must simultaneously perform the productive role of wife and mother. They are harder hit by underemployment and unemployment than are their male counterparts, as the few openings in the industrial sector are offered to men first. A significant proportion of women are found in certain types of occupations in the services sector, in the informal sector and particularly in agriculture. In industry, they predominate in microelectronics, food production, textile and footwear,

chemical and pharmaceutical industries and handicraft workshops. In the service sector they are mainly engaged in teaching, office work, hospitals, banks, commerce, hotels and domestic work.

2.2 GENDER AND THE LABOUR MARKET

Employment has been defined as a contract between employees and employers in which the investments made on each side of the relationship provides an incentive for both parties to keep the relationship intact. An important determinant of the levels of production in a country is the level of employment. One of the fundamental rights is that every one should be given an opportunity to use his/her skill. That is, everybody should be allowed to take part in the labour force.

The labour force participation rate is defined as the percentage of the working age population who are actually in the labour force. Those in the labour force include those working and those who are not working but are looking for work (ILO, 1971; Okojie, 1998). Although gender differences in employment opportunities are better measured by unemployment and underemployment rates, gender differences in labour force participation rates could also provide some insights into inequality in employment opportunities. This is because the probability of working or the desire to look for work may be a function of perceived chances of securing a job and (or) cultural practices that determine female participation in the labour force. Thus, higher percentages of males than females may be in the labour force if females

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perceive their chances of securing jobs to be relatively lower than those of males or if there are cultural practices that prevent females from participating in economic activities.

A very important phenomenon in women employment pattern is the rise in the percentage of women that are gainfully employed. Taking a global view, according to UNIFEM Biennial Report (2000), in 1996, 59% of all Canadian women were participating in the paid labour force in contrast to 74% of men. These women made up 46% of the paid labour force, a huge increase from 1891 when women made up 13% of the paid labour force in Canada. For New Zealand, 48%; Chile, 36%; Spain, 37%; Thailand, 45%; Jamaica, 50%; Croatian, 48%; India, 15%; and Turkey, 10%.

In Africa, there have been changes in the past decade of the entry of a significantly greater number of women into the workforce. In Nigeria, between 1995/2000, according to the latest data available, the adult economic activity rate was 48% for women and 87% for men (UN 2002). In 1999, the female labour force accounted for 36.5% of the total labour force (World Bank, 2002). In 1997, the overall unemployment rate was 3.2% (World Bank, 2002). In 1998, 3.4% of women and 2.8% of men were unemployed (US Department of State, 2002). In other countries of the Sub-Saharan Africa, the percentage of women in the total active population in 1994 was: Ghana, 39%; Senegal 38%; Cote d'voire, 34%; Liberia, 29%; and Cameroon, 32%.

While the number and types of women who work have changed dramatically, numerous other aspects of women's work have remained impervious to change: the clustering of women into sex-typed jobs, the disproportionate number of women in low-ranking positions and their comparatively low earnings relative to men, as well as the overall under-utilization (unemployment and underemployment) of women workers. The explosive growth in the female workforce has not been accompanied by the socio-economic empowerment for women.

However, labour force participation rates of males and females aged 15-59yrs in 1984 and 1993/94 in Nigeria are presented in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Labour force Participation of Persons Aged 15-59 Years by Sex and State, 1984 and 1993/94

State	1984				1993s		
	Urban		Rural		M	F	Male% Female %
	M	F	M	F			
Anambra	86.61	49.12	82.40	63.37	74.6	68.0	6.6
Enugu					78.8	67.8	11..0
Bauchi	68.82	7.69	91.25	2.39	90.4	9.6	80.8
Delta	72.73	48.39	73.81	31.46	65.5	52.9	12.6
Edo					66.7	56.4	10.3
Benue	83.07	29.95	83.87	62.44	81.4	82.1	0.7
Borno	89.47	2.63	78.13	10.34	94.8	62.7	32.1
Yobe					92.8	12.6	80.0
Akwa Ibom	71.84	40.49	80.00	63.69	77.0	74.2	2.8
Cross River					68.6	68.3	0.1
Adamawa	71.01	16.18	90.00	37.74	81.0	34.5	46.3
Taraba					84.2	60.1	24.1
Abia	85.48	56.33	80.39	53.33	71.9	67.9	4.0
Imo					68.0	69.9	1.9
Kaduna	66.42	10.92	89.74	2.17	80.7	10.6	70.1
Katsina					89.0	3.6	85.4
Kano		6.11	95.01	4.53	85.6	6.8	78.9
Jigawa	76.02				94.3	5.2	89.1
Kwara	74.74	74.44	70.90	56.90	78.3	72.4	6.1
Kogi					72.1	65.0	7.1
Lagos	79.41	51.34	86.96	48.3	76.4	69.2	7.2
Niger	82.35	4.94	89.13	0.75	89.8	10.9	78.9
Ogun	80.95	81.16	83.87	80.36	81.0	83.8	2.8
Ondo	83.33	80.00	89.48	56.25	68.7	74.9	6.2
Osun	63.49	63.85	81.82	62.79	66.9	76.7	9.8
Oyo					74.9	75.5	0.6
Plateau	70.27	80.56	92.11	7.28	82.9	57.2	25.7
Rivers	71.96	62.86	74.04	69.91	63.6	64.4	0.8
Kebbi	77.79	6.42	94.92	2.40	93.5	6.1	87.4
Sokoto					93.3	2.6	89.7
Abuja					86.8	30.6	56.2
Nigeria	76.41	34.85	85.97	36..12	80.2	45.1	35.1

Sources: FOS, 1995 (Statistical Profile of Nigerian Women)

FOS, 1995 (National Agricultural Sample Census, 1993/94)

FOS, 1996 (Socio-economic profile of Nigeria)

Table 2.1 shows that the difference between male and female participation in the labour force was higher in the north than in the south during the two periods. In eight northern states, the difference in male and female participation was more than 78% points. There were few states in the south where participation was higher for females than for males. For example in Oyo and Ondo.

The labour force approach recommended for international use by the ILO and the UN, considered the population of a country at any given time as consisting of two parts: first, the labour force, or all those available to supply the labour for the production of goods and services. It consists of the employed and the unemployed. Second, all others not in the force like children below working age, full-time housewives, retired persons etc (ILO, 1971; Okojie, 1998). In Nigeria, the labour force approach is used in labour force surveys. However, usually the labour force excludes full-time housewives, and all persons who, for any reasons are not employed (Okigbo, 1986).

An insight into gender differences in employment can also be gained through an examination of differences in underemployment rates. Table 2.2 shows the under-employment rates of males and females in all the states of Nigeria in 1993/94. It is discernible from the table that the percentages of females in the working age group who were employed involuntarily for less than 40 hours in 1993/94 were higher than those of males in all the states (except in Kano). The difference between

the male and female underemployment rates was generally larger in the North than

in the South.

Table 2.2: Percentage of Persons 15 Years and above who was   Underemployed in 1993/94 by Sex and State

State	*% Underemployed*		*State*	*% Underemployed*	
	M	*F*		*M*	*F*
Abia	0.38	0.76	Adamawa	3.74	7.13
Akwa Ibom	2.27	3.36	Bauchi	3.08	5.15
Anambra	0.92	1.64	Borno	0.92	4.24
Benue	1.10	2.08	Jigawa	2.62	10.41
Cross River	0.76	1.09	Kaduna	0.44	0.33
Enugu	2.19	9.19	Kano	3.15	1.93
Imo	1.14	2.38	Katsina	1.08	6.93
Rivers	2.10	2.78	Kebbi	2.09	5.66
Delta	0.23	0.39	Kogi	0.37	1.20
Edo	0.48	1.54	Kwara	0.62	2.92
Lagos	**0.39**	**2.09**	Niger	0.83	2.06
Ogun	0.22	2.51	Plateau	0.69	2.50
Ondo	2.02	4.73	Sokoto	4.96	10.13
Osun	0.58	3.30	Taraba	2.37	7.50
Oyo	**0.62**	**0.90**	Yobe	1.39	26.2
Abuja				0.87	1.72
Nigeria				1.69	3.08

Source: FOS, 1995, National Agricultural Sample Census, 1993/94

From all available data, it was shown that women participate actively in the

labour force in Nigeria, though participation rates vary between states. Nevertheless,

in Nigeria as a whole only 34.85% of urban females and 36.12% of rural females are

reported to be in the labour force for 1984, while 45.1% participated in the labour

market as at 1993 (See Table 2.1). This is likely to be an underestimation because

most women were engaged in one economic activity or the other – trading, farming, food processing, etc.

FACCTORS INFLUENCING PARTICIPATION

Despite the primacy of the mother-housewife role, women are entering the labour market in ever increasing numbers. Several reasons have been adduced for the increasing participation of women in the labour market. These include: economic reasons; life-cycle factors; changing attitudes; political factors; and interplay of social, political, and economic factors.

Economic Reasons for Working:

Important changes in the Nigerian economy in the past several decades (structural adjustment programme, liberalization, etc), and growing economic necessity has encouraged the break in traditional roles and facilitated the entrance of more women into the work force. Economic necessity is a powerful motive that accounts for the continued participation of women in the work force over time. In a survey carried out by Aluko (2003) among working women in Ibadan metropolis, the major reason given by the sampled respondents was economic/financial reason. About 64 percent (both in formal and informal sectors) reported that they had to work to augment their families' income to be able to meet their family needs. Only a small minority of these women, were working because they wanted something interesting to do, and to avoid boredom, or for self-actualization and satisfaction.

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It is important to note that "working because of economic need" can be interpreted as an extension of "serving the family", which thus provides a socially accepted motive for entering the work force. Such needs are of course relative – families do redefine their economic goals once basic sustenance is attained, and even those women who work because of "need" usually say they would continue even if their incomes were not essential.

Life-Cycle Factors:

A number of other factors also combined to encourage women's entrance into the labour force. Most dramatic among these is the changing life cycle of women. Today, the years devoted to childbearing and child rearing are decreasing, while the average life span is increasing. The time between the birth of the first child and the last has declined to about 7 years (ILO, 1998). Demographic and Social trends has induced changes in societies and, therefore, in the labour market. With falling fertility rates and the growing influx of women, the composition of the labour market will continue to be affected. Women are finding that they have more years to engage in activities beyond bearing and rearing children, and this makes active participation in the labour force more appealing.

Other changes are also occurring; the life-cycle status of women, as divorce rates continues to rise, especially among younger married women with children. Divorced or separated mothers with young children are finding it economically necessary to either enter or remain in the workforce.

Changing Attitudes:

Attitudinal factors also play an important role in the increased participation of women in the labour force. Rising levels of education are important in determining women's attitudes concerning work, especially their attitudes about a career. In a recent survey of working women, 64 percent reported planning to make their jobs full-time careers. Among women in formal sector, with higher degrees, the proportion was even higher: 76 percent planned to pursue full-time careers (Aluko, 2003). The higher the educational level, the higher the participation rate in the work force. This positive relationship between education and labour force participation may be related to the greater benefit (that is, earning power) of employment derived by women with higher education.

In addition, husband's attitudes can be an important factor influencing whether married women work. A married woman is more likely to work if she perceives her husband's attitude as favourable. In the survey carried out by Aluko (2003), it showed that although majority (51 percent) of husbands apparently do not actively object to their wives going out to work, however, there is still a long way to go before one can talk of real full agreement. Some accept their wives going to work as a necessity; others see it as a threat to their leadership in the home. It was gathered that most husbands would prefer their wives to be engaged in the informal sector (as entrepreneurs) because of its compatibility with childbearing and rearing, than the formal sector (Okojie, 1998).

Political Factors:

The influence of the women's movement globally, has been a major factor in changing attitudes of men and women about their traditional roles. This movement has heightened social consciousness and awareness by questioning the assumptions, values and images concerning a woman's "place". The key to the success of this movement is seen in its broad-based approach to issues. Rather than aligning support simply from special interest groups or focusing on single issues – as earlier movements had done – the modern movement has relied on grassroots development and organization in the community (IPPFAR, 1995; CEDAW, 1997). Many of these women's groups have helped reject the idea that women do not want better jobs or that they prefer to remain at home. They have asserted the rights of women in the labour force, has sought to place women in leadership table, and professional women have organized caucuses to argue that public policies affirming women's home roles engender a series of self images and behaviour that reinforces women's inferior position in the work world (CEDAW, 1997).

Interplay of Social, Political, and Economic factors:

Since the incursion of women into the labour force (industrialization), these various social, economic, and political factors coalesced over time to transform women's place in the economy and society. Each factor has reinforced the continued participation of women in the labour force and has encouraged the entrance of different types of women workers. The overwhelming change in attitudes towards

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women at work is reflected in the growing influx of women, affecting the composition of the labour market, pushing up the demand for skilled labour in future.

2.3 GENDER AND INDUSTRIAL/OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

In many developing countries, the labour absorption capacity of the modern sector has been insufficient to meet growing labour supply resulting in high unemployment rates, especially in the urban centers. Also of great concern is the limited incomes earned by the "urban poor" in their economic activities, mainly in the urban "informal sector". This concept "informal sector" was defined by Sethuraman (1990) using the following criteria: "employment of not more than 10 persons; non-application of legal and administrative regulations; employment of family member(s); no fixed working hours or days; no institutional loans; production intended for final consumers; less than 6 years of schooling for workers for certain activities; no use of mechanical and electrical energy; and peri-pathetic or semi-permanent character of the activity".

In a broad sense, an informal organization can be conceptualized as one, which operates, without regulations prescribed by a public authority to govern its organizational behaviour, but it may not autonomously regulate itself. The operators of this sector are both men and women. But in Nigeria, the majority of the operators in the sector are women who have the cultural barrier, economic barrier, and social barrier of playing the second riddle, but still have to make ends meet, carter for their

children and extended family. Their share has been estimated at typically 60 percent to 80 percent (ILO, 2000).

The formal sector on the other hand in practical terms, is divided into private and public sectors, with the private consisting of large industrial and commercial establishments while the public sector includes government ministries and Federal/State establishment. In some studies, the formal sector is defined to coincide with a wage employment and the informal sector with self-employment. In Nigeria, the public sector dominates wage employment both at state and national levels. Wide disparities exist in income and other working conditions in both sectors (Okojie, 1998).

In Nigeria, there is limited data on women in wage employment, as available statistics are not often categorized by sex of employee. Most of the women in wage employment are in the urban areas, and mainly in the public sector (teaching and health services)[Okojie, 1981; 1985]. However, they are more likely to be found in lower level occupations; very few women have reached higher level and decision-making positions in their services. Although more women are now gaining employment in the private sector, they are yet to break –through the "glass-ceiling" to reach management positions.

One major way in which differences in economic opportunities between male and female can be examined is the occupational distribution of employed persons.

Table 2.3 shows employed persons by sex and major occupational categories: Professional, Administrative, Clerical, Sales, Services, Agriculture and Production.

Table 2.3 Employed Persons by Sex and Major Occupations and Section 1994 and 1995/96 (%)

Occupation Groups	1994				1995/96	
	Urban		Rural			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Professional-Technical and Related Workers	11.5	8.3	2.9	1.7	7.0	6.0
Administrative and Managerial Workers	0.8	0.2	0.2	-		
Clerical and Related Workers	7.6	6.8	2.2	1.1	5.0	4.0
Sales Workers	17.6	52.9	3.6	29.6	14.0	35.0
Agricultural Workers	24.5	16.8	79.1	54.8	60.0	47.0
Service Workers	5.4	2.7	1.4	0.5	3.0	3.0
Production, Transport and Related Workers	26.9	9.5	·9.0	11.8	11.0	5.0
Workers not classified by Occupation	5.7	2.8	1.6	0.5	-	-
All occupation	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Sources: (1) Federal Office of Statistics, *Annual Abstract of Statistics*, 1995.
(2) UNICEF, 2001.

Table 2.3 shows that, as at 1995/96 there were more women traders; more men were found in other occupations. Both urban and rural women are mainly engaged in trade. The other occupation in which women's percentage is on the high side is agriculture. From this, it can be inferred that women mainly engage in trading and agricultural activities, which are both informal sector activities. Most of the women in professional-technical occupations are traders and nurses. Urban women are also many in clerical occupations as secretaries and typists.

Also, when employed persons are classified by major industry, and gender (Table 2.4), the results realized from the previous Table 2.3 are almost the same. Women are mostly employed in the Agriculture and Trade sectors.

Table 2.4: Employed Persons by Major Industry and Gender, 1994 and 1995/96 (%)

Major Industry	1994				1995/96	
	Urban		Rural			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agriculture, Forestry and fishing	25.2	16.6	80.4	56.9	62.0	48.0
Mining and Quarrying	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	-	-
*Manufacturing, Electricity, Gas, Water	1.2	0.4	0.2	0.1	6.0	4.0
Construction	4.5	-	1.4	-	1.0	-
Trades. Restaurants and Hotel	17.5	53.9	3.7	28.7	10.0	38.0
Transport, Storage, Communication	9.1	0.6	1.7	0.1	5.0	-
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate and Business Services	1.9	1.3	0.3	-	1.0	-
Community, Social and Personal Service	31.4	19.5	7.0	3.5	15.0	10.0
Activities not adequately defined	2.4	4.4	1.2	0.4	-	-
All Industry	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Sources: (1) Federal Office of Statistics, Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1995.
      (2) UNICEF, 2001.

There are relatively few women in top-level administrative or management positions. According to United Nations (2002), in Nigeria between 1985/1997, 6% of women were among administrative and managerial workers.

FACTORS INFLUENCING OCCUPATIONAL/INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION

Many studies have documented the poor representation of women in the formal sector. Women are very few in the formal sector because most women are not able to meet the conditions of entering wage employment. Those who found

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their way in are found mainly in the federal and state civil services, and the teaching and health services. These factors include:

Education

A major factor responsible for women's low participation in the formal sector and in higher-paying decision making positions in the market is their more limited access to formal education; especially tertiary education. A minimum of a tertiary level educational qualification is usually required for these jobs. Recognition of the effect of education on workers' capability will lead to emphasis on investment in human resources. Education enhances workers' capability; it imparts necessary skills and professional training. Educational statistics show a gender gap in access to formal education in Nigeria (See Aluko, 2005; Okojie, 2001). The proportion of women declines as the level of education rises.

Efforts should therefore be made to increase girls' access to education at all levels, to prepare them for employment especially in the formal sector. For women in the informal sector many of whom are illiterates, there is need to improve their skills through informal education. Possible avenues include special workshops, short training programmes, adult literacy programmes etc (Okojie, 1998). For example, training in the use of new food processing methods and equipment can be done in special workshops.

Socio-Cultural Constraints

Various cultural restrictions inhibit women's economic activities. Women are regarded as subordinate to men both within and outside the home., A common feature of many Nigerian societies is their patriarchal structure, a system of social stratification and differentiation on the basis of sex, which provides material advantages to males and at the same time it places severe restrictions on the roles and activities of females (Koenig and Foo, 1985; Okojie, 1998). Various institutions – Legal, Social and Economic – support the institution of patriarchy.

Gender stereotyping of occupations and the strains of combining domestic responsibilities with demanding occupations outside the home are also responsible for girls opting for "traditional occupations" such as teaching, nursing etc

Working Conditions

Working conditions include wages, hours of work, fringe benefits etc. For Nigerian women, working hours are very flexible unlike in some advanced countries. This increases the stress of combining a full-time job with caring for the family. This however explains why they are usually found doing jobs that are just extensions of their family responsibilities (e.g. nursing, teaching, etc), that affords them the opportunity of combining their dual role responsibilities (Papola, 1986). Most of these jobs are less vital in most organizations, no track record of promotion and limited career prospects.

This has also encouraged occupational segregation of certain jobs, which has resulted in the domination of certain occupations by women and others by men, leading to "sex-typing" of jobs as either male or female jobs. Although women are now moving into male-dominated employment categories like management, engineering, etc, these increases have not been large.

In sum, despite their increasing share of the labour market, women are not employed evenly throughout the occupational structure. They are concentrated in low paid, low status jobs. As indicated earlier, they are mostly found in service occupations (teachers, nurses, etc) and clerical occupations (secretaries, etc). Some studies (Fapohunda, 1985; Wirth, 1997) argue that, even most Nigerian women employed in the modern private sector manufacturing companies are concentrated in a limited number of companies such as pharmaceuticals, cosmetics etc. It is because few women are employed in heavy industries like chemicals, petroleum extraction, or textile industries that has prompted this study.

2.4 GENDER AND MANAGEMENT

Common assumptions about fundamental differences in male and female entry into management, management practice are, by now, accepted as given in the literature of administration, management, sociology, psychology and organization theory. A voluminous research has developed, committed to the verification, dissemination, and assimilation of some notions: That management is "male-

dominated" and has traditionally excluded women; also, that women and men manifest distinct management styles and leadership qualities that are culturally and institutionally conditioned and reinforced.

People employed in management positions are usually enumerated as "managers and administrators". The managerial classification encompasses occupations requiring personnel who set broad policies, execute policies, and direct the departments and the phases of an organization's operations. But not all people who perform management functions – planning, directing, and deciding – are subsumed under this category. Some may be listed as professional and technical workers, if, for example, they administer a scientific laboratory, and classify themselves as scientists rather than administrators. Nonetheless, the census categories allow us to make comparisons of the female and male participation.

Few women the world over, attain leadership positions at national level of government and the economy. It has been revealed that although women account for 67 percent of the world's working hours, they earn only 10% of the world's income, and constitute the highest percentage of part-time workers. Furthermore, women constitute almost 80 percent of the illiterates and only 9.7 percent of the world's parliaments while in Africa they occupy only 2.5 percent of the highest positions (Canadian Council for International Cooperation, 1991).

In addition, although they make up 40 percent of the World's workforce in agriculture, one quarter in industry and one-third in services; and women farmers in

developing countries grow at least 50 percent of the world's food (as much as 80 percent in some African countries), their productivity is low, both in income-generating work and in home production (The World Bank, 1994).

In Nigeria, women form a formidable fraction of the labour force, and some of them are in positions of added responsibilities and managerial posts. However, majority is in staff position and in supportive consultative expertise roles. Despite the increasing number of women entering occupations formerly reserved for men, the management field has become one of the most frontiers of female entry in Nigeria today.

In management, as in the professions, we find that women are conspicuous by their absence. Although women are 37 percent of all workers in Nigeria, they are only 9.2 percent of the nation's management and technical workers (FOS, 1998). And among all employed women, between 1985/1997, 6 percent of women were among administrative and managerial workers in Nigeria (UN, 2002). Less than 10 percent are in top management positions or corporate leadership as against 90 percent of their male counterparts. For most middle management positions, women have 35 percent against 65 percent of their male counterparts (National Commission for Women, 1994). This is a token appointment. This tokenism is reflected in all spheres of the labour force.

There are relatively few women in top-level administrative or management positions (See tables 2.7; 2.8, and 2.9). Table 2.5 shows that although the public

services provide the main source of wage employment for women, women still form a low proportion of total civil servants. Management positions in the civil service are also sub-divided into three levels. We have the Supervisory management – Grade Levels 06-07; the middle management – Grade Levels 08-12; and the Senior Management – Grade Levels 13-16(17). According to Adelabu (1995), majority (85.4%) of the female civil servants are in middle management positions; 11.0% are in Supervisory management positions; 59.6% are in senior management positions; while 43.7% are junior staff.

Table 2.5 Employment Distributions by Gender, Nigeria 1993 (%)

LEVEL	MALE	FEMALE
Corporate Leadership	90	10
Middle Management	65	35
Entrepreneurs	80	20
Civil Service Leadership	30	70
Trade/Labour Unions	90	10
Banking/Finance Leadership	95	5

Source: Nigeria National Commission for Women, "Women's Equality in Economic decision making" (Unpublished paper, 1994).

An analysis of female senior management staff showed that most women in senior management are to be found in selected ministries especially Education, Health and Social Development, as teachers promoted to Inspectors of Education, Nurses promoted to Sisters, Nursing Tutors, and Social Welfare officers, etc (Okojie, 1990; See Table 2.9).

Moreover, males dominate all line positions in the education industry. For instance, according to NUC (2000), only 13% of academic staff in Nigeria's

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Universities are women. Furthermore, 5% of all academic staff that occupy professorial posts are women, while only 13% of them are in the ranks of Senior Lecturer and Lecturer. A study that was sponsored by the Social Science Academy of Nigeria a few years ago found that less than five percent of the faculties in the Social Sciences were women (Okojie, 1999).

The 2000 ACU survey also found that women were indeed poorly represented in the senior management positions of Commonwealth Universities. The global picture is one of men outnumbering women at about five to one at middle management level and at about twenty to one at senior management level. Women Deans are a minority group and women Vice-Chancellors and Presidents are still a rarity (Dines, 1993).

Table 2.6: Gender Distribution of Senior Management Positions in Nigerian Universities

Management Categories	Women	As %	Men	As %	Total
Executive Heads	1	2.9	33	97.1	34
Heads of Administration	3	9.7	28	90.3	31
Senior Management Teams	9	10.3	78	89.7	87
Deans	10	6.5	145	93.5	155
Finance Officers/Bursars	3	18.8	13	81.2	16
Chief Librarian	5	27.8	13	72.2	18

Source: ACU Survey 2000 (*Extracted figures for Nigerian Universities)

Table 2.6 shows the gender distribution of senior management positions in Nigerian universities, extracted from the ACU global survey of 2000. Nigeria with 34 universities had only 1 woman Vice-Chancellor (none in 1997). For the post of Registrar, Nigerian universities appointed only 3 women registrars among 31

registrars. For the senior management teams, which comprise the pro-chancellors, deputy-vice chancellors, deputy presidents, and other senior positions such as dean of students, chair of the board of the faculties, commercial director, university librarian, and university secretary, only 9 women were of the senior management teams in Nigerian universities among 87 members. For the post of the dean, women constitute 6.5% of the total (10 of 155). Nigeria had only 18.8% (3 of 16) women finance officers, and 27.8% (5 of 18) women among their chief librarians. Inspite of the foregoing, Nigerian universities are still oblivious of the need to enthrone equity in the hiring of staff. The Nigerian university system has not taken equity into serious consideration most especially in the recruitment of academic staff.

While the political bureau of Nigeria recommended in 1987 that five percent decision making positions should be reserved for women in all spheres of national life (Akande, 1996), it has been discovered that less than five percent positions are occupied by women. With respect to public service appointment, the number of permanent secretaries/director generals arose from three percent in 1983 to ten percent in 1993, and is still well below ten percent (Nigeria Country Report, 1995).

In sum, though the percentage of women in management has increased, they tend to be concentrated in lower ranks and are underrepresented in relatively powerful managerial positions. They are clustered in industries and occupations that are segregated by gender. Women seldom reach top-level positions and do not

appear to move up the hierarchy as rapidly as their male counterparts, but on ancillary, dead end routes.

Table 2.7: Employment in Federal Civil Service

As at 31st December Year	Permanent	Temporary	Contract	Total
1991	180,884	1,096	274	182,254
1992	186,104	4,948	277	191,329
1993	191,508	5,411	283	197,202
1994	194,250	5,599	290	200,137
1995	194,136	5,593	289	200,018

Source: Federal Civil Service Commission

Table 2.8: Federal Civil Service Established Staff in States as at 31st December

	1991		1992		1993		1994		1995	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Abuja	6944	1948	7487	2239	8402	2666	9049	2725	9041	2701
Adamawa/Taraba	3671	727	4062	674	4067	675	4099	683	4112	683
Akwa Ibom	2333	263	3096	275	3010	209	3033	219	3030	219
Anambra/Enugu	5471	1338	6770	1467	6712	1473	6640	1454	6634	1446
Bauchi	3132	664	2655	649	2652	650	2637	644	2639	644
Edo/Delta	5898	1233	595711	1137	5754	1070	5913	1706	5914	1104
Benue	3821	1233	4128	617	4097	615	4125	619	4126	619
Borno/Yobe	3705	668	4400	613	4414	615	4380	622	4379	621
Cross River	4433	659	4674	933	4645	932	4682	963	4644	934
Imo/Abia	4007	1094	3643	1388	3536	1313	3507	1293	3497	1297
Kaduna	5672	1430	6746	1698	6729	1707	6566	1685	6605	1717
Katsina	1803	1717	1574	517	1571	517	1591	516	1592	516
Kano/Jigawa	4064	522	6522	1515	6544	1536	6248	1502	6246	1504
Kwara/Kogi	4064	973	3174	920	3081	903	3696	954	3699	951
Lagos	51618	22555	55703	24089	59923	25579	16649	25884	6160	25867
Niger	2720	655	2334	645	2332	644	2300	646	2300	648
Ogun	3438	1533	2925	1330	2774	1267	2755	1263	2754	1260
Ondo	2740	952	1820	873	1707	822	1686	819	1087	820
Oyo/Osun	5271	1816	5174	1735	5233	1734	5174	1710	5166	1715
Plateau	3948	903	3794	883	3798	884	3747	891	3747	890
Rivers	4489	1047	4944	1017	4907	1016	4930	1073	4938	1068
Sokoto/Kebbi	3944	1948	3866	667	3824	666	3776	683	3775	684
Total	137486	44768	145448	45881	149712	47490	152183	42954	152110	47908

Source: Federal Civil Service Commission.

Table 2.9 FEDERAL CIVIL SERVICE ESTABLIHED STAFF BY MINISTRY/DEPARTMENT AND SEX AS AT 31ST DECEMBER

Ministry/Department	1991		1992		1993		1994		1995	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Presidency	1313	526	3253	1529	7982	3158	8594	3252	4825	2256
Agriculture and Water Resources	7311	1143	7160	1687	7160	1687	7892	1893	8388	1927
Police	109310	2691	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	n.a	-	-
Commerce and Industries	3783	1307	2008	583	1782	688	1782	688	1824	702
Defence	10747	5675	10747	5675	10747	5675	11072	5764	11156	580
Education and Youth Development	12576	6492	12112	6234	12112	6234	13522	6699	14016	6742
Foreign Affairs	2153	612	2153	612	2153	612	2245	643	2245	643
Finance	2713	1298	1902	1058	14922	3455	15756	3798	15756	3798
Federal Capital Territory	149	561	149	56	149	56	149	56	149	56
Health and Social Services	1877	239	2415	1715	2145	1715	2415	1715	2500	1759
Labour and Productivity	1860	725	853	754	1853	754	1853	754	2156	814
Industries and Technology	-	-	1601	581	1610	550	1610	550	1610	550
Information and Culture	5819	2045	7352	1876	6356	1880	5356	1880	5442	1924
Internal Affairs	47639	9826	59880	10535	44067	8713	44067	8713	44477	8718
Justice	433	315	438	327	432	342	437	342	454	342
Power and Steel	1839	551	1759	413	769	296	873	368	1003	338
Petroleum and Mineral Resources	-	-	154	94	1320	284	1320	284	1320	284
Transport Aviation & Communications	3973	1370	4043	1425	4133	1317	4083	1468	4325	1631
Works and Housing	17133	4846	17133	4846	17,133	4846	17453	4941	17537	4984
Audit	940	294	961	308	1022	366	~1022	336	1058	327
Civil Service Commission	2309	1234	369	231	369	231	369	231	369	231
National Population Commission	655	358	2723	1151	2723	1151	2723	1151	2723	1151
Police Affairs Commission	459	218	459	218	459	218	459	213	459	218
Agency for Science & Eng. Infrastructure	-	-	464	258	464	258	464	253	464	258
National Planning Commission	5011	1284	4116	1263	-	-	n.a	n.a	3607	1009
Public Complaints Commission	832	209	832	209	832	209	832	209	832	229
National Sports Commission	-	-	467	169	463	165	463	165	463	165
Office of Accountant General	-	-	1127	342	1127	342	1127	342	1127	342
Advisory Judicial Committee	-	-	14	6	14	6	14	6	14	6
Judiciary +	1827	556	1842	613	1,880	203	1893	712	1822	895
Total	242661	44872	138456	44768	145448	45881	149145	67....	152189	47954

Source: Federal civil Service Commission

GENDER AND MANAGEMENT STYLES

Saying that there is a dearth of written literature or rather accessibility to written literature on women in management is remote, is an understatement. There are virtually no studies on performance or management styles of women in management positions in Nigeria. No data is really presented in this section, which relies on literature from other countries, discussions with employees and observation of women managers at work.

Women managers, it is argued, adopt styles compatible with whom they are as women. Ostensibly, women are more participative managers, tending to be power sharers, collaborators, egalitarians, nurturers, and are more prone than male counterparts to prioritize relationships among and between co-workers. Men, conversely, are attributed to be more aggressive, hierarchical, control oriented, independent, domineering and decisive (Christie and Lindsey, 1997). It is argued that women lead democratically, while men are credited to be autocratic leaders. Accordingly, women are said to prefer relationship oriented leadership styles while men prioritize task-oriented relationship (Eagly and Johnson, 1990).

However, as Okojie (1990) noted, two extreme management styles have been observed among women managers. These are the "battle-axe" or 'martinet' approach, and the 'conciliatory' or 'feminine' style. The 'battle axe' management style was the characteristic style of the pioneer female managers who finding themselves in all-male environment adopt an unduly aggressive, ferocious,

dictatorial and hostile management style. Such managers are feared and often disliked by their subordinates. This unpopular characteristic has given rise to negative attitudes towards female managers. Many of this battle-axe generation of women managers often suffer from the "I-made-it-syndrome". They feel that because they have made it to the top, there is no discrimination against women, they feel special. Being alone and isolated in a man's world gives them power, prestige, status and sometimes money. They are reluctant to jeopardize their status by helping more women to reach the top.

At the other extreme from the battle-axe approach is the feminine or conciliatory management style. Such women, not wanting to be accused of being feminists (women liberationists) play on their feminine attributes in their approach to their work. They prefer to "share power" with their subordinates, rather than "wield power" over them. They are not "aggressive" or decisive in executing their management duties.

Between these two extremes of management style is the 'professional' manager who has combined the firmness from the battleaxe approach with the conciliatory approach of the feminine style to yield effective leadership of subordinates. Neither the battleaxe nor the feminine approach to management leads to high productivity among subordinates. The effective manager has to be firm, decisive, objective and show empathy with her subordinates if she has to achieve results.

Many of the women in management will fit into one or more of the styles described above. However, on the positive side, women managers are more painstaking, more thorough, and meticulous; they pay great attention to detail (Okojie, 1990). They are more interested in getting the job done as against male managers who are more interested in using their present jobs as the stepping stone for promotion and in office intrigued (politics). In a study carried out by Udegbe and Omare (1994) on subordinates' perception of female managers in male-and-female-dominated occupations. The results revealed that female respondents exhibited more positive perception of female managers than did the male respondents; females in male-dominated occupation did not differ significantly from females in female-dominated occupations; subordinates in female-dominated occupations exhibited more favourable perceptions of female managers than did those in male-dominated occupation.

The literature characterizes workplace environments as organized, structured, and administered according to male-dominated/oriented models. Thus described as disadvantageous and repressive to women, there is every expectation that both the formal and informal structures of institutional organizations reinforce gender roles and disadvantage or depreciate more "feminine" management attributes.

Methodology throughout the literature has carefully and rigorously verified these effects. That gender difference infuses over organizational processes and shapes our interpretations of behaviours and events has been documented *ad*

infinitum. By now, most of us take it for granted that the almost incomprehensible number of small influences that shape the way we organize and manage, along with who decides how we do it, and who evaluates the results produce significant result.

As Guy (1993) has noted, even though the differences show up as only one point or a fraction of a point on the Likert scale, the direction of the differences persist across all units, levels, and geographic distributions. These patterns are, certainly undeniable and intriguing. Guy described them as inescapable and haunting. As these patterns apply to career advancement, access to mentors, fitting into organizational culture, and as they manifest in management styles, policy preferences, decision making styles, etc., the differences between the genders is, without question or debate an important aspect of women and men in management positions.

Factors influencing Women's ability to reach Management Positions

The outlook for women moving into and up the corporate ladder is both encouraging and discouraging. The rate of participation of women in management has increased compared to what occurred in the past decades though the situation has not changed significantly. Various factors have been attributed to the increase in female participation rate in management. These include: higher educational attainment; falling fertility rates; removal of the "marriage bar" in the public service, which is the major employer of women in Nigeria; and the socio-economic background of the women amongst others.

Education

Before the advent of the oil boom and the subsequent industrialization, women worked mainly in agriculture, teaching, petty trading. Now, with women's emancipation at its peak, and with greater opportunities for education and more jobs, women are employed in almost every facet of the economy, doing jobs that were once reserved exclusively for men.

Women have achieved higher levels of education than ever before. The lack of adequate education, training and experience in the past, to some extent, explained the difficulties women experienced in obtaining management jobs. Today, a large and increasing proportion of women in Nigeria are well qualified. However, though the number of women who have achieved higher levels of education has increased, their share of management positions remain unacceptably low, with just a tiny proportion of the global workforce (40%) succeeding in breaking through the glass-ceiling (ILO, 1998)

Nevertheless, with increased investments in female education, the percentage of women wage earners will increase, resulting in a competition between the sexes for the limited employment opportunities. With women, as with men, paid employment has become a major route to financial independence, and in a society like Nigeria, in which status and social participation are closely linked to occupation and earning power, a job is for most men and women important for social acceptance, involvement and respect.

Falling Fertility Rates

Demographic and social trends have induced changes in societies, and therefore, in organizations. The present economic situation in the country has forced everybody to reduce the number of children given birth to, to ensure the ability to take good care of them. Most women with careers in management cannot afford the luxury of combining household responsibilities, more especially, taking care of young children and work outside the home.

Falling fertility rates and the growing influx of women, has affected the composition of the labour market, pushing up the demand for skilled female labour, a creation of a pool of qualified women who increasingly delayed marriage and childbearing. In an increasing number of companies, the growth in the proportion of qualified women should make them more visible, providing a base for the upward mobility of more women.

Removal of the "marriage bar"

In most public organization the "marriage bar" which before now has prohibited women from seeking employment has been removed. Today, the public service is the largest employer of women labour (Okojie, 1998). Also, in the banking industry, which is another source of wage employment for women, the "marriage bar" was recently removed (Imoukhuede, 2003). Removal of discriminatory policies has encouraged the participation of women in management.

Socio-economic background factor

This is seen chiefly in terms of the way an individual is brought up, the environment she lives, the religion, occupation and educational attainment of respondents' parents – usually the fathers.

Various studies have provided useful glimpse into the factors, which affect the preference of one occupation over the other. Even specific studies have been carried out on the effects of socio-economic status of parents on children's occupational choice. Fathers who have prestigious jobs like management would want their children (boys/girls) to do the same. In most cases, even the child, boy or girl will view the prestigious job auspiciously (Williams, 1974). The father's level of education also determines the level of the child's education.

Other primary psychological variables linked to career choice and success are: achievement motivation (people who are relatively high in achievement motivation tend to attempt tasks that appear moderately difficult to them, persist in the face of difficulties, and show evidence of good performance and achievement over a period of time); the need for affiliation (a need to be near people) and the need for power (gaining control over the means of influencing another); the way the individual views potential costs or rewards; and the locus of control and defenses against stress.

Studies have revealed that despite the extremely different backgrounds of women from low socio-economic background and middle class or higher

background, they could still exhibit similar personality characteristics (Dehinsilu, now Ola-Aluko, 1991). However, given the greater obstacles they had to overcome, one would expect women from low socio-economic background to exhibit even higher levels of need achievement than women from middle and higher socio-economic background. Also, in a research by Boardman, Harrington and Horowitz (1987), women from low socio-economic background had lower need for affiliation and higher need for power in order to overcome the negative affects of their family origin. They have an unusually strong belief in their ability to control what goes on in their lives. In other words, it could be observed that a strong sense of personal control played a major role in the choice of occupation and achievement of success of women from low socio-economic background. This personal control is clearly reflected in their orientation towards work.

In terms of individual's view of potential costs or rewards, it seems plausible to expect women from low socio-economic background to be even more reward oriented again, to help them overcome the greater hurdles of family class and education. In another way, they might be allowed more cost orientation than usually associated with success because they had less to lose than those women from middle and higher socio-economic background (Raynor, Atkinson and Brown, 1974).

As regards locus of control and defense against stress, it seems essential that women from low socio-economic background would possess a strong sense of personal control over their life outcome stemming from their early backgrounds in

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order to attain success. This would not necessarily be true for women from middle and higher socio-economic background, who by accepting the potentially positive influence of the external forces associated with their lives (higher social class, etc), could be aided in their striving for success (Kilpatrick, Durbin, and Marcotte, 1974; Leftcourt, 1982). It could therefore be assumed that women from low socio-economic background would exhibit a stronger internal locus of control than women who did not come from educationally and economically impoverished background.

In sum, Dehinsilu (now Ola-Aluko, 1991) in her study argues that the role of family in the career choice of individual cannot be overemphasized. The family creates a highly significant situation, which plays a major role in determining the specifics of the career decision an individual will make. In her survey, the women academics revealed the importance of the family (social origins) as a critical agent influencing career choice. Some elements beyond the individual's control exert a major influence on the course of her entire life, including her education and professional decisions. It was also pointed that the higher the social class (usually measured by family income, parental occupational and educational level), level of a person's family, the more likely she is to aspire to the most prestigious occupational position, usually to keep on her status. This practice is most common among the children whose parents are in highly regarded professions like doctors, lawyers, top managers of big corporations, academics and so on. A person's occupational level is

a useful indicator of his family's social status and good predictor of his children's life chances (Dehinsilu (now Ola – Aluko, 1991)

Other factors which explained women's increased share of managerial and professional jobs included the broadening of career choices, active promotion of the status of women by government and non-government institutions, the sustained and increasing recognition by enterprises of the valuable resources that women represent, especially as more of them became consumers and users of services.

2.5 CONSTRAINTS ON WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT

Literature suggests that obstacles to women progress into management derive from several sources: constraints are impressed upon them by society, by the family, by employers, and by women themselves (Crampton, Suzanne, and Mishra, 1997; Okojie, 1990).

Cultural Attitudes: Occupational and Sex-Role Links and Conflicts

The concentration of professional women in the semi-professions and within certain specialties of the full professions represents, in part, a linking of the occupational and sex roles. Occupations are regarded as extensions of the sex and family roles, so that teaching, nursing, and social work serve as continuations of the nurturing, helping, and support expected of females. The professions now open to women are in the main in the service sector.

The tendency toward this "linking" suggests potential sex-role and occupational conflicts for women. These conflicts stem from a clash between (1) a

sex role demanding nurturance, empathy, and support, and (2) occupational roles demanding aggressiveness, competitiveness, and opportunism. The conflicts also stem from the heavy domestic responsibilities that create dual (home and market) works for employed women.

Similarly, in management there are cultural conflicts between (1) expectations held for the female and (2) occupational work roles. More specifically, attitudes reflect perceived disparities between the characteristics and temperaments though appropriate for women and those thought appropriate for managers.

A widespread view appears to be that performance in senior management roles requires aggression, dominance, stimulus-seeking, risk-taking, competitiveness, an interest in money, a single-minded and obsessive concern with career success, ambition and 'the commanding presence to lead' –characteristics attributed to men and not to women (McIntyre, 1994; Roper, 1994; Sinclair, 1994; Burton and Ryall, 1995; Karpin, 1995; Still, 1996). Whether the different qualities attributed to men and women are believed to be biological (McIntyre, 1994) or a product of different socialization experiences, the end result is the same: women are believed to lack the "proper training, education, work attitudes and motivations" for the "competitiveness, team spirit, sharing risks" that typify senior management positions. In a study carried out by Woody and Weiss (1994), the results show negative attitudes towards women's suitability for senior management. These findings also support results of similar studies carried out here in Nigeria (Udegbe

and Omare, 1994; Udegbe, 1998) The findings of these researches show that differences between men and women managers in abilities, attitudes and behaviour are more apparent than real; most studies of practicing managers demonstrate no systematic difference between them.

Stereotyping and gender ascribed social status produce unassertive behaviour in women. Women are socialized to have low aspirations in terms of corporate progression. Negative attitudes towards career women, in a way, are discouraging women from pursuing corporate success.

Policies and practices of any organization, which create and maintain gender difference in work behaviour and attitude, are often the direct result of ideological and cultural values. Thus, a better opportunity structure and a higher level of education might not bring equality between the sexes with a local norm enforcing female seclusion in order to limit women interaction with unrelated males (for example, Muslim culture). With such culture the modern sector-jobs considered appropriate for women are limited. Also, in patriarchal societies where the responsibility of the wife is first to the husband and children, macro-social structures (that is, the economy, the legal institution, the family), and their policies and practices jointly confine women to jobs characterized by low wages, little mobility, and limited prestige. It therefore appears that even if women try to improve their 'human capital' and are found in high-mobility tracks, they would still meet with

resistance, particularly, resistance unrelated to their qualifications but tied to the mirror image of women possessed by the society.

Work Structures: Demands of time, continuity, and Commitment

Apart from the cultural attitude, the very structure of the work disadvantages women. Managerial work runs at a rapid and relentless pace – and performance is measured against time. This relentless pace is possible for men, who constitute the vast majority of these workers, because they face little institutional interference with their work. But for the managerial woman, the domestic role competes with, rather than complements, her occupational role. Wifehood and motherhood vie for resources, which must be allocated between both the occupational and domestic roles. And these multiple demands inhibit the single-mindedness, continuous participation, and commitment required for success. In most cases women are excluded more directly by the "male subculture" that prevails in this occupation.

"Male Culture" in Organizational Management

As a consequence of men's numbers and dominance, the managerial world is a male culture. The male members have grown up together, played, learned and worked together. They share common "understandings" about rules and styles of competing, bartering, and succeeding. These understandings ease their communication and assure support and acceptance among them. But women are outsiders to this male milieu. Many men simply do not want women in management, competing and even perhaps – surpassing them. Male attitudes towards the

"unsuitability" of women in management are strong and frequently reported (Himelstein and Forest, 1997).

Stereotypical thinking becomes self-reinforcing when individuals select information from their environment that confirms beliefs they already hold (Tomaskovic-Devey, 1994). This occurs where a very small difference in characteristics held by members of two groups, or characteristics imputed to them (for example, the greater propensity of women "in general" to have breaks in careers for child-rearing purposes) is turned into a decision rule that treats all or virtually all members of one group differently from members of the other (for example, less investment in developing women, "since there is an element of risk in that if you put a great deal of financial investment into developing women --- (they might leave)" (Sinclair, 1994) Women are associated with families and thus with disrupted careers. It is commonly assumed that family demands will have an impact on career commitment and on individual and organizational performance (Schwartz, 1994; Hall, 1995). Research findings show that a job occupant's sex, marital status and parental status affect performance evaluations, treatment and rewards, such as promotions (Etaugh and Poetner, 1992; Allen, Russell and Rush, 1994).

The main effect of the workings of these stereotypes through organizational decision-making is a reluctance to invest, from an early career stage, in women's skills through the provision of challenging assignments, placements in key operational positions and into areas of line responsibility (Fagenson and Jackson,

1994; Corporate Leadership Council, 1999; Catalyst, 1999; Crampton, and Mishra, 1999; Feminist Majority Foundation, 2001; Droste, 2002). Anecdotal evidence from Nigeria that these patterns are widespread is supported by empirical research (Tomkiewicz and Adeyemo, 1995; Udegbe and Omare, 1994; Aina, 1992). These studies found out that women's progress in positions of influence is occurring at a snail's pace. "Old-fashioned prejudice" means that women are not given the opportunity to follow traditional management paths.

Morgan (1997) commented that the workplace is well short of being a level playing field: "more than a third of employers admit they prefer employing men". The major concern is that most employers have a strong male bias in key industry sectors. Similar findings (The Federal Glass Ceiling Commission in the United States, 1995; Hansard Society in the United Kingdom, 1996) report that women continue to be blocked from reaching the operational roles at the heart of each corporation. Roper (1994) noted how the attitudes and practices of male managers in manufacturing industry act to confine women to support, rather than core business roles. He says: "the women in management literature has shown how the 'typecasting' of women as nurturers means that they are often rewarded for service rather than for independent action". His view lends strong support to Sinclair's (1994) argument that the suggestion that competition for markets and talent will overcome prejudice overlooks the complexity and resilience of prejudice.

Prejudices and stereotypes feed into one another. The more women are allocated to support functions, the more likely they are to be perceived as better suited to those roles. The evidence suggests that all of these processes begin early in women's careers. Initial assignment to challenging positions is more significant for subsequent advancements than later events; early job assignments are crucial in establishing potential movement, on the 'first rungs' on a ladder (Woody and Weiss, 1994). But it takes longer to appraise women positively (Burton, 1991). By the time it occurs, they have missed out on the challenging assignments offered to their male peers.

Winston (1988) reports that employers will tell sex-atypical applicants that the job has already been filled, that they are unqualified (despite equal qualifications of male and female applicants), deny them an interview and request a resume instead, or offer a lower starting wage. These findings reveal that 'one or more of these forms of discrimination happened in twenty-two percent of cases where a woman applied for a typically male job and fifteen percent of cases when a man applied for a typically female job' (cited in Tomaskovic-Devey, 1994: 19)

Apart from these, women remain at a disadvantage even after succeeding in obtaining positions in core operational areas. Additional sources of bias come from the incongruity in performance reviewer's minds, of women's incumbency of traditionally male-held jobs. Women's performance in traditional male job is often devalued simply because they are women (Sackett, Dubois and Wiggins, 1991).

Organizational situation factors (especially selection for and tracking to challenging positions) were more significant for women's Chief Executive Officer (s) status than were individual background factors, in comparison both with male Chief Executive Officers and with female top managers. At the junior and middle levels of management, women are relatively unhindered because promotion depends heavily on demonstrable technical skills.

Also, men and women managers' advancement is most consistently and strongly associated with developmental and structural opportunities at work. Empirical research shows that fewer developmental opportunities are made available to women (Bevan and Thompson, 1992; Brockbank and Airey, 1994; Wernick, 1994; Burton and Ryall, 1995; Hall, 1995). Part of on-the-job learning is derived from interactions with others and is dependent in large measure on "the newcomer's ability to establish personal relationships with other members of the group" (Buono and Kamm, 1983). This process and the development of mentoring relationships are less likely to include women in the intimate way necessary for their effectiveness. Ibarra (1993) notes that the intimacy of mentor relationships is harder for women to establish with men (and for men to establish with women) than the more restricted and instrumental ties involved in more directly work-related interactions. Male mentors are less likely to assume that women are competent and they defer establishing mentor relationships with women until they have proved themselves (Ibarra, 1993). Yet it is through mentor relationships that people gain attention and

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visibility and their performance is drawn to the notice of more senior executives, (Ibarra, 1993). In sum, at the present time, there is a strong need to (i) review and re-validate Human Resource Management's policies and practices for a more demographically diverse workforce; and (ii) devise different developmental strategies for women in light of women's lesser access to opportunities that develop from informal arrangements and supports.

If organizations are more active in the recruitment, retaining and promotion of women to senior management positions, women will make positive contributions to "improving management skills, workforce relations and enterprise performance throughout the economy" (Karpin, 1995). There is evidence that women in senior management and on company boards lead to the addressing of cultural barriers in the workplace and to the improvement of organizational practice in relation to Human Resource Management (Burton, 1997).

Women's Characteristics

People's success is attributed to hard work, ability, and determination, and failure is attributed to indolence and incompetence. Likewise, the disparity in men's and women's status and position is attributed to differences in their character, attitudes and orientations which result from their biological nature, social experience, or both (Kanter, 1977).

Hence, in seeking an explanation for women's limited success in management, investigators have searched for answers in men's and women's

individual attributes and characteristics. In one notable survey of corporate men and women, Hennig and Jardim (1977) conclude that the sexes do have different beliefs, attitudes, and assumptions about themselves and each other, and about organizations and managerial roles. These differences they say result in female styles, emphases and responses that are dysfunctional for success in management. More specifically, Hennig and Jardim review certain sex differences in concepts of career, personal strategy, and subordinate role, which together reflect the "separate worlds of men and women in management.

Hennig and Jardim report that women see career development in terms of self-improvement and fulfillment, while men visualize a career, not as personal growth, but as a series of jobs or organizational promotions and advancements. The female emphasis on personal growth is related to a sense of career passivity or "waiting to be chosen". The passivity in turn depends for its rationale on women's belief in the formal, organizational roles and policies – the way things "should be done". At the same time women overlook the informal system or relationships, and exchanges – ties of loyalty, dependence, favours given and taken. On career development, women emphasize the importance of hard work, performance, and progressive achievement. But they fail to talk about the organizational environment and the need to gain visibility and exposure and to build connections with bosses, peers and subordinates.

Because women do depend on the formal structure they are often disappointed and immobilized when it fails them, and they are unable to accept the informal system as a continuing element, rather than an aberration, in the organization. Men on the other hand, recognize this organizational environment and build it into their careers: They act so that people will see them as having ability to move on; they attempt to influence those who can help them advance; they try to be needed by important people. And become necessary to them (Fox and Hesse-Biber, 1984). And this behaviour helps mend to advance.

A related sex difference centers on men and women's concepts of personal strategy. Hennig and Jardim report that the men focus on achieving a goal, or reaching an objective, with the critical; issue being "what's in it for me?" Women's definitions of strategy concentrate not on the goal but on the process of planning and finding the best methods of attainment. Hennig and Jardim suggest, then, that men are emphasizing objectives and cooperating to win in the world, as it is, while women struggle in an ineffable quest of the best possible method and the best possible world.

In sum, these sex differences – in concepts of career and strategy – are at the heart of women's difficulties advancing within management. The normal, managerial career path moves from a technical or specialist role, to the more general role of middle management, and from there upward towards a higher-level position requiring both specialization and broad decision making and problem solving.

Movement into senior management depends on this pivotal transition from technical manager to middle manager. And Hennig and Jardim maintain that this transition is "extraordinarily painful" for women. Women may function as outstanding supervisors, but they lack flexibility and the capacity to focus on long-term objectives. Rather, women "concentrate upon task, skill, and job performance, and ignore the critically important behavioural variables". Especially missing from women's behaviour is the development of alliances within the informal network of relationships. And this becomes a real hindrance because the activities of middle management are embedded in this informal network.

2.6 THEORETICAL ISSUES/FRAMEWORK

Under this section, a number of theories that offer explanations as to why occupational segregation by sex exist in management, and in the world of work in general will be discussed. The first set of theories principally explains the existence and persistence of occupational segregation by sex. The second sets of theories proceeded along sex-differentiated lines, following sex segregation in the labour market. Lastly, the major theory/model selected for analysis will be fully discussed.

Theories of Occupational Segregation by Sex

Occupational segregation by sex is extensive in every region, at all economic development levels, under all political systems, and in diverse religions, social and

cultural environments. It is one of the most important and enduring aspects of labour market around the world.

There are several reasons to be concerned with occupational segregation. It is a major source of labour market rigidity and economic inefficiency. Excluding a majority of workers from a majority of occupations, as at present, is wasteful of resources, increases labour market inflexibility, and reduces an economy's ability to adjust to change. With the globalization of production and intensified international competition, these factors have assumed greater importance.

Furthermore, occupational segregation by sex is detrimental to women. It has an important negative effect on how men view women and on how women view themselves. This in turn negatively affects women's status and income. The persistence of gender stereotypes also have negative effects on education and training and thus cause gender-based inequalities to be perpetuated into future generations.

Theories and Explanations

Researchers usually distinguish between labour supply and labour demand factors when explaining occupational segregation by sex. Factors related to labour supply generally focus on why women "prefer" certain types of occupation for example, women may "prefer" those with flexible hours in order to allow time for child care, and may also "prefer" occupations which are relatively easy to interrupt for a period of time to bear or rear children. Explanations related to labour demand

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focus on why employers generally "prefer" to hire women or men for particular occupations and why women and men have different opportunities for promotion, and career developments within firms (Anker, 1997; Anker and Hein, 1986).

The word "prefer" was put within quotation marks because, even when an individual chooses to accept work in a particular occupation or an employer chooses to employ either mainly men or mainly women, these decisions are influenced by learned cultural and social values that often discriminate against women (and sometimes against men) and stereotype occupations as "males" and "female". In other words, this "preference" is largely determined by learned, gender-related factors (Anker, 1997).

Theories explaining the existence of occupational segregation by sex can be classified into three broad categories: neo-classical and human capital theories; institutional and labour market segmentation theories; and non-economic and feminist or gender theories. Although these sets of theories overlap, this classification nonetheless provides a useful basis for discussion. However, it is important to point out that most of the research literature dealing with occupational segregation by sex is not concerned with occupational segregation *perse,* but with the effect it has on female-male pay differentials. For this reason, many theories and explanations treat the determinants of occupational segregation by sex and of male-female pay inequality as if these phenomena were the same. This is unfortunate;

since female-male pay differentials have many sources and occupational segregation by sex is only one of them.

The Neo-classical, human capital model

Neo-classical economics assumes that workers and employers are rational and that labour markets function efficiently. According to this theory, workers seek out the best-paying jobs after taking into consideration their own personal endowments (e.g. education and experience), constraints (e.g. young children to take care of), and preferences (e.g. a pleasant work environment). Employers try to maximize profits by maximizing productivity and minimizing costs to the extent possible, but because of competition and efficient labour markets, employers pay workers their marginal product.

Labour Supply

On the labour supply side, neo-classical/human capital theories stress the lower levels of female human capital in terms both of what women bring to the labour market, e,g. less education and less relevant fields of study as well as what they acquire after joining the labour market e.g. less expensive than men owing to intermittent or truncated labour market participation because of marriage and/or household/child care responsibilities (Blau and Khan, 1992; Hakim, 1992; World Bank, 1994; Ogawa and Clark, 1995). In short, according to these theories, women rightfully receive lower pay than men because of their lower productivity.

The productivity-related variables of education and labour market experience are believed also to affect women's choice of occupation. The effect of education on choice of occupation hardly needs comment. However, two observations are worth making here. First, in low-income countries with small formal/modern labour markets, there are often many more educated, qualified persons of both sexes than there are formal sector jobs (therefore much sought after). This implies, all things being equal that women should be reasonably well represented in a wide range of occupations in the formal sector (and at least in proportion to female-male educational levels). When this is not the case, it probably implies the presence of discrimination.

Second, the relationship between a woman's education and experience and her occupation is bi-directional in nature (Anker, 1997). While women may not choose or be offered work in particular occupations because they do not have the appropriate education or experience, it is also true that many parents decide to give their daughters less education (and in subject less relevant to the labour market) than they give their sons, and that women accumulate less labour market experience than men partly because they do not have the same labour market opportunities as men. These are very important factors helping to determine occupational segregation in the labour market. This phenomenon of reinforcement is not generally considered by neo-classical theory, which typically represents static rather than a dynamic, longitudinal perspective.

Neo-classical theories also stress the fact that women are almost exclusively responsible for housework and childcare around the world (e.g. UNDP, 1995; United Nations, 1991). These family responsibilities cause many women to gain less work experience than men owing either to early and permanent withdrawal from the labour force (e.g. because of marriage), or to temporary withdrawal from the labour force in order to care for young children. According to the theory, this implies that women would rationally choose occupations with relatively high starting pay, relatively low returns to experience, and relatively low penalties for temporary withdrawal from the labour force, including occupations which are flexible in terms of entry and working hours.

However, several problems arise if this theory is adopted as the only explanation to occupational segregation by sex. First, women's labour force commitment has increased greatly in recent decades, as indicated by the disappearance of the double-humped (or m-shaped) age-specific labour force participation curve (Anker, 1997). Second, the amount of household and family-based work which needs to be done has fallen in many countries in recent years owing to increasing age at marriage and falling fertility almost everywhere, as well as to the use of household aids (washers, cookers, etc) in higher-income countries. Third, the increasing incidence of female-headed households all over the world (Buvini, 1995) implies that ever more women need to work continuously simply to earn a living. These various changes imply that women are gaining greater labour

market experience, which, according to neo-classical theory, should lead to major changes in the types of occupation women prefer and are offered. Despite all these changes, however, occupational segregation by sex remains very high all over the world (although it is true that in many countries it has fallen over the past decades (Anker, 2000).

Labour demand

According to neo-classical/human capital theory, many of the factors influencing women and men's preferences for particular occupations also influence employers' preferences for male or female workers. Thus, jobs requiring a relatively high level of education are more likely to be offered to men than to women (although the relevance of this argument is somewhat questionable in the numerous countries like Nigeria, where men and women have now achieved similar levels of education) as are jobs where experience and on-the-job training are relatively important (although, again, the relevance of this argument is decreasing in importance in many countries as women's labour force commitment increases).

In addition, women are often considered to be higher-cost workers (even when the same wage rate applies) because of a number of supposedly higher, indirect labour costs associated with women workers. According to the theory, this should affect the types of job employers offer women, depending on the relative importance of each of these factors for each occupation. For example, women are often said to have higher rates of absenteeism (probably in part because of family responsibilities

which cause women to miss work in order to care for family members). Women are often said to be late to work more frequently (again probably in part because of family responsibilities). Women are also often said to have higher labour turnover rates, which can be an important indirect cost for employers, who have to find and train new workers. This higher turnover rate is said to occur because many women leave jobs in order to take care of young children [and, in some countries, because of marriage (Papola, 1986)].

It is important to question assumptions that higher direct and indirect labour costs are associated with female workers than with male workers, especially in view of the relative paucity of empirical evidence either way. In this regard, a series of empirical studies in Third World countries are informative (Anker and Hein, 1985; 1986). A total of 423 employers, 2,517 women workers and 803 men workers were interviewed in five developing countries (Cyprus, Ghana, India, Mauritius and Sri Lanka) by means of structured survey questionnaires. Results from these studies call into question a number of the assumptions described above. For example, while individual women were found to have higher absenteeism rates, and many employers stressed the importance of this factor, on average the difference between male and female absenteeism rates proved to be small. Study results also indicated similar labour turnover rates for women and men. This unexpected result was due to the greater likelihood of men leaving for another job, and of women leaving their jobs for family reasons.

Labour laws and regulations sometimes directly affect the demand for women workers. Protective legislation sometimes prohibits women from working in certain occupations and/or under certain conditions. For example, women may be prohibited from night work (see the provisions of the ILO's night work (women) Convention, 1919 (No. 4); from working underground in mines [see the underground Work (women) Convention, 1935 (No. 45)]; or from carrying heavy loads (see the Maximum Weight Convention, 1967 (No. 127]. Although protective laws and Conventions were drawn up with the best of intentions to protect women, many observers now believe that these laws are no longer relevant and should be changed (Lim, 1996). Labour laws and regulations can also increase the comparative cost of employing female workers. For example,. Paid maternity leave increases the cost of women workers relative to men and so can become an indirect form of sex discrimination if employers have to bear this cost (Melkas and Anker, 2001).

Faced by the fact that the sex segregation of occupations and female-male pay differences persist and cannot be fully explained by different characteristics of men and women, neo-classical economists have developed complementary theories to explain the persistence of occupational segregation by sex, without abandoning their basic assumptions of rationality and efficient labour markets.

According to a model of employer behaviour developed by Becker (1971), employers – in common with many other citizens – are prejudiced against certain groups of workers. Usually, but not always, this prejudice – *a preference for*

discrimination – is directed against persons who are different because of visible characteristics such as race, disability, age or sex (Anker, 1995). Because of this prejudice, employers are said to sustain disability (i.e. a cost) when they hire someone from, the group discriminated against. Therefore, according to this theory, employers behave rationally when they hire fewer people from that group, since they can thus avoid such a "cost".

There are two main problems with Becker's model. First, it is unclear how this system can be sustained in a competitive economy. One would expect less prejudiced employers to hire more people from the group discriminated against in order to decrease costs and increase profits; this implies that over time the behaviour of unprejudiced employers would prevail because of competitive forces in the capitalist system. Second, even if one assumes that some employers are predisposed to discriminate, the great overlap in the skills, preferences, etc of individual men and women should make it likely that both the sexes would be substantially represented in every occupation – but this is not the case. On the other hand, these problems could be explained by the existence of strongly held social values and stereotypes (see discussion below on feminist/gender theories) and by statistical discrimination theory (see discussion below on institutional and labour market segmentation theories).

The *compensating differentials model* is another neo-classically based economic theory sometimes mentioned as casting light on women's preference for

certain occupations as well as on the lower pay in a typical female occupation. According to this model, women prefer occupations with good working conditions as they wish to avoid unpleasant and dangerous working conditions and/or to have jobs with good fringe benefits e.g. health insurance and crèches; the avoidance of unpleasant and dangerous conditions could be especially significant in cases where men are the chief breadwinners and women are secondary earners. In these circumstances, the lower monetary rewards in typical "female" occupations are said to be partly explained by some "pay" being taken in non-wage forms. While there may be some truth in this argument in countries where cultural values restrict the types of job women can do, it is much more difficult to accept in countries where a substantial percentage of women work and/or when women are the principal earners in the family. In any case, the explanation for the low pay in many typical "female" occupations (e.g. teachers, nurses, etc) is unlikely to be the prevalence of pleasant working conditions.

In short, neo-classical economics and human capital theory make valuable contributions to understanding occupational segregation by sex and typically lower pay of women workers. This theory highlights the important role played by systematic differences in the human capital accumulated by men and women. All these factors negatively affect women's productivity and pay, and limit the occupations for which they qualify. For these reasons, neo-classical/human capital theories stress the need for policies to address non-labour market factors so as to

reduce occupational segregation by sex. This implies that policy-makers should be concerned with non-labour market variables such as education, family policy, family planning, and a more equal sharing between the sexes of child care and household work.

As to labour market policies, these theories imply that policy markers should seek to increase women's human capital, especially education and training in non-traditional occupations (e.g. management); to help women combine work and child care/housework, possibly through the provision of crèches, or the reorganization of work time, or the removal of parental leave provisions that indirectly discriminate against female workers; and to eliminate labour law provisions that prohibit the employment of women in certain occupations.

Institutional and Labour Market Segmentation theories

Institutional and labour market segmentation theories also rely on well-established economic thought and neo-classical logic. Their starting point is the assumption that institutions, such as unions and large enterprises, play an important role in determining who is hired, fired and promoted, and how much they are paid. Institutional theories also begin with the assumption that labour markets are segmented in certain ways. And while each labour market segment may function according to neo-classical theory, it is difficult for workers to pass from one segment to another.

The best known is *dual labour market theory,* which distinguishes between a "primary" and "secondary" sector (Doeringer and Piore, 1971). Other labour market segmentation theories divide the labour market into "static" and "progressive" jobs (Standing, 1989) and "formal" and "informal" sectors (ILO, 1972). Jobs in the primary sector are relatively good in terms of pay, security, opportunities for advancement and working conditions. Secondary sector jobs tend to be relatively poor as regards pay, chances for promotion and working conditions, and to provide little protection or job security. These two labour markets are perceived as functioning independently of each other to a substantial degree, largely because firms in the primary sector have some market power which insulates them, somewhat from competition, whereas those in the secondary sector face fierce competition. Although the distinction between primary and secondary sectors has become less marked in recent years in both industrialized and developing countries (because of increased subcontracting and the globalization of trade), it still retains a significant degree of relevance.

It is a relatively short step to adapt the concept of dual labour markets to occupational segregation by sex, with one labour market segment comprised of "female" occupations and another of "male" occupations. This segmentation implies relatively low wage rates in "female" occupations because many women workers are "overcrowded" into a small number of "female" occupations (Bergmann, 1974).

"Male" occupations, on the other hand, benefit from reduced competition within a wider set of occupations and, consequently, tend to enjoy relatively high wage rates.

The nature of the jobs available in the primary sector would lead one to expect an under-representation of women and, since such jobs are more secure, firms in this sector can be expected to accord a relatively high value to firm-specific experience and low labour turnover. Consequently, given their generally more continuous labour market experience, male workers should tend to be favored by primary sector employers. Furthermore, since primary sector firms can pay higher wages, they are in a position to cream off the best qualified workers; this again implies that primary sector firms should tend to prefer men, who tend to be better educated and more experienced than women.

Another economic theory related to labour market segmentation is *statistical discrimination theory*. This is based on the assumption that there are differences on average, in the productivity, skills, experience, etc., of distinct groups of workers (such as men and women), and high search and information costs associated with recruitment and promotion discussions. In such circumstances, it is argued, it is rational for employers to discriminate against groups of workers (such as women) when differences, on average, between the abilities of persons from different groups (e.g. women and men) cost less to sustain than the decision-making costs associated with identifying suitable individual workers of either sex. Statistical discrimination theories thus provides an explanation for how some occupations are almost entirely

male even though many individual women have greater ability, more education, etc than many individual men (Melkas and Anker, 2001; UNDP, 1995; United Nations, 1991).

One aspect ignored by statistical discrimination theory is the role played by occupational segregation by sex in perpetuating labour market discrimination into the next generation. Because women are generally discriminated against, they are likely to obtain less education than men and to pursue careers that reinforce the current segregation. A second problem with statistical discrimination theory is that it may be less relevant for explaining discrimination in promotion (as opposed to recruitment), since in many enterprises the information costs involved in the former may be less than those involved in the latter.

In summary, labour market segmentation theories are very useful for understanding sex inequality in the labour market, since they stress the existence of segregated labour markets and occupations. However, they do not explain _why_ occupations are segmented by sex; after all, the same occupations are found in both primary and secondary labour markets. And, labour market segmentation theory is better at explaining vertical occupational segregation by sex (why men are more likely than women to have better quality jobs in the same occupation), which is a major source of female-male wage differentials.

Despite the valuable contributions of neo-classical/human capital theory and institutional and labour market segmentation theories to the understanding of sex

inequality in the labour market, they are less helpful in understanding occupational segregation by sex. In particular, they fail to consider adequately a number of critical non-economic and non-labour market variables and forms of behaviour, mainly because these lie outside the competence (and often interest) of economists. Examples of such variables are: why women come to the labour market with lower levels of education and in less relevant subjects; why housework and childcare are almost always the sole responsibility of women; why important labour market segregation based on sex persists despite a wide overlap in the abilities of individual men and women; why the sex stereotyping of women in society generally is reflected so consistently in stereotypically "female" occupations; and why occupational segregation by sex has persisted so strongly despite recent major increases in the education and labour force commitment of women. Yet explaining these types of non-economic issues is critical to understanding occupational segregation by sex. Feminist or gender theories address many of these issues.

Feminist/Gender theories and related Explanations

Feminist or gender theories are mainly concerned with non-labour market variables which economists take as given. A basic premise of gender theories is that women's disadvantaged position in the labour market is caused by, and is a reflection of, patriarchy and women's subordinate position in society and the family. In all societies, household work and childcare are seen as women's chief responsibility, while being the breadwinner is perceived as men's main

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responsibility. The fact that these societal norms and perceptions bear little relation to the daily lives of many women, men and families does not detract from the influence on people's behaviour and their contribution to gender-based discrimination against women (Anker, 1997).

This division of responsibilities and the patriarchal ordering of society are instrumental in determining why women usually accumulate less human capital compared with men before entering the labour market – that is, why girls receive less education than boys, and are less likely to pursue fields of study, such as sciences and crafts, of greater relevance to the labour market. Overall, women are perceived as having a lesser need for labour market skills. These same influences are also instrumental in explaining why women acquire less labour market experience, on average, because many of them withdraw from the labour force early, and many others withdraw from the labour force temporarily.

Gender theory makes a valuable contribution to explaining occupational segregation by sex by showing how closely the characteristics of "female" occupations mirror the common stereotypes of women and their supposed abilities. There are some basic characteristics commonly attributed to women which may have an effect on occupational segregation by sex. These are divided into three groups of stereotypes (positive, negative and other).

The five "positive" stereotypes presented are: a caring nature; skill and experience in household related work; greater manual dexterity; greater honesty; and

attractive physical appearance. It seems logical to hypothesize that these characteristics, if true, would help "qualify" women for the following ISCO occupations: nurse, doctor, social worker, teacher, maid, housekeeper, cleaner, cook, etc (Anker, 1997).

The five "negative" stereotypes presented are: disinclination to supervise others; lesser physical strength; lesser ability in science and mathematics; lesser willingness to travel; and lesser willingness to face physical danger and to use physical force. These characteristics negatively affect women's acceptability in various occupations, which consequently helps ensure that they become typical "male" occupations. These stereotypes, if true, would help "disqualify" women for the following types of ISCO occupation: manager, Supervisor, government executive officer/administrator, architect, engineer, etc. (Anker, 1997).

Finally, three other stereotypes are presented: greater willingness to take orders, greater docility and lesser inclination to complain about work or working conditions, lesser inclination to join trade unions, greater tolerance of monotonous repetitive work; greater willingness to accept lower wages and less need for income; and greater interest in working at home. These stereotypes have a greater influence on the general characteristics typifying "female" occupations (such as low pay, high flexibility, low status, less decision-making authority) than on qualifying or disqualifying women for particular occupations.

The influence of such sex stereotyping in occupational segregation by sex was brought out very clearly in a series of enterprise surveys sponsored by the ILO in transition economies (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia) and developing countries (India, Cyprus, Sri Lanka and Ghana). Employers were asked directly whether they preferred to employ men or women for certain occupations and types of work. Given the directness and bluntness of the questions, it seems reasonable to assume that responses admitting sex bias represent only the tip of the iceberg.

Despite the nature of the questions, however, many employers indicated that a person's sex is an important consideration affecting hiring and promotion decisions. In surveys in 1992/93 conducted in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia, roughly 90% of the employers interviewed indicated that they preferred to employ men to do repair and maintenance work, whereas virtually none preferred women; 35 – 55% preferred to employ men in professional occupations; in general production and skilled operative occupations, compared with only about 10% who preferred to employ women in these occupations (Paukert, 1995).

In other enterprise survey conducted in Hungary and Bulgaria in 1991/92, 55-65% of the employers interviewed preferred men in production occupations compared with 15-25% who preferred women (Sziracki and Windell, 1992). In Cyprus (1981), when asked a general question about whether certain types of job are considered more suitable for women or for men, 85% of employers indicated a

preference for employing men in certain jobs and 89% indicated a preference for women in certain (other) jobs (House, 1986). In Lucknow, India (1982), roughly 60% of the employers interviewed reported that women were unsuitable or less suitable than men for sales production, service and executive/supervisory occupations (Papola, 1986). In Accra, Ghana (1982), 21% of the employers interviewed indicated that they sometimes refused to hire women for fear that they would become pregnant (Date-Bah, 1986).

Why are "female" Occupations flexible?

It seems clear that women's responsibility for housework and child care affects the types of job many women prefer, since job flexibility in terms of hours (or part-time jobs) and relatively easy entry/exit/re-entry enable women to combine work and family responsibilities more easily. On this, gender theories and neo-classical theories agree.

However, there are two possible reasons why "female" occupations tend to be flexible in terms of hours and labour turnover. It could be that women gravitate towards occupations with these characteristics (either because of women's preference and characteristics and/or because employers prefer to employ women in these occupations), as explained by economic theory. Or it could be that occupations become "female", because of the sort of sex stereotyping just described – with flexible working conditions emerging as a consequence of the fact that these are "female" occupations.

Although neo-classical economic/human capital theory holds that the preferences of women and employers are responsible for the concentration of women in flexible occupations, feminist theory does not support such an unequivocal conclusion, since both the possibilities noted above are consistent with it. Why family responsibilities can be expected to increase women's preferences for flexible occupations, the stereotyping of certain work as suitable for women can be expected to affect the types of occupation open to them (Rubery and Fagan, 1993).

Cultural restrictions on women's freedom

Gender theories also point out how cultural restrictions contribute to the establishment of what is acceptable work for women and how in some countries, they effectively bar women from certain occupations. This is an extreme form of sex stereotyping. For example, in many Muslim societies, purdah effectively forbids women from interacting with unknown men in public (as in the northern part of Nigeria). As a result, many Muslim women are strongly discouraged from taking sales jobs except in shops where the customers are all women; women are excluded from factory jobs except when the entire factory workforce is female. Cultural restrictions on women's freedom of movement are enforced through strong social sanctions, which often include sexual harassment or rude behaviour by men.

Conclusion

On the whole, it can be concluded that, the neo-classical/humans capital theories correctly point out how women are less well qualified than men for certain

occupations because of differences in their education and years of experience. So, for example, all over the world men, not women are engineers because very few women train to be engineers; on the other hand women, not men, are nurses because very few men train to be nurses. Labour market segmentation theories are correct in their basic premise that labour markets are indeed segmented and this segmentation undoubtedly helps reduce wages in "female" occupations through the "overcrowding" effect.

However, the basic tenets of gender theories indicate that gender theories provide the most compelling explanations for the sex segregation of occupations, given that they emphasize enormous overlap in the abilities and preferences of individual men and women (Anker, 1997). They also address the underlying reasons for segregation inside as well as outside the labour market. They help explain why the most important occupations in which women are employed around the world reinforce typical "female" stereotypes such as the caring, docile or home-based woman worker. They help explain why women acquire less experience than men, because women are overwhelmingly responsible for childcare at home. They help explain why women in certain countries are virtually excluded from occupations, which involve public contact between men and women (like Nigeria).

They explain how the restricted and inferior labour market opportunities for women associated with occupational segregation are perpetuated into the next generation, because such limited prospects cause many families and many women –

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to under-invest in women's education, training and experience. They help explain why the part-time work and/or flexible hours associated with so many "female" occupations are as much a reaction to the fact that these are "female" occupations as they are to the need for "flexibility" in these occupations. They help explain why, despite high unemployment rates; relatively few men in industrialized countries have so far been willing to enter typical "female" occupations.

With increasing competition across the globe, it is increasingly important for countries to make efficient use of their resources. What could be a more important source of labour market inefficiency than the extensive segmentation of male and female workers? With the impact of the women's liberation movement, and an increasing participation of women in the labour force and in public life, what could be more important than equal labour market opportunities for men and women? In both these respects, the sex segregation of occupations has an important influence. The stereotyping of men and women around the world has import implications for development and competitiveness.

Policy-makers need to address more seriously the inequality of labour market opportunities and its effect on both men and women. A wide variety of policies and programmes is needed – for example, facilitating policies to reduce the burden on women of family responsibilities, consciousness-raising programmes to remove gender stereotypes and prejudices; educational policies to bring about greater gender equality in schooling and training, especially with a respect to opening access to non-

traditional occupations for both men and women; an equal opportunity and affirmative action policies, especially those opening up new opportunity for men and women. Action is required on all these fronts to reduce occupational segregation between men and women with benefits not only for the present workforce and economy, but also for the future.

Job model versus gender model

Following sex segregation in the labour market, the actual study of work has proceeded along sex – differentiated lines. Feldberg and Glenn (1982) argued that separate models for men and women's relationship to employment are a logical outcome of the sexual division of labour characteristics of the middle period of industrial capitalism. A period when sexual division of labour became more rigid as women were forced to withdraw from production and to devote their attention to domestic roles. The result was the creation of two sociologies of work – the job model for men and the gender model for women. The job model, like the structural approach, emphasizes work conditions and a work orientation in explaining male work behaviour. On the other hand, the gender model borrowed basic assumptions from the neoclassical economic approach, and thus emphasized individual variables. It used family interests and personal qualities to explain female work behaviour. This model ignores type of job and working conditions. Rather women's labour force participation rates were attributed to variables such as educational level, marital

status, the number and ages of children, husband's income and husband's attitude toward wife's employment.

In most cases, the decision to seek employment or to remain employed, and the choice of occupation are seen as products of unique 'female' motivations rather than of·the structure of the local market and other related factors. Following the gender model, many studies have tried to establish relationship between being employed and family life of married women (Aina, 1992; Viola, 1995; Aluko, 2003). Other studies looked at the impact of women's employment on division of household labour (Trager 1996) and on power distribution in the home. Subsequently, women on-the-job experience has been a neglected area of study.

Recent studies (Chovwen, 2004; Udegbe, 1998; Udegbe and Omare, 1994) are now applying the job model to the study of women at work. This is to correct some of the distortions created by gender model in the analysis of women at work; and to re-examine the existing finding about sex differences in work behaviours, particularly, those which see men as more ambitious, task oriented, and work – involved and women as being more concerned with social relationships at work.

Kanter (1977) looked at the impact of institutional opportunity structures on women's evaluations of work and their aspirations for mobility. She argued that when women seem to be less motivated or committed, it is probably because their jobs carry less opportunity. By focusing on how people respond to their position in a structure of opportunity, poser and numerical distributions of men and women at the

upper reaches, Kanter (1977) wrote of the unique experience of women within the world of work. Engagement with work (how much ambition, how much commitment), ways of seeking social recognition, and amount of risk-taking are all bound up with opportunity structure. According to Kanter (1977), those low in opportunity are unlikely to develop the motivation to improve their situation and, therefore, a downward cycle of deprivation is set in motion.

The structure of opportunity in a way helps to define the ways people perceive themselves and their jobs. Tannebaum, Karcic, Rosner, Vianello, and Weiser (1974) noted the general psychological consequence of hierarchical organizations when they wrote "hierarchy, in America plants at least, represents to many organization members the path of achievement, while movement along the hierarchy implies personal success or failure". This is to say that relative opportunity could account for the ways people involve themselves in work. Kanter (1977) wrote:

> ...for those that had it, opportunity was seductive, and it had self-image close to career progress. Those in high opportunity situations invested themselves heavily in work and concerned themselves with learning those things that would be useful to them on the journey upward.

Aspirations, work commitment, and a sense of organizational responsibility could also be aroused by a dramatic increase in opportunity. People with low ceilings in their jobs (the people at dead ends) relate to work and get involved with the organization and with its people, very differently from high opportunity movers. To cope with a lack of opportunity, people tend not to put the organization within their

central life focus, rather career is strictly instrumental. The worker expresses this in form of depressed aspirations, low commitment or non-responsibility. Aspirations are not necessarily low to begin with, but they may be lowered as people encounter the realities of their job situation. Those with low opportunity may also be less committed to the organization or to their work in general.

A common research finding is that people at the upper levels of organizations tentatively tend to be more motivated, involved, and interested in their jobs than those at lower levels. A study of blue-collar men showed that work commitment is low under conditions of low opportunity (Lipset and Bendix, 1962). From observation, occupations available to women have generally been those with less reward in terms of money and prestige than those available to men. Hence, Kanter (1977) stated that women seem to be less motivated or committed principally because their jobs carry less opportunity. They tend to develop attitudes and orientations now generally considered to be characteristics of women as a group.

Two sociological studies have brought an ironic twist to the popular picture of women as being less intrinsically work oriented, than men. The first, Dubin (1956), using a sample of men, demonstrated that work is not a "central life interest" of factory workers while the second, Orzack (1969), showed that work is a central life interest of professionals by studying all-women sample of nurses. Ironically, these women exhibit job satisfaction but not necessarily personal friendships at work. Also, women are said to be more committed than men at upper levels

especially after working hard to overcome barriers. This is to say that efforts help to build commitment. Men with low opportunity look more like the stereotype of women in their orientation toward work, as research on blue-collar men has shown. Also, this limits men's aspirations, while they also seek satisfaction in activities outside of work, dream of escape, interrupt their careers, emphasize leisure and consumption, and create sociable peer groups in which interpersonal relationships take precedence over other aspects of work.

Apart from promotion opportunity structures, Kanter (1977) argued that the attitudes and behaviours of male and female employees are strongly influenced by differences in their positions in the organization's power structures and by the proportion of their co-workers with similar demographic characteristics. The essential feature of power in organizations is the ability to control resources, capital, people's work, and things. Indeed, for most people, being "higher up" means precisely the ability to control one's work and the work process of others. Women in large hierarchical organizations are especially often caught in the cycles of powerlessness. There is considerable evidence for a general culture attitude that men make better leaders. In fact studies (Udegbe, 1998; 2003) have shown that women are much less likely than men to be in position of authority, even when they have the same level of education and occupation status. For the few women bosses in the positions of authority, a long list of negative characteristics have been attributed to them by those who do not want them.

Comparing men and women supposedly in the same position, Kanter (1977) argued that what look like sex differences may really be power differences; traced directly to differences in organizational power of the men and women leaders, especially when women have more limited aspirations, they tend to be much less mobile and much more powerless. The tendency is for the powerless to be handicapped in leadership. Most women bosses are found in tightly supervised and rules-conscious hierarchies and concern with detail. For example, government agencies where more women managers are found than in private business epitomize bureaucracy in civil service structure, endless red tape, and concern with rules and regulations. They therefore, perpetuate the style downward, as they learn business as leadership style from their own role models.

In corporations where women managers are few, and represent tokens, women are watched more closely, so that again the restriction of their own latitude of conduct may be transmitted to subordinates. Also, as women managers are likely to manage relatively powerless subordinates, these powerless subordinates may take out their own frustration in resistance to their managers, provoking them to adapt more coercive styles. Kanter (1977) therefore, argued that without the minor deviations from the rules that in fact make the system work and, without enough knowledge and faith in outcomes to loosen control, women managers may be proved to be too directive, controlling and details – oriented.

The basic flaws in "job" and "gender" models analyses have led feminist scholars to develop what is now called the "integrated model" (exemplified in the works of Feldberg and Glenn, 1982). The basic assumptions of the integrated model are presented in the subsequent paragraphs.

The Integrated Model

Feldberg and Glenn (1982) noted that while researchers who used the job model recognized the inappropriateness of gender model for analyzing the situations of women at work, they tend to take the shortcomings of the job model for granted. Perhaps they assumed that whatever model has been used to study men must be valid for all workers. It was argued that this is a reflection of the tendency to use men as the standard to define normal human behaviour.

The job-gender paradigm assumes homogeneity among members of each sex. Variations and differences among members of each sex are ignored, while macro structural variables are left unexplained. The job-gender paradigm defines job conditions as problematic for men and domestic roles as problematic for women. Research endeavors thus tends to focus on strains for women and their families resulting from women having two jobs, while the impact of conditions of women's employment in specific jobs are left unstudied. Meanwhile, domestic work is treated as 'non-work' while paid employment is identified as the only form of real work.

Feldberg and Glenn (1982) argued for an integrated model, which takes into account interaction between job and gender factors. To understand women's

responses to paid work, including hours and pace of work, extent of rationalization, kinds of skills, and types of work standards, Feldberg et-al (1982) stated that the behaviour of men cannot be understood only by examining work as the primary independent variable and the behaviour of women cannot be understood only by using personal and non-work factors as primary independent variables. Both personal and work variables affect work attitudes and behaviour. Reeves and Darville (1986) found that this integrated model is a more meaningful model to use both for work positions that are stereotyped and not stereotyped by sex.

To locate work that people do within the context of their total lives, we need a new paradigm that extends beyond the integrated model, that is, a model which incorporates macro-level analysis with the integrated model of Felberg and Glenn. The integrated model ignored cultural and ideological issues. In order to come up with appropriate paradigm in the study of gender differences at work, due considerations need to be given to detailed analysis of both formal structures, and informal processes.

For example, protective legislation is being increasingly questioned, since it is seen as a mixed blessing. Though it provides for what are believed to be socially desirable objectives, it can also be seen as "protectionist" and a form of discrimination against women, since it limits women's employment opportunities and raises the relative cost of women workers. Armstrong (1984) argued that the inability of women to work night shift can explain at least partially, why men tend to

be preferred in capital – intensive industries where equipment must be used continuously in order to be profitable. Feminist theorists therefore see women subordination in the labour market and in the home as part of overall social system in which women are subordinate to men. Hartman (1976) traced the impact on women of the Industrial Revolution in England and argued that male trade unions played a role in restricting employment opportunities for women who, being paid lower wages, were a threat to men's jobs. Low wages kept women dependent on men and justified their performing domestic chores for men, which in turn weakened women's position in the labour market, thus releasing men for better and more stable jobs.

Contributing to the ongoing debate on gender analysis in work organizations, the present study argues that the integrated model cannot sufficiently account for the everyday life experiences of women, which have been neglected by traditional theories (scientific management school; human relations and human resources tradition). This is because the integrated model has failed to incorporate systemic variables, that is, the values and ideologies behind individual behaviour and perception of gender roles. To incorporate individual attributes, organizational and societal influences, the present study uses the "gender–organization-system" approach as a central explanatory schema. The choice of the Weberian tradition of the social action perspective and Durkheimian objective social reality, earlier exemplified in the work of Peter Berger (1970), helps us to go beyond interpretative

understanding, to identifying conflict in women's lives between meaning systems inherited from the culture and those that are experientially acquired.

Social Action Theory and Organizational Analysis

Social action theory in organization analysis has mainly been used to explain orientations to work and, like other traditional theories, it has not focused on gender analysis _perse_. However, to expand its present scope, and particularly to incorporate gender analysis at both individual and structural levels of organizational analysis, the Weberian tradition of the social action perspective is used in conjunction with Durkhiemian objective social reality exemplified in the work of Peter Berger (1970). Beyond Berger's theoretical model, the present study also incorporates the need-theory model of work motivation, for it is assumed that this is central to individual action as the choices made by the individual are constrained by elements within the larger social context.

Human activity embodies both social action and social structure simultaneously. Social structures exist through their manifestation in human action. Action not only reproduces structures, but also continually transforms them. At the same time such action takes place within a social system, (which involves inequalities of power, knowledge and material resources) and suffers the constraints this imposes as well as employing the resources distributed through the social structure.

Actors are thinking, choosing beings that control their own actions through thought. These thoughts also draw upon a stock of shared concepts and beliefs, which are held in common by the actor's social group. Thus, rather than look for external causes of behaviour, attempt is made to locate meaningful social action within its social context. Relevant to this study is Weber's (1964) attempt to reconcile large-scale historical comparative studies with a methodology, which began from the individual social act. Historical trends and social institutions are ultimately reducible to the unique individual actions from which they derive, while at the same time, such actions have characteristic motives and goals which derive from the broader cultural context. Weber (1978) defined action as "human behaviour when the agent(s) see it as subjectively meaningful". Weber therefore emphasized the motive present in the mind of the actor, which is the "cause" of the act. The actor's motive could be grasped by using empathy and rational judgment. To Weber (1964), there is need to explain the act, since to explain, for science concerned with the meaning of actions, is to grasp the complex of meanings into which a directly intelligible action fits by virtue of its subjective intended meaning.

Society, in many instances, has been seen as a mere "mental event" sustained only by shared definitions, and assumptions of actors. Giddens (1979) observed that society is more than just this, for individual citizens may believe in the existence of liberty or equality for example, while the real distribution of power and economic advantage will constrain their actions. What people may intend to do by acting, their

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actions will have unintended consequences. The nature of these consequences will depend on the interlocking connections between parts of the social structure, and on the way the social system operates as a dynamic system. Although the perceptions of society certainly are used by actors in the course of their action, these perceptions are hardly reliable and they hardly constitute the sum total of social reality. Action is creative and innovative but it never takes place outside social contexts, which involve inequalities of power, knowledge and material resources as well as socially constructed meanings, definitions and rules. The actions often have unintended consequences which might not be randomized but depends upon the nature of the social system.

Peter Berger (1970), however, sustained the Weberian tradition by integrating this with **Durkheimian Collective Consciousness**. Berger tried to show how the subjective reality of individual consciousness is socially constructed. Societal objective reality and internalization process are closely knit while psychological reality is an ongoing dialectical relationship with social structure. Here, psychological phenomena refer to the manner in which the individual apprehends herself, her process of consciousness and her relations with others. Whatever its roots, psychological reality arises in the individual in the course of social process and is maintained by virtue of social processes. Society not only defines but creates psychological reality. The individual realize herself in society, that is, recognizes her identity in socially defined terms and these definitions become reality as she lives in

society. Berger therefore argued that socialization takes place only when the individual takes the attitude of others, and relates to herself as others have first related to her. As the individual identifies and locates herself in the world of her society, she finds herself the possessor of a predefined assemblage of psychological processes, both "conscious" ones, and even some with psychosomatic effects.

It is therefore assumed that social action takes place in the context of social structures, which are transformed as they are reproduced. The use of the action approach in the study of work attitudes and behaviour has helped to overcome some of the inadequacies of the earlier systems theories. It has helped to re–emphasize the dynamics of social interaction within the organizational life. It has focused on the orientation that participants bring into the organization, including the origin, the dimension, and the dynamics of these orientations. Action approach thus seeks to tackle both the "micro" problem of the orientations and behaviour of particular actors and the "macro" problem of the pattern of relations that is established by their interaction. It thus combines both the internal and external logic of organizational behaviour.

At the micro-level, instead of explaining action as a mechanistic reaction to the socio-technical structure of the organization or as a mere reflection of the nature of class relations, it explains action in terms of the definitions of the situation and views actors' aspirations as a product of their prior orientation from their extra-organizational statuses and their historical experiences of the past. By this, the

approach establishes a relationship between the work and non-work spheres of life. At the macro-level, the social action approach stresses the need to understand the system of expectations that is established as individuals pursue their objectives in the context of the meanings and symbolic resources, which they and other actors inculcate, from the larger structure.

Orientation is a measure or reflection of how an individual views a particular situation in terms of what she desires from it and the extent to which she expects these desires to be achieved in it (Whynn, 1980). Two parts are therefore identified: first, the way an individual views a particular situation; second, the wants, expectations, and aspirations that the individual attaches to that situation. Both are however related, for it is likely that the individual's perception of a situation will influence the wants, expectations and aspirations she attaches to that situation. Orientations and behaviour are therefore, influenced by factors both internal and external to the organization and the individual. In-puts of situational (current) factors and background (prior) factors of influence act as intervening variables. Within a framework embracing the individual, the organization and the environment, the focus is principally on the individual worker, as she makes decisions within the constraints and opportunities encountered both inside and outside the organization. The organization is therefore supposed to be designed to satisfy the identified wants/needs of the individual, in the belief that the desired behavioural response will be achieved.

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Bennett (1978) suggested some major variables which have important influence on behaviour in organizations, part of which include: the culture, climate, or overall ethos of organization; the pattern of behaviour of management (its management style); the structure of roles, authority and decision-making; the nature of the tasks or work to be done; the kind of the technology available for doing the work; and the external environment within which the organization has to operate. Some of these variables act as constraints, while others provide for opportunities to behave in ways not directly associated with the job in hand. It is necessary to take into account different ways these could influence the orientation brought to work and the subsequent influence on work attitude/adaptation. An individual enters an organization with a particular orientation-set, which continues to influence his or her orientation at work. She perceived the effects of different organizational variables and makes decisions or judgments as to how she will behave. (Afonja, 1981; Alo, 1984; Aina, 1992).

The present study, therefore, adopts the social action model of work orientation and tries to understand work orientation as an interplay of motivational factors. Motivation, as an integral part of action theory, explains the generation and reduction of tension, although its main focus is defined by orientation and decision theory. Decision assumes that within orientation theory choices among alternatives are available, while the process of orientation is guided by the principle, which maximally reduces uncertainty. However, the central question to motivation is why

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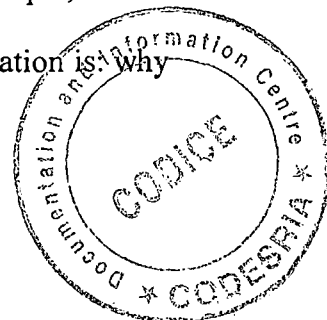
do people work at all? If the answer to this question is not the same for men and women, why do we have such distinction? Why do we have continuous recorded gender inequality at work? It is therefore, assumed that gender factors have a strong influence on the general attachment to work.

Also, **the need-theory model** of work motivation is central to individual action as the choices made by the individual are constrained by elements within the larger social context, for example, constraints caused by limited economic choices available to the individual. This theory is exemplified in the works of Maslow (1954) and Alderfer (1969). People differ in their choice of needs, and accordingly their behaviour also differs. These inconsistent responses in behaviour are factors, which theories of motivation try to explain, in order to be able to predict behaviour. A person has the freedom to decide and, through his/her decisions, to attain need satisfaction.

In most developing countries, for example, emphasis placed on lower order needs (particularly security needs) are subsumed on socio-economic factors. Such socio-economic factors have their origin in the wider social context. In Nigeria, for example, increasing value is placed on women's economic contribution in the home with growing economic crises, unprecedented rate of unemployment, mass retrenchment, and growing inflation. At this juncture, the question is: to what extent do women feel a sense of acceptance within industrial employment, particularly those women working in "male occupations", within a world dominated by

patriarchal values? This brings us to the Gender- Organizational -System model (GOS)

Gender – Organizational – System model (GOS)

This study uses the gender – organization – system approach as the central exploratory schema (or major theoretical viewpoint), which is derived from a combination and modification of Weberian social action theory and Durkhiemian objectives social reality theory.

Since gender is a central factor in our analysis, we therefore accommodate explanations which help us to explore male – female differences in basic job attitudes including explanation based on individual characteristic; structural variables and situational factors (for example, values and ideologies behind individual behaviour and perception of gender roles). The central argument of this model is that male-female difference in job attitudes and performances are not necessarily gender-linked but situationally or structurally induced. Fagenson (1990) and Aina (1994) argued that women's behaviour and organizational experience could be due to their gender; the organizational context and/or the larger social and institutional system in which they function. This framework expands upon the gender-socialization perspective (which asserts that women differ from men in work values and traits because of factors that are internal to women and because of earlier gendering); and organizational structure perspective (which assumes that

organization structures, rather than factors that are internal to women, shape and define women's behaviour on the job as well as their destinies).

Using the GOS, Fagenson (1990) and Aina (1994) argued that *since organizations are located in societies with particular cultural values, histories, societal and institutional practices, ideologies, expectations and stereotypes regarding appropriate roles and behaviours for men and women, they affect the internal structures and processes of organizations.* For example, Schneer (1985) noted that women have a lower ascribed status in society than men and this can influence the way they are perceived and treated in their organizations. Reskin and Hartmann (1986) also opined that the fact that more women work in the service than manufacturing sectors of the labour force and receive less compensation than men for their labour, can affect the way women are viewed and treated in their organizations. Fagenson (1990) further noted that gender discrimination at work can in turn affect and can be affected by the attitudes; behaviours and cognition women develop towards their jobs and organizations.

Using the Weberian social action tradition and the Durkheimian objective social reality, the basic assumptions for using the GOS approach in this study include:-

(1) That in work organizations, the individual is a conscious actor who is capable of adjusting his/her behaviour to meet the realities of the continuous interaction of feedback between personal characteristics (for example,

gender); situations (for example, the organizational context) and the social institutional system in which these interactions occur.

(2) Though the individual is being changed by situations and social systems, the extent to which the individual is also able to change them depends on the individual's meaning system;

(3) That the characteristic of people, situations and systems are predictors of individual attitudes and behaviour and are capable of influencing each other.

The present study thereby treats gender-inequalities in the labour market as a by-product of gender differences in human capitals, the structure of the labour market and cultural norms concerning the status and roles of women within the society. To gain a fuller knowledge of the position of women within the labour market, we look at women's conditions of action; theirs and others perceptions of the situation, looking at these three assumptions listed above. Emphasis is thereby placed on the actor's views and interpretations of social reality. Since social action takes place in the context of social structures, the dialectical relationship between psychological phenomena and the social structure is made explicit in our choice of Weberian tradition integrated with Durkheimian collective consciousness.

Emanating from the theoretical discussion above is the basic framework of the study, which is diagrammatically presented in figure2. I

Figure 2. I: The Basic Framework of the Study: Gender-Organizational – System Model

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Needs Level                                          │
│   • Economic independence                            │
│   • Opportunity structure in organization            │
│   • Human capital                                    │
│   • Social acceptance, involvement and respect.      │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘

┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
│ Orientation  │ ───► │ Adaptive     │ ───► │ Work Attitude│
│ to work      │      │ Mechanisms   │      │ & Behaviour  │
│              │      │ and work     │      │              │
│              │      │ symbols      │      │              │
└──────────────┘      └──────────────┘      └──────────────┘
                          — Inducements        —Constraints

┌──────────────────┐  ┌──────────────┐  ┌──────────────────┐
│ Systemic Variables│  │Gender        │  │Organizational    │
│ - Sex role        │  │Attributes    │  │Variables         │
│   Ideology        │  │ -Sex         │  │ - Occupational   │
│   & Values        │  │ -Educational │  │   status         │
│ -Economic         │  │   status     │  │ -Income level    │
│  conditions       │  │ -Religion    │  │ -Promotion       │
│ - Parental        │  │ -Marital     │  │ prospects        │
│  background       │  │  status      │  │ -Gender          │
│ -Social climate   │  │ -Presence/   │  │ Discrimination   │
│                   │  │ Absence      │  │ - Opportunity.   │
│                   │  │ of children  │  │                  │
└──────────────────┘  └──────────────┘  └──────────────────┘
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From the above, it can be inferred that:

- The fact is that, the response of women to work is not biological but social.

- A woman will perform as much as a man at work, especially when the social environment is conducive and divorced of sentiment and favour for a particular gender group.

- A person's behaviour or performance at work is a function of not only organizational opportunity structure, (especially selection for and tracking to challenging positions) but also of personal attributes (for example, educational status, marital status, and whether or not she has familial role to perform, that is whether married with children or without children); and institutional factors (such as gender role orientation)

- Also, the socio-cultural environment alters the expected pattern of behaviour. For example, it is not uncommon to find majority of workers across occupational groups putting emphasis on monetary rewards, particularly with increased inflationary trends in the country presently.

From the proceedings, the main highlight of the emerging conceptual framework for this study can be stated as follows:

- That patriarchy and ideology of domesticity is responsible for the present level of women oppression in every society.

- That traditional sex-role stereotype reinforces the assumption that women and power are incompatible.

- Structural, developmental and social aspects of the work situation, rather than women's attitudes and early socialization are most important for explaining women's attainment of managerial roles.

- That since need is central here; (a) workers (men and women) who work within low opportunity structure will exhibit poor work attitudes (depressed

aspiration, job dissatisfaction, alienation etc.), (b) the socio-cultural environment sometimes alter the expected pattern of behaviour, and (c) the change in the need level with the current socio-economic changes is assumed to be the same for both men and women.

In sum, from this framework, inference can be made that women's behaviour and limited corporate progression in organizations can be due to their gender (personal characteristic), the organization context (situations) and /or the larger social and institutional system in which they function (that is, cultural and ideological factors — values and ideologies behind individual behaviour and perception of gender roles). Behaviour in organization is therefore seen as a continuous feedback between these three factors.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study utilized both secondary and primary sources of data. Though the manufacturing industry is a relatively large industry, it is patently obvious that such a large population cannot be covered in a single study. It was therefore decided to limit the coverage of the study to four big manufacturing industries both in Lagos State and Oyo State of southwestern Nigeria. Apart from this, the two states were chosen because the distributional patterns of Nigerian manufacturing industries is undoubtedly uneven with the highest number of establishments located in Lagos, followed by Anambra, Enugu, Edo, Delta, Ogun and Oyo States (Egbon, 1995). This distributional pattern has been associated with purely economic considerations such as nearness and accessibility to the market, sources of raw materials, labour and other co-operant factors.

3.1 Population/Sample Selection

Using employment and the number of establishments as indicators and the states as units, the distributional pattern of Nigerian manufacturing industries is undoubtedly uneven with the highest number of establishment located in Lagos (Egbon, 1995). In 1975, Lagos State had 346 representing 26.8 percent of a total 1290 establishments while Anambra, Bendel and Oyo States had 10.2 percent, 8.4 percent and 7.8 percent respectively (Egbon, 1995). According to Imoukhuede (2003), the Federal Office of Statistics conducted a survey recently of manufacturing

industries in Nigeria, which covered 3,212 establishments nationwide. However, despite this increase in the number of manufacturing industries in the nation, nothing substantial has changed as regards the location, because Lagos State still maintains the highest industrial locational quotient.

As regards the population of respondents, from literature very few women are in management positions, and very few corporations have women in their management positions. Because of this, corporations with fair population size of female labour force were selected for the study. Our study population consists of women and men in managerial positions at the entry, middle and top levels of management positions in the four selected companies (see table 3.1). Our focus, as far as management positions is concerned, includes women and men managers involved in both administrative (or personnel) and technical duties. Specifically, they were expected to have spent a minimum of five years in their present position, as this would allow for a wide range of organizational experience from which information needed would be tapped

Table 3.1 shows the population distribution of workers in managerial positions in the four companies surveyed.

Table 3.1: Distribution of Managerial Staff

Name of Employer	Population at the Executive/ Management level		Sample		Response	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
CAP	80	30	10	15	6	15
GNP	55	20	10	10	4	10
AFP	285	45	10	15	5	15
CNP	235	57	10	20	10	20
TOTAL	655	152	40	60	25	60

From the above table; 81% ($655 \div 807$ x 100) of those in managerial and executive positions are men while only 19% ($152 \div 807$ x 100) of them are women. Women in managerial positions are mostly junior or middle level managers, while the men occupy the more executive positions as senior managers and executive directors. Twelve percent ($100 \div 807$ x 100) of the total population of managers in the companies surveyed is represented in the survey sample (that is, 39.5% ($60 \div 152$ x 100) of the female managers and 4% ($25 \div 655$ x 100) of the male managers). In the four industries/companies surveyed, there is no difference between the percentage of type of industry positions filled by women and the percentage of management positions filled by women.

3.2 The Selection of Industries

The data for the study were collected from four factories in Lagos and Ibadan (being the two commercial centers in southwestern Nigeria). Preliminary visits were made to various organizations in Ibadan and Lagos before the final selection of these four industries. The organizations surveyed are:

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(a) Chemical and Allied products Plc, Ikeja and Ibadan depot, Ring-road (henceforth referred to as CAP)

(b) Guinness Nigeria Plc, Ikeja (henceforth referred to as GNP)

(c) Afrprints Nigeria Plc, Isolo (henceforth referred to as AFP)

(d) Cadbury Nigeria Plc, Agidingbi (henceforth referred to as CNP).

The four companies above were selected because of the size of their female labour force (fairly large), which was higher than the other six manufacturing companies (West African Batteries; Procter and Gamble; Nigerian Breweries Plc; Nigerite; Nigerian Textile Mills; and Enpee Industries Plc) visited during survey preliminaries; and the nature of the factories (technology). The four companies have new high technology. The kind of technologies used in these companies is more advanced.

Table 3. 2 show the population distribution of workers working under these women/men managers (that is, professional/technical and clerical staff). Series of focus group discussions were organized among male and female subordinates working under the managerial staff, comprising about 480 of our selected sample.

Table 3. 2: Distribution of subordinates

Name of Employer	Population		Sample		Response	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
CAP	73	77	40	73	25	58
GNP	270	120	165	112	80	95
AFP	188	15	150	15	81	15
CNP	973	110	335	110	48	78
TOTAL	1,504	322	890	310	234	246

The table shows that this cadre is attracting a lot of women in the recent times. During the survey period, we came across a new crop of female assistant managers. The heterogeneous nature of occupations found within this hierarchy was responsible for selecting a higher percentage of the sample here.

3.3 Methods of data collection

The primary data used for this study were collected through ethnographic surveys such as: **sample survey; the case study approach; focus group discussion (FGD) and a review of company records of the four selected companies.** In the survey, the main instrument used was semi-structured interview schedule (SSI) . The heuristic nature of the study led to the necessity to rely heavily on qualitative method. Ancillary instruments included, as mentioned earlier, the case study approach, focus group discussions, content analysis and a review of company records of the four selected companies.

Sample Survey

The interview survey was carried out using a semi-structured interview schedule (SSI). At this level, a maximum number of 100 samples from the four companies were aimed. at. Since all the four companies surveyed have relatively large male labour force (at the managerial level) compared to female employees, what determined the sample size was the relative population of female labour force. This is to allow comparison along gender lines and across job hierarchies.

A multi-stage sampling technique was used in this study. First, the respondents were chosen using the stratified sampling techniques. The stratification variables are sex, the department, which the respondents work, and the type of job done. To select within each cell, simple random sampling technique was employed. The random table was used in selecting from a prepared list of workers (both women and men managers). However, out of the intended 100 samples from the four companies, only 85 responded well to our interviews. At the first level, however, interviews were conducted using semi- structured questionnaires. In addition to this, an FGD guide of questions was used by each facilitator in each group in the various organizations to elicit information from the subordinates (both male and female) working directly under the women/men managers. A total of 600 respondents were aimed at from the four companies, but at the end of the day only 480 could spear

their time for the group discussion in all the selected companies. On the whole, a total of 565 responses were analyzed (i.e. 480 + 85).

The survey sample therefore meets the objectives of this study, for the interest is not on presenting a precise representation in terms of the total employed population, rather, the main focus was on major work groups through whom we could measure gender factors and the extent to which it is an organizing feature of the occupational structure of the selected companies.

The **semi-structured interview schedule** was structured (Appendices B-D) into three parts. Part one contained a brief introduction of the interviewer and the aims and purposes of the interview. Part two contained questions on personal data (age, religion, marital status, educational background, family background – role model or mentor, who played the dominant role in the choice of career etc and nature of present job). These questions are imperative since personal variables play important roles in determining one's values, attitudes and perception.

Part three of the interview schedule contained questions on work history and present condition of work (length of service with the present employer, income level and allowances, promotions and occupational segregation by sex in the companies selected). Questions in this section focused on the extent to which discrimination exists between and among gender groups, values, attitudes and perceptions of women managers in these selected companies in terms of the selection process,

entering leadership positions. General questions were asked on gender relations and gender orientation values in the companies and the society at large.

As regards the **focus group discussion guide**, about 13 questions were explored on each session. The same questions were repeated for the series of group discussions held. This enabled comparability of responses across the groups. The circle technique was utilized, whereby each person is asked the same question in turn. The outcome of this process was the choice of the most dominant responses to each question.

Questions were asked on relationship with bosses, selection/recruitment process in the workplace, gender and authority in the workplace (specifically women in management positions). The extent to which the relationship between gender and authority in the workplace is due to gender stereotyping or otherwise due to personal attributes of femaleness. Generally, the subordinates views are sought on the extent to which women/men bosses are accepted as leader in their rights or otherwise the type of antagonisms facing them at work. In short, the perception of the female/male bosses attributes by their subordinates (but special attention was focused on women bosses).

The Case Study Approach (In-depth Interview)

For the necessary background information, and to document the specific experience of employees and senior executive officers that work directly with

women; and the unique experience of women in sex-atypical jobs, a case study approach was used. An in-depth interview was conducted among the following people:-

(a) The Human Resource Managers/Personnel Managers (of each company);

(b) Senior Executive Managers/Supervisors; and,

(c) Women in management positions (in sex-atypical jobs).

Three different interview guides (Appendices B-D) were constructed to solicit information from the three different groups listed above. A total of 24 respondents were interviewed at this level. All the 24 respondents also responded to the first-level interview conducted with semi-structured questionnaire. The case study was necessary in order to document specific experiences not contained in the semi-structured questionnaire.

Focus Group Discussions

Focus Groups are semi-structured, person-to-group interviews that aim to explore a specific set of issues. For more in-depth and background information, series of Focus Group sessions were organized and carried out in the selected companies. This enabled us to elicit information from the subordinates who work directly under both the women and men managers of this study population. Information on the management style of their bosses, either male or female was elicited. Also is the most preferred style of management by the subordinates.

The participants of these group discussions were chosen purposively. Participants of both genders, of the same departments, and on the same level were selected and questions asked by the moderator in each session were fully discussed (See Appendix A). The full discussions were tape-recorded. A total of 480 respondents participated in the Focus Group Discussions in the four selected companies. The population of each company determines the sample size selected. Each session lasted for one hour.

A careful selection of the group (key informants on a particular group or representative of a particular position or group) representing a variety of perspectives on a particular issues. A large sample (480) was chosen because it was expected that some individuals would not be able to come at the last minute. But surprisingly all of them turned up. In this study, 40 Focus Group sessions (comprising 12 people of both genders) were conducted. Each was composed of a homogenous group of participants. About 13 questions were explored on each session using the focus group discussion guide. The same questions were repeated for the series of group discussions held. This enabled comparability of responses across the groups. The circle technique was utilized, whereby each person is asked the same question in turn. The outcome of this process was the choice of the most dominant responses to each question.

The questions presented in the instrument covered a comprehensive view of the major topics for each phase of the study. Questions were asked on relationship

with bosses, selection/recruitment process in the workplace, gender and authority in the workplace (specifically women in management positions). The extent to which the relationship between gender and authority in the workplace is due to gender stereotyping or otherwise due to personal attributes of femaleness. Generally, the subordinates views are sought on the extent to which women/men bosses are accepted as leader in their rights or otherwise the type of antagonisms facing them at work. In short, the perception of the female/male bosses attributes by their subordinates (but special attention was focused on women bosses).

3.4 Data Collection Procedures

Sequel to the earlier preliminary visits (or field work) made to the four selected companies, the researcher, single-handedly carried out the interviews. For the focus group discussion, the researcher employed the hands of 2 research assistants to play the roles of the moderator and timekeeper. All the in-depth interviews conducted and responses from the focus group discussions were tape recorded and later transcribed and analyzed.

3.5 Problems Encountered in the Field

Several problems were encountered in the course of collecting the data. The initial problem was getting companies that have a fairly large number of female workers in their labour force. A total of ten manufacturing companies were visited (West African Batteries, Ibadan; Procter and Gamble, Ibadan; Nigerian Breweries,

Plc, Ibadan and Lagos; Nigerite, Ibadan; Nigerian Textile Mills Plc, Lagos; and Enpee Industries Plc, Lagos; CAP Plc; Guiness Nig Plc; Afprint Nig Plc; Cadbury Nig Plc) before the researcher finally settled for these four companies. Most have low population of female workers.

After gaining entry into these companies (which was a serious hurdle to cross), the researcher was now faced with the problem of having access to the workers concerned. Most employers feared interference by researchers. Some feared being 'exposed', while others thought their employees might be unnecessarily exposed and incited against them and, consequently, de-stabilizing the work process. Most of the employers were particularly careful at exposing their production line to visitors. But as soon as the employers were assured of the researcher's genuiness, they gave necessary supports and relaxed some of their rules in the researcher's favour.

On the part of the employees, (both senior and junior workers) they exhibited loyalty to their employers and would not do or say anything that would jeopardize their work/jobs. It, therefore, took sometime before the researcher could gain the confidence of most of the employees. However, some of the respondents (junior workers who were obviously busy) complained of the questions being too personal and time-consuming during the focus group discussions. Others (senior workers) cooperated even when they saw the researcher using a tape recorder to record responses. More especially the women in management positions. They expressed

satisfaction and appreciation on the research topic, seeing it as an avenue of airing their views on issues that concern women, and how the status of women in organizations and the society at large can be enhanced/improved. It was only in the area of revealing actual income that the researcher found that most respondents failed to reveal their actual income earned. Most of them mentioned low (and ridiculous) level of income.

All the four establishments used were willing to release the official records of their companies, which actually helped the researcher. On the respondents used as case studies and focus group discussants, the series of interviews were conducted on appointments. It took some time before the researcher could actually interview the respondents because most appointments were postponed due to the fact that the managers had to attend some impromptu meetings.

3.6 Procedure for data analysis

The data analysis began with data collection and entry after which relevant data transformation was performed. The data from the survey were analyzed with the use of the statistical package for social science (SPSS) and presented as frequencies and percentages. The data are tabulated in the report.

The main data, which was collected with the electronic tape recorders, were transcribed. This information was sorted and analyzed contextually. The preference for a more descriptive analysis is because the study itself is rather exploratory, while much of the descriptive details could be lost using more rigorous statistics. As a

result of this, the qualitative data collected using the case studies approach and focus group discussions, were analyzed and summarized.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH SETTING AND THE ORGANIZATIONAL PROFILES

OF THE INDUSTRIES SURVEYED

This chapter describes the setting of the research and brief profiles of the four organizations surveyed. The chapter serves as a background for understanding the data presented in chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8. The chapter is therefore sub-divided into the following sections: research setting; and the organizational profile of the four organizations surveyed.

4.1 RESEARCH SETTINGS

Lagos State

The Lagos region is located along the southwest of Nigeria. It is situated approximately between latitudes 6°27' and 6°37' North of the equator and longitudes 4°15' and 4°47' East of the Greenwich Meridian. The Lagos region, with an area of about 1,088km², covers about 32 percent of land area of Lagos state. About 20 percent of this area is made up of lagoons and mangrove swamps. (Dickson, 2001)

Historically, people from the Nigerian hinterland settled Lagos Island. It became a port of call for Portuguese merchants who later christened it *Lagos de Curamo* because of its prominence during the slave trade in the 17th and 18th centuries (Aina, 1992; Lee, 1991). Lagos, which became the administrative capital of Nigeria in 1914, has grown to become the country's main commercial center and its

chief port. It now has two seaports, Tin can Island and Apapa. These two ports handle about 60 percent of Nigeria's total export excluding crude oil and about 70 percent of imports. Major terminals for both road and rail routes are located in the Lagos region. The strategic location of the Lagos region is further strengthened by the presence of the most important airport- Muritala Mohammed International Airport.

It is, in part, the recognition of the marked concentration of industries in the Lagos region that motivated its choice as one of the study areas for this work. As the major port, Lagos attracts people from all over Nigeria and commercial entrepreneurs from West Africa and other parts of the world. Perhaps it is this strategic position of the Lagos region within the country that explains why most major industrial concerns and trading companies, such as Chemical and Allied products (Plc); Guinness (Nig)Plc; Afprints (Nig) Plc; and Cadbury (Nig) Plc, have their head offices located in this region.

Industries are concentrated in Ikeja/Ogba/Isheri; Oregun; Gbagada; Ikorodu road/Ojota; Oshodi/Agege; Matori,; Isolo; Ilupeju; Mushin/Surulere; Yaba; Ijora; Iganmu; Sango/Ota; Agbara; and Apapa/Tin can Island. The astronomical development of industries in Lagos has been attributed to the fact that Lagos has Nigeria's major ports thus offering minimum cost of transportation of goods from the ports to the site of factory, the development of infrastructures for distribution of

goods to other states in the federation; availability of skilled manpower; and the bid and ready market for consumption of the products of the industries.

Oyo State – Ibadan

Oyo state, created in 1976, is one of the 36 states in Nigeria. Ibadan, the capital of Oyo state is located approximately on longitude 3°54' East of the Greenwich Meridian and latitude 7°23' North of the Equator. The city is the main administrative headquarters of the state. Ibadan is approximately 150km from Lagos by the most direct route.

Studies of Ibadan region (Buchanan & Pugh, 1955; Adeyanju, 1969; Akintola, 1978), have shown that factory-type manufacturing is concentrated in the city, which is a factor that motivated its choice as one of the study areas for this work. The historical development of manufacturing has been shown to feature a fast decline of craft industry largely being displaced by a growing factory and cottage industry.

Modern manufacturing firms have experienced exponential growth between the late 1950s and the late 1980s. Dispersal, or more correctly, pockets of industries clusters, rather than concentration, characterizes the industrial landscape of Ibadan, if only large-scale industries are considered. In part, the scattered nature of modern factory industries in Ibadan is due to the location of the industrial estates and layouts. There are four industrial estates, namely: Oluyole; Old Lagos road; Old Ife and New Lagos Scheme. The Oluyole Industrial estate is easily the most developed and is

situated in the western part of the city. Because of its large population, Ibadan has been a large market for consumers' goods industries; the entire region is also well served in terms of marketing and distribution system.

4.2 Organizational Profiles of the Surveyed Industries

This section briefly presents a short historical background of each of the four companies surveyed.

Chemical and Allied Products Plc (CAP)

CAP Plc evolved from the world renowned British Multinational Imperial Chemical Plc, which formalized its Nigerian Operations in 1957 under ICI Exports Limited. In 1962, ICI Paints Limited was also incorporated to manufacture Dulux paints. In 1965, ICI Exports limited changed its name to ICI Nigeria Limited, which later (in 1968) subsumed the paints company.

Following the promulgation of the first and second indigenization Decrees in 1972 and 1977, ICI Nigeria Limited at first sold 40 percent but later 60percent of its shares capital to the Nigerian public, and went further to change its name by a special resolution of the shareholders to Chemical and Allied Products Limited (CAPL) in the spirit of indigenization. In 1991, the "Limited" appellation was dropped for 'PLC' in compliance with the provision of the Companies and Allied Matters Act of 1990.

In 1992, ICI finally disposed its minority 40% shareholding in CAP Plc when it sold 35.7% of the equity to UAC of Nigeria Plc, and the rest to the Nigerian public

on the floor of the Nigerian stock exchange. Today, CAP Plc is a fully owned Nigerian Company operating under four main business areas; namely paints, personal & household product, crop protection & public health products and CAP Decorators/ Flameguard Nigeria.

The paints business manufactures and distributes a wide range of architectural paints (e.g. Newcote Emulsion Paint, Kemobel Chemical Resistant paints, Dulux Eggshell, Dulux silk, Dulux Tex-mat and Dulux weather shield smooth) protective coatings and auto paints. For the personal and household products business it manufacture products like toothpaste (e.g. Clenol), liquid antiseptics and disinfectants, soaps ad washing-up liquids (e.g. Dayspring washing-up liquid, Sledge Disinfectant, Caplean liquid detergent) and other personal care products. The crop protection & public health business formulates herbicides, insecticides (e.g. Nopest) and rodenticides at its Ibadan factory, and distributes a wide range of plants protection chemicals. It also offers its extension services free of charge to farmers, cooperatives, corporate, state and world bodies charged with the guidance, regulation and control of agriculture throughout the country. And, lastly, the flame guard Nigeria Protective coating under license from Flame Guard B.V. of the Netherlands. The products are classified as fire retardants, fire retardant/ heat resistance coatings, fire-stopping materials are fire-extinguishing product. CAP decorators provide the unique service of minor renovation works and applies architectural paints and other coatings to residential and industrial products.

CAP Plc has three major manufacturing plants and distributes its products through MDS depots around the country in addition to CAP depots at Ikeja and Abuja.

Guinness Nigeria Plc (GNP)

Guinness Nigeria plc was incorporated in Nigeria in 1950 and initially imported Guinness Stout brewed in Dublin for distribution and sale in the Nigerian market. By 1960, a decision had been taken to build a brewery and manufacture Guinness stout in Nigeria. The first brewery was built at Ikeja and commissioned in November 1962. It and became the third business brewery in the world, the other two being located in Dublin, Eire and at Part Royal London. In 1970, the Ikeja brewery was expanded and its production capacity doubled. In 1974, a second brewery to produce harp lager was commissioned at Benin City and; following the immediate success of Harp in the Nigerian market, the brewery was expanded in capacity by a further 40% by 1976. To meet the growing demand for Guinness stout, the company decided to build a third brewery and, by the end of 1978, this new brewery was commissioned at Benin City to produce Guinness stout. Also, to meet the high demand for Harp Lager, the fourth brewery was built at Ogba, Ikeja and commissioned in November 1983, twenty-one years after the first brewery at Ikeja.

The Nigerian public owns 60% of the shares in the company while the balance of 40% is held by Guinness Overseas Limited and Atalataf Limited. Guinness was listed on the Nigerian stock exchange in 1965 and has an authorized

share capital of N400m with about 60, 000 shareholders. Today, its portfolio include brands like; Guinness stout; Malta Guinness, harp Lager beer, Satzenbrau and Gordon's Spark. (Guiness Nigeria, Annual Report 2002).

As an employer of labour, the contribution of Guinness Nigeria Plc to the national economic lies not only in providing direct employment to over a thousand Nigerians but also to the indirect employment of others through such services as supplies, distribution, transportation etc. as well as generating internal revenue in supporting the growth of the national economy through taxation. It has, presently, three brewery plants in the country and a headquarter at Ikeja, Lagos, which co-ordinates all the activities of the three major breweries (plants) of the organization throughout the country

Afprint Nigeria Plc (ANP)

The company began operation in 1966 a as small textile mill to process imported cloth. It was incorporated on 11th December 1964 as a Private Limited Liability Company and, in 1978, it shares were quoted on the Nigerian Stock Exchange.

In a bid to solve the problem of reliance on imported raw materials and achieve leadership position in the textile industry, the company has been pursuing policies of vertical integration, expansion and modernization of its operation. A major expansion project was undertaken in 1972 with the setting up of a modern

Spinning and Weaving Mill in Isolo, which had the capacity to produce 30 million metres of cotton and blended cloth per annum.

The company's activities have now expanded beyond the production of cotton and blended cloth to include production of cotton lint, vegetable oil, crop aviation services and commodity exports. These activities are carried out by the company and its three subsidiary companies: Afcott Nigeria Plc, Aflan Nigeria Plc and Olam Nigeria Plc.

The development and success achieved by the company since inception are outstanding. From its beginning in 1966, with just 300 employees and turnover of N3million, it has grown into a major group with a staff of over 4,000 and expected turnover in 2002/2003 of over ten billion naira.

The company has fully integrated unit comprising a spinning department, a weaving department, a complete processing department capable of dyeing, bleaching, printing and finishing million meters of cloth annually in a variety of styles as well as auxiliary section such as mechanical and electrical workshops, boilers, stores and offices. The products of the company are sold all over Nigeria.

Cadbury Nigeria Plc (CNP)

Cadbury Nigeria PLc is an offshoot of Cadbury Export Limited of United Kingdom Cadbury's operations in Nigeria dates back to 1956 when it was

developing the sales of Pronto. With the steady increase in the sales, a decision was made to build a depot in Apapa, in 1959.

In December 1963, the depot was extended to include a small production unit which primary concern was packing the bulk of Pronto and Bournvita from England into tins. The production of Bournvita fully started in 1965. Following series of research works, Goody Goody and Tomapep were launched in 1966. By 1965, following steady development and growth of Cadbury Nigeria Limited; it was incorporated as an autonomous arm of Cadbury Schweppes Group. The present factory in Agidingbi, Ikeja, started in 1966. The factory faced initial setback in business because of the Nigerian Civil War, but has boomed since the end of the war years. In 1976, Cadbury Nigeria Limited became a public company when in August that year, it offered for sale to the Nigerian public 2, 679, 000 ordinary shares. It now has over 40,000 shareowners on register.

Since the conversion of the Loans Stock Issue early in 2002, Cadbury Schweppes holding in Cadbury Nigeria has increased to 46.3%. This increased investment in the Nigerian operation demonstrates a firm commitment to the long-term development of Cadbury Nigeria, and an affirmation of the Nigerian economic potential.

Cadbury Schweppes has acquired the Adams Confectionery business from its previous owners, Pfizer Inc. for 2.7 billion pounds, and the consolidation of the acquisition from March 2003 makes the company the global leader in confectionery.

Adams own leading brands like Halls, and the best-selling Bubble Gum range. This important development not only makes Cadbury Nigeria part of the global number one Confectionery company but makes these well known international brand of Adams and associated technologies available for development in Nigeria.

The shareholding structure of CNP changed after the conversion of the Loan Stock into shares by the holders. Cadbury Schweppes Plc now holds 46.3% of the equity while Nigerian shareholders own 53.7%. The brands with which the company addresses consumer markets are in three categories and each category has been designed to fulfill specific consumer needs. First, the confectioneries- Tom-Tom, Butter mint, Éclairs, Malta sweet, Trebor Mints, Jolies, Lollipop-Second, the food drinks- Bournvita and Richoco. Third, the foods- Knorr Seasoning cubes

The principal activities of the company are the manufacture and distribution for sale of branded fast moving consumer products, supplied through all available wholesale and retail outlets in the 36 states of the country and the Federal Capital Territory. An increasing proportion of the manufactured products of the company are now distributed in export market.

In addition to costly investments in plant and machinery, Cadbury regards people- its employees at all levels- as its greatest asset. This is demonstrated in its welfare package by the continuous development and empowerment of employees. To this end, the company has maintained a consistent policy of training, both locally and

abroad, to enhance skills and competence. Also, employees are encouraged to participate in company affairs on a routine basis whenever they happen to work.

4.3 Stratification of the companies surveyed

On the whole, each of the companies surveyed is divided into interdependent functional departments, to meet specific objectives. There are such departments as Personnel; Finance; Technical/Production; Industrial Training; Quality, Inspectorate and Hygiene; and Marketing department. Each department is headed by a manager, assisted by middle level and junior level managers. At the apex of the structural units is the Managing Director or Executive Chairman's office, headed by the Managing Director/Executive Chairman/General Manager. The Managing Director who are assisted by Deputy managing Director who are in charge of expansion, procurement of raw materials, equipment, public relations, secretarial functions and legal offices. The Managing Director office is responsible directly to the Board of

Directors, who occupies the apex of the organizational chart of each company. This is diagrammatically explained by the following "typical" chart for the four companies surveyed

A 'TYPICAL' CHART FOR THE FOUR COMPANIES SURVEYED

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                        ┌─────────────────────┐
                        │  Board of Director  │
                        └─────────────────────┘
                                   │
                        ┌─────────────────────┐        ┌──────────────────────┐
                        │     M.D/CEO/G.M      │────────│  Personal Assistant  │
                        └─────────────────────┘        └──────────────────────┘
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Deputy M.D Personnel	Deputy M.D Finance	Deputy M.D Technical/Production	Deputy M.D Industrial Training	Deputy M.D Quality/Inspectorate and Hygene	Deputy M.D Marketing/Sales
Senior Manager	Senior Manager	Senior Manager	Senior Manager	Senior Manager	Senior Manager
Middle Manager	Middle Manager	Middle Manager	Middle Manager	Middle Manager	Middle Manager
Assistant Manager/Supervisor	Assistant Manager/Supervisor	Assistant Manager/Supervisor	Assistant Manager/Supervisor	Assistant Manager/Supervisor	Assistant Manager/Supervisor
Officers	Officers	Officers	Officers	Officers	Officers

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4.4 Labour Policies at the four companies surveyed

Each company provides for every employee the terms and conditions of employment and company rules and regulations handbook. The handbook gives guidelines on work conduct, salary and wage policy, work operations and incentive schemes. Common to the four companies surveyed are the following basic policies:-

(1)   To give every employee the encouragement needed to develop his/her potentials to the fullest and pay special consideration to his or her performance and progress.

(2)   To pay fair wages and salaries and recognize meritorious service.

(3)   To reward honesty, integrity, thoroughness, sustained efficiency and loyalty to the company.

(4)   To bar all gender, racial or religious discrimination against every employee.

The companies on the other hand expects the following from their employees:

(1)   To serve them faithfully where and as required.

(2)   To develop a sense of personal responsibility for the quality and quantity of work done based on the principle of a fair day's work for a fair day's pay.

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(3)   To develop a sense of personal responsibility for all the companies' properties placed in the employees' care or used by them.

(4)   To obey all lawful instructions given to the employees by those with authority over them and observe the companies' rules and regulations.

(5)   To make constructive suggestion for the improvement of the efficiency of the various process and service involved in the final products of the companies'

(6)   To co-operate and work in harmony with fellow employees and management.

Generally, in all the companies surveyed, the occupational position of each worker dictates the general conditions of service. The senior staff earns more wages, and fringes, while they are entitled to more working days annual leave, compared to the junior and intermediate staff. Also, gender serves as the basis for certain conditions of service. For example, a woman is entitled to a maternity leave and casual leave to attend to a sick child, while the husband is not. Even among the female employees, the individual's marital status determines the type of leave she is entitled to. For example, a female worker who is not legally married is not entitled to paid maternity leave.

In the subsequent paragraphs, we shall discuss major features of the general conditions of service common to all the companies surveyed.

(i)   **Job Grading**

Each position in the companies has been graded in accordance with the responsibility attached to it. Employees are paid according to the scale of remuneration attached to their respective jobs. While due considerations are given to education, training and relevant experience in determining an employee's placement in the companies, it is the sole responsibility of the management to determine the suitability of a candidate for the job.

(ii)   **Training and development**

Each company sees investment in people as a major part of strategy development, and has maintained a consistent policy of training. These trainings will enhance the employees' competence in the performance of their duties and to prepare them for advancement and future responsibilities. Each company recognizes relevant training done as part-time courses, and other professional examinations. This could lead to increase in salary or a regrading to a higher post at a specified period of the year. This is also subject to performance on the job and availability of vacancies. Three of the companies surveyed, have formal training schools exclusively for their staff to train and retain. In most of the companies studied, training period for promotion is between three to six months.

(iii)   **Employee Involvement**

Employees are encouraged to participate in the companies' affairs on a routine basis wherever they happen to work. Also several formal channels and

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consultative committees exist for participation, and the companies communicate with their employees about their activities through many platforms created for that purpose (e.g Joint Consultative Committee).

(iv)   Equal opportunity

Each company is committed to providing equal opportunities to individuals in all aspects of employment. In support of this, policies, procedures and practices focus on ability and do not discriminate on any other basis.

(v)   Promotion

Promotion to higher grades/positions is to be by merit, and subject to the existence of vacancies. When vacancies occur, the companies give preference to their employees with requisite qualifications for the post.

(vi)   Maternity leave

Any female employee with not less than six months service and who is permanently engaged in full time capacity, is entitled to maternity benefits, subjects to compliance with the following rules:

-    produce a medical certificate from a medical practitioner stating that her confinement will probably take place within six weeks.

-    inform the management and apply for maternity leave within one week of the date of receiving the medical certificate.

Subject to the above conditions, the female employee proceeds on maternity leave as follows:

\- six weeks before confinement at the rate of 100% for 75% of her basic (depending on the policy of the particular employee).

However, the unmarried pregnant mother is only entitled to maternity leave without pay.

Nursing mothers are allowed for that purpose half an hour twice each day for six months during the working hours. After duration of maternity leave, an employee is expected to serve at least one month before proceeding on annual leave, which will be given without pay.

In sum, in the four companies surveyed, the major issue, which is difficult to address and document, is the cultural myth of gender relations which is so basic to the type of treatment women receive at work (even at home). However, because of the enduring nature of such myths, it might involve elaborate public education programme to change the general view about the place and the roles of women in the society.

CHAPTER FIVE

MEN/WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT POSITIONS IN THE FOUR

ESTABLISHMENTS

The data analysis is presented in four chapters that is Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8. Chapter 5 presents the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents. It focuses on such variables as sex, age, religion, ethnic group, marital status, number of children, education and income level.

5.1 Social and Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The socio-demographic characteristics of the subjects studied are descriptively diverse and this is presented in table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Selected Demographic Characteristics of Men/Women in Management

Variables	Frequency		Percent		
Sex	N=85		100%		
Male	25		29.4%		
Female	60		70.6%		
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
25-29	-	37	-	43.5%	43.5%
39-34	-	13	-	15.3%	15.3%
35-39	18	5	21.2%	5.9%	27.1%
40-44	5	2	5.9%	2.4%	8.3%
45-49	1	2	1.2%	2.4%	3.6%
50-54	1	1	1.2%	1.2%	2.4%
Ethnic					
Yoruba	21	52	24.7%	61.2%	85.9%
Ibo	2	2	2.4%	2.4%	4.8%
Hausa	1	5	1.2%	5.9%	7.1%
Minority group	1	1	1.2%	1.2%	2.4%
Marital Status					
Married	25	39	29.4%	45.9%	75.3%
Divorced/Separated	-	13	-	15.3%	15.3%
Never married	-	8	-	9.4%	9.4%
Remarried	-	-	-	-	-
No. of Children					
0	3	-	3.5%	-	3.5%
1-2	11	48	12.9%	56.4%	69.3%
3.4	11	12	12.9%	14.1%	27.0%
5.6	1	-	1.2%	-	1.2%
Religion					
Christianity	22	50	25.9%	58.8%	84.7%
Muslims	3	10	3.5%	11.8%	15.3%
Others (specify)	-	-	-	-	-
Education					
Primary	-	-	-	-	-
Secondary	-	-	-	-	-
Professional/Technical	8	4	9.4%	4.7%	14.1%
Graduate Degree	10	51	11.8%	60.0%	71.8%
Post-graduate	7	5	8.2%	5.9%	14.1%
Income					
Below 40,000	-	-	-	-	-
40,000-70,000	4	51	47%	60.0%	64.7%
70,000-100,000	18	9	21.2%	10.0%	31.8%
100,000 and above	3	-	3.5%	-	3.5%

Source: Field Survey (2002/2003)

From Table5.1 the sample were selected using gender as a stratification variable, thus, we have a high representation of female population when compared to the

total population of workers in the management cadre of the selected industries. On the whole, female respondents account for 70.6% (60) of the total sample while male respondents represent 29.4% (25) of the total sample.

The general predominance of males over the females in Nigerian industries is well documented (Aina, 1992; Alo, 1984; Di Domenico, 1983). Women are less likely to be employed in manufacturing companies because of the nature of tasks involved. Moreover, there has been a decline over the years attributed to the downturn in the economy since the 1980s, which has led to the low level of manufacturing activities and a reduction in the absorption of workers in the formal market. According to Fapohunda (1985), the percentage of women employed in manufacturing industries declined from 15% in 1974 to 10% in 1976 and to 1.4% in 1983. The 1995/96-percentage distribution of employed persons by occupation and gender indicates that women are mostly employed in the agriculture and trade sectors. For manufacturing, women constitute less than 10% of workers in manufacturing industry (UNICEF, 2001).

Age

The age distribution similarly indicates some differences. As it is expected women's reproductive responsibilities vary with age. For example, in the intermediate period of the life cycle, usually between 20 – 40 years of age, most women are married. This is also a period when women combine maternal responsibilities with income generating activities. Also, it is a time when

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childbearing generates role conflicts for working mothers (Aluko, 2003). It is not unlikely that employers may prefer to employ men because of assumed less variability in the quality, quantity and type of work done irrespective of marital status. This is because it is assumed that child nursing/rearing is the prerogative of the woman, whether she is employed or not; while the man devotes a greater portion of his time to career development. In such a setting, it is assumed that changes in age cycles may likely affect women's work routines, much more than the men's, particularly, during the child-bearing age cycle.

Respondents' age groups range between 25 years and 54 years (see Table 5.1). About 64.7% of the female sample falls in the age range 25– 39 yrs; 2.4% in age range 40– 44 yrs and 45-49 years respectively, and 1.2% for 50–54 yrs. For the men, majority (21.2%) falls in the age range 30- 39 yrs, 5.9% in age range 40-44 yrs; 1.2% in age range 45 – 49 yrs and 50 – 54 yrs respectively.

Majority of the women (64.7%) who falls in age range 25-39 yrs are mostly married with children. This trend contradicts the assumption that in the early adult years men are predominantly income seekers while women at this age are mostly involved in raising/nursing a family. The fact that 65% of the female sample and 21% of the male sample fall within middle age range (25-44yrs) (see Table 5.1) shows that both men and women show a great preference for work in the early adult years despite conflicting domestic roles, particularly for the women. Both men and women continue to be financial contributors in the home. This also

contradicts studies (Rossi, 1985), which argues that many women, because of their additional role responsibilities tend to reach mid career somewhat later than men.

Religion and Ethnic Origin

On the conventional values of religion and ethnic origin, majority (84.7%) are Christians, 15.3% are Muslims (see table 5.1). It is assumed that religious values could influence individual's perception of gender relations, both at work and at home. As regards ethnic origin, all the major ethnic groups in Nigeria are represented in the sample, showing the heterogeneous nature of Lagos and Ibadan metropolis. The data show that the Yorubas are in majority (85.9%), both from the male and female samples. The higher representation of the Yorubas shows Lagos and Ibadan as Yoruba cities, which have for sometime now faced the influx of other ethnic major groups. Information collected on respondents' religion shows that majority (84.7%) are Christians, 15.3% are Muslims, while none filled the category of 'others'. Since it is assumed that religious values could influence individuals perception of gender relations both at work and at home, Islam for example reinforces and perpetuates the structural inequalities of the old order, while Christianity in a sense liberated some Nigerian women by providing, through schools the opportunity for women to be full participants in the modern labour market.

Marital Status

On the marital status of respondents, majority, 75.3%, are married, 15.3% are divorced or separated while 9.4% were never married. Unlike in most advanced nations where marriage continues to be a hindrance on female labour force participation, in Nigeria, women have always combined work outside the family with their familial responsibilities. The conflict caused by worker-mother-wife roles has been a focus of scholarly researches in recent times, while the resulted role stress and role strains on mothers' health status has not been well dealt with. Few studies (DiDemenico, 1982) have been done in this regard; as a result of this more studies needs to be carried out in this respect. The 15.3% of the female sample, which represents the divorced or separated, points to a new trend in family structure that is the emergence of female-headed household. This is a situation where a woman lives alone with her children either because the husband is dead, separated (or divorced) or has migrated to another town (city or country) as a result of labour migration. The major reason is divorce, which most of the time results from disparity in ideology about the proper roles of men and women.

When marital status was cross tabulated with managerial category (see table 5.2), it was found that, for the female sample, 45.9% are married, 15.3% are divorced or separated while 9.4% were never married and in managerial positions.

Table 5.2: Distribution of Respondents by Marital Status and Managerial categories (percentages)

Marital status	Managerial		Total
	Male	Female	
Married	100	90	92.9
Divorced/separated	-	8.3	5.9
Never married	-	1.7	1.2
Total	29.4	70.6	100

Source: Field survey 2002, 2003

That 15.3% of female managers are divorced/separated may be an indication of the type of struggle facing women in the bid to maintain a balance between home and job. It could also mean that divorce in a way enhances occupation mobility for some divorced women as they are likely able to devote more energy in economic success.

In response to the question "were you married when you first joined this company?" the following response was recorded – for the male sample; 17.6% were married before their appointment while 11.8% married during the course of their employment. Also, 57.6% of the female sample married before their present employment, while 3.5% married during the course of their present employment (see table 5.2). In relative terms, more women came in married. However, the data here does not adequately explain preference for single or married women, and as against the single or married men. The response of employers to employing single or married women is made more explicit in some of the case studies on employers' attitudes toward female employment.

Table 5.3: Distribution of Respondents by Years Spent in School Educational Level, and Marital Status at Job Entry.

Classification	M	%	F	%	Total	%
No of years spent in school (pt. of entry)						
6yrs and below	-	-	-	-	-	-
6-12 years	-	-	-	-	-	-
12 –18 years	18	21.2	55	64.7	73	85.9
18 years and above	7	8.2	5	5.9	12	14.1
Total	25	29.4	60	70.6	85	100.0
Educational qualification now compared to at point of entry						
Same	1	1.2	34	40.0	35	51.2
Changed (i.e. higher)	22	25.9	16	18.8	38	44.7
No response	2	2.4	10	11.8	12	14.2
Total	25	29.4	60	70.6	85	100.0
Whether married at point of job entry						
Yes	15	17.6	49	57.6	64	75.2
No	10	11.8	3	3.5	13	15.3
Not applicable	-	-	8	9.4	8	9.4
No response	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	25	29.4	60	70.6	85	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2002, 2003

Number of Children

Data on the number of children do not show any significant difference between men and women (see table 5.1). Except for 1.2% of the men who have more than 4 children, the policy of 4 children per family tends to be generally accepted. Moreover, most young ladies now believe in having very limited number of children (2- 3), possibly because the more children you have the less you are able to pursue your career and perform very well. This has led to a fall in fertility

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rates. However, the number of children the respondents currently have depends on age of marriage and socio-economic status of the respondents.

Educational Level

The data on educational qualification of respondents at the point of entry (see table5.1) show that, for the male sample, 9.4% had either full professional qualification or technical education; 11.8% had university degrees and 8.2% were with master's degree of various kinds. Among the female sample, 4.7% had either full professional qualification or technical education; 60.0% had University degrees and 5.9% were with master's degrees of various kinds (but mainly MBA-Marketing). This, in a way, shows the increase in enrolment rates of females in tertiary education (Aluko, 2005).

Enquiries on current educational level show that, for the male sample, (see table 5.3), 4 out of every 10 have improved on their qualification since the point of entry, by acquiring a better qualification through in-service training, part-time studies, or study leaves. For the female sample, only 2 out of every 10 have improved on their educational qualification since entry and this is mainly through on-the –job training (although this varied greatly by company). Thus, for those who have improved their educational qualification during the course of employment, 25.9% of them are men while 18.8% are women. This shows a significant difference between the sexes. It therefore means that men tend to acquire more on-the-job educational training than women. This is because the opportunity to

improve one's educational qualification on the job depends on a matrix of variables including organizational culture (that is, employer's policies) and other factors (particularly domestic) making demands on worker's limited available time. Significantly, men tend to devote more time to human capital, although the extent to which women should be blamed for devoting less time on developing their human capital is debatable.

The data on years spent in school show that both men and women included in the survey have been exposed to western education, although majority (8.2%) of those with 18 years and above are men (see table 5.3). There is a corresponding relationship between level of education and years spent in school. Thus, because men spend more years in school, they tend to have relatively higher level of education compared to women.

Level of Income

On level of income, table 5.1 shows the distribution of respondents' present salary/income per month. About 64.7% of the total sample falls within the range #40,000and #70,000 making up 4.7% men and 60.0% women. It is also significant to note that 31.8% of the total population fall within the range #70, 000 and #100,000 per month, making up 21.2%men and 10.6% women. However it was noted that only 3.5% of the male population fall within the range #100, 000 and above.

A cross-tabulation of income level and managerial status (see table 5.4) shows a strong association between the two variables for both men and women in the samples. Table 5.4 shows that within the managerial category, none of the male sample earn less than #40, 000, while 3.5% of the male sample earn above #100,000 per month (some earn as much as #250, 000 per month). It is worthy of note, however, that the female gender was not represented at all in this category from the four companies used for the survey. This buttressed the fact that women have achieved lower position in the management positions (in manufacturing industry) relative to men. This finding has corrobated the works of Statham (1987) and Aina (1992) that women are less advanced in the manufacturing industry.

From the findings, it was found that women have gained increasing representation in middle management ranks while access to the most senior posts is still very limited. Gender barriers still impede women's progress in management positions in industries, but those barriers are more subtle than they used to be. There is a consistent interlocking system of relationship between and among gender, work and cultural (or institutional) factors. Gender sometimes has a preeminent influence on work roles; while at the same time men and women in the same occupation tend to share about the same work interest and employment status than men and women across occupations, signifying the influence of structural factors. Cultural barriers also interact with discriminatory intent to produce forms of discrimination that sometimes remains rather invisible yet perpetuating.

Table 5.4: Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Managerial Status and income Levels

Managerial status	Below N40, 000				40, 000-70, 000				70, 0001070, 000				Above 100, 000				Total	
	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	N	%
Senior management	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	100.0	-	-	3	3.5
Middle management	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	100.0	9	100.0	-	—	-	-	27	31.8
Lower management	-	-	-	-	4	100.0	51	100.0	-	-	-	- -	-		-	-	55	64.7
Total	-	-	-	-	4	4.7	51	60.0	18	21.2	9	10.6	3	3.5	-	-	85	100.0

Source; Field Survey 2002,2003

Occupational Level

As indicated in table 5.5, 25 occupational categories are represented in the survey. These occupation categories were later grouped into sex-typical and sex-atypical jobs. Jobs that are classified and considered as typical for men and atypical for women are – management jobs, professional accountants, engineers or electricians, skilled factory jobs (operatives) and unskilled factory jobs (load carrying).

On the other hand, jobs that are classified and considered atypical for men and typical for women are; secretarial duties, nursing, unskilled factory work (packaging and cleaning) and other soft works.

Table 5.5: Distribution of Respondents by Official Designation of Jobs

Official designation of job	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	S
Human Resource Manager	4	4.7	-	-	4	4.7
Manager (Finance)	4	4.7	-	-	4	4.7
Manager (Marketing)	4	4.7	-	-	4	4.7
Manager (Production)	4	4.7	-	-	4	4.7
Manager (Technical)	4	4.7	-	-	4	4.7
Manager (Quality Control)	5	5.9	20	23.5	25	29.4
Manager (Secretarial)/P.A	-	-	4	4.7	4	4.7
Manager (IT)	-	-	2	2.4	2	2.4
Assistant Manager (Technical)	-	-	1	1.2	1	1.2
Assistant Manager (Hygiene & Env.)	-	-	10	11.8	25	4.0
Assistant Manager (Marketing)	-	-	10	11.8	22	3.5
Assistant Manager (Production Support)	-	-	9	10.6	22	3.5
Accountant	-	-	1	1.2	1	1.2
Assistant Accountant	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chemist	-	-	1	1.2	1	1.2
Electrician/Engineer	-	-	1	1.2	1	1.2
Technologist/Lab Analyst	-	-	1	1.2	1	1.2
Total	25	29.4	60	70.6	85	100.0

Source: field survey 2002, 2003.

From table 5.5 for the managerial category, 29.4% of the samples are in this category, while about 30.6% of the female samples are also in the managerial cadre. Although in reality, the gap is wider in favour of men. The special attention given to women in this study has over represented the female population compared to the male population in the survey location, which explains the high percentage of women managers.

About 16% of the male samples are managers in the technical category while 1.2% of the female samples are in the assisting manager, technical category.

Case studies of women in technical category (as operators, electricians or engineer) give interesting revelations about women currently moving into jobs traditionally meant for men. Summaries of such case studies are given in chapter eight

The data on the professionals also point to a new trend in female employment in the modern labour force. This group includes the accountants; engineers; technologists; laboratory analysts; chemists, administrative officers, electricians etc. Women alone are in this category in the companies surveyed. This confirms the general observation made, during the fieldwork, that there is an upsurge of a new crop of female professionals, particularly as managers, engineers, laboratory analysts, accountants and chemists. It is also important to note that both married and unmarried women are found across all occupational categories.

Data on sex-typical and sex-atypical jobs show a significant difference between the sexes, thus supporting a sex segregation of jobs in the modern sector employment. Table 5.6 below, shows that 29.4% of the male sample is in sex-typical jobs for man, while 4.7% of the female sample is in such jobs.

Table 5.6: Distribution of Respondents by Job Description

Job description	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Sex typical jobs	25	29.4	4	4.7%	29	34.1
Sex-atypical	-	-	56	65.9	56	65.9
Total	25	29.4	60	70.6	85	100.0

Source; Field survey 2002, 2003

CHAPTER SIX

FACTORS INFLUENCING WOMEN'S RISE TO MANAGEMENT POSITIONS

In this chapter our major focus will be on women in management positions in the manufacturing industries, the number of women used in the sample of the managerial category (60 in number), will be our focus.

6.1 Social Origin

As stated in the objectives of this study, our aim is to find out the major attributes of the women managers, which include their socio-economic background (parental and spouses), its influence on their choice of career, and who are the role models of these women managers. In doing this, respondents were asked questions on their parents' level of income, education, and occupation; as well as on the socio-economic characteristics of their spouses (occupation, income and educational level).

Parents' socio-economic characteristics

In this study, it was observed that most respondents could not estimate their parents' income while some were only able to indicate their parents' salary grade level. However, it is important to note that in most research of this nature, (Ajayi, 1980; Erinosho, 1982; Adekola, 1986; Adeneye, 1988; Dehinsilu (now Ola-Aluko, 1991) especially in Africa, occupation of fathers is normally used as an index of

socio-economic background. This is usually the case of patrilineal societies. But for this study, fathers' and mothers' occupation, as well as educational level, were used to investigate respondents' social background.

For the purpose of this study, those parents with no formal education fall under non-category, those whose fathers/mothers obtained primary and modern school education were classified into the low sub-group, those with secondary/technical, teacher training, NCE, OND and Nursing certificates were classified into medium sub-groups; whilst parents who had received university degree(s) were included in the high sub-group.

Table 6.1 reveals that 8.3% and 6.7% of the entire sample have fathers and mothers with no formal education respectively; 13.3% of both fathers and mothers have low level of education respectively; 20% and 63.3% of respondents fathers and mothers have medium level of education respectively; and 58.3% and 16.7% of respondents' fathers and mothers have high level of education.

Table 6.1: Educational distribution of respondents' parents.

Educational Attainment	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
FATHER		
None	5	8.3
Low	8	13.3
Medium	12	20.0
High	35	58.3
Total	**60**	**100.0**
MOTHER		
None	4	6.7
Low	8	13.3
Medium	38	63.3
High	10	16.7
Total	**60**	**100.0**

Source; field Survey 2002, 2003

From these, two things can be observed. First, most of the respondents came from fathers with high educational background (58.3%) than from none (8.3%), low (13.3%) or medium (20.0%) levels of education. This implies that most of the respondents' parents are more enlightened and, as a result of this, may know the importance of education, which consequently led to the education of their children.

Second, most of the respondents came from mothers with medium educational background (63.3%) than from high (16.7%), low (13.3%) or none (6.7%). From this, inferences can be made that the culture and traditions of the Nigerian society are full of obvious signs of gender stereotyping. One of the surviving legacies of a traditional educational background is that housekeeping is an exclusive career for women hence; there is no need of educating them (Alo, 1998). However, current data on female participation in education shows that

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Nigerian women are gradually pulling down the traditional barriers militating against their adequate participation in the Nigerian education industry. Though, this "pulling down" process is slow, the sky is their limit.

On the respondents' parental occupational background, eight major categories of occupation were identified. These include: unemployed/retired; farming; skilled work; white-collar job; professional; business; petty trading and 'others' category. Table 6.2 reveals that majority (66.7%) of the respondents' fathers are in white-collar jobs. About 8.3% are either unemployed/retired, farming, or into one form of business or the other, respectively, while 3.3% are either in skilled works or professionals. As regards the respondents' mothers, majority (53.3%) are in white collar jobs, 3.3% are either unemployed or retired; 10% are into farming; 6.7% are into skilled work; 16.7% are professionals (mostly nurses); 1.7% are into one form of business or the other; and lastly, 3.3% are either housewives or deceased respectively.

Table 6.2: Occupational Distribution of Respondents Parents

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE (%)
Father		
Unemployed/Retired	5	8.3
Farming	5	8.3
Skilled work (Tailoring, Carpentry etc.)	2	3.3
White-collar job (Teaching, Civil Servants etc.)	40	66.6
Professional (Management, Doctor, lawyer, Accountant etc.)	2	3.3
Business (Contractor, Supplier etc.)	5	8.3
Petty trading	1	1.7
Others (butchery, Pool Agent etc.)	-	-
Total	60	100.0
Mother		
Unemployed/Retired	5	8.3
Farming	6	10.0
Skilled work (Tailoring, Carpentry etc.)	4	6.7
White-collar job (Teaching, Civil Servants etc.)	32	53.3
Professional (Management, Doctor, lawyer, Accountant etc.)	10	16.7
Business (Contractor, Supplier etc.)	1	1.7
Petty trading	2	3.3
Others (butchery, Pool Agent etc.)	2	3.3
Total	60	100.0

Source: Field survey 2002, 2003

From these, it can be inferred that the parental occupation of the respondents is a consequence of their level of education. Both parents engage in white-collars jobs mainly, which shows their level of consciousness/awareness and their consequent belief in training up a child (boy or girl).

Spouses' socio-economic characteristics

Information sought on respondents' spouses shows that (see table 6.3) 16.7% are into business/trading; 8.3% are civil servants (Director Generals); 16.7%

are in managerial positions; while 58.3% are professionals (lawyers, engineers, accountants etc.). The data on spouses' level of education show that 10% have NCE/OND; 90.0% have university degrees (and above), while none fall in the secondary school education and no formal education categories. This information on spouse's occupational status and level of education shows that women generally marry a high status male (hypergamy). This is further explained by the data on the income level of respondents' spouses. Majority (97%) of the respondents' spouses earn #100, 000 and above. This is because most business returns are inestimable, that is why respondents categorized their spouse's income into the fourth category (#100, 000 and above). Only 3% of the respondents' spouses earn between #70, 000 and #100, 000.

From this, the respondent's spouses' income, occupational and educational backgrounds have a positive influence on the respondents' career development. This is further buttressed when respondents were asked, "how would you rate your husband's influence on your choice of career?" Majority (86.7%) said it is very strong; 10% said just strong; while 3.3% said not strong at all.

Also, majority (88.3%) of the spouses are Christians while 11.7% are Muslims. This supports the early exposure of Christians to western education. (Lasebikan, 1996; Isiugo-Abanihe, 1996)

Table 6.3: Distribution of Socio-economic Background of Respondents' Spouses.

CLASSIFICATION	Female managers	%
Occupations		
Business/Trading	10	16.7
Civil servants	5	8.3
Managerial positions	10	16.7
Professionals (lawyer, Engineers etc.)	35	58.3
Total	60	100.0
Education		
No formal education	-	-
Secondary education	-	-
NCE/OND	6	10.0
University degree (and above)	54	90.0
Total	60	100.0
Religion		
Christian	53	88.3
Muslims	7	11.7
None	-	-
Total	60	100.0
Income		
Below 40, 000	-	-
40, 000 – 70, 000	-	-
70, 000 – 100, 000	2	3.3
100, 000 and above	58	96.7
Total	60	100.0

Source; Field survey 2002, 2003

6.2 Career Development

In this section, we will be looking at the age at which the respondents first thought of pursuing their career; age at which definite decision was made; at what time, in a woman's life, is it ideal to start a career in management and factors that motivated them into such a career.

When respondents were asked the question "at what age did you first think of pursuing a career in your field?" about 8% of them said they first thought of it before the age of 15, while 12% said between the ages 16 –20 yrs (that is, when they were still in the university) and 80% said at 21 yrs and above (after leaving the University). The respondents were further asked, "at what age was the definite decision made?" Majority (90%) reached a definite decision at 21 yrs and above; 6.7% reached a definite decision at the age between 15 and 20; while only 3.3% reached a definite decision before the age of 15.

This finding may be explained on the ground that not many of them had the intention of going into management as a career, but other sex-typical professions for women, like teaching, nursing, catering etc. such inference could be made from the respondents' response to the question "can you give a brief history of your life?" Most of them responded that when they were young, they were made to believe that if a woman is to have a settled/happy home, she should stay at home to take care of her husband and children. And if she should work outside home at all, she should take up a job that would afford her the opportunity of combining housework with office work. This supports Okogie's (2002) argument on gender stereotyping of occupations. As one of them noted:-

> *From childhood, I have always heard the old women's*
> *tale that there are some professions or being a career*
> *woman is not good for a woman. That most career*
> *women do not live under a man's roof...*

The respondents however, further said they decided to pursue a career in management when they realized that a woman can work effectively as a manager, just like her male counterpart, if given the necessary and needed environment and support.

Factor Motivating Career in Management

This study also attempted to investigate the factors, which motivated the respondents to pursue or start a career in management. Each of the respondents was instructed to rank their responses in order of importance. For example, 1 for most important reason; 2 for more important; 3 for important and so on. The list of statement to be ranked include the following; **Internal influences** (which comprises of the influence of former teacher; influence of relatives and friends; and parents' wish); **Manual skill** (which includes to develop personality, to satisfy some socio psychological needs; satisfaction from intellectually challenging work); **External influences** (which includes societal influences and other), and lastly, **financial earnings** (possibility of good income).

Table 6.4 reveals the reaction of the respondents. The table shows that the most singular important factor, which motivated the choice of management as a career, appears to be predicated on manual skill (68.3%). This proportion of respondents reported that definite decision to choose management as a career was due to the fact that they wanted to develop their personality, to satisfy some socio-psychological needs and satisfaction from intellectually challenging work. This is

because the respondents' see themselves as inner-directed and have internal locus of control. Given the environments in which these women were born, (with patriarchal ideologies) the belief that one could still exert control over one's fate and not have to give in to external forces (Gender role orientations) was quite important. This corroborates Hennig and Jardim's report (1997) of a survey, that women see career development in terms of self-improvement and fulfillment, while men visualize a career, not as personal growth, but as a series of jobs or organizational promotions and advancements. Women emphasize the importance of hard work, performance, and progressive achievement. But ignore organizational environment and the need to gain visibility and exposure, and to build connections with bosses, peers and subordinates. This response is followed by influence of former teachers, friends, relatives and parents (21.7%), while 5% reported the societal influence, 'other' category (which include husband, prestige etc.), and possibility of good income.

Table 6.4: Factors which Motivate Career in Management

Motivating Factors	No of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Internal Influences		
Influence of former teachers	4	6.7
Influences of relatives and friends	3	5.0
Parents wish	6	10.0
Manual Skill		
To develop your personality	15	25.0
To satisfy some socio-psychological needs	8	13.3
Satisfaction of intellectually challenging work	18	30.0
External Influence		
Societal influences	2	3.3
Others category	1	1.7
Financial Earnings		
Possibility of good income	3	5.0
Total	**60**	**100.0**

Source: Field Survey 2002, 2003

In addition to these, when respondents were asked the question "how would you rank the influence of your father and mother on the choice of your career?" About 53% and 68.3% ranked fathers and mothers' influence on their choice of career as very strong respectively, 30% and 16.7% ranked as not strong. If one considers education as a variable, we may assume that the higher the level of education of a parent, the stronger the influence on the choice of career of the children. In other words, a highly educated father or mother is more likely to have a stronger influence on the career choice of his or her children (boys and girls) than parents of low or no formal education.

Also, when respondents were asked the question "what is your impression about management as a career for women?" About half (50%) of the respondents reported that management, as a career for women, is very good and prestigious;

36.7% said it is good and prestigious; and 13.3% reported that it is not good and prestigious. Although the percentage of those who say management, as a career for women is very good and prestigious outnumbered those who said it is not good and prestigious, reasons were given for the respondents' negative response. This was inferred from respondents' response to the question "do you experience any difficulty in carrying out your role as a wife and mother along with your managerial duties?" About 30% said they experience some difficulties in balancing their roles as wives and mothers along with their managerial duties while 68% said No. Majority said they cope through hard work and determination, with the help of house helps, time scheduling and others. Some also said they experience a lot of discrimination in their organizations in terms of promotion, training e.t.c

Sequel to this, respondents was asked, "What is the attitude of your husband towards your participation in management position?" Overwhelming majority (99.4%) of the respondents reported that their husbands are supportive, while 0.6% of the women managers in the technical department reported that gender gap is not limited to the workplace alone, that their careers were constrained to some extent by their spouses. Also, on the ideal time to start a career in management, majority (90.3%) was of the opinion that it is advisable to have had your children before venturing into management positions. They expressed sympathy for young mothers who had to juggle time to take care of the young ones and official duties. As one of the young mothers reported:-

It is very tedious combining the roles. I'd to find time to play each role carefully and very well, so that none will suffer. So it takes extra work.

On the issue of mentor, most women agreed that mentors were vital to their careers. Mentors provide support and assistance to help (individuals) propel their career forward. Most (96.7%) of the respondents had stories of multiple mentors and said they would not be where they were today if they had not had their mentors. Although most of the women said that having a female mentor could be helpful, no one says it is a necessity. The main requirement is that the mentor - male or female - be interested in advancing a woman's career. This contradicts previous findings (Ragan, 1984; Morrison, et al, 1987; Ibarra, 1993) that women are often excluded from the informal relationships, like Mentor – Protégé relationships, networks, that are critical to the acquisition of power and influence in organizations. An individual's prospects for advancement are affected particularly by their access to developmental opportunities at the workplace. The work environment and the work roles are of greater significance for accumulation of required qualities for advancement than formal education and training (Rusaw, 1994). If fewer developmental opportunities are made available to women, how then do they advance? Most men avoid mentoring women (and vice versa) because they fear the relationship will be perceived as a sexual one. One of the male managers said:-

Men are too conscious of what others would say if they decide to show too much interest in the welfare of a lady (either she is hardworking or not). Personally, I usually try my best to help women with exceptional qualities even though I know that people would talk. Bust once a person is civilized enough, you don't look at that.

As a result of this, the development of mentoring relationships is less likely to include women in the intimate way necessary for their effectiveness. The way out of this is to review and re-validate human resources management policies and practices for a more demographically diverse workplace. Also, to device different developmental strategies for women in light of women's lesser access to opportunities that develops from informal arrangements and supports.

CHAPTER SEVEN

OTHER SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS

In this section, information was collected from the 60 women and 25 men managers and about 480 subordinates working under them. The data collected provided insights into gender differences in managerial styles and the subordinates' perception of their bosses. The sample comprises men and women managers at various managerial levels.

7.1 Perceptions of women /men in management positions by their subordinates

Fiedler (1967, cited in Robbins and Coulter, 1999: 521-524) proposed that a key factor in leadership success was an individual's basic leadership style. He further suggested that a person's style21 was one of two types: task oriented or relationship (people) oriented. To measure a leader's style, Fiedler developed the least-preferred co-worker (LPC) questionnaire. Respondents were asked to think of all the co-workers they had ever had and to describe the one person they least enjoyed working with by rating him or her on a scale of 1 to 8 for each of the 16 sets of adjectives. Fiedler believed that you could determine a person's basic leadership style on the basis of the responses to the LPC questionnaire. Fiedler also believed that if the least preferred co-worker was described in relatively positive terms, then the respondent was primarily interested in good personal relations with co-workers; that is, relationship (people) oriented. In contrast, if you saw the least preferred co-worker in relatively unfavorable terms, you were primarily interested

in productivity and getting the job done, thus, you would be laballed task oriented. The task/person orientations are often treated as distinct in many of the typologies that currently exist. As applied to women managers, the assumption has been that women use more expressive management strategies, focus more on relationships and consideration, and are more democratic while, men managers are instrumental leaders (Parsons and Bales, 1955).

Even though the corroborating evidence for this dichotomy was produced in experimental settings where leaders have simply emerged from the interaction (not in situations with actual managers and subordinates), the expressive/instrumental sex differentiation is very widely held in sociology. It may not hold when applied to managers on the job. Managers may, in fact, perform both functions, something these typologies often do not allow for. If these typologies, based as they are on male behaviours, fail to represent adequately women's management approaches, their use may result in women being inaccurately judged as less effective when they are simply using alternative, though unrecognized, approaches.

To allow for these possibilities, in this study, information was gathered about the management styles of men and women managers. This method allowed them to talk about their work. An imposition of preconceived categories that may be unlikely to tap the full range of their behaviours was avoided. In this study, findings suggest a typology other than task versus person orientation more readily applied to both sexes approaches. Men and women managers did seem to behave

differently. The women were both task and person oriented, while the men, seemed to be neither.

Women as Task/People Oriented

Some (43.9%) of the women managers described themselves as "people oriented" and several stressed their concern with subordinates as overriding. One woman called herself a "teacher", another a "mother," and both women explicitly rejected the rational model of scientific management. As one reported;

> *I'm probably not the most business like supervisor---I*
> *know I'm not terribly efficient; I don't care to have*
> *that type of attitude---you know, crack the whip. I feel*
> *more family oriented to the whole lot of them.*

The other said:

> *I guess I'm not a scientific manager----*
> *I'm not the paternal type manager----*
> *But I would try to help them learn----*

When the subordinates were asked on how they perceive their female bosses' attributes, majority (57.7%) was nearly unanimous in seeing these women as people oriented. Some spoke of this as a general trait. One of them said:

> *I think women are more sensitive and appreciative of*
> *their subordinates. Just simple things like saying thank*
> *you for tasks that are completed.*

Others (42.3%) said female bosses take things too personally and are too concerned with efficiency. As one of the men under the supervision of these female managers said:

> *She doesn't delegate enough....she stays too much involved in
> the nitty gritty of the work. She doesn't have confidence in the
> people working for her...*

However, most of the other stereotypes (fault finders, positions go to their heads, too jealous, etc) used in describing women bosses tend to be less commonly held by the subordinates in this study.

It was further gathered that these women were not simply people oriented. They were as much (if not more) task oriented. For many of these women, task orientation was more important than people orientation. Infact, over half (56.1%) of the women managers described themselves as task oriented only. As one of them put it:

> *Efficiency is the most important thing
> If people don't love me at the other end, that's O.K*

For these women, it was their subordinates who described them as people oriented. They were all very focused on accomplishing the task at hand (task oriented by traditional standards). When they were asked about their job content, they all gave a long and exhausting list of tasks they must accomplish. The women were of the opinion that all activities took place with the acute knowledge that women managers "had to be harder working", that they "worked twice as hard as men". As one of the subordinates said::

> *Men can get away with dumping their work onto
> someone else and walking out of the door. Women
> in most cases do their subordinates' work.*

Even the people orientation exhibited by the women could be seen as contributing to task accomplishment. Their concern with their subordinates was often directed towards motivating them. As one of the women managers said:

> *I know my people and use a different management*
> *style with each of them because each one is different.*

This respondent believed this approach was successful. In her words:

> *If my people are happy, they are going to do a*
> *better job for me – and they do.*

The subordinates also perceived that women managers made more effective use of their services. As one of them (a female) said:

> *Women have more confidence in their subordinates and*
> *delegates more responsibility to them. Take for instance,*
> *my former boss, my work with him was a bad experience.*
> *he never let you do anything; he only told you what he*
> *wanted you to know.*

In the final analysis, a composite value of perceived female bosses' attributes and management style show that more men than women tend to give female bosses negative attributes. As one of the men reported:

> *My boss is always standing on my shoulder, wanting to know the*
> *details of what am doing…doing too much of what…. (her)*
> *surbordinates should be doing……*

By extension, this supports a greater antagonism witnessed by women bosses from the males (Udegbe, 2003; 1998; Tomkiewicz & Adeyemo, 1995; Udegbe & Omare, 1994). It also supports the strong belief among employers and

workers that women should not supervise male or mixed work group (Oppenhemier, 1970).

Men as Image Engrossed/Autonomy Invested

The women managers focused on accomplishing the task using their person orientation to this end. The men, when asked about their jobs, talked very little about how they went about doing the work, getting the task accomplished. Rather, they focused on the importance of their jobs – for the organization and for society. As one said:-

> *Our operation is totally responsible*
> *for supporting the product in the field.*
> *The success of the company rests on it.*

This can be termed image engrossment. Men visualize their career/jobs as a series of jobs or organizational promotions and advancement, not as personal growth. Men value autonomy and their jobs and women value structure. This difference has little to do with who understands the long view or who is more effective in accomplishing the task, but it does determine management style and the formation of certain impressions. This difference is not clearly seen in their approaches to delegation.

Approaches to delegation of duties

While most women managers described themselves as delegators, which was confirmed by their subordinates, many also said they liked to "stay involved"

in the projects they delegated. Reasons for staying involved ranged from being "tough" to showing concern for the subordinate. In contrast was the style described by the male managers. A predominant theme, mentioned by the majority, was independence both for themselves and for their subordinates. Delegation meant something very different to them. They were much less invested in their subordinates. As one of the male managers said:-

> *I want them to become less dependent on me.*
> *So that I can become more independent.*

Another man said that his:-

> *Objective is to get through work in*
> *Four-hour days. That's really*
> *What I'd like to do.*

As opposed to the need for involvement with subordinates expressed by the women managers, these men believed it was necessary to:

> *give people responsibility and let them be*
> *responsible for their actions.*

To them, good management entails not being involved in what their subordinates are doing. The basic strategy is to:-

> *--hire people who take pride in their work----*
> *and get out of their way----- back off and let them do it.*

Other men expressed it differently, but the goal of minimal interference was the same. Several described themselves as "coaches" and another said that he did not

----- *try to run the department---- it is more like you know what's happening.*

Another said that he saw his job as simply;

maintaining peace and quiet.

The reasons given for the strategy sometimes involved the development of the individual. As one put it:-

If you don't give people that freedom, then they are not growing. If you're going to move forward, you have to let people take risks.

Other reason could be job related. As one of them put it:

I've come to realize the fact that the more you interfere ,the less work you get done. Moreover, you can't hold people responsible if you make the decisions. People are more motivated if they feel they have a stake in it.

7.2 Implications of differences in management style

From the foregoing, it can be inferred that there is a clear and striking difference between the management styles of both gender. The women were seen (and saw themselves) as task engrossed and person invested; while the men are image engrossed and autonomy invested. The existence of such different management models might well make it difficult for men and women to work together. In general, the women seemed to prefer the women's style and the men preferred the men's style, once they had experienced both.

Resentments of opposite-sex styles were frequently stated. Many of the statements about gender differences were evaluative in nature. Such was the case with the statements expressing the belief that women "did the work". The statements that women were more effective workers also revealed resentment towards men's typical style of work.

Another source of tension was the autonomy issue. Since the "male ethos" in the work world seem to be "give everybody space to do their jobs", men are likely to resent women's style, interpreting it as lack of confidence in men's abilities. Women, on the other hand, preferred and so expected bosses to invest time and energy in helping them develop. When they do not, they were likely to be angry, and often confused. These reactions seemed to hold regardless of sex of supervisor; it was the style that mattered.

Some of the men (subordinates) had misgivings about the "people concern" in these women managers' style. Although these men clearly made an evaluation of the women's style, they never mentioned whether it did, in fact affected their capacity to perform. Women also misunderstood men's approaches; often perceiving the autonomy given them as 'neglect'. Communication between the sexes can be a continual balancing act of trying to juggle our conflicting needs for intimacy and independence. To the women, intimacy suggests closeness and commonalities. While to the men, independence emphasizes separateness and differences. Effective communication between the sexes is important in all

organizations for meeting organizational goals. To keep gender differences from becoming persistent barriers to effective communication requires acceptance, understanding, and commitment to communicate adaptively with each other.

However, while majority of the men and women interviewed conformed to the gender-specific model, there are some exceptions for both men and women. In general, it seemed that the sex of manager mattered less than style. This was supported by some unusual cases found out in the study. For example, six of the women managers reported little person investment and their subordinates agreed. Instead, they were autonomy invested. They delegate much of the time-consuming activities and responsibilities for their subordinates. In all these cases, women subordinates seemed to be objecting to deviations from the management model more commonly used by women.

Another interesting case involved two male managers who had adopted the model more commonly used by the women. They were the only male managers who made no 'self-aggrandizing' statements during the course of the interview. A woman subordinate who reported to one of them described him as person invested as well. To be so appreciated by a woman subordinate, it seems a male manager must adopt the woman's approach. Men who truly used the person-investment style with women subordinates were very well appreciated. Infact, in one of the companies surveyed, such men were chosen as mentors by several of the successful women. As one of them said:

He trusts me... he doesn't question what I do. He has confidence... that makes you feel good. I enjoy doing these things because he gives me credit.. He puts me through each time I have any difficulty doing certain things. In short, he is like my mentor. I realized that his hard work, firmness, self confidence assisted me in moving on despite problems that came my way.

These men seemed to be using different strategies with male and female subordinates. They described themselves as autonomy invested, and their men subordinates enjoyed this approach. Their women subordinates, however, tended to see them differently. They described them as "wonderful, natural teachers" who invest so much in them and helped them to develop.

7.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, these data suggest that sex-differentiated management models may somehow exist, contrary to Ogundaisi (1998) and Wajcman (1996) positions that there is no distinct "female management style". However, gender differences in leadership tend to be more of reflections of stereotypes (that is, gender role orientation and value) than reality: that women may use a more task – engrossed and person-invested style; while men may use a more image-engrossed and autonomy-invested style. This corroborates Okojie (1990) and Eagly and Johnson (1990) notions that women are meticulous, thorough, and painstaking on their jobs, while men see their jobs as a stepping-stone for promotion/ office intrigues politics. While arguments could be made that one approach is better than another, the point here is simply that they are different and the differences

undoubtedly cause tremendous misunderstandings between men and women in the workplace. Men managers leave women subordinates to struggle on their own because they believe this is the "best way to manage". Men subordinates resent women managers who "stand over their shoulders" because this signals to them a lack of confidence, while the woman believes she is demonstrating her "concern for the employee". Male-female differences in management styles are best explained using the gender-socialization (gender-model) approach. The gender-centered perspective argues that men and women are socialized into different interpersonal styles and adult gender roles (conventional childhood sex-role socialization differences). As a result of this, men and women in the same occupation are expected to exhibit different concerns and interests and pursue their careers in divergent ways. Women and men manifest distinct management styles and leadership qualities that are culturally and institutionally conditioned and reinforced.

These misunderstandings are problematic simply in the difficulties they present for the day-to-day negotiations in the workplace. The existence of such different sets of expectations certainly makes it difficult for men and women to understand each other and to work together. While this study has not specifically examined the effectiveness of either approach, some studies exist which states that effective contemporary managers should adopt the female management style (Kanter, 1983; Udegbe & Omare, 1994; Udegbe, 2003; 1998). Thus, women's

styles would seem to be, at least, as effective as men's. Future research must explore this possibility, as well as the widespread existence of the differences found here.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ORGANIZATIONAL FACTORS

8.1 Organizational Opportunity Structure

To collect detailed information on the social environment of work, the case study approach was used to elicit information from 24 workers in the following categories – The Human Resource Manager (HRM – of each company); Senior Executive Managers; and Women in management positions (in sex-atypical jobs). The case study approach was used so as to be able to gather necessary background information, and to be able to document the specific experiences of employees and Senior Managers who work directly with women; and the unique experiences of women in management positions. Three different interview guides were constructed and used for the 24 respondents (16 males and 8 females). The respondents interviewed here, were also included in the main interview survey. On the whole, 4 Human Resource Managers; 12 Senior Executive Officers; and 8 women managers working in sex-atypical jobs were included in the case studies.

The responses from these workers provide further information on how gender is an organizational feature of the occupational structure of the four companies surveyed, and likely deviations from documented evidences provided in their handbooks.

Human Resource Managers

All the 4 HRM interviewed are men. This serves as a pointer to the existence of job/occupational segregation in terms of gender. From the four companies surveyed, none of them has a woman as the human resource manager. Issues explored include policies relating to gender and attitudinal questions.

Policies relating to gender

(i) Recruitment, Selection and Placement

The managers were asked questions on the recruitment patterns and policies of their various companies, and it was reported that most of the employers do not have a strict policy on whom to employ (whether male or female). However, sometimes, the nature of the job will dictate the gender to be employed. In the words of one of the managers:

> *It is clearly stated on the requisition form the type of gender*
> *to be employed. If it is female it will be stated. At times it may be*
> *open for either male or female.*

This statement reveals a support for job segregation. A common feature of all the companies surveyed is that most of the female employees are concentrated in the administrative sections (middle and junior levels), while the production/technical line is predominantly a male affair.

A notable feature of the workers in the production line (revealed during interviews with managers and the women) is that the few female production

workers in key professional positions are usually recruited depending on performance during a one-year qualifying examination with their respective companies. As the HRM in the chemical industry report:

> *a woman who shows exceptional ability after the*
> *qualifying exam, usually conducted by the Central*
> *Interview Panel (CIP), is promoted to the level of*
> *either an assistant manager or a full-fledged manager*
> *in the production line. The exam is usually a rigorous*
> *exercise------*

Dominant social values about femininity and masculinity are used to define job requirements of all the companies surveyed not to allow women to work in the so-called high-risk production sections like: the processing section of the chemical and allied company; the bottling section of the brewery; the spinning, weaving, printing and the oven area of the textile mills, and the oven area of the beverage producing companies. As a result of this, one of the HRMs argued in favour of job segregation saying:

> *It is to the favour of the women that she does not work in*
> *certain sections of the production line, for example, a*
> *woman is not allowed to work as a boiler operator because of*
> *heat and because the job requires a lot of physical strength.*

In contrast to this opinion, a chat with some women factory workers revealed that such a segregation of job based on gender considerations are nothing but part of 'male chauvinism'. It is argued:

> *a place not too healthy for women to work is*
> *to be also unhealthy for men.*

This was described by one of the female informants working in the make-up section of the textile industry:

Question: *Ma, would you say your employer is fair in making sure that women are not allowed to work in the spinning area, which tends to be unbearably hot; and other sections, which may be needing male extra physical strength?*

Response: *My dear, don't mind them. There is nothing extraordinary in those sections. I have been working here before I had my first baby and I have never experienced any form of miscarriage in any way. To the glory of God, I have 4 children. I have worked and applied myself beautifully well in all the sections. Infact, I trained most of the men that now work in the spinning and weaving sections. But what usually happens is that, as soon as I train a man, he takes over my position. The situation has been, pushing me round the sections to build up confidence in the men. The general occurrence is that, most women who worked hard in those sections have been pushed out by the frustrations imposed on them. When you see a small boy, equal in age to your child ordering you around, after training him, simply because he is a man....*

The above quotation explains some of the negative attitudes of employers toward women, culminating on employer's inability to select the best person (man or woman) for the best job because of over-emphasis on gender. Women are thus denied the opportunity offered by the new complex technological advancement. Recruitment trend in the surveyed companies (as reported by the HRMs) confirms

that where a man and a woman are *prima-facie* qualified for a job, the establishment mostly employs the man. No doubt, policy favouring job segregation also helps to create "job ghettos", that is, jobs with little economic security and little opportunity for advancement for women. This was what made one of the managers in the textile company to say:

> --------*the company prefers the female secretaries because women add some spice to the work environment and they are better image-makers.*

Another manager from the beverage company was of the opinion that:

> *it is the policy of the company to put women in the packaging section, which demands a lot of concentration and dexterity.*

Hence, because men are generally "restless", they have been found to be unsuitable for the packaging work.

(ii)   Training

It is the policy of the organizations surveyed to make training available to all workers irrespective of gender. Thus, each worker is exposed to a series of training programmes during the induction period and subsequently thereafter. Preference is not given to any gender as such. Rather, during annual appraisals, training needs are identified and those men and women found deficient in particular areas of their jobs are re-trained.

However, the general trend is that there are more needs for training in the technical and production departments, and because men are mostly found in these sections, they tend to receive more training compared to women and men in other departments. As the head of the technical department in the chemical industry reported:-

> *Due to innovations in technology, there is always a constant need to train our personnel, so that they can keep abreast with their counterparts in other parts of the world. So since this department is dominated by men, in the high level they tend to get enlisted into the training exercise so easily than women.*

At other times, a pregnant woman may lose training opportunity to the officer next to her pending her delivery. Although, often times, this exemption depends on the stage of the pregnancy. These women are exempted (most of the time not voluntarily) if the training exercise is found to be inimical to their health. Hence, for women, pregnancy often hinders the opportunities to train.

(iii) Promotion

From the four companies surveyed, promotions are not automatic. They are given on merit and when there are vacancies. The four managers (HRMs) interviewed, confirmed that promotion tends to be relatively faster for men than for women. This is because women tend to have a lot of interruptions as a result of child bearing and caring (or other exigencies demanding women's attention in the home). As one of the managers said:

> *A woman who is a hard worker does not necessarily lose her promotion because of a single maternity leave,*

except it becomes so frequent like a yearly event..........

On the whole, it was gathered that, promotions, more often than not, principally depend on the recommendation given by a boss on her/his staff. Most often, it is impossible to control for bosses' biases. Also, promotion sometimes could be spontaneous depending on acquisition of additional educational training/qualification, or due to innovativeness of a particular worker. But, generally, promotions tend to be faster in the senior/middle levels while, it is very slow in the junior staff level. However, there are clear indications that within two of the companies surveyed the merit principle is not widely and clearly applied (see data on women in sex-atypical jobs).

Attitudes toward Female Employment

Series of attitudinal questions were asked to document managers' attitude towards female employment. They were asked questions about particular problems they encountered having female or male workers. As a result, a gender comparison of employees' job performance was made.

The managers reported encountering different problems working with men and women respectively. The major problems encountered with female employees is: the problem of women having to combine household responsibilities with work roles . A manager in the chemical company remarked that:-

> *A married woman has complex problems. When you*
> *employ her you employ the whole family, that is, her*
> *husband, children and herself. When one of the team*
> *is sick, the woman is also sick*

A brewery manager gave a very broad description of females' problems

with work. He said:

> *The problem of the females are rather complex,*
> *whether single, married or divorced, women have*
> *specific problems attached to their kinds.*

On the whole, most of the managers were of the opinion that:

> *some people are just difficult to get along with, not*
> *because of their sex, but because of their individual*
> *personality and social background.*

The problem is therefore working with *people* (men or women), and not necessarily

gender specific problems. As one of the managers said:-

> *At times I find it is difficult working with my male workers,*
> *because, sometimes they could be high-handed. As a*
> *result of this, as a boss, you need to know when to be*
> *democratic or autocratic. This is because, at times I*
> *may be dealing with a much older male subordinate------*

Senior Executive Officers

At this level, 12 respondents were interviewed (all males). The aim is to

document specific experiences of these officers working with female managers and,

as a result of this, document if the job environment is discriminatory on the basis of

gender.

Career Development

One of the officers interviewed complained of women's incessant breaks on their jobs. In his words:

> *Nigerian women are yet to learn the art of industrial work. Although, in fairness, women could really work if they want to. But the fear there is, they cannot work for long. You cannot rely completely on them. In a month, for instance, there is bound to be a break, either to take care of a sick child or husband. How much more in a year?----*

Another production manager of the chemical company was of the opinion that:

> *though women complain a lot, they are very easy to handle... with a little teasing you can make them do what they will normally do in two days in just a day. What a leader should do is to just learn how to put up with their usual complaints, encourage and appreciate them.*

This confirms that most women prefers managers that are people oriented and motivating.

Human Capital

Education is another yardstick these officers used to measure the problem of women. The educated professional women on the production line are untrained and unprepared for the reality of the practice of their professions. It takes a longer time for them to grasp new technologies and instructions. Some women complained of company restrictions in terms of wearing uniform at the shop floor and others.

They hardly take the initiative to develop themselves beyond their qualifications at the point of entry. One of the production managers remarked:

> *Like women in other countries, I expect some women in the packaging floor to say 'I want to work in processing and production'. By the time a woman insists on it for a year or two years, we'll transfer her and try her. But the women are rather complacent and uneventful.*

Also, to the senior officers, the manufacturing industry seems to be too masculine for women to operate themselves freely because, by nature, it is labour intensive (e.g textile industry). Women can operate freely in the service industry because it is only intellectually based. Women's physiological make-up does not give allowance for working in a technically based industry.

However, generally, the officers were of the opinion that women who have passed child-bearing age tend to be more active and responsible, for such women have confidence and interest in their jobs.

Female Managers in Sex-atypical Jobs

Eight female managers were interviewed (two from each company surveyed). The ages of these women range from 25 and 44 years. They are all married. Five are with children while three are yet to have children. The number of children ranges from 2 to 3 children with age ranging from 2 – 12 years. All the women have University degree. (first degree) while four have Masters degree in addition (in MBA). Four of the female managers work directly with the production

workers, three works in the administrative/personnel section, while one works in the account section.

Career Development

These women see their work as a challenge and they continue to enjoy what they are presently doing. They all believe there is no technology specifically made for men, and that the story of women in childbearing age not getting exposed to certain work environment because of their biological make-up is a myth. It is argued that any environment not conducive for women is equally not conducive for men too. Both men and women working in chemical industries for example need the same protection from chemical fumes and poison; and constant medical check-up. The only female manager who believes that job segregation between men and women in the production line is appropriate is herself an accountant. Her support for sex segregation of jobs in the works department might not be unconnected with the fact that she, herself, is not technically inclined and the kind of gender role orientation and value she has.

Each female manager on the production line recounted initial experience with men on the production line. A female production manager, recounting her experience with male colleagues, said it took a long time for the men to accept that she can manage on her own. Often, she said the men believe that women over-react and are often emotional. In her words:

> *I believe the problem is that women are naturally more conscious of what they are doing, how they do the job and the details of what they should do. And when it comes to trying to be suggestive on policy issues, Nigerian men patronize women, a kind of not taking women's suggestion so seriously. They think women exaggerate a lot, and so, it takes a longer time for a woman to convince colleagues on policy issues.*

These female managers said they are very careful in the way they deal with male colleagues. As one of them said:

> *What I did first was to try to be one of them, and not to be above them because some of them are much lower in education. Knowing the psychology of men, I have to bring myself low, and as I start proving myself in my area of specialization, they start to appreciate me.*

Notably, these women also said they find it easier to deal with male employees than workers of the same gender. Often, because women at the top are few, there are petty rivalries between them. As a result of this, it is easier for the men to use the *divide-and-rule* tactic to bring dislocations between these few women. One of the female managers recalled:-

> *Because I opted to work in an all men's group, some of the women think I like men; and as soon as they see you talking with a man, they think you are going out with him.*

Also, the communication gap, which resulted from very few of the women having equivalent educational qualification, has increased the pace of the rivalry. As one of them remarked:-

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> *In the whole department, only one or two of the remaining female employees have University degrees and, even, the two are relatively very young in age. This often creates a communication gap between us.*

One of the women remarked that some of the female employees and friends generally do not accept her because she is too "plain" for them, and she closes late from work so she never has time to visit friends. In her words:-

> *Working in the production line makes you very straightforward. I mean giving instructions in the industry; you have to be specific and clear. So naturally, it becomes your habit. And sometimes you become very blunt. I express my opinion straight without trying to shade or colour it. I believe this makes it difficult for me to get along with the other women here.*

All the female managers are sympathetic towards women who are still in the childbearing age. One of them said:-

> *Production work is a bit trying when a woman has small kids. The environment in Nigeria is a bit tough; and the services provided by the government and the society is not okay. So it is in this way that it is a bit much difficult for a woman to cope with factory work. It can be very exhausting.*

Another product development chemist said:

> *Juggling work and home life is one of the main challenges of being a woman in industry. Deciding how far, how fast to push my career and balancing that against what I would have to give up in time with my family...it's a constant weighing of priorities.*

However, none of them has never felt held back, except of their own volition.

Perceived gender discrimination at work

Notably, majority of the women confirmed the existence of gender discrimination in treatment in day-to-day experience on the job. A female production manager in the chemical industry said:

> *There is a high level of discrimination in the Nigerian market. It's appalling! Some chemical companies made it very plain that they can only employ a lady chemist as an assistant manager and nothing more.*

The female production manager therefore argued that performance in industrial work is not really the issue of gender, rather it all depend on the individual interest, the job environment, training, personality and the capability of surviving the stress of working in the industry as against what holds in the society at large (patriarchal ideologies against the female gender). In her words:

> *That I stay here this long is because I happen to be persistent. I know what I want from the job, and I know what to do to get it. Other men who came after me have left because they lack these qualities.*

While some of these women said gender discrimination in the various companies is subtle, others believe it is obvious. Take for instance, it is argued, the numerical difference between men and women in the respective companies is an obvious sign of discrimination against women, not because of educational

qualification, but because more emphasis is placed on male employment as against female employment. A male worker is seen as the 'breadwinner' for the family, consequently he needs to be provided a job. A sign to show that more emphasis is placed on male employment. Also, the same stories told concerning sex-segregation of jobs in all the companies is an obvious indication of discrimination against women. For example, a female manager in the beverage company was personally crossed with the idea that women cannot be sale representatives. In her words:-

> ……..for instance in marketing department, they don't have a single woman sales rep. Each time we ask the sales manager why he has refused to employ women in his department, all he says is that women cannot travel a lot, and keep on sleeping in one hotel after the other. But I know that there are a lot of ladies capable enough to start a career from this.

However, other discriminations against women are rather subtle. For example, a remarkable difference was reported between men and women in terms of promotion prospects (though this varies in companies). As one of the women on the textile industry reported:-

> ---- the management often readily promotes a man into a management position even when there are more qualified women, because they naturally believe a man would perform better.

Another woman said:

> A lot of prejudices are subtle, and you're not truly aware of how you're affected. You go in, you do your

job, you think you're doing well, but you don't always
get the recognition you think you deserve .....

Generally, obvious differences exist between women and men managers, in terms of access to training and promotion opportunities. Although both men and women tend to have the same access to training, the access of men to promotion opportunities tends to be more rapid. Women need several years of commendable ratings before they may be promoted. There are clear indications that, within two of the companies surveyed, the merit principle is not widely and clearly applied. Employment-related decisions are governed with no merit based appointment processes.

This confirms what the four human resource managers in the four companies said that promotion tends to be faster for men than for women. Although it negates what some of the companies surveyed have in their handbook of terms and conditions of employment. However, the result of this discrimination against women in relation to promotion is that some of these women develop a consciousness to work harder, while for others, such action had ruined their morale and work expectations. Most of the people promoted for outstanding performance before others in the same job level are mainly male workers.

From observation, each organization has its own barrier to women's progress and, in all; there was a very clear perception that women could "go only

so far in the company". As one of the women managers in the brewing industry reported:

> *I'm probably not going to get any higher than the position*
> *where I am right now -------*

Another woman manager in the beverage industry said:

> *it's hard for women to get promoted past certain point.......*

From these, although the line may simply be at different places in the hierarchy in the four companies surveyed, it is virtually impenetrable, nonetheless. All respondents were acutely aware of the "point beyond which women could not go". This is why, overall, women occupied lower and middle management positions than men in these organizations.

On the other hand, another woman manager, in the chemical industry, surprisingly reported that there is no form of discrimination in her company either in terms of promotion, recruitment/selection and placement. In her words:

> *........here, there is no discrimination of any sort.*
> *Recruitment/selection is based on merit. If you are*
> *qualified you are employed either male or female. For*
> *promotion, equal opportunity is also given. In this*
> *organization, we have what we call the Central*
> *Interview Panel (CIP). It is a kind of examination*
> *board, which is very rigorous. Everybody will sit for*
> *the examination and whoever passes will be promoted*
> *either male or female.*

To her:-

> *people get promoted not for your technical*
> *competence, assertiveness, or goal –oriented attitude,*
> *because this is what the company recruited you for.*
> *Rather you are promoted on how you have impacted*
> *the business, not once but many times.*

Summarily, the general overview is that whether there is a subtle or obvious discrimination or none at all in organizations the culture of most organizations has made most women to develop a consciousness to put in extra effort or work harder to be at par with their male counterparts at whatever level. Women in general have to outperform themselves and their peers to be considered for opportunities with a high degree of responsibility.

Experiences at the various departments

On the whole, the entire women managers in the production department have faced one challenge or the other before they eventually got to these positions. As one remarked:-

> *It is always a challenge when you have to work in a male*
> *environment because they will like you to perform better.*
> *Once you are equal to the task, then they give you your*
> *chance, but if not, you may have some problems*

However, even though these women reported that they are exposed to the same training like their male counterparts, the different employers are very careful about making women responsible for the major production process. Thus a female quality control manager in the chemical company said:

> *Hardly has any woman been allowed to work in the processing section where chemicals are mixed together to form a paint for example… …*

Another woman, also working on the production line, said:

> *Men have over the years been exposed to handling the manufacturing of products from the raw material stage to intermediate stage of production, whereas, women handle the intermediate stage of production upward.*

From this, it can be inferred that there is a limit to which women are exposed to technology-in-use. There is no doubt that women continue to accept the new technologies, and often struggle to be exposed to the total package without much success (Soriyan & Aina, 1991). It therefore seems that while women are made to operate machines that perform repetitive task and work that restrict their physical mobility; men often operate machine that require skill and encourage work autonomy (Cockburn, 1985).

Nevertheless, for the few women who are involved in the technical aspect of production, the experiences they have are very interesting. As one of the female managers working in the chemical company said:

> *At the technical level, trying to attract women engineers and chemists in general is kind of difficult because we're in a chemical plant. Working in a chemical plant is a harsh environment------ Working at a chemical plant is very different from people who work in a research laboratory. We wear steel-toed boots and hard hats every day… … … …*

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For those women managers who work in the administrative/personnel section, they also see their work as challenging. One of them said her experience with male colleagues is not a very pleasant one. She said there is a general believe by men that a woman cannot be given too many responsibilities. According to her, this has been her major frustration on the job. She said:-

> *There was a time I was not enjoying my work because I knew I was capable of taking more responsibilities. I had to revolt against this on many occasions and eventually the management had decided to 'try me'. Right now I think am having job satisfaction, but it is making me work much more than even my male counterparts because you have to prove to them that you can handle the job.*

This woman said her relationship with her superiors is now very cordial. In her words:-

> *I think the difficult part was when I was still having children. But now, the children are growing up, thus reducing the problems of childcare. So right now I don't think I can complain about my relationship with my superior.*

Yet another woman reported:

> *I don't have problems working with the males since I try so hard not to allow my family commitments to interrupt with my work.*

Relationship with other staff (Junior and Senior)

On the relationship these women have with other staff in their respective companies, from the findings, sexual harassment is one of the major things these women experience at work. As one recounted her experience with male managers:-

> *The managers feel you owe them a favour for being given the job. And when you refuse them, they become so indifferent about your welfare and sometimes make sure you are frustrated out of the company. So for you not to be faulted, you have to be very hardworking.*

Also, different experiences were reported on the relationship these women managers have with male subordinates. For example, a female production supervisor remarked:-

> *Men do not find it easy to accept the authority of a woman. But once a woman delivers the goods, I think men will calm down and accept her.*

Most of the women reported a lot of insubordination from male workers. Handling such cases has toughened them more than their male counterparts. It was reported that there are occasional in fighting amongst women, within and across occupational groups. For example, women in sex-atypical jobs are seen by other women as being too aggressive and 'unlady-like'. As the women managers remarked, they tend to handle the women working under them with "iron-hand" because they want to get the best out of them.

For these women managers both men and women could perform well at work if the work environment is conducive. Sex segregation of jobs in the modern

labour market has contributed immensely to the partial development of the total person. Women have been discouraged from developing their muscle power. Therefore, the type of the so-called 'industrial man' of the present generation tends to be unfit for the unfolding global survival strategies which demand the full capacity of the individual man or woman, including intellect, emotions, use of fingers and the muscle power. One of the suggestions given by these women for overcoming gender discrimination is for every woman to be initiative and be ready to learn and unlearn at every stage of her career building.

Mentoring

The need for women to have mentors was also raised repeatedly by these women managers. As one of them reported:

> *I would argue that having a mentor is one of the most critical components to success that you can have.*

However, these women further said that it is advisable to have multiple mentors than a single mentor. Mentoring is critical to women's acceptance and growth generally in the workplace, especially those in sex-atypical jobs. This finding has corroborated the works of Gutek (1989) and Okurame (2002). Having several in different positions in your company, helps the protégée to understand the culture of the workplace, gain new knowledge and problem solving skills, and develop confidence in self and ability to succeed at the task. Part of the responsibilities of a manager is to ensure that her/his direct reports and her/his

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subordinates' reports are getting the skills they need to be successful in their careers. You are only as good as the people who are underneath you; because they are the ones who are boosting you up. Thus, a mentor facilitates protégées dream by playing the role of teacher, sponsor, host, guide, exemplar and counselor.

Infact, most women agreed that mentors were vital to their careers. Although most of the women said that having a female mentor could be helpful, no one says it is a necessity. The major requirement is that the mentor- male or female – be interested in advancing a woman's career. In this study, majority of the women reported having male mentors mainly because female mentors were not readily available (scarce and few) when they started their career. Their experiences reflected that no formal mentoring program was put in place by their organizations and that the mentor- protégée relationship developed informally. As one of them said:

> *My mentor is a male. While I was coming up my career ladder, I realized this man was always willing to assist anytime I come across any difficulty. He is always ready to help, not minding what (negative) people say. This is because in this organization, when a male manager takes too much interest in the welfare of a female —whether hard working or not; genuinely or not- he is tagged having a relationship with her. As for me, my relationship with him as assisted me in facing the tasks and challenges of male occupations.*

However, only few of the women reported being mentors to other females in their organizations. This is because the relationship is sustained and they get feed backs from the protégés. As one of them said:

...networking with mentor and other females is a good way to learn to talk with others in the field and have questions answered.....

Gender ideological values

Recognizing that the male ideology itself is a by product of society, effort is made to make respondents identify societal values, which they think should be changed so that women can perform better at work or in management positions. Notably, all the respondents believe change is inevitable. A list of descriptive/prescription statements is given which are listed here for their genuiness. The values to be changed using respondents' own words include:-

- "Inadequate recognition given to women's role"

- "Inability of men to accept women as equal"

- "The idea that women are the weaker sex"

- "Choosing stereotyped careers for women by parents or husbands" etc.

The following prescriptions are made by the respondents: -

- 'Women should be respected for what they are"

- "Increase general social awareness of women in the society at large"

- "Allow women to lead"

- "Stop discrimination against women"

- "Stop treating women differently"

- 'If men were to undergo prenatal and natal condition, they too will experience the same set backs women now experience at work; women

should not be penalized for their biological function which conflict with

work because they are the suppliers of the needed human resources"

This list of quotes from our respondents helps to summarize the reality of the world of work, which more often than not, is seen as the 'males world'; where women, on a daily basis, continue to struggle for general acceptance. Women's different experience and training and continuing domestic responsibilities, combined with unchanging labour practices, constantly point to the fact that women are prevented from participating in the work force on an equal footing with men.

From these findings, it can be inferred that there is an interlocking system of relationship between and among gender, work and cultural (institutional) factors in the organizations surveyed. Gender sometimes has a preeminent influence on work roles, while at the same time men and women in the same occupation tend to share about the same work interests and employment status, than men and women across occupations. This signifies the influence of structural factors. Also, cultural barriers interact with discrimination that sometimes remains rather invisible yet perpetuating. Thus, Itzin and Newman (1995) argue that culture metaphorically promotes a view of organizations as expressive forms, manifestation of human consciousness. Organizations are therefore to be understood and analyzed, not mainly in economic or material terms, but in terms of their expensive, ideational and symbolic aspects.

CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 Summary and Conclusions – A Synthesis

Gender factors within work organizations is a recent phenomenon. Organizational studies have not only been gender blind, but also sexist. The reason has been that, for a long time, organizational studies have ignored women, obscured gender differences and treated organizational behaviour as typifying men and women alike, while at other times they have treated women as peripheral to organizational life. Males and females are now moving into fields previously segregated by sex, thereby suggesting a convergence towards similar work interests and concerns. However, because sexist ideas pervade the labour market, women are still generally denied access to needed skills and job prospects despite the present socio-economic conditions, which make paid employment rather compulsory than voluntary for the individual.

Although many studies have documented the marginalization of women's economic status or roles with the emergence of industrial capitalism, only recently are national governments, responding to the need of more than 50% of the world population (that is, women) (ILO, 1999). Because 'work' is central to the individual social life, the field of 'Women and Work' has attracted a great attention from social researchers. This is, perhaps, because access to economic autonomy is seen as the first step in the process of gaining social status by women.

With increased access of Nigerian women to western education and, subsequently, increased entrance of these women into modern paid employment, there is a greater demand for research studies into the daily experiences of women within work organizations. This is in order to establish the extent to which women are able to cope and/or are accepted as full partakers of organizational life, particularly in management positions.

The major objective of this study is to examine the possible determining factors of the prevalence and success of women in management positions and to discover whether patterns of achievement exist along professional or socio-economic lines. In achieving this, the specific objectives include: identifying the characteristic of women/men in management positions; assessing them in terms of their perceptions of these jobs, the extent to which these women/men are exposed to the same technology/opportunity, and their level of acceptance of their style of management by their subordinates; and lastly, assessing the extent to which gender is an organizing feature of the occupational structure of these organizations.

In achieving these objectives, data for this study were collected from four manufacturing industries located in Lagos and Oyo States. The surveyed companies include: Chemical and Allied Products Nig. Plc; Guiness Nig. Plc; Afprints Nig. Plc; Cadbury Nig Plc. The methods of data collection include sample survey; the case study; focus group discussions; and review of company records. About four hundred and eighty people participated in the focus group discussion

using a focus group discussion guide (480) (see Appendix A); Eighty-five (85) were included in the interview survey while twenty-four (24) cases from specified categories were selected for the in-depth interviews, for necessary background information, and to document the specific experiences of employees and officers who work directly with women; and the unique experience of women in sex – atypical jobs (see Appendices B-D).

The main findings of this study can be classified under three sub – headings, which includes:

Gender attributes

- The data on educational level of respondents at the point of entry and currently shows that at the point of entry women have higher educational qualifications (university degrees – 32.8% of the female sample) than men (11.4% of the male sample). However, current educational level shows that more men have improved on the educational qualification possessed at the point of entry, while very few women do. As a result of this, more men tend to occupy positions within the organizational authority structure and are therefore responsible for making policy decisions. Since education is a major criterion in recruiting and promoting workers in modern sector employment, the general slow pace of job opportunity women enjoy could be explained by this (that is, failure to acquire necessary human capital). However, the study finds that the opportunity to improve one's educational

qualification on the job depends on a matrix of variables, including organizational culture (that is, employer's policies) and other factors (particularly domestic) making demands on women's limited available time.

- Most of the women in the managerial category are married, although few are separated/divorced and/or never married. Although the society still places a great emphasis on marriage, some incompatibility between work and family roles likely contribute to our having about 6% of female managers in the divorced category. This may be an indication of the type of struggle facing women in the bid to maintain a balance between home and their jobs.

Organizational Variables

- Some obvious differences also exist between women /men managers in terms of access to training and promotion opportunities. Although both men and women tend to have the same access to training, the access of men to promotion opportunities tends to be more rapid. Women need several years of commendable ratings before they may be promoted. There are clear indications that, within two of companies surveyed, the merit principle is not widely and clearly applied. Women are placed on jobs that do not offer them possibilities of advancement, since initial job placement determines the level of advancement

- Our data also support earlier findings that women moving into traditional male- dominated jobs reportedly meet diverse problems, ranging from lack of acceptance by male co-workers and male supervisors/managers (Rinfret and Lortie Lussier, 1996; Bhatnagar and Swamy, 1995; Mayer & Lee, 1982); differential treatment of females in the workplace (Udegbe and Omare, 1994; Levitin, Quinn and Staines, 1985); slow rate of promotion and assignment to less training opportunities than male workers (Aina, 1992).

Systemic/Institutional variables

- It was found that the majority of the respondents came from high socio-economic background when parental education and occupation are used as indices for measuring socio-economic background. Majority also rate their parents' influence on their choice of career high though other factors which motivated the respondents' choice of career appear to be predicated on "manual skill". So, in short, their patterns of achievement exist along both professional and socio-economic lines. The data on spouses show that over 58% of the female spouses are in paid employment too (specifically, professionals), meaning that both men and women are turning to paid employment to meet survival needs.

In sum, the major finding is the interlocking system of relationship between and among gender, work and cultural (institutional) factors.

9.2 Recommendations

Following the research problem and gap in knowledge identified, this study has, in its systematic ways, made attempts and some contributions that fill in the existing gap. First, to create employment equity or practices which could eliminate discriminatory barriers to employment options and access to optimum utilization of skill by the individual worker (male/female), the following recommendations are made to guide policy planning aimed at improving access of men and women to fulfill employment opportunities and thereby sustaining positive view of industrial work across gender groups. These recommendations are divided into three parts – Gender, Organizational, and Systemic factors (GOS)

Gender variables

- The individual woman needs to refocus attention on the development of her own human capital. The educated women must act as conscious agents of change, who could inspire other women, and serve as enviable role models. The notion of the "weaker sex" should not be embraced by women, particularly in situations where work responsibilities depend on expertise and skill rather than physical strength. Women should, therefore, see gender stereotyped favours as retarding and unprogressive.

Organizational Variables

- Organizations should change their culture, structure, and practices. They should create a more women-friendly workplace. Most women made it to middle management without difficulty, but then hit the glass ceiling and found it hard to move beyond this. It has become a closed male culture at the top with very few windows of opportunity for women. The government should make specific laws against discrimination in recruitment, promotion, and training, among others that are based on sex/gender, and marital status.

- To advance women's careers, organizations should establish procedures to make recruitment and promotion more objective and making the recruitment and promotion process more structured and transparent.

- Organizations should make their structures and dynamics more conducive and sensitive to gender equality concepts and practices by encouraging more women to enter male-dominated jobs.

- At the technical level, women are educationally disadvantaged in terms of ineffective training, which makes them ineffective partners in industrial and technological activities. Women should be given opportunity to show their ability. More women must be encouraged through affirmative actions to acquire scientific and technological competence.

- Organizations should develop a gender – sensitive human resource strategies, including networking, career tracking, training, mentoring and succession planning, unbiased recruitment, and promoting procedures and programs that allow a better balance between work and family are also vital in attracting and retaining skilled professional women (a feminist appropriation of organizational culture).

- Lastly, a focus on 'diversity management' is also recommended for organizations. It is suggested that determinants of a diversity programme could include: strong senior management support; an assessment and modification of organizational culture; the provision of education and training; and development of the business case for promoting diversity, inclusion and equal opportunity.

Systemic variables

- At the macro level, sex-stereotyped ideologies, which continue to discriminate against women, need to be changed. This could start in form of mass campaign against sexual prejudices using the both the electronic and printing media, or subtly at the household level as parents deviate from sexist socialization. Men and women at different stages in training on the job should be oriented towards greater gender awareness and gender sensitivity.

- The responsibility for equal opportunity cannot rest in the hands of isolated organizations or enterprises. Governments, employers, organizations, trade unions, civil society organizations and international organizations all need to move in the same direction and actively promote gender equality in the work force.

9.3 Future prospects

The evidence presented here demonstrates that although there may yet be few women in management positions, it is not because of any want of relevant experience, nor of the necessary skills. Women can, and do, make wide and varied management contributions. Those companies that have taken the lead and appointed women in management positions have reaped the benefit of the 'added value', which women bring to the management like, Fortune500 and 1000 in U.S.A. Their business have benefited from having mixed perspectives on the management and by presenting a more modern image to shareholders, customers, staff and suppliers.

In time, as more women take on senior management roles, the number of women on boards- in both executive and non-executive capacities- will grow and their presence will become unremarkable. But it does not often make good economic sense to wait for time to bring those changes that could improve corporate performance immediately. Instead, companies need to actively consider their strategy in relation to the appointment of management staff. This would

include, first, an examination of the criteria for the appointment of management staff. What possible additional skills or insights are needed? Where, other than in a traditional managerial role, could these skills be acquired? What extra breadth of experience is required on the board? Are there any gaps which someone with a none (male) traditional career pattern might be particularly able to fill?

Secondly, companies need to consider the sources they use to locate potential management staff. Are these sources flexible enough to ensure that the management has access to the widest possible pool of prospective experience and talent? Are any groups or individuals consciously or unconsciously excluded?

But perhaps above all else is the need for companies to recognize the value of non-male, non-conventional career. The careers women have may not always follow the standard male pattern, but they generate experience and knowledge nonetheless. Proper consideration given to this experience and knowledge will ensure that more women take their place alongside men in the management positions. In a survey carried out by Hunt (1975), on attitudes to women as managers. It was found that women were seen by top management to have many positive qualities, but the ability to manage was not one of them. Today such an attitude seems absurd and hopelessly dated. We are confident that in ten years the absence of women from management positions will seem equally unthinkable, and that women will have become an accepted and much valued part of company life.

In the long term, however, it can be expected that demographic and social trends will induce changes in societies and, therefore, in organizations. With falling fertility rates and the growing influx of women, the composition of the labour market will continue to be affected, pushing up the demand for skilled female labour. In an increasing number of companies, the growth in the proportion of qualified women should make them more visible, providing a base for the upward mobility of more women

9.4   Implications of the findings for further research

- Equal considerations in promotion, training and the relevance of gender discrimination in organizational culture milieu need a constant reexamination. As a result there are some important areas needing further research in order to establish work environment devoid of gender inequalities.

- While this data has only suggested that sex differentiated management models may well exist, women may use a more task-engrossed and person-invested styles, while men may use a more image-engrossed and autonomy-invested style, it has not specifically examined the effectiveness of either approach. Other research would be relevant here. Further research must explore this possibility, as well as the widespread existence of the differences found here.

- These findings also suggest a need to reexamine and to modify current assessment measures of managerial behaviours. In doing so, the typologies of management styles might change. For one thing, the existing measures do not reflect the merging of task and people orientations found among the women in this study. That this style appeared so consistently among women in the four diverse companies surveyed is striking (though they are also manufacturing companies). For another, current measures do not tap the image engrossment (and possibly not the autonomy investment) exhibited by the men in this study. Again, these tendencies were strikingly consistent across the four companies surveyed. By incorporating these insights into commonly used measures, the findings in this study will become more valid and less sex biased.

- The health status of Nigerian women in the workplace has also been a relatively neglected area of research. Research on strains and stress caused in women because of their conflicting roles (work, family and self interest) need to be explored more.

- Finally, the issue of women and the professions seems unattended to in existing literature on Nigerian women. Future research in this area should help to answer questions related to the socialization and training needs for girls and professional women. That is, the actual existing career patterns for women in various occupations and the perception of women of available

career options. With increased access of Nigerian women to western education and subsequently, with increased entrance of these women into modern paid employment, there is a greater demand for research studies into the daily experiences of women within work organizations; in order to establish the extent to which women are able to cope and/or are accepted as full partakers of organizational life.

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APPENDIX A

FGD GUIDE

A   Relationship with bosses.

1.   How would you describe your relationship with your boss (male/female)?

2.   How do you feel working under a female boss as a man, and vice versa?

3.   Whom do you prefer to work with? Explain why.

4.   Why do men object to working under female bosses, and vice versa?

5. .   Do you think there is a subtle discrimination against women in your workplace?

B.   Selection/Recruitment process in the workplace.

1.   How would you rate the selection process of employing applicants to any position?

2.   Do you believe that the selection process of employing women to any position is bias?

3.   Is there a need for using different techniques in training women than men? If yes, which technique is the most appropriate?

C.   Women in management positions

     1.   Do you feel women can advance to top level of management?

     2.   Why are there few women in management positions generally?

     3.   Is management position gender specific?

     4.   How would you rate the performance of women in management in your workplace?

     5.   How would you rate your immediate boss' style of management (task/people oriented; image engrossed/autonomy invested) ?

APPENDIX B

Interview Schedule for the Human Resource Managers

A: **Bio-Data**

1.   Age:

2..   Sex:

3.   Religion:

4.   Marital Status:

5.   No of Children:

6.   Level of education:

7. Professional qualification:

8. State of origin/Nationality:

9. Years of experience/employment records:

10. Official designation of position:

B. Policies Relating to Gender (Specific to this organization)

1. **Recruitment/Selection and Placement:-** and restriction depending on section/department/job description: for example, where a man a woman are *prima facie* qualified, whom will the establishment employ?

2. **Training:** Category of staff/gender restrictions.

3. **Promotion** Job evaluation technique, measures of productivity; guiding policies for promotion; etc.

C. Attitudinal questions

1. Any particular problems encountered having female workers

2. What do you feel/think of female employment in paid employment in general?

3(a) What do you think of female employees in this organization in general

4. Job performance – to make subjective assessment of men/women.

5. Do you think there is any particular job in this organization that a woman should not do?

6(a) Are you conscious of any form of gender, discrimination in your organization in terms of pay/promotion/training e.t.c.

(b) If yes, is this justifiable?

7. Do you think the present system is perfect, if not, suggest amendments?

8(a) Do you believe in support of encouraging more women in management

positions?

(b) If yes, what kind of support?

APPENDIX C

Interview Schedule for the Senior Executive Officers

A. Bio-Data

B. Attitudinal questions

1. Problems peculiar to working with women managers

2. Job performance of women managers

3. Efforts given to women employees in terms of encouragement to

advance/improve

4(a) What do you think of female employees in this organization in general.

(b) Any difference compared to men?

5. Do you think there is any particular job in this organization that a woman

should not do?

6(a) Are you conscious of any form of gender discrimination in your

organization – in terms of pay/promotion/training etc.

(b) If yes, is this justifiable?

7. Do you think the present system is perfect, if not, suggest amendments.

8(a) Do you believe in support of encouraging more women in management positions?

(b) If yes, what kind of support?

APPENDIX D

Interview Schedule for women in sex-atypical jobs

A: **Bio-Data**

B: **Orientation**

1. For how long have you been working with this organization?

2. Could you please give a brief but concise history of your life (family background).

    - Type of family organization you are from.

    - Number of children in your family of orientation

    - Your position among the children

    - The occupations of both father/mother

    - Estimated annual income of both father/mother as at the time you were in the University.

    - How many children do you have?

    - How old were you when you had your first and last children?

    - What is your husband's occupation and level of education?

3. Who played a dominant role in your choice of career and profession?

4. What are the reasons that motivated your choice of career? Is it – influence of relatives and friends, former teacher; to develop your personality; societal influence, to intellectually challenging work; parents' with, possibility good income, or what? (Rank in order of importance: 1. for most important; 2. for more important; 3. for important etc)

5. At what age did you first think of pursuing a career in your profession and when was the definite decision made?

6. How would you rank the influence of your father/mother/ brothers/sisters on the choice of your career and profession?

C. WORK HISTORY

1. Date of first appointment in this organization

2. Position on first appointment

3. How did you feel when appointed?

4. Present position

5. How many years did it take you to get to this position and how many years do you think it should have taken you?

6(a) Have you worked somewhere before joining this organization?

   (b) Please name the organization

   (c) Why did you leave?

D. . EXPERIENCE AT WORK

1. How satisfied are you with your present work?

2. General experience on the job – those related to gender

3. Technology exposure – compared to men.

4. Acceptance of such technology and capabilities.

5. Relationship with colleagues – senior/junior workers/workers of the same gender.

6. List areas of noticeable six discrimination and attitudes towards them..

7. As this (discrimination) had any major influence in your attitude to work.

8(a). Do you aspire to move into the highest cadre in your profession while in this organization?

(b) What is the probability that you will be promoted to this position before the end of your career in this organization?

9. What do you value most in your job? Or why do you work at all? Is it the prestige attached to the job; chance for promotion; high income; job security etc.

10(a) What is your view about the conditions of service in your organization as regards women?

(b) Do you think there is any subtle discrimination against your gender in this organization especially entering into management positions?

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(c)   How many times have you received any formal professional/in-service training since you started working here?

11.   What is your own opinion militate against the increase in the number of women in management positions in your organization?

12.   Do you think the selection process of employing women to any profession or management positions by organizations is bias?

13.   What process would you suggest to enhance the presence of women in management positions?

14.(a) What are the prospects for women in your organization?

(b)   do women in your organization generally have ambition to get to the top?

(c)   Are they given the free hand to participate in decision-making?

(d) .   Do you think there is any particular job in this organization that a woman should not do?

(e)   Do you think the present system is perfect? If not, then suggest amendments.

15(a) What would you say about your qualification compared to your male counterpart in similar position?

(b) Is there any form of income disparity?

16(a) What is the general attitude of your spouse towards your working outside the home?
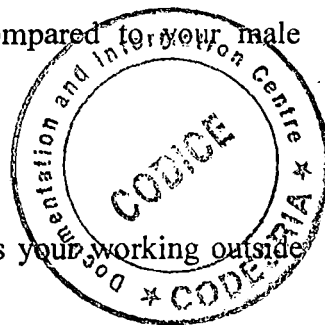
(b) Or towards your holding a management potion?

17(a) Do you experience any difficulty in carrying out your role as a wife and mother along with your managerial duties?

(b) What specific problems do you encounter as a result of your working?

(c) In what ways have you resolved these problems?

(d) Do you have any special strategies for coping with work and domestic responsibilities?

18. Do you encounter any struggle when it comes to promotion, and how?

19. How would you rate your managerial achievements compared to your male counterparts?

20. How would you describe the working relationship between you and your co-workers (subordinates)

21. Comment freely on the present status of Nigerian women in management positions in the socio-cultural development in Nigeria.

- Do you think management position is gender specific?

- Are there any roles that are gender specific?

- What is the status of Nigerian women in management positions

- What effect will this have on empowerment of women in Nigeria?