



Thesis By
OLABISI IDOWU AINA

**SOCIAL SCIENCES SOCIOLOGY/
ANTHROPOLOGY,IFE
OBAFEMI AWOLOWO UNIVERSITY**

**GENDER DIFFERENCES IN WORK
ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR
AMONG SELECTED INDUSTRIAL
WORKERS IN LAGOS**

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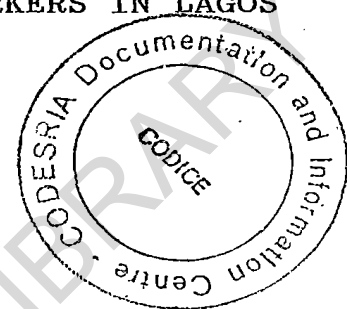
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GENDER DIFFERENCES IN WORK ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR
AMONG SELECTED INDUSTRIAL WORKERS IN LAGOS



BY

OLABISI IDOWU AINA (MRS)

B.SC. SOCIAL SCIENCES (SOCIOLOGY/ANTHROPOLOGY, IFE, 1979)

M. Phil (SOCIOLOGY/ANTHROPOLOGY, IFE, 1985).

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, OBAFEMI AWOLowo UNIVERSITY, ILE-IFE, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN SOCIOLOGY/ANTHROPOLOGY.

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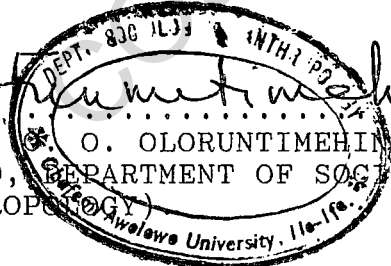
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CERTIFICATION

The thesis has been read and certified as meeting the requirement of the University for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy:

.....*SAA Afonja*.....
PROF. SIMI AFONJA
(PROJECT SUPERVISOR)

...28-4-92.....
DATE

.....*Oloruntimehin*.....
PROF. O. OLORUNTIMEHIN
(HEAD, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY/
ANTHROPOLOGY)


...28-4-92.....
DATE

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ABSTRACT

Current interest in gender issues is an attempt to correct, criticise and re-conceptualise the epistemological basis of traditionally accepted knowledge which failed to fully incorporate women's activities. For example, in Africa, for a long time now, women's work has often been invisible and sometimes undervalued or under-reported. Though there have been several criticisms of traditional explanations of women's experience at home, at work and within the society at large, very few empirical studies actually document the true reality of Nigerian women's social experience particularly in the world of 'work'. It is this gap in knowledge that the present study tries to fill.

The study therefore examines gender differences in industrial employment looking at organisational opportunity structure at both objective and subjective levels. It also examines men and women's work attitudes and behaviour looking at personal attributes and ideological values about gender role relations. The unique experiences of men and women in sex-atypical jobs are also documented.

To achieve the objectives of the study, both micro and macro level analyses are made, as explicated in the 'gender-organization-system' (GOS) schema adopted for the study. The GOS approach is entrenched in the Weberian tradition of the social action theory and the Durkheimian objective social reality. Emanating from the theoretical framework, three major assumptions are made, resulting in nine operational hypotheses.

Data for the study were collected from five multi-national companies with fairly large female labour force, in Lagos. On the whole 281 respondents were included in the sample survey while 36 others were studied with qualitative methods. Other methods of enquiry include direct observation and a review of some official records.

The data collected were analysed using non-parametric and inferential statistics. The results of the data analyses and the findings generally, support an interlocking system of relationship between and among gender, work, and cultural factors. Although gender sometimes has a pre-eminent influence on work roles, generally men and women in the same occupational group share the same work interests, hours, and employment status than men and women across occupations, signifying the influence of both individual attributes and structural factors. In a few cases, cultural barriers interact with discriminatory intent to produce forms of discrimination that is sometimes invisible yet perpetuating.

All the operational hypotheses are confirmed except one, indicating the validity of the theoretical assumptions of the study. However, on the basis of the findings, the study argued that it is necessary to create employment equity, and improve men and women's access to full employment opportunity and better working conditions, as these are important sources of maintaining an efficient workforce. Finally, implications of the findings which could help introduce feminist theoretical and methodological

tools into organisational studies are presented.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Major issues of concern in the field of Industrial Sociology include motivational and behavioural patterns within work organizations. Therefore most empirical studies in the field of Industrial Sociology use objective and subjective indices of work behaviour such as accident rates, labour turnover, absenteeism, work satisfaction, work commitment/involvement and work motivation to measure productivity. However, the neglect of gender factors and their influence on work attitudes and behaviour vis-a-vis productivity in most of such studies has been a major gap in the literature. Most assumptions about gender factors in work organizations were speculative, mythical, male biased and eurocentric. For example, because men were the first to fully establish themselves in industrial work as managers/supervisors, they were described as achievers, as rational, task oriented and aggressive. By contrast, women entered the industrial organization much later than men and were described as emotional, sentimental, problematic, and incompetent to hold responsible positions in the new industrial world. There is also the widespread belief that women have more interest in 'family' than in 'work'.

Current criticisms of Industrial Sociology have shown that theoretically, it has neglected discussion of gender stereotyping of jobs and the subsequent effects of sex segregation of jobs on women's career patterns, and options. Brown¹ for instance, found that the occupations studied were often 'women free' and at other times, the employees were treated as 'unisex'. More often than not, women employees were treated as 'problems'. As with the field of Industrial Sociology, the Sociology of Work has also been under attack. A more fundamental problem raised by Duberman² is that work is usually defined as that activity in which man engages primarily for the purpose of supporting himself and necessary for the maintenance and advancement of the individual and his society. Work is necessary for man's image of himself as a figure of responsibility and respectability. Duberman argued that this conception of work tends to create a relationship between the male and the activity of work, while women have been consistently placed outside the institution of work. The tendency therefore in most cultures has been to perceive women primarily as housewives. In effect, the themes of work and marriage have been treated as separate fields of study for

¹Brown, R., Women as employees: some comments on research in Industrial Sociology in Barker, D. L. and Allen, S. (eds) Dependence and exploitation in Work and Marriage, London, Longman, 1976, 21-46p.

²Duberman, L., Gender and Sex in Society, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1975.

quite a long time³, while the views of masculinity and femininity are bound up with this dichotomy between 'the home' and the world of 'work'⁴. For example, following sex segregation in the labour market, the actual study of work has proceeded along sex-differentiated lines. Feldberg and Glenn⁵ remarked that separate models for men's and women's relationship to employment have created two Sociologies of work, that is, the job model (which emphasizes work conditions and work orientation in explaining male work behaviour); and the gender model (which borrowed basic assumptions from the neoclassical economic approach and thus emphasized individual variables). The gender model used family interests and personal qualities to explain female work behaviour, thus ignoring type of job and working conditions. Haralambos *et al.*⁶ stated that the Sociology of Work could at best be retitled as 'the Sociology of men's work'.

The emergence of feminist movements engendered a change in orientation in the West, and current feminist theories have

³Rowbotham, S., *Woman's consciousness, man's world*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1973.

⁴Barker, D. L. and Allen, S. (eds), *Dependence and exploitation in work and marriage*, London, Longman Publishers, 1976.

⁵Feldberg, R. and Glenn, E., *Male and female: job versus gender models in the Sociology of Work*, in Kahn-Hut, R., Daniel, A. and Colvard, R. (eds), *Women and work*, New York, Oxford Press, 1982, 65-80p.

⁶Haralambos, M. and Heald, R. M., *Sociology Themes and perspectives*, Slough, University Tutorial Press Limited, 1980, 369-404p.

rendered inadequate patriarchal sociological theories in explaining women as a subject of research. Recent studies have shown that observed sex differences in employee's orientations and actions are determined more by their organizational roles and situations^{7,8}. Beyond the integrated model of Feldberg and Glenn⁵, cultural and ideological issues are now incorporated into the discussions on women's experiences within work organizations as explicated in the work of Fagenson⁹. Fagenson's gender-organization-system (GOS) approach suggests that women's behaviour and limited corporate progression in organization can be due to their gender, the organizational context and the larger social and institutional system in which they function.

Judging from above, it seems that the analytical frameworks of the early patriarchal theories have serious implications for gender studies in the West, and would be defective in explaining the lives of the Third World women, and men alike who belong to a totally different socio-cultural formations. This makes it appropriate to work with some detachment from existing causal analytical framework. Thus,

⁷Kanter, R. M., Men and women of the corporation, New York, Basic Books, 1977.

⁸Armstrong, P. and Armstrong, H., The double ghetto: Canadian women and their segregated work, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1984.

⁹Fagenson, E. A., At the heart of Women in management research: theoretical and methodological approaches and their biases, Journal of Business Ethics, 9(4/5) April/May 1990, 267-274p.

we view men and women within specific contexts as actors whose actions are determined by their assumptions and perceptions of society.

The present study hopes to make its modest contribution by introducing gender factors into the analysis of work attitudes and behaviour within industrial organizations in Nigeria.

In recognition that the specific history of each nation and its experience under industrial capitalism has important roles to play in the study of women and their work, the political economy model has been widely used to explain trends in female labour proletarianization and subsequent marginalization of their labour power as women are paid less for work of equal value, compared to men. However, the extent to which the political economy model can incorporate the micro-level analyses is questionable. Though the individual responds to the changes within the macro-structural environment, the individual is still left with the freedom to decide between and among alternative choices. The present study thus presents these industrial workers as conscious actors rather than as victims. It adopts the social action perspective which integrates both the internal and external logic of organizational behaviour. To achieve this, the study combines Weberian tradition with Durkheimian objective social

reality as exemplified in the work of Peter Berger¹⁰.

1.2 Statement of the problem

For a long time, the concern to record employment statistics has obscured any major research into the expectations, aspirations and motivations of women in the different sectors of the Nigerian economy. Also, it seems the present economic crises in the country has a much more serious implication for women's employment options than any other group, particularly in a society deeply penetrated by the male ideology which projects men as breadwinners, and women as dependents.

Most of the existing studies on women's labour force participation in Nigeria have mainly documented macro level factors mitigating against female employment in the formal sector of the economy^{11,12}. Subsequently, there is a dearth of data regarding women's work attitudes, while little is known about the actual occupational aspirations of women; differential job rewards based on gender and the influence of

¹⁰ Berger, P., Identity as a problem in the Sociology of Knowledge, in Curtis, J. E. and Petras, J. W. (eds), The Sociology of Knowledge, London, Gerald Duckworth and Co. Ltd., 1970, 373-386p.

¹¹ Ojo, F., Prospects for modern sector employment generation, Paper presented at the Workshop on Women in the formal sector labour force in Nigeria, University of Lagos, Nigeria, 6-7 March, 1985.

¹² Fashoyin, T., Oyekanmi, F. D. and Fapohunda, E. R. (eds) Women in the modern sector labour force in Nigeria: issues and prospects, Lagos, Leamson Printers, 1985.

employers' attitudes towards a positive career development for women. For example, the few existing studies^{13, 14, 15} which have tried to compare male and female factory workers in the African context, all found no difference between men and women in terms of needs, attitudes and value regarding employment, yet the way they are perceived by potential employers and their conditions of work differ considerably.

Survey studies on occupational distribution by sex in the private and the public sectors of the formal labour market have shown that men tend to be more highly concentrated in the modern sector occupations which require higher educational qualification, offer substantial social status and provide good salaries^{16, 17}. A change in occupational distribution is envisaged with higher investments in female education and with a subsequent increase in the number of women entering the modern labour force. However, the extent to which a woman is able to participate in the labour force depends on how she is

¹³Elkan, W., *An African labour* East African Studies (7), Kampala, East African Institute of Social Research, 1955.

¹⁴Date-Bah, E., *Informal relations among the employees of a Ghanaian factory*, Ghana Social Science Journal, 2(1), 1972, 86-97p.

¹⁵Di Domenico, C. M., *Nigerian industrial recruits: a case study of new workers at the Nigerian tobacco company factory at Ibadan*, Ph.D Thesis, Ibadan, 1973.

¹⁶Fapohunda, E., *Female and male work profiles*, in Oppong, C. (ed), female and male in West Africa, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1983, 256-265p.

¹⁷Afonja, S., *Women, work and the family in Nigeria*, a Report submitted to the Ford Foundation, Lagos, Nigeria, October 1989.

able to control potential conflicts between domestic activities and responsibilities, and the demand of the work place.

The traditional view of women's roles deserves some attention and review, for according to Sampson and Rossi¹⁸, women's employment has become an integral part of the family's social position. Women's situations have changed as married women now rely on their own work activities as an important mechanism for obtaining power in the society. According to Ross and Sawhill³⁰ more women today are likely to head their own families and rely on their own work activities to obtain power and money. Despite these changes, Wolf and Fligstein¹⁹ argued that women are much less likely than men to be in positions of power in the workplace.

The current recession in Nigeria has compounded the problems of women in the modern industrial sector. Women have to compete with a growing number of men for a limited number of industrial jobs done often under unfavourable conditions, while they are also confronted with social prejudices. Even though no public policy in Nigeria supports sex discrimination

¹⁸Sampson, W. A. and Rossi, P. H., Race and family social standing, *American Sociological Review*, 4, April 1975, 201-214p.

¹⁹Wolf, W. C. and Fligstein, N. D., Sex authority in the workplace: the causes of sexual inequality, *American Sociological Review*, 44, April 1979, 235-252p.

in the labour market, Fashoyin²⁰ argued that this does not in itself imply that men and women have equal employment opportunities. Rather, it might mean that the absence of specific government labour policy has helped to institutionalize sex discrimination in the labour market. If an employer engages in sex discrimination in respect of pay or other employment conditions, there is no law to turn to for redress since no specific law would have been violated. Even though the Nigerian constitution of 1979 states that there should be no discrimination in employment on the basis of birth, sex, religion, and political opinions, Rhodie²¹ remarked that such constitutional right only exists on paper. She argued that Nigerian women do not only lack proper educational background to accede to high professional ranks, the constitution itself is regularly suspended, sometimes for years, by every new military power.

No doubt, the oil boom of the late 70s, and the exposure of increased number of women to formal education, multiplied the number of women in the modern industrial sector. Though the number is still relatively small compared to men, Nigerian women today have entered almost all spheres of the urban economy. Few have penetrated the traditional male occupations

²⁰Fashoyin, T., Introduction, in Fashoyin, T. et al. (eds), *Women in the modern sector labour force in Nigeria: issues and prospects*, Lagos, Leamson Printers, 1985, 1-11p.

²¹Rhodie, E. M., *Discrimination against women: a global survey*, Jefferson, North Carolina, Mcforland and Co. Inc., 1989.

like engineering, architecture, accountancy and other managerial positions. The occupational experience of these newly emerging female professionals have rarely been documented, neither have their adaptive strategies to meeting the daily demands of their multiple roles as women and workers been fully conceptualized.

1.3 Research objective and hypotheses

The principal objectives of this study therefore are:

- a. to examine how gender differences in industrial employment in Nigeria are generated by the organizational opportunity structure (salary, promotion and training);
- b. to examine how gender differences are generated by the subjective conditions of work (attitudes of managers/supervisors/co-workers towards female employment and the attitudes of 'women' themselves towards factory employment);
- c. to establish any linkage between unequal treatment based on gender and the general attitudes to work;
- d. to assess women in sex-atypical jobs, their perception of these jobs/work groups, the extent to which women in these occupations are exposed to the same technology as men with the same skill, and the level of acceptance of women by men in these occupations.

To achieve the objectives of this study, the following are the basic assumptions of the study, from which nine operational hypotheses are derived.

The basic assumptions of the study

The study is premised on three major assumptions which are -

- I. Men and women with similar personal characteristics will tend to have similar work attitudes.

- II. Men and women who work under the same structural conditions tend to have similar work attitudes.
- III. Men and women who hold the same ideological values about gender role relations will tend to view female bosses the same way, but will differ in work attitudes.

Operational hypotheses for assumption I

- 1. Men and women with the same level of education tend to have similar work attitudes.
- 2. Men and women with the same marital status tend to have similar work attitudes.
- 3. Men and women who are married with children have similar work attitudes.

Operational hypotheses for assumption II

- 4. Men and women who have the same occupational status tend to have similar work attitudes.
- 5. Men and women who belong to the same income group tend to share similar work attitudes.
- 6. Men and women with the same promotional prospects tend to have similar work attitudes.
- 7. Men and women who perceive that they are discriminated against at work because of their gender tend to have poor work attitudes.

Operational hypotheses for assumption III

- 8. Men and women who possess traditional gender role orientations tend to view female bosses negatively.
- 9. Men who possess traditional gender role orientation value tend to show positive attitudes to work, while women with traditional gender role orientation value exhibit poor work attitudes.

1.4 The significance of the study

Women have now been recognized as an important segment of our economically active population. Since they constitute

about 50 percent of the Nigerian total population, failure to pay attention to problems of female reproductive and productive roles is a direct neglect of our human resources. Yet many studies continue to point to major obstacles facing women's effective participation in the processes of economic production and national development. Colonial policies discriminated systematically against women in access to such new critical resources such as western education and wage labour, and subsequently weakened the institutions that previously had insured women's access to land and agricultural labour²². Also, in the post independent Africa, the economic marginalization and proletarianization of most women help to service the growing international capitalism, as women's labour serves as a source of cheap labour supply²³. Worst still, a lot of misconceptions about women's work attitudes and behaviour exist within the modern industrial labour force²⁴. The direct result of attributing the nature of women's work primarily to biologically determined factors has resulted in the segregation of women into a limited number of low-level labour force jobs, and women's responsibility for

²² Robertson, C. and Berger, I. (eds), Women and Class in Africa. New York, Holmes and Meier Publisher Inc., 1986.

²³ Tilly, L. A. "Paths of proletarianization: Organisation of Production, Sexual division of labour and women's collective action" Signs. 7(2), 1981, 400-417p.

²⁴ Laws, J. L., Work aspiration of women: False leads and new starts, Signs, I, spring 1976, 33-4ap.

domestic chores. According to Strober²⁵, occupational segregation at the workplace has been maintained because all other systems in the society have so strongly supported it. Also, the prevailing theory in Sociology maintained that men are "instrumental" or "task" oriented, and women are "expressive" or "social" specialists²⁶.

To correct some of the existing myths about gender roles, the present study seeks to establish that perceived gender differences in work attitudes and behaviour are in fact socially construed rather than being biologically determined at birth.

The significant changes in women's participation in the paid labour force have made it increasingly important to understand the nature of gender differences in work organizations. With growing economic crisis, Nigerian women continue to move into the wage employment, although very few of them are at the top of their professions. However, this exploration of the functioning of the labour market, particularly the treatments meted to women in terms of recruitment, training and pay discrimination will enhance the attention of planners and policy makers on the requirements

²⁵ Strober, M. H., Towards dimorphics: a summary statement to the conference on occupational segregation, Signs, 1(3), part 2, Spring 1976, 293 - 302p.

²⁶ Mecker, B. F. and Weitzel O'Neill, P.A., Sex roles and interpersonal behaviour in task-oriented groups, American Sociological Review, 42, February 1977, 95 - 105p.

for an effective programme to promote more equal opportunities for Nigerian women.

To have appropriate and effective policies which will address the 'women's question', particularly that which relates to her work roles, we need to understand the reality of the world of work with a particular emphasis on gender, using the women's own terms and expressions. The first step in this process is to become critical of existing social theories which have been found to be conceptually inadequate not only in explaining gender related issues, but also inadequate in explaining African social reality²⁷.

This study therefore contributes to the existing body of literature by exploring gender relations in formal structures. The findings, no doubt will give useful suggestions on how to tap fully our female talents and solve some of the obvious job segregation problems in our labour market. The findings are also useful for career counsellors in educating our girls (now training or yet to train in the so-called 'male-world' on some of the peculiarities and demands of this 'world').

Broadly, the findings of this study are useful for future researchers in the fields of 'Women and Development'; Women's Studies; and particularly, for industrial sociologists who are ever interested in the techniques of managing a successful

²⁷ Alo, O. I., Understanding work attitudes and behaviour in Nigeria: a study of work and non-work spheres of life, Ph.D Thesis, Unife (now O. A. U), Ile-Ife, 1984.

workforce to meet the ever increasing demands of modern technology.

1.5 Data collection

The data for the study were collected from 5 manufacturing industries in Lagos. They are:

- a. May and Baker (Nig.) Ltd.,
- b. Guinness (Nig.) Ltd.,
- c. Nigerian Textile Mills
- d. Christlieb (Nig.) Ltd.,
- e. Cadbury (Nig.) Ltd.

A total of 281 respondents were interviewed using a structured questionnaire, while 36 others, who were carefully selected from specific categories were interviewed using semi-structured open-ended interview guides. In each company, those interviewed in this second category include -

- a. Representatives of Management staff (for example a personnel manager.
- b. A production manager or a supervisor or a foreman
- c. Women/men in sex-atypical jobs
- d. Representatives of Labour Union executives.

Responses from the latter group were taped, transcribed and analyzed.

1.6 Analysis of data and findings

The data collected were analyzed using non-parametric

statistics (percentages and chi-square tests) and inferential statistics (contingency coefficient, Pearson correlation coefficient and logistic regression models) to determine relationships and strength of association between selected variables.

Eight out of the nine operational hypotheses were confirmed while only one was rejected (that is, hypotheses 8). A major finding in this study is that the attitudes of men and women in the survey, to paid employment tend to be very similar. Both men and women surveyed have taken industrial work as a way of life. However, it is found that both men and women who are in dead-end jobs tend to exhibit poor work attitudes and behaviour, although the present socio-economic crisis in the country today is forcing workers to become more attached to their work (that is, workers tend to suffer in silence).

Workers' attitudes and behaviour are therefore often functions of the opportunity structure rather than the biological make-up of the worker (maleness or femaleness). Since majority of women are in low level jobs, their attitudes to work can wrongly be taken as stereotypical of their sex. Also, noticeable gender discrimination at work is experienced by the few women at the top, while this is less emphasized among those in low level jobs. Although the response of women to perceived gender discrimination is not necessarily anti-work, it is not unlikely that a person who persistently

experiences gender discrimination at work will later exhibit unfavourable attitudes which in turn could serve to further deprive him/her of job advancement.

1.7 The structure of the thesis

The thesis is presented in eight chapters. The introductory chapter (chapter one) presents the background to the study, defines the problems studied; states the objectives and the significance of the study; identifies methods of data collection and the procedures for data analysis.

Chapter two, which is the literature review, presents existing perspectives on 'women and work'; 'women and the labour market'; and 'women's adaptive attitudes and behaviour to occupational conditions'.

Chapter three presents a theoretical and a conceptual discussion, while chapter four which is the research methodology focuses on eight items which include the selection of industries; the population and sample; method of data collection; pre-test; problems encountered in the field; procedure for data analysis and limitations of the study..

Chapter five describes the location of the study and gives a brief profile overview of the five establishments surveyed, and summary of Nigerian Government employment conditions relevant to women. Also, this chapter presents a summary report on direct observation of MGNXC production lines; and provides empirical evidences on the social environment of work using data from case studies.

The quantitative data is presented in two chapters (chapters 6 and 7). Chapter six presents data on socio-economic characteristics of the sample; respondents' work history; the general conditions of work and some descriptions of work and family roles description. Chapter seven focuses on measures of work values, attitudes and perceptions; while it also contains the test of hypotheses.

Chapter eight which is the final chapter, presents summary, conclusions, and policy implications of the study and also presents recommendations for improving gender relations at work and suggesting future research orientations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review covers three major sub-themes which are:

- Existing perspectives on "women and work"
- Women and the labour market
- Women's adaptive attitudes and behaviour to occupational conditions.

2.1 Existing perspectives on 'women and work'

One of the earlier moves to correct the continuous subjugation of women in the process of social and economic development led to tracing the origin of sexual inequality in society, and accounting for the persistence of such inequality despite socio-cultural changes.

For a long time, two major perspectives existed in anthropological studies of gender relations cross-culturally. The first is the perspective which uses the inherent differences in the biological composition of the sexes to explain sexual inequality, while the second perspective derives from the work of Engels²⁸ who linked female subordination to changes within the realm of economic production. The subsequent paragraphs present the major perspectives on the origin of sexual inequality, as this serves as a point of departure in understanding the persistent stereotyping of jobs among the sexes and across national

²⁸ Engels, Frederick, The Origin of the family, private property, and the state. New York, International Publishers, 1942.

communities.

a. Biological Determinism:

Although the details of the position taken by adherents of biological determinists differ, common to all of them is the basic assumption that men and women differ in reproductive organization, in hormonal endowments, in size and potential physical strength, thus making differences for human social life. A major consequence of the assumed dichotomous nature of men and women is the allocation of tasks along gender lines. Such tasks are not only differentially valued; such a division affords the sexes differential access to and control over socially valued reward and resources. For example, Murdock²⁹ wrote that biological differences, such as the greater physical strength of men and the fact that women bear children led to differences in gender roles out of sheer practicability. On their own part, Tiger and Fox³⁰ observed that the human biogrammar which is a genetically based programme predisposes mankind to behave in certain ways due to differences in hormones. The resistant aggressiveness and dominance of women by men is partly a result of his genetic inheritance from his primate ancestors and partly due to his genetic adaptation to the hunting way of life. Males who had

²⁹ Murdock, G. P., Social structure, New York, Macmillan, 1949.

³⁰ Tiger, L. and Fox, R., The imperial animal, London, Secker and Warburg, 1972.

dominated hunting as a way of life, and who were also responsible for the protection of the band, naturally monopolized positions of powers while women who are programmed to reproduce and care for children become rather dependent.

Since genetic change is generally slow, compared to cultural change, the male and female biogrammars of the hunting society are assumed to have continued in the modern industrial society. Although writers who later wrote on modern industrial societies, for example, Talcott Parsons³¹, tend to reject the hypothesis of the human biogrammar, they still associated sex differences to biological functions. Thus, Talcott Parsons associated sex differences in the allocation of roles to the expressive relationship between mother and child and the male control of the means of subsistence.

Though the details and descriptions of biological explanations of sexual division of labour differ, the scholars who adopted this mode of explanation all made references to differences in reproductive arrangements, in hormonal endowments, in physical strength possessed by both men and women; and the implications of these differences on gender relations. They all assumed that the important end result of sexual division has been differences in valuation of task performed by both men and women, resulting in unequal access

³¹ Parsons, T., Age and sex in the social structure of the United States, American Sociological Review, 7, October 1942, 604-616.

to critical resources and power.

The biological explanation of sexual inequality has been variously criticized and faulted. Thus we turn to the next school of thought in sexual inequality discourse.

b. Culture and division of labour:

The main assumption of scholars who used this perspective is that human behaviour is largely directed and determined by culture. According to Haralambos et al.⁶ culture is the learned recipes for behaviour shared by members of a society. Norms, values and roles are culturally determined and socially transmitted, therefore gender roles are a product of culture rather than biology.

Oakley³², wrote in support of cultural determinism. To her, human cultures are diverse and endlessly variable. They owe their creation to human inventiveness rather than invincible biological forces. She argued that biological characteristics do not bar women from particular occupations, as there are no tasks apart from childbearing which are performed exclusively by females. Oakley argued that the mother role is a cultural construction as evidence from several societies shows that children do not require a close, intimate and continuous relation with a female mother figure.

³² Oakley, A., Sex, gender and society, London, Temple - Smith 1972

Bettelheim's study³³ of collective childrearing among the Kibbutz also showed that gender roles are not inevitable, neither are particular tasks universally assigned exclusively to one sex or the other. He also found little mental illness among Kibbutz children and little evidence of jealousy, rivalry, and bullying, compared to children raised in Western society. Instead, there was a strong pressure to conform to group norms among the Kibbutz children yet raised by educators in group homes.

Friedl³⁴, supporting the cultural explanation, identified dominance (a situation in which men have highly preferential access to activities which society accords the greatest value and the exercise of which permits a measure of control over others), as a feature which exists to some degree in all societies. He recognised that most tasks assigned to men naturally carry higher prestige than those of women. Men become dominant because they control the exchange of valued goods beyond the family group, and their tasks bring prestige and power. Ortner³⁵ noted that the universal evaluation of culture as superior to nature is the basic reason for the

³³Bettelheim, B., *The children of the dream*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1969.

³⁴Friedl, E., *Women and men: an anthropological view*, New York, Holt Rinehart and Winsten, 1975.

³⁵ Ortner, S. B., *Is female to male as nature is to culture?*, in Rosaldo, M. Z. and Lamphere, L. (eds) *Women, culture and society*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1974.

devaluation of women, and thus observed that the woman's biology (natural processes which include menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, and lactation), physiological processes, social roles and psychology, place women in an intermediate position between culture and nature. For Ortner, the subordination of women owes nothing to biology as such, but rather, to the cultural evaluation of women's biological make-up. In the same vein, Rosaldo and Lamphere³⁶ argued against biology as an explanation of sexual inequality. They pointed out that this theory underplayed the capacity of human beings to interpret and alter their biological constitutions and to regulate their behaviour with the aid of culture.

There is a growing recognition that neither of the nature-nurture debates can sufficiently explain sexual inequality. Both did not go beyond identifying the need for sexual division of labour. They have failed to explain in practical terms why the tasks allocated to women in most societies are often given less prestige than those of men, and why men generally have power and authority over women. The Marxist perspective has helped to fill this gap.

c. Marxist perspective

Both Engels and Marx³⁷ linked female subordination and

³⁶Rosaldo, M. Z. and Lamphere, L. (eds), *Woman, culture and society*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1974.

³⁷ Marx, Karl, *Capital vol-1: A critical analysis of capitalist production*. New York, International publishers, 1967.

the origin of sexual inequality to changes within the realm of economic production. Engels saw female subordination as a result of the emergence of private property, particularly, the private ownership of the forces of production. This theory holds that there existed basic equality between the sexes at the early period of man's history and that this was altered by changes in the relations of production. The emergence of monogamous marriage helped to protect the institution of private property, as the wife became economically dependent on the husband and as wealth passed from the father to his children.

Both Marx and Engels thought they were witnessing the beginnings of women's liberation in nineteenth-century capitalist society, because it was assumed that the demand for female wage labour would free women from dependence on their husbands and from male dominance within the family. However, the bourgeois wife in capitalist society not only produced heirs to take over from their fathers, she was also forced to submit to male control. For Marx and Engels, the true equality between the sexes could only be achieved in a socialist society where forces of production were communally owned, and where housework and mother-hood become a public affair.

By extension, many scholars have used the marxist theory

to explain sexual inequality. Leacock³⁸ focused on transformations in relations of production resulting from the breakdown of communal ownership of property and the emergence of the individual family as the basic economic unit. Sacks³⁹ identified differential involvement of the sexes in social labour as the major determinant of sex status. Sanday⁴⁰ argued that variation in status is a function of the degree to which men and women participate in activities of reproduction, warfare and subsistence. For Friedl³⁴, rights of distribution and control over the channels of distribution tend to be much more important than were participation in production.

Orthodox marxism has been criticized for focusing on economic factors alone in explaining the origin of sexual inequality. Also, it is accused of holding the notion that non-class societies were egalitarian, and that there is explicit gender equality in socialist countries. The failure to incorporate women into the revolutionary societies of the Soviet Union, Cuba and China proves that socialists revolution cannot by itself liberate women.

³⁸Leacock, E., Introduction, in Engels, F., Origin of the family, private property and the state, New York, International publishers, 1972, 71-72p.

³⁹Sacks, K., Engels revisited: women, the organization of production, and private property, in Rosaldo, M. Z. and Lamphere, L. (eds) Women, culture and society, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1974, 207-222p.

⁴⁰Sanday, P. R., Female status in the public domain, in Rosaldo, M. Z. and Lamphere, L. (eds) Women, culture and society, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 189-206p.

Schlegel⁴¹, also criticized orthodox marxism for neglecting the role of ideology in the perception of sexual inequality. Schlegel therefore argued that neither the 'biological conditions' nor the 'economic relations' theory already identified can adequately explain the issue of sexual stratification. Schlegel identified two other factors (apart from productive relations) which tend to determine sexual status. These are social organization and ideology. She described social organization as the social principles which determine the kind of bonds people establish which include kinship, association, rules of residence, and colonialism; while she defined ideology as ideas and beliefs about the nature of mankind which serve as a powerful motivating force for social action. For Schlegel⁴¹, the ideological views about sex roles have created factors which have constantly constrained women's economic contribution. She noted that childhood socialization/orientation makes the female child to embrace housework/motherhood, while the male child embraces more status rewarding jobs. The results of this include unequal access to formal education and wage discrimination against women.

Liberal, radical and socialist feminists have been united in their view that women's issues are peripheral to Marx's

⁴¹ Schlegel, A., Toward a theory of sexual stratification, in Schlegel, A. (ed) Sexual stratification: a cross-cultural view, New York, Columbia University Press, 1-40p.

theory. Despite the increasing entry of women into the labour force, the position of the women within the home remains the same. Blood and Hamblin⁴² rejected theories of economic determination which hold that a wife's power and status will increase in direct relationship to the financial contribution she makes to the family. Other Marxist writers have argued that wage labour in itself is exploitative for both men and women, and that capitalism benefits from a large reserve labour force of women which helps to keep wages down and profits up. Connelly⁴³, noted that not only is women's labour available and cheap, women continue to compete with the actively employed workers for their jobs. However, a great gap exists between Western feminists and Third World feminist scholarship. The latter has worked hard to put the new African political economy model to work in explaining African gender relations. In the subsequent section, we critically look at the implication of the aforesaid theories on African gender relations, and the visibility of the economic contribution of women within the African nations.

d. African women and development

The impact of development on African women's status has

⁴²Blood, R. O. Jr. and Hamblin, R. L., The effects of the wives employment on the family power structure, in Bell, N. W. and Vogel, E. F. (eds), A modern introduction to the family, Revised edition, New York, The Free Press, 1968.

⁴³Connelly, P., Last hired, first fired: women and the Canadian work force, Toronto, The Women's Press, 1978.

been viewed variously, depending on theoretical bias. Explanations of women's employment patterns derive from two contrasting theoretical perspectives. The two theories are modernization theory and the Marxist feminist theory. In explaining women's work and its relation to socio-economic development, proponents of modernization theory consider that life in 'traditional' societies limits women's resource access, decision-making power, and work role options. According to Susan Tiano⁴⁴, modernists claim that modernization improves women's situation by expanding their occupational choices and by increasing their natural security. On the other hand, Marxist feminist theory explains that women's well-being deteriorates with the advent of class-based, capitalist society. The implication of the two theories for explaining African women socio-economic situation is explored briefly.

Modernization theory has been extended to the analysis of the status of African women. It has been argued that colonialism raised the living and educational standards of African women and would at the end free women from the drudgery of farm labour and the oppression embedded in African social customs. Thus research on African women for a long time focused on problems of women's education, polygyny and

⁴⁴Tiano, S., The separation of women's remunerated and household work: theoretical perspectives on women, Development Working Paper (2), office of Women in International Development, Michigan State University, Michigan, 1981.

improvement of women's inheritance rights, and those other things that could improve women's economic status.

On the contrary, many recent writings have found that far from liberating African women, colonial impact had diminished the prerogatives and rights these women formerly enjoyed. Boserup⁴⁵ at the wake of feminist scholarship observed that improved technology in farming, lowers women's status by reducing their access to productive work. She stated that colonization reinforced the process of female marginalization by training men only, and by structuring access to credit and other resources to the male as the head of the household. However, urban African women have more access to resources than their rural counterparts, but generally they rank much lower than men in terms of educational and occupational status, income and property ownership^{46 47 48 49}.

The patriarchal relations which existed in the pre-

⁴⁵ Boserup, E., *Women's Role in economic development*, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1970.

⁴⁶ Hopkins, M., *Employment trends in developing countries, 1960-80 and beyond*, *International Labour Review* Vol. 122(4), 1983.

⁴⁷ Schildkrout, Enid, *Schooling or seclusion choices for Northern Nigerian women, cultural survival Quarterly*, vol. 8(2), 1984.

⁴⁸ Afonja, S. and Aina, O.I., *Capitalism, patriarchy and intrahousehold dynamics in peasant agricultural production 1989*, unpub.

⁴⁹ Blumberg, R. L., *Making the case for the gender variable: Women and the wealth and well-being of nations*, office of Women in Development, U.S Agency for International Development (October), 1989.

capitalist system was taken advantage of within the emerging capitalist system. Guyer⁵⁰ argued that the interplay of local customs and colonial prejudice made cash crop production predominantly the male's. The planting of cocoa trees for example, established permanent rights to the land, a situation which was favoured by the traditional arrangement which gave women only usufructuary rights to land. Etienne⁵¹ reported that among the Baule of Ivory Coast, women's control of cloth production was under-cut when men entered cotton cash cropping and when the French constructed a thread factory. Using the political economy model, Afonja⁵², suggested that there was ranking in the pre-capitalist subsistence agriculture and that the ideologies of patriarchy during that period later helped to create an increasingly gender stratified system through male control of family labour and of critical production resources. In the same vein, Strobel⁵³ identified elements of gender differentiation prior to the introduction of

⁵⁰Guyer, J. I., female farming and the evolution production patterns amongst the Beti of South-central Cameroun, Africa, 50(4), 1980, 341-370p.

⁵¹Etienne, M., Women and men, cloth and colonization: the transformation of production-distribution relations among the Baule, in Etienne, M. and Leacock, E. (eds), Women and Colonization: anthropological perspectives, New York, J. F. Bergin and Praeger, 1980, 214-238p.

⁵²Afonja, S., Women, power and authority in traditional Yoruba society, in Dube, L., Leacock, E. and Ardener, S. (eds), Visibility and power: essays on women in society and development; Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1986.

⁵³Strobel, M., African women, Signs, 8(1), 1982, 109-131p.

capitalist relations in African societies, a process which has not only benefitted men within the new socio-economic order, but persistently aided men to control women's labour power.

Bujra⁵⁴ argued that capitalist relations in Africa, unlike Euro-American capitalism, still co-exist with non-capitalist forms of production, particularly that based on the household relations. Bujra noted that to meet both subsistence and exchange needs, peasant agriculture relies on family labour, particularly the labour of the wives. Bujra therefore stated that capitalist development in Africa took a unique turn as it was to serve aims different from those of Europe and America, and as capitalist production is designed to serve the expansion of capital in the imperialist centres, that is, to exploit African resources, including raw materials and cheap labour power. Non-capitalist forms therefore provide African subsistence needs, while it also sustains capitalist production by providing raw materials and cheap labour.

The above has implications for the process of proletarianization in Africa and the place of women in it. Many writers have therefore documented the detrimental effects of capitalism on women even beyond the peasantry. Aina⁵⁵,

⁵⁴Bujra, J. M., Class, gender, capitalist transformation in Africa, *African Development*, III (4), 1983, 12-42p.

⁵⁵ Aina, O. I., Time-use patterns of rural farming families: a case of Yoruba peasant women cocoa production, *Odu: A Journal of West African Studies*, No. 35 (January) 1989, 292-315p.

pointed out that with cash cropping, and industrial wage labour, men accumulated wealth while women's productive importance diminished. In Quinn's⁵⁶ review of 'Anthropological studies on women's status', she found that under the modernization of traditional economies, opportunities for wage labour, higher-paying jobs, and training for skilled and supervisory positions in the modern labour force favoured men. She noted that women were either relegated to marginal wages or left behind in non-competitive and shrinking traditional sectors, or channelled into 'women's professions'; while on the other hand, men with their higher pay and because of the experience gained in industrial employment, were able to accumulate capital for investment in large-scale trade and other forms of economic enterprises.

Several studies have reported that female trading today, appears to be threatened by male commercial activities. The pre-existing division whereby women traded in low-profit subsistence items and men in luxury goods became a major stumbling block to accumulating enough wealth for improved trade. Robertson⁵⁷ reported that women in Accra, Ghana, were driven out of long distance trade into local trade with decreasing effect on their profits. Other problems identified

⁵⁶Quinn, N., Anthropological studies on women's status, Annual Review of Anthropology, 6, 1977, 181-225p.

⁵⁷Robertson, C. C., Ga women and socio-economic change in Accra, Ghana, in Hafkin, N. J. and Bay, Edna G. (eds), African Women in changing perspectives, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1976, 111-133p.

by Wachtel⁵⁸ included the desire of male-dominated companies and marketing boards to deal exclusively with men; and women's inability to raise collateral for loans because they lacked access to property ownership.

The issue of women's proletarianization has been a new dimension in feminist literature. According to Hudson⁵⁹, the transition to capitalism in Europe led to a far greater degree of dependence of women on men within the household. Also, capitalism constructed a wage labour system in which the relationship of women to the class structure was mediated via the dependence on male wage level. According to Afshar⁶⁰ patriarchy and capitalism relate in a special way offering African women not much of a choice as they continue to combine familial roles with work outside the home; and as they become wage labourers carrying a tag of social inferiority which prevents them from gaining a living wage. Bryceson⁶¹ placed proletarianization at the centre of the contradiction between capitalist relations of production and human reproduction. She argued that while female proletarianization can free women

⁵⁸Wachtel, E., A farm of one's own: the rural orientation of women's group enterprises in Nakuru, Kenya, *Rural Africana* 29, 1976, 69-80p.

⁵⁹Hudson, K., *The place of women in society*, London, Ginn, 1970.

⁶⁰Afshar, H. (ed), *Women, work and ideology in the Third World*, London, Tavistock publications, 1985.

⁶¹Bryceson, D. F., *Women's Proletarianization and the family wage in Tanzania*, in Afshar, H. (ed), Women, work and ideology in the Third World, London, Tavistock publications, 1985, 128-152p.

from male control, the family wage does the opposite, by making women dependent on men. Afshar⁶⁰ therefore noted that unless the social relations of gender as a whole and those within marriage in particular undergo a fundamental change, Third World women may be facing an impossible choice between home and work.

The theoretical questions raised by the nature of African women proletarianization has therefore made feminist writers to seek the root of African women subordination beyond capitalism. Patriarchy is perceived as an enduring structure which co-exists with capitalism and which actively shapes the influence of capitalism on gender roles. In Meillassoux's^{62, 63} anthropological writings, he identified the lineage mode as a unique mode for Africa, with stratified patriarchal structure in which male elders controlled the labour of all women and of junior males. He stated that because senior men controlled ritual and customary marriage law, they have been able to control not only the labour of their wives, but have been able to acquire material wealth through bridewealth received on married daughters. Although Meillassoux has been criticized for lumping together pre-capitalist African societies under a single mode (the lineage

⁶²Meillassoux, C., From production to reproduction: a marxist approach to economic anthropology, *Economy and Society*, 1, 1972, 93-105p.

⁶³Meillassoux, C., *Femmes, greners et capitaux* (Paris, Maspero, 1975), reviewed by O'Laughlin, B., *Critique of Anthropology*, 2(8), Spring 1977, 3-32p.

mode of production) and for assuming that the entire pre-capitalist African society was inegalitarian, many of his assumptions have influenced African writers. For example, Afonja⁶⁴, found that despite the interdependence of men and women within complementary structures, age and sex differentiation resulted in differential power and autonomy. Afonja et al.⁴⁸ noted that when confronted with capitalism, elements of patriarchy give way while others are reinforced to the disadvantage of women, particularly those dimensions which help men to retain power and prestige over women are re-emphasized to ensure continuity of male dominance. To fully incorporate the inter-relatedness of the concepts (patriarchy and capitalism), many writers have based such historical analysis within the content of political economy model, a model which has not only incorporated both the external (colonial interference) and internal (institutional) factors of change, but has also subsumed the issue of female wage labour marginality within a global economic politics.

Strobel⁵³ suggested that new social science research on African women should incorporate the valuable insights of explaining the conditions of African women using a nationalist perspective. That is, insights which represent African and European cultures as interacting with one another, and present women not merely as victims or pawns, but also as conscious

⁶⁴Afonja, S., Changing modes of production and the sexual division of labour among the Yoruba, signs, 7(2), 1981, 299-313p.

actors in their own stead. Stamp⁶⁵ also noted that feminist political economy demonstrates the centrality of gender relations of production in both precapitalist and capitalist societies. Stamp identified that the failure of Western feminists in explaining Third World gender relations was principally because of the inappropriateness of western class categories and western economic conceptions which presented nothing but 'Western truths' about the nature of society (including gender relations).

Although modernization theory and marxism contain important insights, neither adequately explains the complex reality of women's work in developing societies. While Marxist feminist theory offers a more realistic appraisal of the structural conditions that constrain women's employment options, it fails to shed light on the social psychological dynamics underlying women's occupational choices. Modernisation theory too neglects individual volition, and glosses over the role of gender stratification in maintaining women's inequality within the home and in the labour force. Tiano⁴⁷ argued for a synthetic theory integrating propositions from the developmentalist variant of modernization theory into the Marxist feminist framework to increase our understanding of women's work roles in developing nations. To fully incorporate both macro and micro-level structures, the present

⁶⁵Stamp, P., Technology, gender, and power in Africa, Technical Study 63e, Ottawa, IDRC, 1989.

study however reflects the structure of the Nigerian political economy, cultural variations, male and female cognitive representations of reality, and the actors definition of the situation. This becomes possible only by extending the boundaries of traditional political economy to include gender analysis. And with relevance to the present study, to adequately explain women's labour force participation, reference has to be made to both 'supply' and 'demand' factors. The extent to which this has been done within the labour market processes is given in the next sub-section, focusing on both macro and micro-level analyses of the labour market.

2.2 Women and the labour market

a. Some Historical Perspectives:

This historical and contemporary analysis of women's labour force participation show that women's inferior economic position is global. Though the United Nations Decade for women has come and gone, sex inequalities still pervade the world. According to Anker et al.⁶⁶, evidences from industrialized countries show that despite women's increased participation in paid employment and equal pay legislation, women's average earnings continue to be substantially less

⁶⁶Anker, R. and Hein, C. (eds), Sex inequalities in urban employment in the Third World, London, Macmillan Press, 1986.

than men's. Anker et al. stated that the women's monthly earnings as a percentage of men's amounted to 60.2 percent in the United States in 1976; 66.4 percent in France in the period 1973 - 77; and 69.4 percent in Czechoslovakia in 1977.

Employment structures are found to be important contributors to these differentials⁶⁰; and in practical terms is explained as "different pay for different work"⁶⁷. The marginalization of women within the new capitalist mode of production has been explained as the inability of the capitalist economy to employ all potential workers and the need for a reserve army of labour as both a necessary product of the accumulation process and a necessary condition for the existence of the capitalist system⁴⁶. According to Leacock⁶⁸, women's position within the new capitalist mode is not so much based on family demands as commonly conceived, for the family structure itself is based on the marginalization of women that is essential to capitalism. Thus, rather than draw women into production, under capitalism, the formerly productive functions of family units are taken over by factory organization, while women are pushed out of public production.

⁶⁷Pfeffer, J. and Ross, J., Gender-based wage differences: the effects of organizational context, *Work and Occupations* 17(1), February, 1990, 55-78p.

⁶⁸Leacock, E. B., Women's Status in egalitarian society: Implications for social evolution, *Current Anthropology*, 19(2), 1978.

Saffioti⁶⁹ also observed that women appear to be an impediment to social development, when in fact it was society which placed obstacles in the way of women's social integration.

As a premise to this discussion, it is assumed that in order to understand women's current participation and status in the labour force, it is necessary to look at social, economic and demographic factors which have shaped women's labour force patterns throughout history. It is also necessary to note the impact of war, economic depression and technological revolution on same. A historical overview therefore enriches our understanding of the interplay of social, economic and political factors in shaping women's status/roles.

Before the changes brought about by the emergence of industrial capitalism in the West, all the members of most households had to work. Whether they were engaged in agricultural labour, or cottage industry, such as weaving or spinning, none but the very youngest children were exempted from making contribution to the economic survival of the family. Bilton et al.⁷⁰ observed that when families were forced to take factory employment because other forms of livelihood were curtailed, often the entire family of mother,

⁶⁹Saffioti, H. I. B., *Women in class society* (translated from the Portuguese by Michael Vale), New York, Monthly Review Press, 1978.

⁷⁰Bilton, T., et al., *Introductory sociology: Contemporary social theory*, London, Macmillan Education Ltd., 1985, 321-374p.

children and father entered the factory together. The notion that only men should support the family was not only impracticable (as their earnings were often not sufficient) but also involved an unwelcome precedent. In pre-industrial Britain, agriculture and textiles were the main industries, and women were indispensable to both. Oakley⁷¹ noted that in the production of cloth, the husband did the weaving while the wife spun and dyed the yarn. Also, on the farm, women were directly in charge of dairy produce. Unmarried children too, took charge of cooking, cleaning, washing, mending and child care. This is to say that the housewife role which meant the domesticity of women and their economic dependence on men was not in existence at the time. With the growth of industrialization, the factory steadily replaced the family as the unit of production, and with subsequent effects on the role of women. Oakley⁷¹ identified the following as the effects of industrialization on women's role -

- i. the separation of men from the daily routines of domestic life;
- ii. the economic dependence of women and children on men;
- iii. the isolation of housework and childcare from other work.

The housewife-mother role as primary role for women is therefore the product of the twentieth-century British

⁷¹Oakley, A., *Housewife*, London, Allen Lane, 1974.

society. Victorian ideology (which confined women to the private world of the home); the banning of child labour and restrictions on the employment of women helped to institutionalize housewife-mother role as the primary role for women.

In pre-industrial American colonial period, work was also closely linked with home and family life. The family was the primary economic unit with family members dependent on one another for basic sustenance. Men performed the agricultural work while women manufactured all articles used in daily life, in the homestead. The American colonial home was also a centre of production. Flexner⁷² found that the women engaged in spinning and weaving, making lace, soap, candles, and shoes. Women's work was highly valued, while the colonies relied on the production of "cottage industries". Colonial American women were engaged in work outside the home, and sometimes engaged in many of the occupations practiced by men. Dexter⁷³ noted that these women worked outside the home as innkeepers, shopkeepers, crafts workers, nurses, printers, teachers, and landholders. Chafe⁷⁴ wrote that more than 30 women in the city of Boston were granted official permission

⁷²Flexner, E., *Century of struggle*, Cambridge, Belknap Press, Harvard University, 1959.

⁷³Dexter, E. A., *Colonial women of affairs: a study of women in business and the professions in America before 1776*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1924.

⁷⁴Chafe, W., *Women and equality: changing patterns in American Culture*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1977.

to saw lumber and manufacture potash. Fox and Hesse-Biber⁷⁵ wrote that while some historians said the colonial period was a "golden age of equality" for women, others argued that colonial times were characterized by a strict and simple division of labour between men and women which assigned them to fields and house, or to the public and private spheres respectively. In spite of social relationship between men and women in the pre-capitalist social formation, as long as the family remained the unit of production, the economic role of women and children was fundamental to its existence.

However, in the course of the 19th century, many children and married women were gradually excluded from factory labour. As women took refuge in the home, they still continued to contribute to family income by engaging in home-based industry such as laundry, sewing, making buttons and lace. Many middle-class women similarly worked in the family business, ran small lodging houses, or acted as governesses, or nurses to the children of the well-to-do. Land⁷⁶ remarked that much of the labour of these women was simply rendered invisible to official eyes by the practice of collecting census data in such a way that only the labour of male members of a household was classified as "employment" or "economic activity".

The first and the second world wars brought unprecedented

⁷⁵Fox, M. F. and Hesse-Biber, Women at work, Mayfield, Mayfield Pub. Co., 1984.

⁷⁶Land, H., The myth of the male breadwinner, New Society, October, 1975.

changes in people's lives. During both wars, in the absence of male labour to run munitions factories and steel works, public services and engineering firms, notions of a "woman's place" were temporarily swept aside. Women were encouraged to enter these industries in a great number. To make it easier for women with family obligations to take up a job during the second world war, nurseries and creches were provided by the government. As soon as the wars ended, in spite of evidence that majority of newly employed women wished to keep their jobs, these facilities were largely withdrawn. Women were encouraged to return home "where they belonged". This, for example, shows that the "male breadwinner/female homemaker" dichotomy is man-made, and never explains the underlying factor of traditional division of labour between women and men. Rather, it obscures a complex reality, and justifies particular patterns of exploitation of women.

By 1960s, during a period of economic expansion, women were again acknowledged by industry and by the state as a large reservoir of effort and talent, but by then women had already begun to re-assert their right to jobs and careers. However, women's rapidly increasing presence in industry and commerce did not mean the dismantling of the gender hierarchy which had been reinforced by the earlier arrangement which denied women independent sources of income. Rather, some of the privileges accorded to men within patriarchal family structures were reproduced, with modifications, in the

relationships of women to men in the work-place.

Saffioti⁶⁹ argued that men tend to see women as competitors on the labour market and thus fail to see that women's situation, as well as their own, are determined by the broader historical reality of which both are a part. Men are mystified by the prestige they enjoy if they receive enough wages for their labour to permit them to keep their wives away from productive employment, unaware that unemployed woman may constitute a threat to their own jobs. In fact, men, lack an overall perspective on society, and tend to mistakenly see female labour as the cause of male unemployment. Many antagonisms were recorded therefore against female employment in many countries. During the last half of the nineteenth century, French workers in the graphic arts industry went on strike every time a woman was hired by a printing shop. Women were seen as "keeper of the hearth" and were supposed to stay at home where they belong.

In the United States of America, much of the work in which women are engaged today was not open to them prior to the Civil War. Stevenson⁷⁷ noted that the influx of women into teaching, government offices, nursing, and sales work date from the civil war. Also, in the course of involvement in World War II, women's labour force participation rates rose from 27 percent to 38 percent. By 1943, efforts made to

⁷⁷Stevenson, M. H., Determinants of low wages for women workers, New York, Praeger, 1984.

induce married women into the labour force included offering flexible hours, part-time work, and daycare facilities for their children. The U.S. government discontinued the financing of daycare centres in 1946, after the war.

However, the exigencies of war determined the movement of the female workforce. During World War II, female employment in England rose to 40 percent of the total workforce. The proportion of women in the labour force in the most industrialized countries has been relatively stable in recent years. In the 1950s, it was 38 percent in Austria, 31 percent in Great Britain, 25 percent in Italy, 24 percent in Belgium, 31.2 percent in the United States, and 33 percent in France⁶⁹.

A very important phenomenon in women employment pattern is the rise in the percentage of married women that are gainfully employed. In Canada, the percentage of married women in the workforce went from 30 percent in 1950 to 38.6 percent in 1956, and to about 50 percent in 1958. In the United States, the corresponding figures were 25 percent in 1950 to 31 percent in 1955; in Australia, 19 percent in 1947 to 34 percent in 1954, and in England, 40 percent in 1950 to 49 percent in 1956. The increase of married women in the labour force in the fifties and sixties was explained by the fact that women with grown-up children found nothing to do after their children had left home and returned to their professions before marriage. Saffioti reported that the greatest increases in female workforce participation in the

period 1971-1975 occurred among married women with pre-school aged children, showing a great demand on family income level. The fact that most of these women are under 35 years of age, also showed a shift in career ambition for women. In the United States by 1980, almost two-thirds of women with children between six and eighteen years of age were employed, and most significantly, half of those women with children under the age of six were in the labour force⁷⁸.

A major feature of the labour markets in these countries has been sex segregation of occupations. Women are concentrated in the clerical and service occupations. Women are mostly found as secretaries, typists, household workers, book-keepers, elementary school teachers, waitresses, cashiers, nurses and seamstresses. Occupational segregation results 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 (for example, the fields of law, pharmacy, and medicine), these increases have not been large. According to Lapidus⁷⁹, there is a vertical segregation within given occupations, whereby women are found converging in the bottom of the ladder, whereas, men still

⁷⁸U.S. Department of Labour Bureau of Labour Statistics, 1980, 27p.

⁷⁹ Lapidus, G. W., Occupational segregation and public policy: a comparative analysis of American and Soviet patterns, in Blaxall, M. and Reagan, B. (eds), Women and the workplace, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1976.

occupy the high ranks of the so-called female dominated occupations. Also, traditional "female" jobs tend to have limited career prospects (limited promotional opportunities and with little or no on-the-job training).

The fact that women continue to join the wage labour market has not aided sexual equality as such. For the marxist feminist writers^{44, 69, 80}, female wage labour in capitalist society rather than liberate women, has merely helped to strengthen the capitalist system. Margaret Benston⁸⁰ argued that capitalism benefits from a large reserve labour force of women by helping to keep wages down and profits up.

Marx and Engels predicted that with the communal ownership of the forces of production in the socialist states, sexual equality will be achieved with complete institutionalization of housework and childcare. Many studies^{81, 82, 83} have shown that the position of women in socialist societies is more equal to that of men, than in capitalist states. However, most of these studies showed that within the family, much of women's traditional under-privilege

⁸⁰Benston, M., Introduction, in Connelly, P. (ed), Last hired, first fired: women and the Canadian work force, Toronto, Women's Press, 1978, 1-4p.

⁸¹Field, M. G., Workers and mothers: soviet women today, in Brown, D. R. (ed), Women in the Soviet Union New York, Teachers College Press, 1968.

⁸²Lane, D., Politics and society in USSR, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970.

⁸³Scott, H., Women and socialism, London, Allison and Bushy, 1976.

remains. Lane⁸², in a survey of a number of studies of family life in the Soviet Union, found that within the family life in the Soviet Union, women are still faced with hard task. Despite the fact that over half the labour force is female, women are still primarily responsible for housework and childcare. Field⁸¹, found that husbands give their wives little assistance around the home, while provisions of nursery schools and other institutions for childcare in Russia are available for only a small minority of the infant population. In the same vein, Scott⁸³ found that in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the average wage of female workers was 27.9 percent less than the average for men. Also, half the employees in the Czech food industry are female, yet in 1973, only 5 out of the 579 plant directors were women. Scott also found in another survey of 500 female managers that half of them did all the housework themselves. Scott stated that socialism alone cannot produce sexual equality. Equality of both sexes could only come when the housewife-mother role and other domestic tasks are taken off the neck of the 'wife' and are taken over by the state (that is, transferred to the public sector).

The analysis of women and their work takes a unique turn in the Third World. First, up till now both pre-capitalist and capitalist formations co-exist. Most of the Third World countries have mixed-economy comprising of agricultural, informal, and the formal sectors of occupation. Second, the Third World countries differ from feudal Europe as they

journey to full modernization. Several scholars^{54, 69, 84} have written of the deliberate/planned underdevelopment of the Third World countries by the core countries of the capitalist system. The implications of such controlled underdevelopment has meant triple exploitation of women as a reserve army of labour.

At the international level, workers (men and women) are exploited directly by contemporary capitalism. However, European capitalism depends on migrant labour from the Third World countries for cheap labour. Also, multinational corporations based in core capitalist countries, now export industry to peripheral countries, with third world women in the free export zones mostly used as cheap labour source. Third, many of the Third World countries have witnessed unique historical development (colonialism; history of political instability; moral decadent; wars; oil and debt crises; population crises and so on). All these have implications for women's employment options, coupled with patriarchal ideology which puts more emphasis on male employment, as men remain the breadwinners for homes, while the women continue to be dependent.

The subsequent paragraphs outline the unique changes which have taken place in Africa and the implications for women employment options.

⁸⁴Frank, A. G., Superexploitation in Third World countries, Two Thirds: A Journal of Development Studies, 1(2).

In the pre-colonial Africa, farming was the major occupation with women taking a very active part. The roles of women in agricultural production in Africa have been variously documented^{45, 50}. Other occupations served as subsidiary to farming. For example, among the Yoruba of Nigeria, trading and crafts were predominant. Even though farming was at a subsistence level, the life of all household members was organized around it. The lineage was central to individual social life. Land was acquired through the lineage and there was no individual land ownership until the advent of commercial agriculture when permanent land tenure developed because of the growth of tree crops which brought an end to the traditional shifting cultivation.

In Africa, work activities of some form both inside and outside the home have therefore been an integral part of the life experiences of African women and men, from early childhood to later adult years. The division of labour was principally based on sex and age within the compound and on the family farm. In the subsistence agriculture, labour was supplied by family members (males and females), in-laws, and by reliance on mutual aid groups (for example, the esusu group), and slaves (who were victims of war). Many of the African women of both agricultural and pastoral traditions could not be completely supported by their husbands, especially in polygynous societies, rather, they found independent ways to support themselves and their children.

Within these traditional arrangements, some selected women could own land, hire labour and sell their products while others could not own land, and needed the permission of their spouses before they could dispose of their crops¹⁶.

The contact with the Western world brought with it wage labour. The early explorers and missionaries, and later colonial administrators monetized African economy with the growth of capitalism. The traditional division of labour was therefore modified by various changes following colonization and the subsequent setting-up of independent national governments. Following colonization, the Europeans' ideas about the social role of the sexes subsequently affected their administrative behavior in the colonies. In Nigeria for example, the Victorian ideology influenced the British education policy. According to Fapohunda¹⁶, the colonial administrators tilted the acquisition of western education and the professions in favour of men. Also, because African women, for a long time lacked access to proper education and training, they represent a small fraction of the formal sector of the labour market, where they are concentrated in semi-skilled jobs as clerical workers, teachers, nurses and domestic workers (this was well documented by Obbo⁸⁵, and

⁸⁵Obbo, C., African women: their struggle for economic independence, London, Zed Press, 1980.

Robertson 1987)⁸⁶. Fapohunda²⁸ showed that because the British preferred to deal with males; British import - export trade became male-dominated, while in countries like Ghana and Nigeria, the internal trade became the domain of women. Also, the introduction of cash crops affected the nature and organization of agricultural work. Men were encouraged to produce cash crops and were given advice and agricultural extension assistance, while the women were relegated to less profitable subsistence farming. The change to cash cropping had implications for women's work roles/status and the intrahousehold dynamics. For example, with cocoa production, the wives' workload increased, for they combined family farming with trading and other independent income generating activities^{87, 88}, yet women are under-remunerated⁸⁹. Also, women's role as food producers becomes peripheralized by the introduction of cash cropping⁹⁰.

With further economic development in post-colonial

⁸⁶Robertson, C. C., Women in the urban economy, in Hay, M. J. and Stichter, S. (eds) African women south of the sahara, London, Longman, 1987, 33-52p.

⁸⁷Berry, S., Cocoa, customs and socio-economic change in rural Western Nigeria, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1975.

⁸⁸Aina, O. I., Relative time allocation between women's multiple roles: a case study of Yoruba peasant women in cocoa production. M. Phil Thesis, Unife, Ile-Ife, 1985.

⁸⁹Dixon-Mueller, R., Women's work in Third World agriculture, Geneva, ILO, 1985.

⁹⁰Guyer, J. I., Women in the rural economy: contemporary variations, in Hay, M. J. and Stichter, S. (eds) African women South of the Sahara, London, Longman, 1987, 19-32p.

Africa, the population gradually moved from agricultural to non-agricultural occupations, and at the same time the population shifted from village to town living⁴⁸. Economic development also involved a movement from household subsistence production towards specialization of activities outside the household, a process which leads to the enlargement of the money exchange economy. The major catalyst for change in women's work roles in Africa has therefore been the shift from communal/family ownership to individual desire to accumulate property for self.

A new system of occupational stratification developed with the growth of the modern sector. Modern sector occupational status being based on western education creates a widening of income differentials. As women tend to have lower education opportunities than men, they become relegated to low status, low-income occupations. In Nigeria, several studies have documented low proportion of educated girls/women compared to boys/men. For example, a survey conducted in 1962 by the Nigerian Association of University Women (NAUW), Ibadan branch, showed that the educated female population was generally small, while at the University level the number increased at a very slow and unsatisfactory rate. The survey also showed that female students were largely in the Arts/Humanities. Ojo⁹¹ remarked that the rate of female

⁹¹Ojo, F., Education and manpower in Nigeria, Human Resources Research Unit, University of Lagos, 11p.

participation in Nigeria's educational system was very low. He observed that between 1969 and 1972, female population at the primary school level was less than 40%, about 34% at secondary school level, and constantly less than 15% at the University level. Agheyisi⁹² noted that there has been a steady, though small, increase in the number of female undergraduate students in the recent times, however, wide fluctuations in the annual growth rates still showed that females are in low proportions. Agheyisi opined that in 1979/80 when the female population was highest, for every female undergraduate, there were about six male undergraduates. Unequal access to education has meant limited access of females to occupational opportunities. Thus, men tend to be more highly concentrated in the modern sector occupations which require higher educational qualifications, offer substantial social status and provide good salaries. With increased investments in female education, the percentage of women wage-earners is likely to increase, resulting in a competition between the sexes for the limited employment opportunities. But with women, as with men, paid employment has become a major route to financial independence, and in a society 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

⁹²Agheyisi, R. U., The labour market implications of the access of women to higher education in Nigeria, Conference Proceedings, Women in Nigeria Today, London, Zed Book Ltd., 1985, ... p.

respect.

The above has implications for women's status and roles. Even though the status of women revolved around their fathers, husbands, and sons in the pre-colonial patriarchal Africa, women subjugation was made more pronounced with the institution of private property. This has been a much debated issue, with writers making different theoretical assumptions about the world of work as a prime factor in deciding African women's status beyond economic sphere.

On a more analytical level, the discussions on the situation of the 'African women' have presented different conceptual frameworks. There is no consensus of opinion among scholars of 'Women and Development' as to whether development in terms of our historical experience of colonialism and imperialism benefitted women or men in the Third World. The extent to which capitalist penetration coupled with patriarchal arrangements have subjugated women in the Third World has therefore created a conceptual/theoretical debate. The penetration of capital into the Third World has affected women in a complex process of change. Female proletarianization is placed at the core of the contradiction between capitalist relations of production and human reproduction. While it is assumed that female proletarianization tends to free women from male control, the family wage does not. Others have argued that while women run away from a position of subordination to the men they 'love'

within the home, they end up being subordinated in the marketplace to men they 'hate'. This discussion is taken up at a theoretical level in the subsequent section, as we look at some existing perspectives on sex inequality in the labour market.

b. Explanations of sex segregation/inequality in the labour market

For a long time, the understanding of the causes of sex segregation and pay differentiation between men and women in the labour market has been the domain of economists. In the majority of cases women have been ignored by industrial sociologists. Brown¹ wrote about the general neglect of female employees in industrial studies, and argued that whatever consideration given to them has been very unsatisfactory. Writers often treat employees as 'unisex' or alternatively, only consider women in so far as they are a 'special category of employees who give rise to certain problem'. The implication of Brown's treatment of women is that we should locate women within a more general sociology in which the differences between workers are accorded significance and indeed are its central concern, and explore variability in orientations to work, alienation, job satisfaction and collective action. Barron and Norris⁹³ adopted the occupational segregation approach in their study

⁹³Barron, N. and Norris, G., Sexual divisions and the dual labour market, in Barker, D. L. and Allen, S. (eds) Dependence and exploitation in work and marriage, London, Longman, 1976, 47-69p.

of dual labour markets and treated women within the context of the secondary labour force. Thus many reasons have been identified for occupational segregation by sex including economic, to technological and non-technological factors. Economists argue that women get lower pay for similar work, or are sometimes discriminated against because -

- i. women are less efficient than men in a given job;
- ii. they have lower skills, which may be related to lower investment in human capital (less formal education and or less on-the-job training);
- iii. they have higher turnover rates, and
- iv. they are relatively immobile, thus having less attachment to the labour force than men.

Such explanations which focus on real or imagined deficiencies of women often assume competitive models of labour markets. Writers who used the competitive models (that is, the individual approach and the human capital approach) to explain gender segregation in the modern labour markets, particularly, the economists, assumed that inequalities in the labour force reflect differences in ability, training and such other variables that affect one's productive level such as educational level, number of years worked, absenteeism and turnover. According to Papola⁹⁴, these writers assumed that

⁹⁴ Papola, T. S., "Women workers in the formal sector of Lucknow, India", in R. Anker and C. Hein (eds.) Sex inequalities in urban employment in the Third World, London, The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1986 PP 171 - 212.

performance of women in the labour market is negatively affected by such variables as family responsibilities, physical strength, hours of work and so on. The assumption is that workers in conditions of competition are paid the value of their marginal product, while according to the 'new home economics', families allocate their resources (time and money) among family members in a rational manner which causes females to receive less human capital investments when young, while they stay home to take care of the children when older. Fox and Hesse-Biber⁷⁵ argued that women workers are viewed as lacking in the essential qualities to "make it" in an economic setting. These deficiencies, they argued, range from women's lack of specific job-related credentials such as education, training, relevant work experience to a variety of presumed personality deficits such as women's "fear of success" or characteristic submissiveness. Foxworth⁹⁵ observed that the common "mistakes" women make on the job purportedly hamper women's progress. The emphasis therefore is that the individual female worker is not well motivated and does not possess the qualifications or personal attributes necessary for the pursuit of higher-status and higher-paid employment.

Many studies carried out in Africa contradict the above assumptions. Peil⁹⁶, writing on female factory workers in

⁹⁵Foxworth, J., *Wising up: the mistakes women make in business and how to avoid them*, New York, Dell, 1980.

⁹⁶Peil, M., *The Ghanaian factory worker: industrial man in Africa*, London, Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Tema, Ghana, found that female factory workers are not less "stable" than male workers. For example, in Tema, women have only recently started working in factories, yet the turnover and absenteeism of female workers appear not to be significantly high, though they do tend to stay away from work more frequently than men. Peil found in Accra that there is no significant difference between the performance of male and female factory workers. Di Domenico⁹⁷ found that both sexes share to a considerable extent the same norms, values and perceptions regarding work and income generation, therefore work is seen in very instrumental terms by both men and women in her sample.

That the socialization process emphasizes different roles, norms, and values for men and women is another variable central to the individual approach. It has been argued that during the socialization processes, men and women are taught to behave in particular culturally prescribed ways. According to Parsons and Bales⁹⁸ and Weiss-Koff⁹⁹, the respective social responsibilities constitute a division of labour whereby women assume the role of wife and mother; and men, the role of provider. Thus, the gender segregation of the labour

⁹⁷Di Domenico, C. M., Male and female factory workers in Ibadan, in Oppong, C. (ed) Female and male in West Africa, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1983, 256-265p.

⁹⁸Parsons, T. and Bales, R. F. (eds) Family, Socialization and interaction process, New York, The Free Press, 1955.

⁹⁹Weiss-Koff, F. B., Women's place in the labour market, American Economic Review-Proceedings 62, May 1972, 161-166p.

market reflects a broader division of labour. The occupations held predominantly by women are those that reflect the traditional female nurturing and supportive roles, such as childcare, nursing, teaching, and secretarial work. The more task-oriented and intellectually demanding jobs of doctors, lawyer, managers, craft workers and so on belong to men.

In Barret¹⁰⁰'s opinion women seek employment that allows them the flexibility to spend time with their families, thus, preventing them from obtaining the training and other credentials needed to compete more effectively in the job market. On the other hand, Bergmann¹⁰¹ stated that the demand-side conditions are responsible for the overcrowding of women in selected occupations. She argued that women, because of this restriction, receive lower wages while men who are in the non-restricted group, receive higher wages. Since the capital-labour ratio associated with female occupations are relatively low, women end up having a lower productivity than men. It is therefore generally assumed that as a result of socialized attitudes and values, women invest less in their own "human capital" whereas men do invest more in their own human capital (that is, education, training, or job-related experience) leading to a return on investment. Human capital

¹⁰⁰Barret, N. S., Women in the job market: unemployment and work schedules, in Smith, R. E. (ed) The subtle revolutions: women at work, 1979, 63-68p.

¹⁰¹Bergmann, B., The effect on white incomes of discrimination in employment, *Journal of Political Economy*, 79, March-April 1974, 294-313p.

theory for example, assumes that discrimination would only occur if employers pay different wages to persons with the same stock of human capital. Studies using the human capital approach have not been able to account for gender discrimination outside female-male differences in human capital, particularly, as considerable wage gap still exists between men and women of equal education, training and experience⁷⁵. Fox et al.⁷⁵ rejected using solely the "individual variables" in explaining women's inferior economic position, as this implies that the solution to the problem lies within the individual. That is, the individual is seen as the locus of the problem and is therefore the target of change. Ryan¹⁰² said this approach amounts to "blaming the victim", and thus, fails to consider the problem within the wider context. Emphasis on individual deficits often leads to focusing on changing the individual, as his characteristics and deficiencies are perceived as causes of gender segregation. The structural factors which influence women's disadvantaged economic situation are often overlooked.

Two major models have been used to argue that structural rather than individual characteristics are most critical in determining women's labour force position. The models are

- i. the Internal Labour Market Approach;
- ii. the Dual Labour Market Approach.

The structural approach focuses on basic societal

¹⁰²Ryan, W., *Blaming the victim*, New York, Random House, 1971.

institutions, that is, the economy, the legal institution and the family. Their policies and practices - all jointly confine women to particular jobs characterized by low wages, little mobility, and limited prestige. This approach blames the structure instead of the victim and suggests a different strategy for improving women's labour force status. From a structural perspective, it appears that even if women try to improve their 'human capital', they would meet with resistance, particularly resistance unrelated to qualifications, but tied instead to women's structural position in the labour market (its hierarchy, its hiring, and firing practices) largely determines women's status in the labour force.

In explaining organizational behaviour, the structural perspective focuses on the very factors that the individual perspective overlooks, which include the characteristics of the work-groups, their tasks, and interactions and relationships as they determine behaviours. By focusing on the characteristics of work groups, tasks and interactions, the structural perspective helps us to see women's depressed position as an organisational rather than simply an individual problem. Suggested solutions lie not so much in changing women's attitudes, beliefs, and assumptions as in changing the settings, structure, and composition of the jobs and the institutions in which they work.

The internal labour market approach

Within the internal labour market, group or categorical treatment of individuals is the general practice. Sex has been an important basis for such differentiation, particularly due to employers' discrimination against women in male occupations and perceived quality differences between male and female labour. Consideration is also given to differentiation within the group of female workers on the basis of variables such as education, age and marital status. This therefore goes beyond the simple dichotomy often made between male and female labour markets.

Blau and Jusenious¹⁰³ observed that within an internal labour market framework, worker's activity is determined partly on the basis of individual characteristics but more importantly as a function of the attributes of each worker in combination with the characteristics of occupations and firms. The model suggests that a range of equal cost alternatives are open to the firm in terms of hiring practices, work organization, wage policies. For example, the amount of labour turnover in specific occupational categories or firms may be seen as the outcome of the personal characteristics of workers, the wage rate paid, the opportunities offered for advancement, working conditions, and the quality of management. This model implies that reallocating individuals

¹⁰³Blau, F. and Jusenious, C. L., Economists' approaches to sex segregation in the labour market: an appraisal, in Blaxall, M. and Leagan, B. B. (eds) Women and the workplace: the implications of occupational segregation, supplement to signs, (1), Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1976.

from one work environment to another would change their productivity than their wage rate.

The dual labour market theory

Doeringer and Piore¹⁰⁴ identified two distinct sectors within the labour market which include -

- i. the primary sector which consists of professional and managerial/administrative jobs with relatively high wages and status, good working conditions, opportunity for advancement, and employment stability; and
- ii. the secondary sector which is characterized by low wages, poor working conditions, little chance for advancement, lack of stability and highly personalized employer/employee relations. Jobs in the secondary-sector include semi-skilled, operational nonfarm labour, and service work.

The two sectors of the labour market are seen as mutually exclusive as workers rarely move from the secondary to the primary sector. Standing¹⁰⁵ saw this as 'progressive' and 'static' jobs respectively. In the primary sector, worker stability is important for employer, thus, the perceived higher turnover of women means that they are more likely to be relegated to secondary jobs. This means that even with equal

¹⁰⁴Doeringer, P. B. and Piore, M., Internal labour market and manpower analysis, Lexington, Mass, Heath, 1976.

¹⁰⁵Standing, G., Labour force participation and development, Geneva, ILO, 1978.

pre-entry qualifications, men are seen as more stable, and would be more likely than women to be recruited for primary jobs where their chances for higher wages, training and promotions would be greater.

Theories of labour market segmentation are generally considered as refinements of neo-classical theory, as they view the labour market as stratified or segmented by institutional barriers. Within each segment, neo-classical principles are still assumed to be relevant. Thus, the dual labour market approach stresses the importance of entry position into an organization in determining future possibilities to acquire human capital (for example, on-the-job training and experience and for promotion). It also assumes that worker behaviour is related to the characteristics of the jobs workers hold. Barron and Norris⁹³ stated that since absenteeism and turnover tend to be greater in low level, dead-end jobs, where women tend to be concentrated, higher turnover and absenteeism among women may be explained at least partially, by sex differences in the type of occupation rather than by inherent characteristics of women. Blau and Jusenious¹⁰³ remarked that while the dual labour market analysis helps to understand the causes and consequences of labour market segmentation, it fails to explain the further sex segregation which exists in each sector. It also fails to explain the range of characteristics of predominantly female jobs, particularly the differentiation

which occurs within the female sector. The differential treatment accorded to women and men within the primary sector (highly developed internal labour markets) is also not well focused. On the other hand, Scott¹⁰⁶ considering the sex segregation of occupations within both the primary and secondary sectors has suggested that sex also needs to be considered as one of the dimensions on which a labour market is segmented. The existence of two relatively separated labour markets for men and women is seen by some as an important determinant of the lower earnings of women. According to Edgeworth¹⁰⁷ and Bergmann¹⁰¹, to the extent that women's occupational choices are restricted, and there is an over-supply of candidates for women's jobs, women can be considered as 'crowded' into these occupations.

Labour market segmentation theories have failed to explain why sex is such an important variable for labour market segmentation. Arrow¹⁰⁸ noted that the basic cause is probably outside the economic realm, and so, it is not surprising that economic variables cannot explain it. Lloyd

¹⁰⁶Scott, C. E., Why more women are becoming entrepreneurs, *Journal of Small Business Management*, 24(4), October 1986, 37-44p.

¹⁰⁷Edgeworth, F., Equal pay to men and women for equal work, *Economic Journal*, 32, December 1922, 431-447p.

¹⁰⁸Arrow, K., Economic dimensions of occupational segregation: Comment I, in Blaxall, M. and Reagan, B. B. (eds) Women and the workplace: the implications of occupational segregation, supplement to signs, 1, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

and Niemi¹⁰⁹ identified 'prejudices in social mores' as responsible for direct market discrimination, and also for indirect discrimination which occurs in the socialization and educational processes. Such cultural variables have not been of central concern in economic theories.

Beyond the above macro descriptions of sex segregation in the labour market, the existing myths about gender role relations have also been carried into organizational analysis. The subsequent section of this review thereby identifies the major assumptions and flaws in existing organizational theories in their attempt to explain work attitudes and behaviour along gender lines.

2.3. Organizational theories and the issue of women

The origins of modern management theory show first how "masculinized" and paternalistic the definition of their role in seeking "one best way" to organize work. The evolving "spirit of managerialism" was infused with a "masculine ethic". The management theories from scientific management school through human relations and human resources tradition have implications for the stratification of organizations by sex. For example, Frederick Taylor¹¹⁰ and his theory of scientific management gave a name and rationale to the concept of the rational manager who made decisions based on logical,

¹⁰⁹Lloyd, C. B. and Niemi, B. T., *The economics of sex differentials*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1979.

¹¹⁰ Taylor, F. *Scientific management*, New York, Harper and Row, 1947.

passionless analysis. Applying the systematic analysis of science to management, the scientific management school emphasized such schemes as control of production, routines, order, logic, planning charts, and cost analysis. The scientific management philosophy was predicated on the conception of man as rational being guided largely by an overriding ambition to improve his personal fortune. With this taken as given, the task of the manager was seen as that of designing the most appropriate remuneration-cum-motivation package that would closely and manifestly tie the workers' pay with individual input. Taylor separated technical ability to perform a limited task from cognitive ability to abstract, plan, and logically understand the whole process, for the latter is the special quality of management. Taylor therefore suggested that the best workman should be chosen for the work he is best suited to.

Though Taylor's basic thesis has not been today adopted totally, his general ideas still influenced managerial thinking and helped create what has become known as classical administrative theory which operates on the principle of establishing in advance of performance, the methods of work and areas of responsibility for each position in the structure. The result has been over rationalization, and centralization of management control in a hierarchy of line and staff positions.

Kanter⁷ commented that within the early classical school,

effective management was seen as requiring a tough-minded approach to problems, analytic abilities to abstract and plan a capacity to set aside personal emotional consideration in the interests of tasks accomplishment and a cognitive superiority in problem solving and decision making. Kanter observed that these characteristics supposedly belong to men, while significantly, all managers at the time were men. When women tried to enter management jobs, the "masculine ethic" was invoked as an exclusionary principle.

Also, the human relations model which started in the 1940s under Elton Mayo¹¹¹ and his colleagues at the Harvard Business School, discovered the importance for productivity of primary, informal relations among workers. The Human Relations School developed the concept of "informal organization" to include the emotional, non-rational, and sentimental aspects of human behaviour in organizations, the ties and loyalties that affected workers, the social relations that could not be encompassed by the organization chart but which invariably shaped behaviour.

Importantly, the human relations model assumed that people were motivated by social as well as economic rewards, and that their behaviour and attitudes were a function of group memberships. This model thus emphasized the roles of participation, communication patterns, and leadership style in

¹¹¹ Mayo, E., The human problems of an industrial civilization, New York, Macmillan, 1973, 122p.

affecting organizational outcomes.

The human relations approach has been criticized for its failure to challenge the image of the rational manager. Early human relations analysis supported the concept of managerial authority and managerial rationality. In Mayo's view, workers were controlled by sentiment, emotion, and social instincts. Managers were also rational, logical and able to control their emotions in the interests of organizational design. Reinhard Bendix¹¹² observed that a consequence of this perspective was a simplified version that viewed the successful manager as the man who could control his emotions, whereas other workers could not. Bendix wrote about a "leader" as that person having physical energies and skills and intellectual abilities, vision and integrity, and above all, he has emotional balance and control.

Though Mayo did not accept Taylor's techniques, his conception of managerial or administrative elite which would bring about industrial harmony and increased production, had much in common with Taylor's idea of a managerial elite. Although the emphasis is on informal social factors, yet the organization was still thought to require a rational controller at its head. Many writers^{7,75} have stated that the major part of the 20th century, the "masculine ethic" of rationality dominated the spirit of managerialism and gave the

¹¹² Bendix, R., Max Weber: an intellectual portrait, Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1960

manager-role it defining image. It told men how to be successful as men in the new organizational worlds of the 20th century.

This image provided a rationale for the place of women within the management hierarchy. Where women exist at all, it was in people-handling staff functions such a personnel, where their emotional frame of mind was more appropriate than in decision-making functions. Directing women into the "emotional" end of management means an indirect exclusion from the centres of power in management for the same reason. For example, Kanter⁷ argued that women generally represent the antithesis of the rational manager, while the few women who get accepted are those who "think like a man". Management roles are therefore defined as a "masculine" pursuit, while routine office chores are "feminized".

Many writers have criticized the rationalist assumption on both scientific and moral ground. Argyris¹¹³ stated that it is an undesirable model of how organizations are and ought to be. Yet, the "rational" thread in management theory has been persistent.

The mono-causal view of work attitude by the human relations theorists have been rejected by psycho-sociological theorists who argued for a multi-dimensionality of human

¹¹³ Argyris, C., Some limits of rational man organization theory, Public Administration Review, May-June 1973, 253 - 269p.

personality needs^{113, 114, 115, 116}. The mechanistic arrangement of the classical and neo-classical schools could not explain women-organization relationship as the primacy of the mother-housewife role reigned supreme for women. The subsequent refinements of the structural model by the socio-technical system categories leaves out the individual model.

However, as offshoots of the existing patriarchal, hierarchical and elitist assumptions of traditional theories of sexual dimorphism about organization life, two major models have emerged. These models are the "job model" and the "gender model". The basic assumptions of these models and the feminist critique of the models are presented below.

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 Glenn⁵ argued that separate models for men's and women's relationship to employment are a logical outcome of the sexual division of labour characteristic 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

¹¹⁴ Maslow, A. H., Motivation and personality, New York, Harper and Row, 1954.

¹¹⁵ Herzberg, F., Mausner, B. and Synderman, B., The motivation to work, New York, Wiley, 1959.

¹¹⁶ McGregor, D., Leadership and motivation, Cambridge, Mass., M.I.T. Press, 1966.

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.

According to Laws²⁴, 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 women¹¹⁷. Other studies looked at the impact of women's employment on division of household labour¹¹⁸ and on

¹¹⁷Hoffman, L. W. and Nye, F. I. (eds) Working mothers, San Francisco, Jossey-Bass, 1974.

¹¹⁸Howell, M., Employed mothers and their families, Pediatrics, 52, August 1973, 252-263p.

power distribution in the home¹¹⁹. Subsequently, women on-the-job experience has been a neglected area of study.

Recent studies 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 findings 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. Kanter⁷ 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 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, 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.

¹¹⁹Blood, R. and Wolfe, D., Husbands and wives, New York, Free Press, 1960.

The structure of opportunity in a way helps to define the ways people perceive themselves and their jobs. Tannenbaum et al.¹²⁰ noted the general psychological consequence of hierarchical organizations when they wrote that "hierarchy, in American 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. Kanter⁷ 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".

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. According to Blauner¹²¹, the worker expresses

¹²⁰Tannenbaum, A. S., Karcic, B., Rosner, M., Vianello, M., and Weiser, G., Hierarchy in organizations: an international comparison, San Francisco, Jossey Bass, 1974.

¹²¹Blauner, R., Alienation and freedom, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1964.

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. Homall¹²² found that men's mean score on an overall measure of motivation is significantly higher than women's, and so are the men's objective prospects for advancement. Those with low opportunity may also be less committed to the organization or to their work in general. Grusky¹²³ argued that 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. Lipset and Bendix¹²⁴ reported that studies of blue-collar men showed the work commitment is low under conditions of low opportunity. Thus Mecker and Weitzel O'Neill³⁵ observed that the occupations available to women have generally been those with less reward in terms of money and prestige than those available to men. Hence Kanter⁷ stated that women seem to be less motivated or committed principally because their jobs

¹²²Homall, G., The motivation to be promoted among non-exempt employees: an expectancy theory approach, Master's thesis, Cornell University, 1974.

¹²³Grusky, O., Career mobility and organisational commitment, Administrative Science Quarterly, 10, 1966, 489-502p.

¹²⁴Lipset, S. M. and Bendix, R., Social mobility in industrial society, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1962.

carry less opportunity. Tom Burns¹²⁵ and Selznick¹²⁶ predicted that people whose opportunity to achieve through movement along the organisational hierarchy is blocked are likely to disengage (that is, withdraw from responsibility) or try to meet needs for recognition through social groups other than the powerful people upward in the hierarchy. Such peer groups formed by those low in opportunity tend to focus on groups solidarity and internal group cohesion more than confrontation, while members also redefine success. According to Tichy¹²⁷, such people build their own status system and signals of membership and have little reason to look for any other relationships, as there is little to be gained. Opportunity structures shape behaviour in a way that people set on high-mobility tracks tend to attitudes and values that impel them further on the track, that is, work commitment, high aspirations and upward orientations. Whereas, those on low-mobility tracks tend to become indifferent, to give up, and thus prove that their initial placement was correct. They develop low-risk, conservative attitudes or become complaining critics. Also, because of the general placement of women at the lower strata of the opportunity ladder, they

¹²⁵Burns, T., The reference of conduct in Small groups: Cliques cabal in occupational milieu, Human Relations, 8, 1955, 467-486p.

¹²⁶Selznick, P., Law, society, and industrial justice, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1969, 38p.

¹²⁷Tichy, N., An analysis of clique formation and structure in organizations, Administrative Science Quarterly, 18, 1973, 194-207p.

tend to develop attitudes and orientations now generally considered to be characteristics of women as a group.

Grinker et al.¹²⁸ (1970) looking at industries employing about 11 percent of the U.S. work force, found that as the amount of progression possible in non-supervisory jobs increased (that is, the number of steps of opportunity they contain), the proportion of women decline markedly. Kanter⁷ found that in the U.S., though women represent nearly half of all non-supervisory workers, they constitute about 64 percent of workers in the "flattest" jobs (that is, least advancement in opportunities), and only 5 percent of workers in the highest opportunity jobs. Marchak¹²⁹ in a study of Canadian white-collar workers found that women are clustered in the jobs with less control, more machine, lower incomes, less job security, and less chance to be promoted into management. Shepard¹³⁰ in his study of office and factory workers showed that women are more likely to exhibit "normlessness", that is, a perception that ability has little to do with getting ahead.

Two sociological studies have brought an ironic twist to the popular picture of women as being less intrinsically work-

¹²⁸Grinker, W. J., Cooke, D. D. and Kirsch, A. W., Climbing the job ladder: a study of employee advancement in eleven industries, New York, Shelley and Co., 1970

¹²⁹Marchak, P., Women workers and white collar unions, Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 10, 1973, 134-147p.

¹³⁰Shepard, J., Automation and alienation: a study of office and factory workers, Cambridge, Mass., M. I. T. Press, 1971, 34p.

oriented, than men,. The first, Dubin¹³¹, using a sample of men, demonstrated that work is not a "central life interest" of factory workers while the second, Orzack¹³², 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 commitment¹³³. 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 work¹³⁴.

Apart from promotion opportunity structures, Kanter⁷ argued that the attitudes and behaviours of male and female

¹³¹Dubin, R., Industrial workers' worlds, Social Problems, 3, January 1956, 131-142p.

¹³²Orzack, L. H., Work as a central life interest of professionals, Social Problems 7, Fall 1969.

¹³³Alutto, J. A., Hrebiniak, L. G., and Alonson, R. C., On operationalising the concept of commitment, Social Forces, 51, June 1973, 448-454p.

¹³⁴Chinoy, E., Automobile workers and the American dream, New York, Doubleday, 1955.

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. 'Power' is a loaded term, as it has multiple meanings. Power is often distinguished from other related concepts like - authority, influence, force, and dominance. Kanter used 'power' in a sense that distinguishes it from hierarchical domination. She defined power as the ability to get things done, to mobilise resources, to get and use whatever it is that a person needs for the goals he or she is attempting to meet. Here, the meaning of power is closer to "mastery" or "autonomy" than to domination or control over others. The powerful in this sense, are the ones who have access to tools for action. An individual's power and social position flow predominantly from his/her position in an economic organization, be it large or small, public or private¹³⁵. Wolf and Fligstein³¹ noted that 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

¹³⁵Dahrendorf, F., Class and Class conflict in industrial society, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957.

leaders. In fact recent researches 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 occupational status¹³⁶. 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. Laird et al.¹³⁷ concluded that women make poor supervisors in factories, offices and even at home because of their tendency to "henpeck" and become too bossy. Burleigh Gardner¹³⁸, a human relations expert, writing during the war, when women entered formerly closed jobs, found similar complaints by both men and women about women bosses, although he felt that the system forces women into position where they are likely to fail. The American National Manpower Councils' report on "Womenpower" in the 1950s¹³⁹ concluded that women supervisors are said to be more demanding and controlling of subordinates, as well as guilty of partiality and discrimination.

Comparing men and women supposedly in the same position, Kanter⁷ argued that what looks like sex differences may really

¹³⁶Grimm, J. and Stern, R., Sex roles and semi-professions, Social Problems, 21, 1974, 690-705p.

¹³⁷Laird, D. A. and Laird, E. C., The psychology of supervising the working woman, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1942.

¹³⁸Gardner, B. B., Human relations in industry, Chicago, Richard D. Irwin, 1945.

¹³⁹The American National Manpower Councils' Report on "Womenpower" in the 1950's, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1957.

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 bossiness 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 (clerical workers, women factory workers, low level personnel among others), these powerless subordinates may take out their own frustration in resistance to their managers, provoking them to adapt more coercive styles. Kanter 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 prone to be too directive, controlling and details-oriented.

Women's numerical inferiority has pushed them to a status

of 'tokenism'. Tokenism, like low opportunity and low power, set in motion self-perpetuating cycles that served to reinforce the low numbers of women and, in the absence of external intervention to keep women in the position of token. Hughes¹⁴⁰ identified series of organisational, social and personal ambivalence surrounding people in token situations. Even when tokens succeed in work performance, Hughes argued, the burdens carried by tokens in the management of social relations take their toll in psychological stress.

More serious physical and mental stress has been found to be associated with status incongruities and from roles pressures at work¹⁴¹. The best coping strategy has been found to have some internal repercussions, ranging from inhibition of self-expression to feelings of inadequacy and perhaps, self hatred¹⁴². To the extent that tokens accept their exceptional status, dissociate themselves from others of their category, and turn against them, tokens may be denying parts of themselves and engaging in self-hatred, thus producing inner tension. According to Kanter, number balancing might become a worthwhile goal, for inside the organization, relative number can play a large part in further

¹⁴⁰Hughes, E., Dilemmas and contradictions of status, American Journal of Sociology 50, March 1944, 353-359p.

¹⁴¹Lenski, G. H., Status crystallization: a non-vertical dimension of social status, American Sociological Review, 19, 1954.

¹⁴²Jourard, S. M., The transparent self: self-disclosure and well-being, Princeton, D. Van Nostrand, 1964.

outcomes, from work effectiveness and promotion prospects to psychic stress.

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 Glenn⁵). The basic assumptions of the integrated model are presented in the subsequent paragraphs.

The Integrated Model:

Feldberg and Glenn⁵ 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 endeavour 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 et al. argued for an integrated model which takes into account interaction between job and gender factors. To understand women's responses to paid work, we need to have a clearer and precise picture of their work, including hours and pace of work, extent of rationalization, kinds of skills, and types of work standards. Feldberg and Glenn 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 Darville¹⁴³ 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 be given detailed analysis of both formal structures, and informal processes.

Policies and practices of any organization which create

¹⁴³Reeves, J. B. and Darville, R., female clerical workers in academic settings: an empirical test of gender model, *Sociological Inquiry*, 56(1), Winter 1986, 105-124p.

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. The effects of such norms are especially strong in countries with Hindu and Muslim cultures¹⁴⁴. In such countries, 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, macrosocial 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. 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

¹⁴⁴Schildkrout, E., Dependence and economic activities of secluded Hausa women in Kano, in Oppong, C. (ed) Female and Male in West Africa, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1983, 107-126p.

opportunities and raises the relative cost of women workers. Armstrong¹⁴⁵ 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 an overall social system in which women are subordinate to men. Hartmann¹⁴⁶ 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 organisations, 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. This is because the integrated model has failed to incorporate systemic variables, that is, the

¹⁴⁵Armstrong, P., Labour pains: Women's work in crisis, Toronto, The Women's Press, 1984.

¹⁴⁶Hartmann, H., Capitalism, patriarchy and job segregation by sex, in Blaxall, M. and Reagan, B. B. (eds) Women and the workplace, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1976.

values and ideologies behind individual behaviour and perception of gender roles. To incorporate individual attributes, organisational 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 Berger¹⁰, 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. This theoretical stance is given a fuller description in chapter three.

At this point, we look at women's adaptive attitudes and behaviour to occupational conditions at a rather empirical level. This is presented in the last section of the review.

2.4. Women's adaptive attitudes and behaviour to occupational conditions

Paid employment is part of the lives of a large and ever-increasing proportion of women, yet we know very little about how women's work conditions affect their general work attitudes and behaviour and how these cultivated attitudes in turn affect their conditions of work. Here, we document existing literature which has tried to examine how day-to-day job experiences are related to women's work values, job satisfaction, commitment and disenchantment or alienating tendencies.

The concept of "work value" is used as a dimension of the general concept of "value" to mean the conception of what is desirable that individuals hold with respect to their work activity¹⁴⁷. The term "work values" also corresponds with what Kohn¹⁴⁸ called "judgement about work" or "work orientations". Work values reflect the individuals' awareness of the condition he seeks from the work situation, and they regulate his actions in pursuit of that condition. They thus refer to general attitudes regarding the meaning that an individual attaches to the work role as distinguished from his satisfaction, with that role¹⁴⁹. "Work values" is distinguished from expectation, which denotes one's beliefs about what will occur in the future. What is valued may or may not correspond to what is expected. Values are also distinguished from needs, which refer to the objective requirements of an organism's well-being. Although the two concepts are closely related since individuals may value those factors associated with a job which satisfy their needs. Sometimes, values may be irrational, and whether or not one's values correspond to one's needs, it is one's values which

¹⁴⁷Williams, R. Jr., The concept of values, in Sills, D. L. (ed) International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 16, Crowell, Colheir and Macmillan, 1968, 283-287p.

¹⁴⁸Kohn, M. L., Class and conformity: a study in values, Homewood, Ill., Dorsey, 1969.

¹⁴⁹Kallenberg, A. L., Work values and job rewards: a theory of job satisfaction, American Sociological Review, 42, February 1977, 124-143p.

regulate one's actions and determine one's emotional responses.

The aspects of work that are valued constitute potential sources of rewards to the worker. Given that characteristics associated with jobs are determined relatively independently of individuals, the distribution of work values at a given point in time may not be assumed to match the distribution of opportunities for the satisfaction of these values. To understand the variation in workers' job satisfaction, it is important to consider not only the values that individuals have toward work but the types of rewards that are available as well.

Kalleberg¹⁴⁹ identified two types of factors underlying the variation in job satisfaction which are:

- i. perceived job characteristic, which represent the amount of satisfaction available from particular dimensions of work; and
- ii. work values, which represent the meanings that individuals attach to these perceived job characteristics.

The satisfaction an individual obtains from a job is therefore a function not only of the objective properties of that job but also of the motives of the individual, a view which was first suggested by Morse¹⁵⁰, later developed by Goldthorpe et

¹⁵⁰Morse, N. C., Satisfaction in the White collar job, Ann Arbor, Survey Research Centre, 1953.

al¹⁵¹.

Positive correlations have been reported between various measures of commitment and job condition, particularly promotion opportunity¹⁵². Workers with low chances for advancement may become more cynical¹⁵³ and less likely to endorse management objectives¹⁵⁴. Penings¹⁴⁶ reported that chances for promotion are associated with preference for intrinsic rather than extrinsic job rewards.

Not until recently have sociologists devoted some attention to analyzing promotions in work organizations¹⁵⁵. Promotions have important implication for employees and for organization. For employees, promotions are a primary means of mobility¹⁰⁴. Studies of organization¹⁵⁶ often show advancement opportunity as one of the most highly valued job

¹⁵¹Goldthorpe, J. H., Lockwood, D., Bechofer, F. and Platt, J., *The affluent workers: industrial attitudes and behavior*, London, Cambridge University Press, 1968.

¹⁵²Wright, J. D. and Hamilton, R. F., *Work satisfaction and age: some evidence for the job change hypothesis*, *Social forces*, 56, 1978, 1140-1158p.

¹⁵³Gemmill, G. and DaSalvia, D., *The promotion beliefs of manager as a factor in career progress: an exploratory study*, *Sloan Management Review* 18, 1977, 75-81p.

¹⁵⁴Pennings, J. M., *Work-value systems of white collar workers*, *Administrative Science Quarterly* 15, 1970, 397-405p.

¹⁵⁵Rosenbaum, J. E., *Organisational career mobility: promotion chances in a corporation during periods of growth and contraction*, *American Journal of Sociology* 85, 1979, 21-48p.

¹⁵⁶Markham, W. T., South, S. J., Bonjean, C. M. and Corder-Bolz, J., *Gender and Opportunity in the federal bureaucracy*, *American Journal of Sociology* 91(1), 1985, 129-150

facets, especially for white-collar workers. Also, organizations use promotions to motivate and control employees¹⁵⁷. Promoted employees have been shown to develop greater commitment and are less cynical, more likely to endorse management objectives and more satisfied¹⁵⁸. Organizational climate and effectiveness thus depend on whether those promoted seek primarily security, personal aggrandizement, organisational goal attainment, or the advancement of a cause.

However, little is known about the effects of promotion on employees and organization. Few studies have directly examined the effects of opportunity on individual or organizational functioning. The few studies that examine such effects typically examine only a single dependent variable¹⁴⁸. Kanter's⁷ study has been one of the major studies that treated the effects of opportunity in the contexts of a broader structural theory of organizations and of concerns about the status of women. Kanter's discussion suggested that the adaptation chosen depends on the source of low opportunity and their availability. For example, an employee might seek social support from outsiders, co-workers, or both, depending on the circumstances. Adopting these attitudes and behavior further reduces promotion chances, and creates a self

¹⁵⁷Lawler, E. E., Motivation and personality, Monterey, California, Brooks/Cole, 1973.

¹⁵⁸Katzell, R. A. and Yankelovich, D., Work productivity and job satisfaction, New York, Psychological Corporation, 1975.

reinforcing cycle. Since women in organization typically have less opportunity, they are more likely to display these adaptations, many of which come to be stereotypically viewed as "naturally" female. Like all employees, those with low opportunity must adapt to their circumstances. Women are more likely to choose such adaptations as bitter dissatisfaction with the promotion system, reduced desire for self-actualization through work, desire for security and interpersonal support, more frequent and more satisfying contacts with co-workers, development of friendships at work with those who are not oriented toward upward mobility, disengagement from daily tasks, rejection of promotion as a goal and reduced self-confidence. Women have less promotion opportunity, therefore, they are more likely to display these behaviours.

From the above, the tendency is to think that gender differences would disappear when opportunity is controlled. Markham et al.¹⁵⁰ remarked that controlling for opportunity could not be expected to eliminate gender differences in the adaptations. They further argued that the lack of gender differences in promotion opportunity emphatically does not imply that men and women have equal status even though women and men have similar promotion chances, women's opportunities are in lower-level job ladders. Markham's finding becomes significant when one knows that this study was carried out in a Federal Bureaucracy, where conscious efforts are made to put

gender discrimination at a minimum compared to private establishment that is maximally profit oriented.

Though a number of methods may be used to measure the types and amounts of rewards people receive from jobs, Hackman and Lawler¹⁵⁹ argued that it is not the "objective" state of these characteristics that affects employee attitudes and behavior, but how they are experienced by the worker (that is, looking at perceived levels of the various job characteristics). The correspondence between actual and perceived properties of jobs therefore constitutes a much needed area of research.

Variation in work experience has been seen by Feldberg and Glenn⁵; and Lorence¹⁶⁰ as a function of the economic and structural factors that determine the distribution of rewards to positions in the society, and it is assumed that rewards could be increased only by changes in these structural determinants. In line with this view, sociological theories of the quality of work experience have focused on comparative organisational and industrial contexts as the explanatory factors that account for the variation in such experience¹²¹. Others have argued that man is constrained principally by the

¹⁵⁹Hackman, J. R. and Lawler, E. E., Employee reactions to job characteristics, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 55, 1971, 259-286p.

¹⁶⁰Lorence, J., A test of the 'gender' and 'job' models of sex differences in job involvement, *Social Forces* 66, 1987, 121-142p.

way he socially constructs his reality¹⁶¹. Focus has therefore shifted to understanding the meanings that men attach to their own and each other's acts. Thus the action approach has been variously used to analyze how human beings tend to define their situation and act in particular ways in order to attain certain ends.

To analyze the behaviour of men and women in work organization therefore, it is important to understand the orientations which such individuals bring into the organization. Orientation to work simply can be taken as what an individual wants from work and the extent to which he believes he will be successful in attaining such ends. "Work orientation" as a concept is discussed at length in the theoretical chapter which follows next.

¹⁶¹ Schneer, J., Gender context: an alternative perspective on sex differences in organizations, Academy of Management Conference, San Diego, 1985

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The major theoretical viewpoint for this study is social action theory which helps to present work situations in women's own terms and descriptions. 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 per se. 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 Durkheimian objective social reality, exemplified in the work of Peter Berger¹⁰. 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.

3.1 Social action theory and organizational analysis

The most pressing theoretical task for Sociology is to construct a theory of social life which acknowledges the fact that 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 continually transforms them. At the same time such action takes place within a social system and suffers the constraints this imposes as well as employing the resources distributed through the social structure.

Both positivism and Marxian Sociology placed emphases on holistic explanations. Each stresses the causes and unintended consequences of action in terms of feature of the social system external to the actor. Thus, the actions of the individual are seen as the effects of social forces or of structural constraints.

Social action theorists on the other hand, tend to see the above explanations as misleading in that they fail to take sufficient account of the consciousness and intentions of actors, thus failing to show that the social world is a meaningful construction of its members. Actors are thinking, choosing beings who control their own actions through thought. This thought, also draws 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.

There are considerable variations in emphasis between particular theories within the social action perspective. They include the popular American tradition of symbolic interactionism; the European tradition of Weber, and his

phenomenological critic, Alfred Schutz; ethnomethodology which has its roots in the fusion of symbolic interactionism and phenomenology.

Relevant to the present study is Weber's¹⁶² 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. For example, the instrumental, calculating rationality of Western individual derives from a much broader trend of historical development.

Weber¹⁶³ defined action as "human behaviour when the agent or agents 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 judgement (what Weber called explanatory verstehen). To Weber¹⁶³, 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 subjectively intended meaning. Weber

¹⁶²Weber, M., The theory of social and economic organization, New York, Free Press, 1964.

¹⁶³Weber, M., Economy and society, California, University of California Press, 1978.

distinguishes four types of motive which are traditional conformity to habit; emotional; rational behaviour oriented to an ultimate value (such as salvation); and rational behaviour oriented to a mundane goal (such as earning a living). Scientific explanation involves using "verstehen" correctly to discern the correct motive. This is done partly by locating the act in its context, that is actor's reasons for acting.

Weber was often seen as trying to compromise with positivism to create a scientific Sociology. It has been argued that explanations in terms of actors' reasons are not at all compatible with the positivist search for external material causes which are empirically discoverable. Even with this perspective, it is difficult for positivists to ignore consciousness entirely, but they will almost certainly attempt to specify outside causes which determine the actor's choices. Weber did accept in principle that the choices were caused by social circumstances and by the personality of the actor. The causation was so complex that prediction became problematic. Causal laws are therefore unattainable, and so Weber's compromise with positivism is only partial.

Weber's theory has been criticized for presenting an inadequate account of action since it remains excessively individualistic, and is unable to locate thought and action in any real social context. Though Weber paid enormous attention to historical social structure and to cultures, as contexts for action, yet the connection between these and action is

never explained explicitly. Thus, the critics of Weber's methodology particularly the phenomenology of Schutz, have radicalized action theory while at the same time abandoned Weber's historical and structural concerns. Although symbolic interactionism does not provide any theory of system integration or disintegration, it does pay attention to individual responses to constraints from the social structure. Phenomenology and ethnomethodology abandon this as social life is conceived solely in terms of the negotiation of meanings and the practical accomplishment of routine activities. Society, in this instance, becomes a mere "mental event" sustained only by shared definitions, and assumptions of actors. Giddens¹⁶⁴ 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 actions will have unintended consequences. The nature of these consequences will depend upon 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.

¹⁶⁴ Giddens, A., Central problems in social theory, London, Macmillan, 1979.

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 depend upon the nature of the social system.

Peter Berger¹⁶¹ 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 himself, his process of consciousness and his relations with others. Whatever its anthropological-biological roots, psychological reality arises in the individual's biography in the course of social process and is maintained by virtue of social processes. Socialization not only ensures that the individual is real to himself in a certain way, but that he will constantly respond to his experience of the world with the cognitive and emotive patterns appropriate to this reality.

The dialectical relationship between social structure and psychological reality is also fundamental to Meadian tradition. Society not only defines but creates psychological reality. The individual realizes himself in society, that is,

recognizes his identity in socially defined terms and these definitions become reality as he lives in society. This is also closely linked with W.I. Thomas' concept of the "definition of the situation", and Merton's "self-fulfilling prophecy"¹⁶⁵. One thus identifies closely, as one is identified by others, by being located in a common world. Berger therefore argued that socialization takes place only when the individual takes the attitude of others, and relates to himself as others have first related to him. As the individual identifies and locates himself in the world of his society, he finds himself 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 dimensions, and the dynamics of these orientations. Action approach thus seeks to tackle both the "micro" problem of the orientations and behaviour of

¹⁶⁵Merton, R. K., Social theory and social structure, New York, Free Press, 1949.

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.

However, a lot of conflicting and overlapping findings have been found by researchers who have used the social action approach in the study of work attitudes and behaviour in formal organizations. Briefly, we shall turn to some of their findings here. Goldthorpe¹⁶⁶ and Goldthorpe et al.¹⁴³ in their study of Luton car workers brought the action approach into

¹⁶⁶Goldthorpe, J. H., Attitudes and behavior of car assembly workers: a deviant case and a theoretical critique, *British Journal of Sociology*, 17(3), 1966, 222-244p.

limelight. Goldthorpe¹⁶⁶, using action approach argued against those who see a logic in the technology of industrial society. He argued that too great a weight has been given to technology as a determinant of attitudes and behaviour in such situation while too little attention has been paid to the prior orientations which workers have towards employment, and which in turn influence their choice of a job, the meaning they give to work and their definition of the work situation. Goldthorpe et al.¹⁴³ contended that the basic shortcoming of the "technological implications" approach is that the attempt to provide explanations from the point of the "system" entails the neglect of the point of view of the actors involved. They react against the attempts of organizational social scientists to study issues of work satisfaction using a closed system model, wherein organizations are seen as the relevant context for explaining these issues. Like Goldthorpe, Beynon and Blackburn¹⁶⁷, Russell¹⁶⁸ - all contributed to our knowledge of job satisfaction, by attempting to establish empirically the ways in which the wants and expectations that people attach to their work activity shape the attitudinal and behavioural patterns of their working lives as a whole.

Goldthorpe et al.¹⁴³ distinguished between:

¹⁶⁷Beynon, H. and Blackburn, R. M., Perceptions of work, London, Cambridge University Press, 1972.

¹⁶⁸Russell, K. J., Variations in orientation to work and job satisfaction, Sociology of Work and Occupation, 2(4), November 1975, 299-322.

- a. instrumental orientation (that is, an orientation towards material gain, particularly those material objects necessary to maintain life and enhance the comfort and security of living;
- b. bureaucratic orientation (that is, an orientation towards organizational goals in return for a variety of economic and non-economic rewards; and
- c. solidaristic orientation (that is, an orientation towards interaction with other people and establishing meaningful relationship with them, in pursuit of economic gain.

Etzioni's concept of various kinds of involvement in organizations is very similar to the above, though a distinction is drawn between-

- a. alienative involvement where the member has little desire to remain in the organization but is forced to do so at least temporarily by forces of circumstances;
- b. calculative involvement where the member's relationship with the organization has little intensity and is viewed primarily in terms of extrinsic satisfactions, and
- c. moral involvement where the member has quite high commitment to the organization itself.

Bennett¹⁶⁹ employed the terms instrumental, relational and personal (expressive).

The narrowness of Goldthorpe's conception of work orientation has been criticized by Daniel^{170, 171} and Barron and Norris⁹³. To most of Goldthorpe critics, orientations to work do not usually comprise one over-riding priority but contain a number of incommensurable objectives, while emphasis on any of these objective depends on the context.

Goldthorpe et al. were also criticized for not presenting a consistent conceptual framework of the social action orientation. Baureiss¹⁷² opined that their application of the concept of "ideal type" lacks precision. He stated that Goldthorpe et al.¹⁵¹ merely placed primacy on the instrumental orientation and considered the bureaucratic and solidaristic orientations as "deviations", thereby violating the conventional usage of ideal types, as the deviation from a standard is not assessed separately for each of the three orientations. Baureiss also observed that Goldthorpe et al.'s

¹⁶⁹Bennett, R. D., Orientation to work and organisational analysis: a conceptual analysis, integration and suggested application, *Journal of Management Studies* 15 (2), May 1978, 187-210p.

¹⁷⁰Daniel, W. W., Industrial behavior and Orientation to work: a critique, *Journal of Management Studies*, 6(3), October 1969, 367-375p.

¹⁷¹Daniel, W. W., Understanding employee behavior in its context: illustration from productivity bargaining, in child, J. (ed) *Man and Organization*, London, George Allen and Uniwin, 1973.

¹⁷²Baureiss, G., The social action approach in industry, *Work and Occupations*, 13(3), August 1986, 377-398p.

specific formulation of these orientations restricts the content of the social definition of the actors to that defined by the researcher. Thus, the result is that action theory as used by Goldthorpe et al. is severely restricted, limiting its potential utility in industrial research.

Daniel¹⁷⁰ had earlier noted that where prior orientations are attributed to the individual social participant, the tendency is to see perceived interest as "fixed" than is justifiable. He further explained that the "fixed" quality of Goldthorpe's orientation variables stems from the fact that these variables are seen as not necessarily responding to contextual organizational factors. On the contrary, Daniel suggested that explanations of choice of job, behaviour in a job, and leaving a job are likely to be different. Daniel maintained that different rather than the same job factor endorsement pattern will apply across changing contexts and that the instrumental worker of one context may become the intrinsically or expressively oriented worker of another. In short, perceived interests will change with the social situation, and in this way, an over emphasis on prior orientations can seriously reduce the analytical potential of an investigation. The most fundamental criticism of orientation model is Daniel's severe questioning of the assumption that orientations to work are fairly stable over time and in different contexts. Beynon and Blackburn¹⁶⁷ stated that while previous approaches over-emphasized the work

situation, it seems the recent attempt at an "action approach" dangerously appear stuck to the other side of the factory gates. Bennett¹⁷³ identified two main issues for consideration when dealing with orientation phenomenon. They are -

- a. are work priorities "fixed" by forces external to the working situation?; and
- b. do these priorities remain constant over a period of time?.

The second question has been the focus of recent research studies on orientation to work¹⁷⁴. Many writers^{169, 171} have identified the need to carry out investigations into the dynamic nature of orientation. The dynamics of the orientation process necessitates a careful examination of the stability of prior orientations. The extent to which the social action frame of reference is resistant to socialization processes for those social situations encountered as part of the biographical history of the individual social participant is enumerated upon by Russell¹⁷⁴. Russell saw the changing social situations as an influence on orientations to work, suggesting that dynamic orientation has greater explanatory and predictive value than the fixed orientation perspective,

¹⁷³Bennett, R. D., Orientation to work and some implications for management, The Journal of Management Studies, 11, 1975, 149-162p.

¹⁷⁴Russell, K. J., The orientation to work controversy and the social construction of work value systems, Journal of Management Studies 17(2), May 1980, 164-184p.

when these are considered as determinants of attitudes and behaviour.

The earlier views of orientations to work have also been criticized by Whynn¹⁷⁵, for adopting a Stimulus --> Organism --> Response (S--> O --> R) model of behaviour. Whynn argued that if desired behavioural response is to be obtained using this model, the correct stimulus must be applied. Operationalizing this model within the work setting necessitates making certain assumptions about human nature and expressing these in the form of individual wants, needs, desires or expectations. The organization is then designed so as to satisfy the identified wants/ needs in the belief that the desired behavioural response will be achieved. Whynn therefore suggested that a conceptual distinction be made within the social action approach. Thus, he conceptualized orientation as a measure or reflection of how individual views a particular situation in terms of what he desires from it and the extent to which he expects these desires to be achieved in it. Two parts are therefore identified. The first (the way an individual views a particular situation) can be conceptually separated from the second part (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

¹⁷⁵Whynn, P. S., Motivation, Orientations and the action perspectives: an alternative framework, *Journal of Management Studies*, 17(3), October 1980, 251-260p.

the wants, expectations and aspirations he attaches to that situation.

Orientations and behaviour are therefore both influenced by factors both internal and external to the organization. Inputs of situational (current) factors and background (prior) factors of influence act as the independent variables while the need values act as intervening variables. Within a framework embracing the individual, the organization and the environment, the focus is principally on the individual worker, as he/she makes decisions within the constraints and opportunities encountered both inside and outside the organization. Bennett¹⁶⁹ suggested some twelve major variables which have an important influence on behaviour in organizations. These variables are -

- a. the conditions in which people are asked to work;
- b. the culture, climate, or overall ethos of the organization;
- c. the nature of incentives and reward offered as inducements for high performance, and the means through which they are offered;
- d. the pattern of behaviour of management (its managerial style);
- e. the nature of objectives to which organization is working;
- f. the resources available for facilitating work;
- g. the overall size of the organization;
- h. the structure of roles, authority and decision-making;
- i. the nature of the tasks or work to be done;

- j. the kind of technology available for doing work;
- k. the relations between employee in the sense or work groups;
- l. the external environment within which the organization has to operate.

Not all the above variables influence work behaviour in the same way, as some have more direct influence (for example, the actual work done and relations with immediate colleagues), while others have indirect influence (for example, nature of the organizational objectives and technology). Some variables also act more as constraints, while others provide for opportunities to behave in ways not directly associated with the job in hand (for example, some forms of payment systems). It is necessary to take into account the different ways these could influence the orientation brought to work and the subsequent influence on work attitudes/adaptation. Bennett¹⁶⁹ remarked that an individual enters an organization with unique values of personal variables, or a particular orientation-set, which continue to influence his orientations at work. He perceived the effects of different organizational variables in terms of the goals they symbolize for him, and makes decisions or judgements as to how he will behave. Some decisions are pre-empted by the constraints of the work situation and as a consequence he may adjust his behaviour. The perceived effects of this behaviour are received as feedback and considered in terms of its consonance with primary or dominant orientations. Consonant feedback (for example lack of

promotion/training) will increase the effects of organizational variables. However, Bennett¹⁶⁹ tended to take a systems view (that is, incorporating external environmental considerations into a total view of organizational behaviour). Systemic approach fails to emphasize the perception of the individual actor and his assessment of the system which more often than not tends to be exploitative. Concentrating on the individual as the unit of analysis, it is assumed that orientation and behaviour are influenced by facts both internal and external to the organization. The action approach tends to assume an existing system in which action occurs but cannot successfully explain the nature of this system, while the systems approach is unable to explain satisfactorily why particular actors act as they do¹⁷⁶. According to Berger and Luckmann¹⁷⁷, the action approach can offer a means of explanation of the nature of social systems and need not depend on systems analysis, for man is capable of producing a world that he then experiences as something other than a human product.

The action approach appears appropriate in studying the effects of changes, for example, situational factors (changes in political economy; marriage; promotion; change of

¹⁷⁶Silverman, D., theory of Organizations, London, Heinemann, 1970.

¹⁷⁷Berger, P. and Luckmann, T., The Social Construction of reality, Garden City, New York, Doubleday and Co., 1966.

supervisor among others). Afonja¹⁷⁸, adopting the action approach, in her study of job satisfaction and job commitment in a textile factory, found that the individual choices of types of work are dictated by their wants and expectations which derive from the non-work sphere principally from the prevalent economic conditions and social needs for status and mobility within the social structure, all of which are dictated by the political economy (situational factors). Alo³⁷ also argued for the use of the action approach in analyzing the dynamics of workers' orientations especially in a country like Nigeria where social change is highly dynamic and where traditional and modern values permeate the whole social structure.

Richard Jung¹⁷⁹ in an earlier study also argued that orientation is multidimensional and subject to situational constraints. Jung stated that the following three theories need be integrated to explain action. They are -

- a. orientation theory in which individuals and collectivities construct phenomenologically a definition of themselves as actors and their situation;
- b. decision theory, in which actors define

¹⁷⁸Afonja, S., Individual choice and situational factors: Influence on Job satisfaction and commitment, Sociology of Work and Occupations, 8(4), 1981, 388-415p.

¹⁷⁹Jung, R., Four Cybernetic principles of action, presented at C.S.A.A., Kingston, Ontario, May 1973.

alternatives and reduce their choices among them;
and

- c. motivation theory in which actors define and reduce tension.

On this note, the present study argues that action theory requires the integration of orientation, decision and motivation. Motivation, as an integral part of action theory, explains the generation and reduction of tension, although its main focuses 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.

Rinehart¹⁸⁰ and Baureiss¹⁷² both stated that workers' orientation is a poor predictor of their action, since action orientation is just one of the three sub theories of action theory. Baureiss therefore preferred a theory of evaluative orientation which directs attention to the subjective experience of workers, and which invokes past and present definition of situations in which actors attempt to remain authentic. According to Baureiss, constraints, norms, and stigmas enter the action work as critical values of systemic boundaries on which basic uncertainty is reduced for making decisions. Relevant to the present study, the work experience

¹⁸⁰Rinehart, W. Contradictions of work-related attitudes and behavior: an interpretation, Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 15(1), 1978, 1-15p.

(bureaucracy, technology, and work interaction); individual variables; and ideological values (for example, gender stereotyping) become part of this evaluation.

The present study therefore adopts the social action model of work orientations and tries to understand work orientation as an interplay of motivational factors. The central questions to motivations are -

- a. why do people work at all?
- b. why do people work hard and with a strong sense of commitment?

Central to orientation are the questions of "perception" and "meaning" which are often used interchangeably. Relevant to the focus of the present study are the following questions - are the answers to the questions raised above the same for men and women?; if they are not, why do we have such a distinction?. If for example, men and women share the same work attitude, 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. Dale¹⁸¹ remarked that the way a person reacts to a situation, what the person sees as the necessary, possible and desirable limits of his/her action in it, will be greatly affected by the reason for which the person finds himself/herself in that situation. However, the "meaning" a

¹⁸¹Dale, R. (ed), Occupational categories and cultures I, Mithon Keyres, Open University Press, 1976.

person gives to his/her work situation has both a positive descriptive usage and an evaluative usage. The evaluative approach is measured using the concept of orientation which Bennett¹⁶⁹ defined as a measure or reflection of how an individual views a particular situation in terms of what the person desires from it and the extent to which he/she expects these desires to be achieved in it. This is to say that the way an individual views a particular situation can be conceptually separated from the wants, expectations and aspirations that the individual attaches to that situation. This is not to say that the two aspects are unrelated. It is therefore assumed that the individual's perception of a situation will influence the wants, expectations and aspirations he/she attaches to that situation. This leads to the issue of adaptation. According to Fox¹⁸² to maintain mental health and happiness, a person, on the practical level of everyday life, makes "realistic" aspirations and makes "realistic" adaptations. Workers who see no reasonable prospect of securing a job which affords them intrinsic satisfaction, self-fulfillment and comparable related meanings, are likely to moderate their aspirations accordingly, and make the best of life as they find it and emphasize such meanings as are within their reach.

It is assumed that view of work held by an individual is

¹⁸²Fox, A., The meaning of work, in Dale, R. (ed) Occupational categories and cultures I., Mithon Keyres, Open University Press, 1976, 43p.

one which produces in that individual a sense of moral attachment to work. It could then be predicted that this view of work could therefore be taken as a good reason for working hard. On the other hand if the view of work held by the individual produces an alienative attachment, the individual either avoids work altogether or adapts to the situation he/she finds himself/herself in by attaching his/her own personal meaning to work. It is assumed that this in itself could emphasize other wants, expectations and aspirations which could likely identify a worker as instrumentally oriented.

The need-theory model of work motivation is also 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 debt and oil crises, wars, and the subsequent limited economic choices available to the individual. The need-theory model of work motivation is exemplified in the works of Maslow¹⁵⁸; and Alderfer¹⁸³. Blunt¹⁸⁴ defined motivation as that consisting of a driving force or state of need deficiency which inclines a person to behave in a particular manner, or to develop a capacity for certain types of behaviour. To act in a particular form, a

¹⁸³Alderfer, C. P., An empirical test of a new theory of human needs, *Organisational Behavior and Human Performance*, 4(2), 1969, 142-175p.

¹⁸⁴Blunt, P., *Organisational theory and behavior: an African perspective*, London, Longman, 1983.

person may be influenced by physiological needs or psychological states (including conscious and unconscious thought processes), or by external stimuli, or a combination of some of these. 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. The fact that not all reasons behind a particular action can be directly observed has often limited the usefulness of theories of motivation. This, in itself, is the essence of our choice of social action theory as the main explanatory tool. However, of particular importance to the study is the idea that individuals shape their actions to satisfy their needs, thus giving individual activity purpose and direction. While a person is to some extent, a captive to his/her needs, he/she is pictured as directing activities according to his needs, and potentially, choosing situations in which his needs, will be more or less well met. A person has the freedom to decide and, through his/her decisions, to attain need satisfaction. Although need-satisfaction models apparently attribute freedom to an individual, in one important respect they also deny a person, freedom to behave, as needs serve as inevitable determinants of action. Thus, needs, by providing explanations for behaviour also help to stabilize individual action and provide continuity.

With particular reference to developing countries, we

subsume the issue of relevance of emphasis placed on lower order needs (particularly security needs) on socio-economic factors. Such socio-economic factors have their origin in the wider social context. 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. The central question is - "to what extent do women feel a sense of acceptance within industrial employment, particularly as women compete with men over limited employment opportunities currently available in Nigeria; and as employers of labour "pick and choose" from the available excess labour, within a world dominated by patriarchal values?".

In summary, the theoretical descriptions and critiques presented so far, point to a major issue, that is, the need to incorporate micro and macro level structures in order to understand the mundane, taken -for-granted experiences of both men and women who work in complex organizations. The intermeshing of such individual and structural variables in gender studies as it affects organisation analysis is presented in this study under the "gender-organization-system" model. The basic assumptions of this model are presented below.

3.2. Gender-organization-system approach

As gender becomes a central factor in our analysis, we accommodate explanations which help us to explore male-female

differences in basic job attitudes including explanations based on individual characteristics; structural variables and situational factors (for example, values and ideologies behind individual behaviour and perception of gender roles). Agassi¹⁸⁵ opined that the theories specifying the major cause of sex-specific differences include the following factors respectively -

- i. innate psychological differences between the sexes;
- ii. the impact of conventional childhood sex-role socialization;
- iii. differences in the conditions of work;
- iv. differences in the quality of the current job;
- v. differences in chances for advancement;
- vi. differences in position within the structure of the work organization;
- vii. differences in previous work experience;
- viii. differences in domestic workload;
- ix. differences in the current family situation;
- x. differences in the intensity of the workers' identification with their domestic parental role or the occupational role; and
- xi. differences in the workers' ideology concerning women and work, that is, their current views and values concerning the division of labour between

¹⁸⁵Agassi, J. B., Women on the job, Lexington, Mass., D. C. Heath, 1979.

the sexes in the labour market and in the household as well as their views about women's capability, status, rights, and duties in the occupational world.

Extending the boundaries of social action theory in the study of work orientation, this study examines many phases of the theories listed above using data on different facets of work attitudes and behaviour. Workers do not only freely assess their past and present jobs, such an assessment is not only based on the structure and content of job but also on experiences based on the gender of the individual worker.

The central argument is that male-female differences in job attitudes are not necessarily gender-linked but situationally or structurally induced. Fagenson⁹ identified this as "gender-organization-system approach" (GOS). She argued that women's behaviour and organizational experience can 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 organization 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). The GOS model goes beyond the

integrated model of Feldberg and Glenn. Using the GOS, Fagenson 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, Schneer¹⁸⁶ also noted that women have a lower ascribed status in society than men can influence the way they are perceived and treated in their organizations. Reskin and Hartmann¹⁸⁷ 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. Fagenson⁹ 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 -

- i. that in work organizations, the individual is a conscious actor who is capable of adjusting his

¹⁸⁶ Schneer, J., Gender context: an alternative perspective on sex differences in organizations, Academy of management conference, San Diego, 1985.

¹⁸⁷ Reskin, B. and Hartmann, H., Women's work, men's work; sex segregation on the job, Washington, D. C., National Academy Press, 1986.

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;

- ii. though the individual is being changed by situations and social systems, the extent to which the individual is able to change them depends on the individual's meaning system;
- iii. that the characteristics 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; their and others' perceptions of the situation, looking at these three dimensions (GOS). 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.

Looking beyond the economic analysis of the pay differentials between men and women, it is now clear that occupational segregation of the sexes results from the interaction of a well-entrenched and complex set of institutions that perpetuate the inferior position of women in the labour market. Bernard¹⁸⁸ asked - "what would constitute occupational non-segregation?; and what would be a sex-fair distribution of work?". Answering these questions, Bernard believed a fair distribution is that which takes into account both the distribution of talent in the work force and the distribution of individual preferences or aspiration. Bernard further argued that the issue is not how much sex differences exist in the distribution of talents, but the degree of equality among the sexes in terms of opportunities and rewards. Organizing women in the labour force to achieve power and to demand greater recognition and reward for what they do is a first step in upgrading the status of the work they do. It is necessary, not only among men but also among women, to develop a feeling of self-worth that will gain for them recognition their contribution deserves. The point of departure might be understanding this in women's own terms.

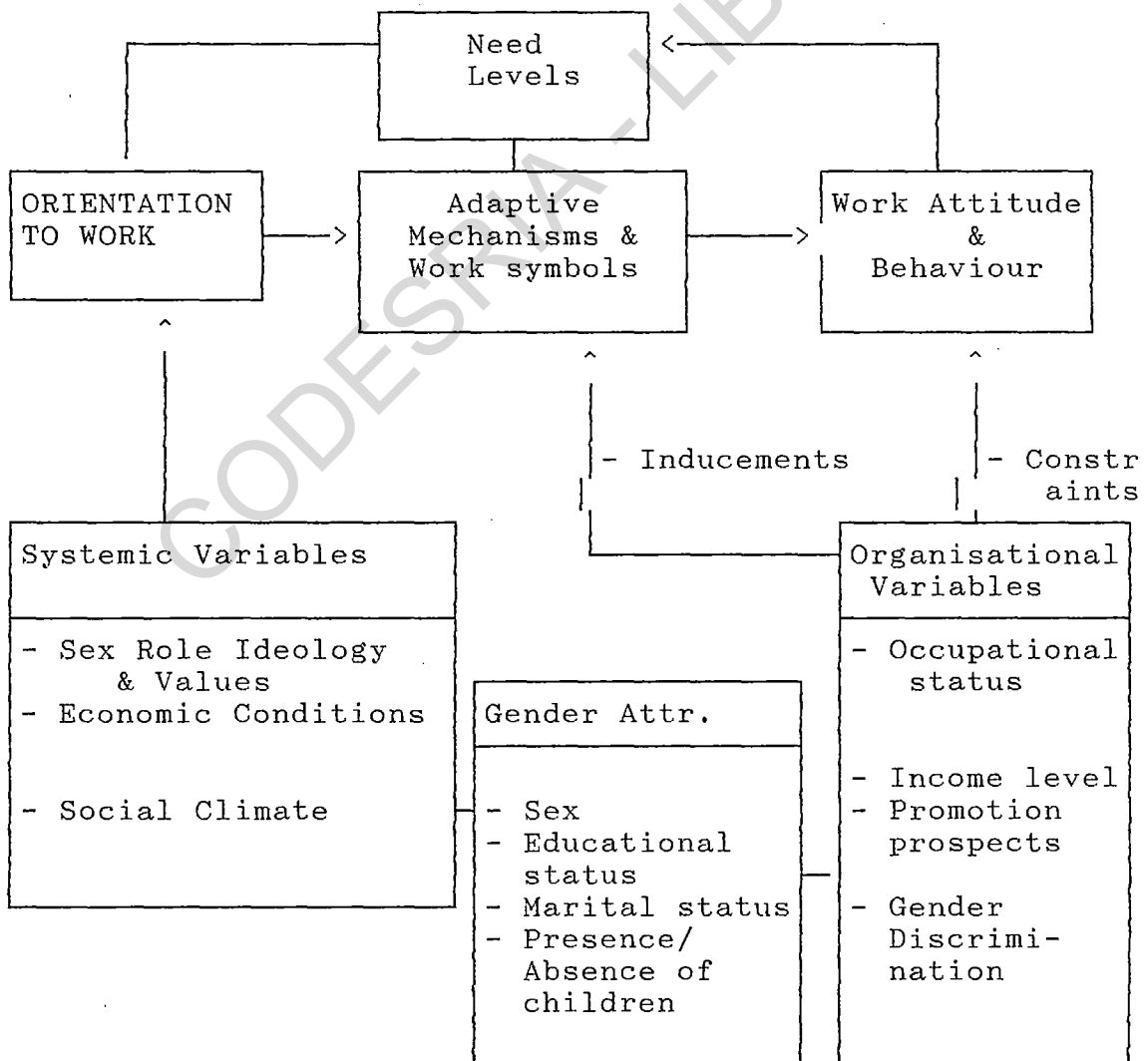
Emanating from the theoretical discussion above is the

¹⁸⁸Bernard, J., Historical and structural barriers to occupational desegregation, signs, 1, 1976, 87-94p.

basic framework of the study which is diagrammatically presented in figure I, and which is followed by the major assumptions of the study (later operationalised as nine different hypotheses).

FIGURE I

The Basic framework of the study: 'Gender - organisation - system model'



3.3 Study assumptions

Three major assumptions are made in order to measure the extent to which there are similarities or variations in the attitudes and behaviour of men and women within organisational environment. Unlike traditional studies which tend to explain the attitudes of men and women within formal organizations differently (and particularly, studies which view men as more inclined to work outside the home, while women tend to put more emphasis on their biological roles, over and above their work roles), the present study assumes that both men and women who work under the same social conditions tend to behave the same way. For example, it is assumed that workers (men and women) who work within low opportunity structure will exhibit poor work attitudes (depressed aspiration, job dissatisfaction, alienation etc.). It is therefore assumed that workers in dead-end jobs (whether men or women) will not maintain a favourable relationship with their work. It is however assumed that work attitudes and behaviour are functions of not only organizational opportunity structure, but also of personal attributes (for example, educational status, marital status, and whether or not a worker has familial role to perform (that is, whether married with children or without children); and institutional factors (such as gender role orientation). Also, it is assumed that the socio-cultural environment sometimes alter 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. The change in the need-level with the current socio-economic changes is assumed to be the same for both men and women; and same for different categories of workers.

Three broad assumptions made in the present study are later broken down into nine operational hypotheses. All of these are discussed in the subsequent paragraphs.

Assumption I

"Men and women with similar personal characteristics will tend to have similar work attitudes.

In order to test assumption 1, three operational hypotheses are made. They are:

H₁ - Men and women with the same level of education tend to have similar work attitudes.

H₂ - Men and women with the same marital status tend to have similar work attitudes.

H₃ - Men and women who are married with children have similar work attitudes.

A positive relationship is therefore expected between educational status and work attitudes (that is, it is expected that those with low educational status will share the same view of work, while they may likely differ from those with

high educational status). On the other hand, it is expected that the status of marriage can have the same effect on both men and women as both struggle to meet familial obligations, while responsibility towards children could also serve as a motivational factor to work.

Assumption II

Men and women who work under the same structural conditions tend to have similar work attitudes.

To test assumption 2, four operational hypotheses are generated. They are:

H₄ - Men and women who have the same occupational status tend to have similar work attitudes.

H₅ - Men and women who belong to the same income group tend to share similar work attitudes.

H₆ - Men and women with the same promotional prospects tend to have the similar work attitudes.

H₇ - Men and women who perceive that they are discriminated against at work because of their gender tend to have poor work attitudes.

Assumption III

Men and women who hold the same ideological values about gender role relations will tend to view female bosses the same way, but will differ in work attitudes.

To test assumption 3, two operational hypotheses are generated. They are -

H₈ - Men and women who possess traditional gender role orientation value will tend to view female bosses negatively.

H₉ - Men who possess traditional gender role orientation value tend to show positive attitudes to work while women with traditional gender role orientation value exhibit poor work attitudes.

Basic to these assumptions is the fact that the response of women to work is not biological but social. A woman, it is assumed, will perform as much as a man at work, especially when the social environment is conducive, and divorced of sentiments and favour for a particular gender group. The influence of biological connotation of sex is therefore downplayed in the present study.

In order to test the various hypotheses the following variables will be used -

Independent variables

a. Personal attributes

- i. Educational status
- ii. Marital status
- iii. Presence/absence of children (familial status).

b. Structural variables

- i. Occupational status
- ii. Income
- iii. Promotion prospects

- iv. Probability of promotion
- v. Perceived gender discrimination at work
- c. Systemic variable
 - gender role orientation

Dependent variables

- a. Work aspiration.
- b. Work value (orientation).
- c. Work commitment.
- d. Work satisfaction.
- e. Work alienation.
- f. Work involvement.
- g. Work motivation.
- h. Perceived female bosses attributes.

Measures of work behaviour

With the assumption that one's attitudes to work are also reflected in one's behaviour at work, selected indices of work behaviour are also included in the study, for example, absenteeism, tardism and expression of insurbodination.

3.4. Conceptual discussion

Below, relevant concepts are defined and explained for clarity.

1. Sex:

It is used in this study to refer to the most basic physiological differences between men and women that is, differences in genitals and reproductive

capacities.

2. Gender:

It refers to the culturally specific patterns of behaviour, either actual or normative, which may be attached to the sexes.

3. Sexual Differences:

These distinguish between males and females, and these differences are genetically determined and are largely universal. Such biological differences are taken as natural, and might be heightened by cultural prescriptions.

4. Gender differences:

These distinguish between masculine and feminine. The content of the masculine/feminine distinction tend to be culturally determined and highly variable.

5. Perception:

This is a by-product of cognitive approach, which maintains that conscious mental activities such as thinking, knowing and understanding; and mental concepts, such as attitudes, beliefs and expectations, are major determinants of human behavior. Cognition itself is an internal presentation of an occurrence which occurs between a stimulus and a response and which can affect that

response. The cognitive structure could be complex depending on individual experience. However, the individual's interpretation or perception of the environment is considered more important than the environment itself. The analysis of behavior in organization is not complete without consideration for the role of the personality system (psycho-analytic approach) and the role of the environment (reinforcement approach). The interplay of these three elements of the same system help to put human behavior into proper perspectives.

6. Work attitudes:

Work attitudes describe the general approach that people take to their work as a result of having certain values. These values may be products of factors internal or external to the work environment.

7. Orientation to work:

It is used here to mean the readiness to respond to aspects of work and the total organization structure, in terms of values held, that is, goals which the workers intent to fulfil. This in turn can be modified by the perceived job characteristics (the amount of satisfaction available from particular dimensions of work) and the meanings individuals attach to these perceived

job characteristics. Two distinct types or orientations to work are made (extrinsic and intrinsic).

8. Work values:

Work values often determine individual's work orientation. This represents the meanings individuals attach to perceived job characteristics. Work values reflect the individual's awareness of the condition he seeks from the work situation and they regulate his actions in pursuit of that condition. They thus refer to general attitudes regarding the meaning an individual attaches to the work role as distinguished from his satisfaction with that role. In this study both concepts (work orientation and work values) are used interchangeably.

9. Job satisfaction:

This concept is used to refer to an overall affective orientation on the part of individuals toward work roles which they are presently occupying and the prospect it has for the future. This must be distinguished from satisfaction with specific dimensions of those work roles. On one hand it is used as a unitary concept to measure the total job situation. This is not to say that the

causes of job satisfaction are not multidimensional, as one can be satisfied with one dimension of the job and dissatisfied with another. It is assumed in this study that it is possible for individuals to balance these specific satisfactions against the specific dissatisfaction, and thus to arrive at a composite satisfaction with the job as a whole. On the other hand, incorporating gender factors, we intend to measure job satisfaction recognizing that a woman's ability to be satisfied with her work will be a function of how well she can juxtapose her responsibilities of home and family with her job.

10. Work commitment:

This is used to mean overall attachment to the organization. While job satisfaction appears mainly defined and linked mainly with the elements of the job, commitment seems clearly tied to the increasing rewards and chance for growth implied in high opportunity.

11. Work aspiration:

This refers to the goal an employee wants to ultimately reach in his/her work.

12. Opportunity:

This refers to expectations and future prospects. The structure of opportunity is determined by -

- a. promotion rates;
- b. rewards (pay, fringe benefits, job security, training and capacity to mobilize resources).

13. Authority:

It is the legitimated control over the work process of others. Relevant to this study is the intended interview of those (men and women) in management/supervisory positions, to document their attitudes towards employment and what they think are the problems facing women in the positions of authority in the workplace.

14. Job insecurity:

Mass retrenchment, rising rate of unemployment, stagnation of wages among others, are expression of situational factors within the larger society, coined in this study as "job insecurity", which also serves as a limiting factor on individual choices.

15. Job alienation:

Inability to control the immediate work process, to develop a sense of purpose and function which connects jobs to the over-all organization of production, to belong to integrated industrial communities, and when workers fail to become

involved in the activity of work as a mode of personal self-expression (Blauner, 1964).

16. Work involvement/attachment:

The feeling of identification with or alienation from work, the meaning that work has for the individual and the source of attachment which he has to work.

17. Ideology:

It is used here to refer to those ideas defining fundamental conceptions of women's social reality.

18. Work motivation:

This is used here to mean a driving force or state of need deficiency which inclines a person to behave in a particular manner, or to develop a capacity for certain types of behavior. The urge to act in a certain way may be generated by physiological or psychological needs or states (including unconscious and conscious thought processes) or by external stimuli or by some combination of those.

19. Gender role orientation/values:

This is a concept which places emphasis on gender. It is often used to explain work attitudes of women as major differences exist between women with traditional gender role values and those with non-traditional gender role values. It is assumed that

women with traditional gender role value derive more satisfaction from being housewives than from employment outside the home; while those with non-traditional gender role values view work inside the home as a weak source of satisfaction compared to work for pay outside the home.

20. Sex-typical jobs:

These are jobs that are traditionally dominated by a particular gender group (male or female), and are therefore stereotypically labelled.

21. Sex-atypical jobs:

These are jobs that are stereotypically unsuitable for a particular gender group (male or female).

22. Stereotyping:

This refers to forming an instant or fixed picture of a group of people. Without any other information or experience, stereotypes are used to generalize and exaggerate from this one fixed image.

23. Prejudice:

This refers to pre-judging an individual or group of people. Prejudiced attitudes are based on negative and incorrect pieces of 'information'. These attitudes are used to rationalize unequal treatment, which in turn reinforces these same sex stereotypes and prejudices.

24. Discrimination:

Discrimination is an action or behavior based on prejudiced attitudes and feelings. Employment discrimination occurs when an individual or group of people is treated differently from others, resulting in a limitation of their job opportunities. Discriminatory behavior attaches importance to physical differences between people and results in unfavourable treatment of people based on those feelings. There are however two sources of discrimination in work organizations. Intentional discrimination takes place when an employer's attitudes towards member of certain groups hinders their employment opportunities. For example, an employer may refuse to hire a woman for a non-traditional job because of a belief that it is "man's work". Another form of intentional discrimination is harassment. This can take the form of slurs or jokes that demean members of a gender group. For example, sexual harassment may include withholding privileges in returns for sexual favours, unwelcome touching, leering or comments. On the other hand, systemic discrimination does not originate from the prejudice of individuals, but rather from assumptions and traditions that are part of the

employment system. For example, because these discriminating barriers often exist even when employers do not intend to discriminate, for this reason, they are much more difficult to detect. Systemic discrimination has the effect of constraining behavior in advance, as when a man refrains from applying for a secretarial position or a woman for a managerial one because they perceive the unlikeliness of their succeeding. Therefore, directly or indirectly, aspirations are governed by these perceptions.

25. Work behaviour

The study of organizational behaviour historically has used three basic units of analysis: the individual; the group; and the organization. A micro approach to organizational behaviour focuses primarily on the first two units of analysis - the behaviour of individuals and groups within organizations. Behaviour of people within organizations includes attitudes and other processes which become expressive or measurable at the level of cognition. It is theoretically assumed that workers with negative work attitudes often readily express such behaviour as high labour turnover; absenteeism; tardism; and insurbordination (indiscipline) among others. In

this study, apart from cognitive measures of attitudes, emphasis is placed on such behaviour like 'absenteeism' and 'insurbordination' expressed by workers in work groups, and across gender groups.

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CHAPTER FOUR
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter focuses on the following -

- The selection of industries
- The population and sample
- Method of data collection
- Pre-test
- Problems encountered in the field
- Procedure for Data analysis
- Limitations of the study

4.1 The selection of industries

The data for the study were collected from 5 factories in Lagos (Lagos being a major commercial centre in Nigeria). Preliminary visits were made to various establishments in Ilesha, Ibadan and Lagos. The nature of factory (technology) and the size of female labour force made Lagos the most suitable location for the survey.

The establishments surveyed are -

- a. May and Baker (Nig.) Ltd., Ikeja (henceforth referred to as M & B).
- b. Guinness (Nig.) Ltd., Ikeja (henceforth referred to as GNL).
- c. Nigerian Textile Mills, Ikeja (henceforth referred to as NTM).
- d. Christlieb (Nig.) Ltd., Apapa (henceforth referred to as XLB).

- e. Cadbury (Nig.) Ltd., Agidingbi (henceforth referred to as CNL).

The five companies above were selected because of the size of their female labour force which was higher than other 21 manufacturing companies visited during survey preliminaries.

4.2 The population and sample

The data for this study were collected from the above named manufacturing companies of multinational standard. Detailed historical profiles of the respective companies are given in Chapter 5, while method of sample selection is discussed under method of data collection. However, Table 1 shows the population distribution of workers in managerial positions in the five companies surveyed. Eighty-six percent of those in managerial positions are men while only about 14% 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. Six percent of the total population of managers in the companies surveyed are represented in the survey sample (that is, 14% of the female managers, and 5% of the male managers).

Table 2 shows the distribution of professional and technical staff, 20.5% of whom are women while 79.5% are men. This cadre is attracting a lot of women in the recent times. During the survey period, we came across a new crop of female accountants, public relations officers and administrators. Eighteen percent of the total sample fall into this category (that is, professional women). The heterogenous nature of occupations found within this hierarchy was responsible for selecting a higher percentage of the sample here.

Table 3 presents data on clerical and unskilled staff. It should be noted that the figures we have on this table include those of casual workers and staff in branch factories or depots. The casual labourers could not be included in the survey because they do not enjoy the same entitlement as the permanent staff. Women are more than men in the casual labourer category, from observations. Since job description in the clerical/unskilled category tends to be homogenous, the selected sample tends to be small compared to the overall population. However, the relatively high population of workers here does not mean a lot of variety in terms of work experience.

TABLE 1
Population/sample distribution of managerial staff in
'MGNXC' - (January, 1989)

NAME OF EMPLOYER	POPULATION		SAMPLE		RESPONSE	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
M & B	90	9	10	9	6	2
GNL	195	35	10	10	11	5
NTM	65	11	10	10	4	2
XLB	150	15	10	10	5	1
CNL	168	37	10	10	6	5
TOTAL	668	107	50	49	32	15

TABLE 2
Population/sample distribution of professionals &
technical staff in 'MGNXC' - January, 1989

NAME OF EMPLOYER	POPULATION		SAMPLE		RESPONSE	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
M & B	96	27	27	20	27	11
GNL	270	70	21	21	21	21
NTM	88	15	20	15	14	8
XLB	155	43	20	20	16	10
CNL	86	24	20	20	16	11
TOTAL	695	179	108	96	94	61

TABLE 3

Population/sample distribution of clerical & unskilled
staff in 'MGNXC' - January, 1989

NAME OF EMPLOYER	POPULATION		SAMPLE		RESPONSE	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
M & B	73	108	15	15	10	14
GNL	1,342	258	15	15	8	3
NTM	2,015	182	15	15	14	5
XLB	1,158	248	15	15	3	10
CNL	973	110	15	15	7	5
TOTAL	5,561	906	75	75	42	37

4.3 Method of data collection

The primary data used for this study were collected during series of interviews conducted among a selected sample of M & B; GNL; NTM; XLB; and CNL (the five companies are generally referred to as 'MGNXC' in this study). The interviews were conducted in "MGNXC" between January, 1989 and November, 1989. The methods of data collection include -

- Sample Survey
- The Case Study Approach
- Direct observation of production workers
- A review of company/government policy records on workers conditions of service.

4.3.1 Sample survey

The interview survey was carried out using a structured questionnaire. At this level, a maximum number of 453 sample from 'MGNXC' was aimed at. Since all the five companies surveyed have relatively large male labour force 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. The initial aim was to interview at least 80 respondents from each company. The respondents were chosen using the stratified sampling technique. The stratification variables are sex and type of job done (whether blue collar or white

collar). To select within each cell, simple random sampling technique was employed. The random table was used in selecting from a prepared list of workers. However, out of the intended 453 sample from the five companies, only 281 responded well to our interviews. The sample interviewed represents a cross-section of workers in 'MGNXC', that is, from the managerial to the unskilled. 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 patterns of work attitudes and behaviour among male and female industrial workers. Thus, at the first level, interviews were conducted using structured questionnaires.

The questionnaire was structured out into three sections. Part one contained questions on personal data (sex, age, religion, marital status, education, background, and nature of present job). These questions are imperative since personal variables play important roles in determining one's values, attitudes and perceptions.

Part two of the questionnaire contained questions on work history and present condition of work. Information was sought on previous job; length of service with present employer; income level and allowances; absenteeism; recruitment; in-service training; promotions; and discrimination level as each respondent compares

himself/herself to other workers of the same/opposite gender. Questions in this section focused on the extent to which discrimination exists between and among gender groups. Part three of the questionnaire contained questions on values, attitudes and perceptions of these workers. This section also contained general questions on gender relations and gender orientation values.

Briefly, measures of major variables (independent and dependent variables) are discussed below -

a. Independent Variables

The independent variables used in this study are categorized into three groups. They are:

- personal attributes
- structural variables
- systemic variable (i.e. influence of the larger social system).

It is assumed that organizational opportunity structure is dictated by personal, organizational and systemic variables. Kanter⁷ opined that organizational opportunity structure is dictated by the differentiated hierarchical form of organization, which in turn defines the ways people perceive themselves and their jobs. Beyond this, it is assumed here that men and women who share the same life and work experiences likely exhibit the same types of work attitudes and behavior. Gender differences in work attitudes and behavior are best explained therefore by looking at these

three elements (gender/personal attributes/organizational variables/systemic variables).

(i) Personal variables

Personal attributes are measured by looking at the following variables:

- educational status
- marital status and
- whether or not married with children

Educational status:

Education continues to serve as a central factor influencing access to modern labour market employment and the type of job and salary level obtained. Education opens resources and opportunities which include the removal of traditional sanctions and customary restraints¹⁸⁹. Education and earnings have been found to be positively related, and it has been used to explain wage differentials between the sexes^{190, 191}. In the present study education is treated as a personal variable because educational achievement often depends on individual capability and intellect. Although we

¹⁸⁹Oppong, C., familial roles and fertility: some labour policy aspects, Proceedings of the Expert Group on Fertility and Family, New Delhi, 5-11 Jan., 1983, New York, United Nations 1984.

¹⁹⁰Shields, N., Women in the urban labour markets of Africa: the case of Tanzania, Working Paper No. 380, Washington, World Bank, 1980.

¹⁹¹House, W. J. "The status and pay of women in the Cyprus Labour Market", in R. Anker and C. Hein (eds.) Sex inequalities in urban employment in the Third World, London, The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1986, PP. 117 - 170,

believe there could be structural constraints on the individual effort to attain a higher educational level, however, more often than not, the individual's level of education determines job placement. Within the modern industrial environment, individual would have attained a certain level of educational status before consideration for employment.

In the present study, three questions were asked in relation to respondent's educational status. The questions are -

- What was your highest educational qualification when you joined this establishment?;
- Have you improved on your educational qualification since you joined the establishment?
- How many years did you spend in school altogether?.

Level of education is classified into the following categories:

- No formal education;
- Primary/Modern school;
- Secondary/H.S.C./Trade Centre;
- OND/NCE/SRN;
- HND/University Degrees, and equivalents.

Marital Status

Marital status is measured by giving respondents five options to choose from. The options are -single; married; divorced; widowed or separated. It is assumed that within the present socio-economic context, both men and women have

financial commitments to their homes, and are therefore likely to shelve the traditional views which assumed that the raising of children is the prerogative of the mothers. It is assumed here that the presence of children in the family reinforces for both men and women, the need to work and 'make it'.

ii Structural variables

The study assumes that structural variables directly influence workers work attitudes and behaviour. For example, aspirations, work commitment and other attitudes showing attachment to the organization could be aroused by a dramatic improvement in organizational opportunity structure.

Important structural variables measured include:

- occupational status;
- income level;
- promotion prospects and advancement;
- existence or none existence of perceived gender discrimination in both objective and subjective conditions of work.

Occupational Status

Occupational status is treated as a structural variable here, although there could be personal influence, for part of what determines occupational placement are personal attributes, for example, educational attainment; yet the duties and rights attached to a particular position is organizational based. Also, two people with the same educational qualification are not necessarily placed on the

same job hierarchy.

Series of questions were asked to assess occupational status and the types of responsibilities attached to such status. The questions are -

- What is the official designation of your present job (that is, specify whether a spinner; an accounts-clerk; a manager etc.);
- What is the Department (section) where you now work?;
- Are you responsible to immediate supervisors?;
- Do you have direct subordinates?;
- Have you ever held a supervisory position?.

Income Level:

It is assumed that income level, though dictated by educational level and type of job; it is more often than not part of the organizational function. Each organization decides its salary structure, thus, workers with the same experience and qualification may end up having different incomes depending on type of employer. In testing the study hypotheses, income level is treated as a structural variable.

To document the income level of the respondents, three questions were asked. They are -

- what is your entry salary per annum?;
- what is your present salary per annum?;
- can you estimate your allowances (see Appendix A, Q.4(c) for the full list of items on which

allowances could be given).

Promotion prospects

To measure promotion prospects, the following questions were asked -

- what year did you receive your last promotion?;
- what year are you due for the next promotion?;
- are you sure your next promotion will come at the expected time?;
- if you get to a managerial position, which of the following would you most desire; or is most likely to happen? (see Appendix A, Q.10(f) for the full list of items supplied).

Perceived gender discrimination at work

In order to measure the possibility of gender discrimination in the workplace, respondents were asked to assess both objective and subjective conditions of work, as they compare themselves to opposite/same gender in a comparable job level.

The respondents were to assess the following objective conditions of work -

- salary;

- fringe benefits;
- tax per month (P.A.Y.E.);
- training;
- promotion.

To measure gender discrimination in the subjective conditions of work, the respondents were to compare themselves to the opposite/same gender in the same establishment and at comparable job level, assessing the encouragement received from the superiors (male/female) and co-workers (male/female) in order to advance in work; to improve in job performance; and to improve general well-being (see Appendix A, Q.8).

In analyzing gender discrimination, a composite index of gender discrimination is made by summarizing the objective and subjective indices of gender discrimination respectively, and also, respectively for both opposite and same gender. In a gender discrimination scale, the following values are given -

- lower is given the value of 1;
- same is given the value of 2;
- higher is given the value of 3;
- don't know and not applicable are given the value of zero;
- for the variable tax, the weighting scale is reversed, that is, lower is 3; same is 2; while higher is 1.

For the objective conditions of work, the composite index of gender discrimination varies from 5 to 15, while for the subjective conditions of work, discrimination index varies from 4 to 12. To make the distribution of respondents by composite index of gender discrimination more meaningful, a value is created for different classes of discrimination. For

example, index 05 to 08 indicate a high level of discrimination in terms of the specified indices; index 09 to 11 indicate no sign of discrimination in objective conditions of work as one compares himself/herself to opposite gender; while index value 12 to 15 show that the respondent has been positively favoured, and if there is discrimination, such is to his/her favour. Incomplete index is used when it is impossible to calculate the discrimination level because responses are made outside the scale 1 to 3 (that is, such respondents must have ticked 'don't know' or 'not applicable' - both of which are given the value of zero).

Relationships within and across different groups (see Appendix A., Q.9(b)) are also described using the same indexing as presented above. The groups include -

- i. superiors (male/female);
- ii. co-workers (male/female);
- iii. subordinates (male/female).

Descriptive categories of such relationship are valued as follows:

- not very cordial has a value of 1;
- strictly official has a value of 2;
- official and cordial has a value of 3;
- very cordial has a value of 4;
- not applicable has a value of zero.

iii. Systemic variable

In order measure the influence of ideological values

emanating from the larger social system, questions were asked on respondents gender orientation value or gender role orientation. It is assumed that the cultural belief about the acceptable roles for men and women has a strong role to play in individual's view of work outside the family environment. The cultural beliefs about sex roles are measured by finding out respondents' gender role orientation.

Gender role orientation (GRO)

The study views patterns of work attitudes and behaviour across gender focusing not only on personal characteristics and organisational structure, but also on extra-organizational factors, for example, ideological values. Respondents' gender role orientation is assumed to be a by-product of institutional factors, particularly cultural and ideological values. It is assumed that those with traditional gender role value would tend to be conservative in their attitudes towards women's work roles (that is, they would prefer for women housewife roles and sex segregated roles, while respondents with modern gender role orientation will tend to support women working outside the home and women who compete with men for the best jobs). It is therefore assumed that individual gender role value can influence job attitudes.

Fourteen items are listed to measure GRO, while respondents choose one of the four differently weighted options supplied (that is, totally reject (1); reject (2); accept (3); and totally accept (4) (see Appendix A., Q.20).

The GRO index varies from 14 to 56. Respondents with 35 index and above are classified as having traditional GRO; while respondents with less than 35 index value are classified as having modern gender role orientation.

(b) Dependent Variables

The following measures of work attitudes and behaviour are treated as dependent variables. They include -

- work aspiration;
- work commitment;
- work orientation (value);
- work satisfaction;
- work alienation;
- work involvement;
- job motivation and
- perceived female bosses attributes

The measures of each of the above concepts are discussed below.

(i) Work aspiration

"Aspiration" in psychological terms, involves goal-setting, effortful striving and providing feedback about success or failure, which can lead to adjustment of aspiration. According to Kanter⁷, aspirations are not necessarily low to begin with, they may be lowered as people encounter the realities of their job situation. That is, things may become evaluated as less desirable as they become

less likely.

To measure workers' work aspiration, the following questions were asked -

- i. do you aspire to move into the highest cadre in your profession while in this establishment?;
- ii. what is the probability that you will be promoted to this position before the end of your career here?.

ii Work commitment:

Commitment has been severally measured in order to document the place of 'work' in the human life. Some social scientists focusing on the negative consequences of the changes brought about by industrial capitalism argued that the modern industrial work is exploitative and thus 'work' which is supposed to be a central life interest, has been rendered 'meaningless',¹⁹². As earlier argued in the literature review chapter, the dichotomy between work and non-work life has led to sex-segregated models in explaining the relationship between work and man (whereby the job model, which treats the work people do as a primary independent variable, is being used to explain men's behavior on and off the job; whereas, the gender model, which ignores job and working conditions and emphasizes personal characteristics and relationships to family situations, is being used to explain the behavior of

¹⁹²Seeman, M., On the meaning of alienation, American Sociological Review, 24, December 1959, 783-791p.

women on and off the job).

The assumption in this study is that work commitment is a feature of high level of labour adaptation as suggested by Oloko¹⁹³, and Inkeles and Smith¹⁹⁴, and a response to situational factors^{178, 194}, which could be on and off the job for both men and women.

To measure work commitment, seven major indices were used. This is shown in the series of questions asked which include -

- if you were to go back to the age of 15 years and start life all over again, would you choose a different occupation from the present one? (this question seeks to know the extent to which the respondent is committed to his present job);
- if you were to go on voluntary retirement today, what three things will you miss most in your present job? (this question intends to find out the aspect(s) of work that the individual values most);
- given an alternative employment, will you leave this job or remain in it?;
- do you ever wish you could work at your job on evenings and weekends? (this question intends to

¹⁹³Oloko, O., Influence of unplanned versus planned factory locations on worker commitment to industrial employment in Nigeria, Socio-Economic. Planning science, 7, 1973, 189-207p.

¹⁹⁴Peace, A., Choice, class and conflict: a study of Southern Nigerian factory workers, Oxford, Harvester Press, 1979.

measure the extent to which individual's work commitment is affected by other responsibilities outside the work environment, for example, domestic responsibilities);

- do you regard the success and failures of this establishment as your own personal success and failures?;
- what can you say is your level of commitment to the organization? (commitment scale ranges from low; medium; to high);
- if by some chance you won a lottery or inherited enough money to live comfortably without working, do you think that you would still continue to work? (this is a question adapted from the study of Morse and Weiss¹⁹⁵). The question is expected to measure the extent to which economic necessity is central to salaried work (see Appendix A., Q. 11 and 12(a) - (b)).

iii. Work orientation/value

A major feature of the action approach is using actor's definition of the situation to explain actor's social behavior. Two major approaches are used in measuring worker's orientation to work in this study. First, to ascertain the

¹⁹⁵Morse, N. C, and Weiss, R. S., The function and meaning of work and the job, in Nosow, S. and form, W. (eds) Man, work and society, New York, Basic Books, 1962, 29-35p.

work values of individual worker, the question used by Mortimer and Lorence¹⁹⁶ in measuring work values was adapted - "if you were offered another occupational position, which of the following features of a job would be the most important to you in deciding whether to accept the offer?". Fifteen different job facets are supplied, while respondents are to choose from four options, assigned with different weights -

- very unimportant is weighted 1;
- unimportant is weighted 2;
- somewhat important is weighted 3;
- very important is weighted 4.

To build a composite weight for orientation to work, the measures of work value are divided into two major groups, that is, measures of extrinsic work values (material and relational); and intrinsic work values (non-material aspect of work). Variables 1 to 7 on the list of work values (see Appendix A., Q. 12(d)) are treated as intrinsic factors; while variables 8 to 15 (Q. 12d.) are treated as extrinsic factors. Composite weight of intrinsic work orientation values varies from 7 to 28; while those for extrinsic work orientation values varies from 8 to 32. To compute the level of a respondent's work values, his index are added for both intrinsic and extrinsic facets of job respectively. For example, the maximum value for intrinsic value is 28 while the

¹⁹⁶Mortimer, J. T. and Lorence, J., Work experience and occupational value socialization: a longitudinal study, American Journal of Sociology, 84(6), 1979.

minimum is 7. The midpoint between 7 and 28 is calculated to be 17. It is therefore decided that a respondent with 18 index value and above have high intrinsic values; while a respondent with less than 18 index value has poor intrinsic value.

In the same vein, the composite weight of extrinsic value ranges from 8 to 32 index value. Using the same method used for intrinsic values, a respondent with 20 index value and above, is to be classified as placing high emphasis on extrinsic values while a respondent with less than 20 index value tends to place emphasis on extrinsic values.

The second approach to be used in measuring work orientation is finding out how each worker defines and describes the activity he regards as 'work'. This approach is adapted from Weiss and Kahn¹⁹⁷ and David Thorns¹⁹⁸ in studying the meanings individuals give to work. This study provides seven different definitions of work derived from the two studies named above. Where none of the seven definitions is acceptable, a respondent is given the chance to supply his own definition.

iv. Work Satisfaction

Job satisfaction refers to an overall affective orientation on the part of individuals toward work roles which

¹⁹⁷Weiss, C. H., and Kahn, M., Definitions of work and occupations, *Social Problems*, 18(2), 1960, 144p.

¹⁹⁸Thorns, D. C., Work and its definition, *Sociological Review*, 19, November 1971.

they are presently occupying. The concept of job satisfaction is measured in a variety of ways, for example, explaining job satisfaction in terms of personal variables¹⁵⁰; in terms of work role characteristics¹⁵⁹; and in terms of work orientation factors (that is, motives for working)^{150, 168}.

Even though causes of job satisfaction are multidimensional, while it is possible to be satisfied with one dimension of the job and be dis-satisfied with the other, it is still assumed here that it is possible for individuals to balance these specific satisfactions against the specific dis-satisfactions and thus arrive at a composite satisfaction with the job as a whole¹⁴⁹. A measure of overall job satisfaction was developed based on the responses of workers to level of satisfaction with different job facets including gender factors. To measure job satisfaction in the present study, three questions were asked -

- how satisfied are you with different aspects of your job (19 different variables were used);
- looking at all aspects of your present job, how do you feel about the job in general?;
- if for example you are dis-satisfied with your present job, which of the following factors are responsible for your sticking to the job? (7 variables were given).

In response to the first question above, respondents were to pick one out of 4 listed options (very dis-satisfied, dis-

satisfied, satisfied and very satisfied) in respect to 19 job facets. These four options were assigned different weights, ranging from 1 - 4. To compute a composite value of job satisfaction, the minimum index value for the 19 variables were added up, while the maximum index value for same were also added. This gives a minimum value of 19 and a maximum value of 76. The midpoint between 19 and 76 was calculated to be 47. It was therefore decided that respondents with 48 index value and above should be classified as dis-satisfied with their jobs. The same process was used to distribute respondents to those with extrinsic and intrinsic job satisfaction. The first 8 variables were classified as intrinsic satisfaction factors, while variables 9 - 19 were classified as extrinsic satisfaction factors. Thus, for intrinsic satisfaction index, the value varies from 8 - 32; while those with 20 index value are classified as having intrinsic dis-satisfaction. For the extrinsic factors, the values vary from 11 - 44; while those with 28 index value and above are classified as having extrinsic satisfaction and those with less than 28 index value are those with extrinsic job dis-satisfaction. Respondents who did not respond to all the questions were treated as having incomplete index.

v. Work alienation:

This concept has become a major topic in the study of work attitudes within the industrial labour market. Karl Marx, who was concern with the dehumanizing effects of

industrial capitalism over individual worker, coined the concept of work alienation, while Seeman¹⁹² in a later writing identified the different dimensions of work alienation. Blauner¹²¹, measured work alienation focusing on the type of technology. Since then, both 'objective approach' and 'subjective approach' have been used to measure work alienation (that is, the effects of structural characteristics of the organizational structure and the attitudes of workers to these structural characteristics of work and the workplace).

With due consideration to both objective and subjective indices of work alienation, 12 structured questions were asked, while a composite index value of the 12 variables was built in order to obtain a single measure of work alienation for each person. A composite index value of work alienation was made, with respondents with 30 index value and above taken as not alienated, while those with less than 30 index value are taken as alienated (Appendix A, Q14, variables 1-12).

vi. Work involvement

Work involvement was also measured in the same way as job alienation. Work involvement is a feeling of identification with work. It was measured using ten different items (see Appendix A., Q.14b variables 13-21.) which help to identify the extent to which individual worker has a feeling of attachment to work. A composite index value of work involvement was got whereby respondents with 25 index value

and above are taken as highly involved; while respondents with less than 25 index value are said to be non-involved with their work.

vii. Job motivation

One of the central concerns of this study is to classify some of the basic needs which people try to satisfy by working, and by extension, to argue that what motivates a worker depends on individual needs. Using sex as a dependent variable, the study seeks to find out whether there are variations in the pattern of job motivation between men and women.

Seven different variables were used to measure workers' motivation (see Appendix A., Q.18a). The variables are - financial rewards; job security; work that is mentally challenging; good conditions of work (fringes and allowances); friendly co-workers; promotion prospects and gender equality.

The seven motivational factors were weighted such that a factor which is ranked first carries 7 points, the second carries 6 points and down to the seventh which is given one point. The total points for each factor is divided by the number of respondents to arrive at an average rank for each factor.

viii. Perceived female bosses attributes

In order to measure relationship between gender and authority in the workplace, ten attributes which may or may not be true of female bosses were listed, while the respondent

chooses one of the four differently weighted options supplied (that is, strongly disagree = 1; disagree = 2; agree = 3; and strongly agree = 4) - Appendix A, Q. 166). A composite measure of perceived female bosses attributes is made for discrete descriptions.

This variable is important for several reasons. One, it helps us to measure the relationship between gender and authority in the workplace. Two, it helps us detect the extent to which such relationship is due to gender stereotyping, or otherwise due to personal attributes of femaleness. Three, it also helps us to ascertain the extent to which women bosses are accepted as leaders in their own rights, or otherwise the type of antagonisms facing them at work.

Since the aim is to look at the woman's world in its totality, other variables are used to help measure relationship within the household level; assessment of protective legislation (state interference); the relationship between women and other interest groups (for example the labour unions) and the extent to which the society provides basic facilities (for example, availability of daycare facilities, housemaid and other mother surrogates).

ix. Work behaviour

To measure differences in the behaviour of male and female workers included in this survey, using absenteeism as an index, respondents were asked to sum up days/weeks/months

each worker has stayed off work within a specified period, because of the following -

- personal health problems;
- child illness;
- maternity leave;
- spouse illness;
- examinations;
- social celebrations etc. (see Appendix A, Q.4g).

Also, bosses were asked to assess problems peculiar to supervising men and women, such that tendencies for insubordination within and across gender groups could be measured.

4.3.2 The case study approach (indepth interview)

For the necessary background information, and to document the specific experience of employers/supervisors who work directly with women; and the unique experience of workers in sex-atypical jobs, a case study approach was used. An indepth-interview was conducted among the following people -

- i. the Personnel Manager (or its representative);
- ii. Supervisors/Foremen (male/female);
- iii. Labour Union officials (male/female);
- iv. Workers in sex-atypical jobs (male/female).

Four different interview guides were constructed to solicit information from the four different groups listed above. A total of 36 respondents were interviewed at this level. All the 36 respondents also responded to the first-

level interview conducted with structured questionnaires. The case study was necessary in order to document specific experiences not contained in the structured questionnaire.

4.3.3 Direct observation:

Direct observation of employees involved in production process was also made. This helped to document the conditions under which men and women work. A review of each company's service handbook was made in order to obtain information on the general conditions of service. The information in the service handbooks is compared to government condition of service circular in order to document the extent to which the various companies implement policies related to female labour force participation.

4.4 Pretest

A pretest of the structured questionnaire for the interview survey was carried out using the five factories selected for the study. The pretest helped to identify questions that appear unclear to respondents, and it also helped to ascertain the usability of the questionnaire in general.

The pretest was personally carried out by the researcher between the month of January and February, 1989. Not only was it difficult to find industries with relatively high rate of female employment, direct access to workers was also made problematic. This was because interviews were not allowed during the production process.

Respondents (especially males) wondered why women have suddenly become a research issue in an era when more women are being educated and are allowed to compete with men for jobs. In fact, some of the top managers (men) felt women could as well stay at home if they feel discriminated against at work, for the managers argued, 'there are thousands of men waiting out there to be employed'. Twenty-six (26) out of the 50 questionnaires administered and returned were half-filled. The questions left unanswered were mostly the open-ended questions and other sensitive questions asking for actual salary level and other personal data. A lot of inconsistencies were also recorded in the responses provided in the self-administered questionnaires.

With proper consideration for reliability and validity measures, some of the questions in the questionnaire schedule had to be reconstructed after the pretest. In order to secure more usable data, it was decided that the study be carried out as a personal interview.

4.5 Data collection procedures:

The researcher, assisted by 3 trained research assistants, carried out the interviews. The research assistants are -

- i. Mr. Biodun Omoleye (who has an M.Sc degree in International Relations).
- ii. Mr. Abass Adeyera (who has a B.A. degree in History);

iii. Mr. Gbenga Brown (who has an OND in Business Administration).

The study enjoyed the wealth of knowledge of the three research assistants who had been involved in field research at different levels. Most of the indepth interviews were tape recorded and later transcribed and analyzed.

4.6 Problems encountered in the field:

Generally, gaining entry into any of these companies was not without problems. More than twenty companies were visited before the five companies surveyed were selected. Apart from the general low population of female workers in most of the companies visited, most employers feared interference by researchers. Some employers feared being exposed, while others thought their employees might be unnecessarily exposed and incited against them, and thus distabilising the work process. Many of the employers were particularly careful about exposing their production line to strangers. As soon as the employers were assured our genuinity, they gave necessary supports and relaxed some of their rules in our favour.

On their own part, employees exhibited loyalty to their employers and would not do anything that would make them lose their jobs. It therefore took sometime before we finally gained the confidence of the employees. However, many of our respondents claimed that our questions were too personal, and time-consuming. Some who insisted on self-administration of the questionnaire, collected the questionnaires and never

returned them. Others declined the use of tape recorder for recording responses. Some showed disappointment in earlier researches, since, according to them, the findings of such researches never made direct impact on their work life and daily living.

Almost all the establishments were reluctant to release their official records for our use. The service handbook was seen as a private property, and the information therein was supposed to be kept secret. Most of the interviews were carried out during lunch breaks since interviews were not allowed while performing official duties. This limited the number of interviews conducted in a day. However, the senior staff were more flexible about the use of their time. Majority of them were interviewed on appointments.

4.7 Procedure for data analysis:

The data collected were processed by the computer main frame. The first level of data analysis is the use of frequency distribution. This technique gave information on the general distribution of the respondents with respect to about 384 variables. The second level of data analysis is the use of cross-tabulation of dependent variable and one or two independent variables. This permits the testing of hypotheses, and estimation of coefficient for determining the magnitude of relationships among selected variables. 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. However, the logistic regression model is used to statistically quantify the relationship between the study independent variables and the dependent variables (i.e. when sex is not controlled for). The logistic regression model which is a multivariate statistical technique, is used to predict a binary dependent variable from a set of independent variables. The dependent variable only has two values i.e. an event occurring or not occurring. The relationship between the independent variable and the probability of a dependent event is non-linear. The probability estimates is always between 0 and 1. The relationship between each of the independent variables and work attitude probabilities is derived using the logistic regression model below -

$$\text{Prob (event)} = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-(B_0 + B_1X)}}$$

where B_0 and B_1 are coefficients estimated from the data, X is the independent variable, and e is the base of the natural logarithms, approximately 2.718.

For more than one independent variable, the model becomes

$$\text{Prob (event)} = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-Z}}$$

where Z is the linear combination.

$$Z = B_0 + B_1X_1 + B_2X_2 + \dots + B_pX_p.$$

The qualitative data collected using the case studies approach were analyzed and summarized. The findings at this level shed more light on basic concepts measured in the more

structured questionnaire technique. The qualitative data revealed the unique experiences of men and women in sex-atypical jobs which tend to be hidden from the structured questionnaire.

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CHAPTER FIVE

SETTING AND BACKGROUND

This chapter describes the location of study; and gives brief profiles of the five establishments surveyed; and presents a summary report on direct observation and case studies. This chapter serves as a background for understanding the quantitative data presented in chapters 6 and 7. The chapter is therefore sub-divided into the following sections -

1. Research Setting
2. Organizational Profile of MGNXC
3. Direct observation of MHNXC production lines
4. Labour policies at MGNXC
5. Nigerian Labour Legislation
6. A brief assessment of the Nigerian Labour Legislation; and conditions of service in the surveyed establishments.
7. Empirical evidences from case studies describing the social environment of work.

5.1. Research setting

Historically, Lagos Island was settled by people from the Nigerian hinterland. 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. Lagos, which became the administrative capital of Nigeria in 1914, has grown to become the country's main

commercial centre and its chief port. It is the second largest urban complex in the country after Ibadan. The area claims two per cent of the nation's population on less than .02 percent of its land area. Lagos handles the greatest percentage of the country's export and import with an urban complex of more than two million people. As the major port, Lagos attracts people from all over Nigeria and commercial entrepreneurs from West Africa and other parts of the world.

Industries are concentrated in Ilupeju, Ikeja, Apapa and Yaba. The astronomical development of industries in Lagos has been attributed to the fact that Lagos has Nigeria's major port, thus, offering minimum cost of transportation of goods from the port 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.

5.2. Organizational profiles of the surveyed industries (MGNXC)

This section briefly presents a short historical background of each of the five companies surveyed; and their labour policies.

M & B was incorporated in Nigeria on 4th September, 1944 under the name May & Baker West Africa Limited, and is one of the oldest established Pharmaceutical Companies in West Africa. By 1979, it completed the sale of 60% of its share

capital to indigenous Nigerians. The remaining 40% is still held by May & Baker Ltd. (the parent company with its head office in Dagenham, a member of the world wide Rhone-Poulenc group).

Initially, the company's principal activity was the distribution of May and Baker Ltd. products, but by October, 1977, it completed a factory built in Ikeja, Lagos, which was one of the first Pharmaceutical Manufacturing Units in Nigeria. Production commenced on 1st November, 1978 and the company is well-known through its Nivaquine preparation, sulphonamide, among others.

Its range of products also include Flagyl and Phenothiazine derivatives, all of which are distributed through out Nigeria with buffer stock held in Depots in Kano and Aba. Apart from medical products, the company is also responsible for the development of chemical business both from May & Baker Ltd. and Rhone-Poulenc.

Guinness Nigeria Ltd. 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, and became only the third business Brewery in the world, the other two being located in Dublin, Eire and at Part Royal in 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. 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. As at 31st August, 1988, the shareholders' funds was ₦203,124,000.00.

The contribution of Guinness Nigeria Limited to the national economy lies not only in providing direct employment generated for thousands of other Nigerians engaged in the production of bottles, crown corks, crates, cartons, labels among others. Guinness Nigeria Limited generates considerable internal revenues to Government through the payment of Excise Duties, Import Duties and Company Taxation.

The Nigerian Textile Mills Limited was incorporated in Nigeria in February 1960 with a share capital of ₦1,000,000.00. The total cost of the original installation was ₦5,000,000. The original partners were the Western Nigeria Development Corporation (now Odua's Investment Company

Limited), Arcturns Investment and Development Limited Company, subsidiary of the Chase International Investment Corporation and the Technical partners whose shares are held by Amentital Holdings Registered Trust. Since incorporation, the authorized share capital of the company had been increased to N11.56 million of which N6.96 million had been issued and fully paid as the end of 1984.

The Mill became officially operational on the 1st September, 1962. NTM is presently one of the largest mills in Nigeria. With N18 million expansion programme embarked upon in 1979, by 1981, the machinery capacity of the mill stands at

Spinning	-	47,000 spindles
		432 rotors
Weaving	-	779 picanol looms
		34 sulzers

Production capacity are for -

Spinning	-	5,000,000 kilos per annum
Weaving	-	36,000,000 metres per annum.

The Mill has a fully integrated unit comprising a spinning department, a weaving department, a complete processing department capable of dyeing, bleaching, printing and finishing about 45 million metres of cloth annually in a variety of styles as well as auxiliary sections such as mechanical and electrical workshops, boilers, stores and offices and a Power house with generators installed for total capacity of 9,350 KVA.

The products of the mill are sold all over Nigeria through network of its principal distributors which include SCOA Textiles, UAC, CFAO, UTC among others.

Christileb Nigeria Limited started primarily as a trading company in 1928. All sorts of commodities were imported and sold. Later, with industrial growth, the company turned into manufacturing. Presently, the company is engaged in both marketing and manufacturing.

XLB is a public quoted company, and the size of the labour force is 1,200 as at December, 1988. The company has all its production plants in Lagos while other branches in Kano, Ilorin, and Onitsha serve as warehouses to the company.

XLB manufactures the following products - snowwhite toothpaste, bubble-gum, trebor, danacane, denaleen cream, pengo (pain-reliever), kingsugar, battery safe (distilled water), stick sweet, and trebor lucky among others.

The company spent about ₦6,849,000.00 on human labour between January and December, 1988, showing the extend of the company's operations.

Cadbury Nigeria Limited is an off-shoot 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 CNL, it was incorporated as an autonomous arm of Cadbury Schweppes Group. The present factory in Agidingbi, Ikeja, started in 1966. This factory faced initial set-back in business because of the Nigerian civil war, but has boomed since the end of the war years. Other new products are now introduced - Tom Tom; Miki Miki; Butter-mint; Bazooka and Malta sweet. Sales rose to ₦67.22 million in 1979 from ₦8.5m in 1972 with the Company's fixed assets standing at well over ₦20m. In 1976, Yeyes, a health and chemical arm of the business was added. These products include Air freshner, Washing up liquid, medicol and Attack (a well known insecticide).

In 1976, CNL 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 23,000 Nigerian shareholders with an equity participation of 60% in compliance with Nigeria Enterprises Promotion Decree of 1977.

CNL's distribution system is fully indigenised, with 200 distributors in all the states of the Federation and about 10 trading companies. CNLs sales offices are located in Lagos, Ibadan, Kaduna, Jos, Kano, Enugu, Aba, Benin, Sokoto, Maiduguri, Ilorin and Makurdi.

One important area of CNL activity is to develop skills and improve efficiency of staff at all levels. To this end, training resources and facilities within and outside the country are utilized.

In addition to costly investments in plant and machinery, Cadbury regards people - its employees at all levels - as its greatest asset. As a demonstration of that belief, workers' welfare forms the cornerstone of CNL Industrial Relations activity. Meals are served free to all junior staff; and to senior staff at highly subsidized rate. Transport from selected points to the factory is free while a well equipped clinic on site provides health care, supplemented by private hospitals within Lagos metropolis.

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; 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 is assisted by Deputy Managing Directors who are in charge of expansion, procurement of raw materials, equipment, public relations, secretarial functions and legal offices. The Managing Director's office is responsible directly to the Board of Directors, who occupy the

apex of the organizational chart of each company.

5.3 Direct observation of MGNXC production lines

In order to describe the physical environment of work, a direct observation of MGNXC production workers was made. The subsequent paragraphs present a brief summary of the respective observations.

Textile Mills:

In the textile mills, the various production sections visited include - the blow room; the carding and drawing section; spinning section; cone winding section; wrapping section; sizing section; weaving section; processing section and make-up section.

In the blow room, the workers at work at the time of observation were all men. Here, workers engage in lifting and opening up bales of cotton from the store room. They blow out the cotton to make it suitable for manufacturing. The blow room is usually hot and stuffy, while threads of cotton fly around at will. The workers are unprotected from the flying threads of cotton.

In the carding and drawing section, the blown cotton is turned into fibre form. The machine operators in this section are all men. Also the atmosphere is usually heavy and crowded with cotton shreds and fumes.

The spinning section is the hottest part of the production section in the textile mills. Women were mostly employed as spinners until recently. At the time of

observation the spinning operators were all men, aged 40 years and above. The men looked thin and aged.

The ratio of employment in the cone winding section for men and women is 2 to 1. According to our informant, the policy of the company is that women should not be allowed to work in this section. The women present at the time of the observation were those women redeployed there (on humanitarian grounds) from the catering department (during the period when most workers found to be redundant in various departments were retrenched).

In the wrapping and sizing sections, men are mostly employed, and they engage in continuous processing. The weaving section which used to be filled with female weavers, now have all male weavers.

At the time of survey, all the 400 weavers were men. Also in the processing section, which involves dying, and printing, the operators are all men. The excuse given for non employment of women is principally because of acidic fumes which is believed could cause sterility and abortion in women. The atmosphere is usually stuffy, with sharp odour in the air.

All the workers in the make-up section are women (except that the supervisor is a man). The women gloss the manufactured cloths, cut them into sizeable bales, and straighten out rough ends. The make-up section is not as hot as the other sections of the production line (although it could be unbearably hot during the sunny days). About 50

women were present in the make-up room when it was observed. The room appeared over-crowded. During informal chatting with the women in this section, they exhibited their disfigured fingers, caused by continuous use of scissors. Men usually hate working in the make-up section because of the monotony reportedly experience there.

Pharmaceutical Production Line:

The different production sections observed include the storage section, processing section, packaging section and the quality control section.

Raw materials are received and kept in the storage building. Raw materials are off-loaded using heavy fork-lifts. No woman is found in the storage section, while the men here are mostly people with very low education.

Seventy-five percent of manufacturing work is carried out in processing section. Raw materials are weighed, labelled, processed and transferred to the granule stores. About 90% of workers in this section are men, while work activities involve a lot of lifting of heavy stuffs. Workers are dressed covering their noses and eyes. Boiling room is the hottest part of this section, while only men are allowed to work here. The use of jewelry is not allowed in this section, while workers, by rule, appear in uniforms.

All manufactured drugs are packed (both tablets and syrups) in the packaging section. There is no much heat here,

except that the workers remain standing through out the day. Women are 99% of the workers in this section. Male supervisors and technicians stand around for possible machine break-downs. About 80% of casual workers employed by the company are women in the packaging section.

The quality control section is a chemical laboratory where raw materials and manufactured drugs are tested for quality and standard. The ratio of men and women here is about 1 : 1.

Compared to the textile mills, the production line here is less stuffy and neater. Workers appear neater and smarter while the general work environment is beautiful, neat and quiet.

Brewery Production Line:

The production of beer starts from the main laboratory and ends in the bottling laboratory. The certified laboratory preparation is sent to the production plant for processing, after which it is bottled, corked/crowned by the crowning machine, labelled, and crated. Pasteurizing machine is used to ensure freedom from contamination during the process of bottling and crowning.

Women are not allowed to work on the production line because of the frequency of industrial accident (bursting of bottles and other forms of accidents on the machines). At the time of observation, two ladies were working in the production

line as plant supervisors. Both expressed great excitement working in the plant.

Security apparatus include eye goggles, hand gloves, booths, and over-alls. All workers in the production line here, enjoy special life insurance as plant operators (a privilege which is not found in other companies surveyed).

Men are placed in strategic points as sighters, keep-managers, and safety guards.

The environment is clean and it is regularly washed after each production.

Beverage producing companies:

Two of the surveyed industries manufacture condiments, and beverages (chicken cubes; sweets; bournvita, trebor etc.). As a result of the resemblance in their production lines, observations made in the two companies are summarized here under the same heading.

The production unit is divided into two major sections, viz - the compress and the boiling section; and the packaging section. The compress section has heavy machines (used in milling/mixing), and are mostly operated by men. The atmosphere is usually stuffy and hot, however, the section is well ventilated, unlike the textile mill. The boiling unit is extremely hot, while 98% of workers here are men (this trend is the same in the two companies). Activities in this section are automated, except that the temperature tends to be very

high and uncomfortable.

The general observation shows that apart from poor ventilation and heat, the environment of work in the two industries are quiet, neat, and peaceful. Workers in the production units work like members of a happy family, with occasional chatting, especially when the supervisor is out of sight).

In the packaging section, the machines are lighter to operate, but appear monotonous. Women are mostly found in this section, and they are engaged with wrapping, labelling and packaging of manufactured products. The packaging section is not as hot as the compress and the boiling section, but the section is poorly ventilated. For example, during the observation, electricity supply was cut off by NEPA, and suddenly, the peppery scent of the products, added with stuffiness, had a choking effects on the workers.

Women are about 95% of workers in the packaging sections, although majority of them are casual workers, who have very low education.

5.4 Labour Policies at MGNXC

Each company provides for every employee the 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

five establishments surveyed are the following basic policies-

- i. to give every employee the chance of proving his ability to qualify for a better position in the company.
- i. to give equal opportunity for engagement and promotion on the basis of merit, diligent service and conduct, depending on the occurrence of vacancies.
- ii. to prevent all discrimination on grounds of sex, race, tribe, colour, religion, nationality or opinion.
- iii. to pay fair rates of wages and salaries; regard honesty, loyalty and integrity to the company.
- iv. to give every employee the opportunity when necessary to deal directly with management, raise any matters affecting his work and express his opinion freely.
- v. to recognize freedom of association for its employees.
- vi. to encourage loyal and efficient service by providing suitable security and conditions of work to all employees.

On the other hand, each company expects the following from its employees:

- i. to serve the company faithfully in any part of Nigeria and obey all lawful instructions given them;
- ii. a sense of personal responsibility and pride for the quality and quantity of work produced, based on the principle of a fair day's work for a fair day's pay;
- iii. to develop a high standard of productivity and efficiency and to reduce loss of time to a minimum;

- iv. to devote the whole of their time and energy and ability during working hours to further the interests of the company and to refrain from actions or occupations likely to be detrimental to those interests;
- v. to loyally cooperate 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 earn more wages, and fringes, while they are also entitled to more working days annual leave, compared to the junior and intermediate staff. Also, gender serves as 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 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).

a. Hours of work:

A five day working week of forty (40) hours is the normal schedule for all the 5 companies' work operations. Employees in the managerial positions adjust their time to meet the

contingencies of their jobs. While the managerial and other administrative staff generally resume work by 8 a.m. and close by 5 p.m. with a one-hour lunch break; the machine workers have shift work schedules with their lunch break twice a day). For example NTM mill operates 3 shifts 5 days a week. The basic hours of work is 44 hours per week for workers working shifts. The work schedule for shift workers is:

Monday - Friday -	10 p.m. to 6 a.m.
	6 a.m. to 2 p.m.
	2 p.m. to 10 p.m.
Saturday -	10 p.m. - 6 a.m.
	6 a.m. - 10 a.m.
	10 a.m. - 2 p.m.

For day duty workers, the time schedule is 8 a.m. - 4 p.m. (Monday through Friday); and 8 a.m. - 12 noon for Saturday.

The daily routines in other companies (except M & B which does not run shift duties), follow the above pattern. Office workers are expected to sign an attendance register while the factory workers clock in and out. Generally, the hours of work for drivers, salesmen, security guards, and gatemen are adjusted to the requirement and satisfactory performance of their duties. They work outside the scheduled hours of work and in excess of basic hours of work.

(b). Salary Scales:

Satisfactory work will normally result in annual

increment effective at a specified date every year, subject to scale ceilings and local trading conditions. After an employee has reached the maximum salary of his grade, his salary will remain unchanged until promotion to a higher grade with a higher pay. To sum this up, the companies do not grant annual salary/wage increment routinely, rather, each company reviews and reassesses payment for work based on merit and job evaluation. Promotions are made from within to vacancies that may arise, on the basis of length of service, ability, competence, personal records and behaviour.

(d). Staff Provident Fund:

The staff provident fund exists jointly with the gratuity scheme for the benefit of the workers. While all employees (young and old) partake in the provident scheme, only retiring employees aged 50 years or 55 years (who had spent at least 5 years with the employer) are entitled to the retirement gratuity.

(e). End-of-service gratuity:

This is made available to confirmed employees who have worked in the company for not less than 5 continuous service years (such might be less than 50 years of age).

(f). Retirement:

Retirement age for both men and women is 55 years, although one of the companies still maintains 60 years for male workers and 55 years for female workers.

(g). Redundancy:

Redundancy is an involuntary and permanent loss of employment caused by an excess of manpower. The selection of staff to be made redundant is done by the management, who takes into consideration such factors as length of service, efficiency, ability, diligence, reliability, and fitness for work and loyalty. Due to excess of manpower, employees who are redundant are therefore terminated.

(h). Education and Training:

Each company recognizes relevant training done as part-time course, 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 retrain. In most of the companies studied, training period for promotion is between three to six months.

(i) Punctuality and Time Keeping:

All employees are expected to be at their places of work at or shortly before their official starting time. Repeated lateness after due written warning will result in termination of appointment.

(j). Engagement:

All employees are engaged on probation for a duration of three to six months, after which confirmation of appointment is given in writing. Senior staff are generally confirmed

after a period of three months.

(k). Transfer:

All the employers mandate their employees to work at any place within the Federation of Nigeria where their employers require such service.

(l). Fidelity:

In each company, trade secrets, processes or inventions, papers, books or document are treated as secret and confidential, and should not be disclosed to any unauthorized person(s).

(m). 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, subject to compliance with the following rules:

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

- i. six weeks before confinement at the rate of 100% or 75% of her basic salary (depending on the policy of the particular employer).

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.

(n). Compassionate/Casual Leave:

This is granted in case of emergencies affecting the employees direct relations such as death of husband/wife/children/real brother/sister/parents and in-laws or other urgent personal matters.

Compassionate leave with pay may be given up to 7 days in a year. Any extension will be counted against annual leave or granted without pay.

Casual leave up to 7 days per annum may be granted without pay.

(o). Annual Leave/Allowance:

Paid annual leave is granted only after 12 months of continuous employment with any of the employers. The leave allowance is subject to minimum of one month basic salary, or a specified percentage of annual basic salary. Annual leave ranges between 2 weeks and 5 weeks depending on occupational status.

(p). Dress/Uniforms:

Dress should be suitable for the work in hand (in the

interest of safety) and reflect a certain moderation in keeping with business, as opposed to leisure.

Uniforms are issued free of charge to drivers, gatemen and Works and the canteen staff.

(q). Medical Treatment:

Except in cases of emergencies, medical treatment must be authorized by the Personnel Manager or his nominee.

None of the surveyed companies bears the cost of surgical operations, nor of any dental, ophthalmic, aural, maternity or venereal disease treatment, nor of artificial limbs or surgical appliances. Medical treatment is not provided for the family of any employee if a junior staff, whereas, for the senior staff, a wife and four children are provided for (if a man). If a woman, and a senior staff, only the children can receive medical treatment at the company's expense.

(r). Annual Report:

Before the end of each financial year, an annual report on the performance of employee is prepared by the employee's immediate supervisor to the head of department. The progress of an employee in each company depends wholly on this report.

(s). Unauthorized Absence:

Any absence of an employee for three consecutive days without permission and without a medical certificate from a recognized doctor is regarded as an abandonment of duty and is treated with dismissal.

(t). Shift allowance:

Shift allowance for morning and afternoon shifts is 10% of basic salary; while it is 15% of basic salary for night shift workers.

(u). Housing allowance:

This varies between junior and senior staff. While housing allowance is fixed for both junior and intermediate staff, for the senior staff, it often depends on basic salary.

(v). Transport allowance:

Most of these employers provide their staff with free bus transport service. The management staff are entitled to company's car and a driver.

5.5. Nigerian labour legislation:

The aim of this section is to document established constitutional and legislative provisions which protect female employment in Nigeria. The legislation which govern employment in the country include -

- i. Law Decree No. 21 of 1974
- ii. The Trade Disputes Decree 1976
- iii. The Trade Disputes (Essential Services) Decree No. 23 of 1976;
- iv. The Trade Unions Decree No. 31 of 1973;
- v. The Factories Act of 1958;
- vi. The Workmen's Compensation Act;
- vii. The National Provident Fund Act of 1961/Pension Act Retirement Age for men and women 60;

- viii. The 1979 Nigerian Constitution, Section 39 (guaranteeing the right to freedom from discrimination, and thereby providing men and women with equal rights to employment).

From the above listed legislation, only 2 of them (The Labour Act of 1974 and 1979 Nigerian Constitution) make specific provisions concerning female employment.

Specific provisions relating to women workers found in Part III, sections 53 to 55 of the 1974 Labour Act are enumerated upon below-

Maternity Protection:

1. In any public or private industrial or commercial undertaking or in any branch thereof, or in any agricultural undertaking or any branch thereof, a woman -
 - a. shall have the right to leave work if she produces a medical certificate given by a registered medical practitioner stating that her confinement will probably take place within six weeks,
 - b. shall not be permitted to work during the six weeks following her confinement.
 - c. if she is absent from her in pursuance of paragraph (a) and (b) above and had been continuously employed by her then employer for a period of six months or more immediately prior to her absence, shall be paid not less

than fifty per cent of the wages she would have earned if she had not been absent, and

d. shall in any case, if she is nursing her child, be allowed half an hour twice a day during her working hours for that purpose.

2. Subsection (1) (c) above shall have effect notwithstanding any law relating to the fixing and payment of a minimum wage.

3. No employer shall be liable, in his capacity as an employer, to pay any medical expenses incurred by a woman during or on account of her pregnancy or confinement.

4. Where a woman -

a. is absent from her work in pursuance of subsection (1) (a) or (b) above, or

b. remains absent from her work for a longer period as a result of illness certified by a registered medical practitioner to arise out of her pregnancy or confinement and to render her unfit for work,

then, until her absence has exceeded such a period (if any) as may be prescribed, no employer shall give her notice of dismissal during her absence or notice of dismissal expiring during her absence.

5. In subsection (1) (d) above 'child' includes both a legitimate and an illegitimate child.

Night Work:

1. Subject to this section, no woman shall be employed on

night work in a public or private industrial undertaking or in any branch thereof, or in any agricultural undertaking or any branch thereof.

2. Subsection (1) above shall not apply to women employed as nurses, in any public or private industrial undertaking or in any positions of management who are not ordinarily engaged in manual labour; and in any proceedings brought under or in connection with the said subsection (1), it shall be a good defence if it is shown to the satisfaction of the court trying the proceedings that -

- a. the night work in question was due to an interruption of work which it was impossible to foresee and which is not of a recurring character, or
- b. the night work in question had to do with raw material or materials in course of treatment which are subject to rapid deterioration, and it was necessary to preserve such materials from certain loss.

3. In this section 'night' means -

- a. as respects industrial undertakings, a period of at least eleven (or where an order under subsection (4) below applies, ten) consecutive hours including the interval between ten o'clock in the evening and five o'clock in the morning, and
- b. as respects agricultural undertakings, a period of

at least nine consecutive hours including the interval between nine o'clock in the evening and four o'clock in the morning.

4. The Commissioner may by order permit the eleven-hour period mentioned in subsection (3) (a) above to be reduced to ten hours on not more than sixty days in any one year in respect of any industrial undertaking if he is satisfied that the undertaking is influenced by the seasons of the year or the reduction is necessary because of special circumstances.

5. The Commissioner may by order exclude from the application of this section those women covered by a collective agreement in force which permits night work for women, but before making such an order the Commissioner shall satisfy himself that adequate provision exists for the transportation and protection of the women concerned.

Underground Work:

1. Subject to subsection (2) below, no woman shall be employed on underground work in any mine.

2. Subsection (1) above shall not apply to -

- a. women holding positions of management who do not perform manual labour, or
- b. women employed in health and welfare services, or
- c. women who in course of their studies spend a period of more training hours.
- d. any other women who may occasionally have to enter the underground parts of a mine for the purpose of

a non-manual occupation.

Regulations:

The Commissioner may make regulations prohibiting or restricting, subject to such conditions as may be specified in the regulations, the employment of women in any particular type or types of industrial or other undertakings or in any process or work carried on by such undertakings.

Offenses:

1. Any person who, being the proprietor, owner or manager of any industrial, commercial or agricultural undertaking contravenes any provisions of section on maternity protection shall be guilty of an offence and on conviction shall be liable to a fine not exceeding ₦200 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months or to both.
2. A person who employs a woman in contravention of the sections on night work and underground work shall be guilty of an offence and on conviction shall be liable to a fine not exceeding ₦100 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding one month or to both.

The Federal Military Government approved the underlisted fringe benefits for women public servants with effect from 1st of June, 1979 -

1. Allocation of Quarters/Rent Supplement to women, where husband and wife work and live in separate towns; and where a husband and wife who work and live in the same town are legally separated and documentary evidence

normally accepted as proof of the dissolution of such marriage is produced.

2. Leave Bonus/Transport Grant to both male and female officers
3. Paid maternity leave to married female officers. The 12 weeks maternity leave is annual leave consuming.
4. 12 weeks maternity leave to unmarried female officers without pay; the leave is also annual leave consuming.
5. Payment of children's allowance to female officers on national assignment abroad who have full responsibility for the custody and maintenance of their children; so far the children are born within wedlock.
6. Facilities to visit family at government expense during course of instruction abroad for two academic years or more.
7. Free medical facilities for women public servants and the wives of male public servants including pre-natal and post-natal treatment (as from 1st August, 1979).

By 21st of December, 1984, the Federal Military Government made a revision of some fringe benefits whereby the facilities to visit family at government expenses during courses of inspection abroad were suspended; while free medical facilities for women public servants and wives of male public servants re: pre-natal and post-natal treatment were canceled. Also, the maternity leave which was formerly taken six weeks before and six weeks after confinement will now be taken at a

stretch counting from the date the female officer commences on the leave. For the married female officers, the maternity leave is with full pay while for the unmarried female officer, the maternity leave is without pay.

Despite attempts at integrating women into policy-making positions since the 1979 Nigerian Constitution, today, no woman is represented in the country's highest law-making body, the Supreme Military Ruling Council.

5.6 A brief assessment of labour legislation and conditions of services in the surveyed establishments

While some of the special protective legislation currently available in the country conform to International standards, others are not. For example, the maternity protection contained in the Act of 1974 conforms with International standards, although the qualifying period is six months or continuous employment with a particular employer immediately prior to the due date of the leave, whereas in a place like Great Britain the expectant mother should have been continuously employed for a period not less than two years at the beginning of the expectant week. Although the 1974 Labour Act prescribed maternity pay of 50 per cent of the worker's salary, it is a happy news that many of the employers today pay women full salary (100%) during the maternity leave. Also, that expectant mothers can now take the 12 weeks (for unmarried mothers) or 18 weeks (for married mothers) at a

stretch is an improvement on the law, but a gap still exists between married and unmarried mothers. The latter are not only entitled to less period of maternity leave, such a period is also without pay. Although at the face value, the labour law in trying to legislate against immorality, the implication of such a law on the quality of life of the unmarried mother is questionable, for most of the unmarried mothers might have been deserted by the fathers of the would-be children. Such women therefore do not only suffer emotional pains but also economic deprivations. The extent to which a labour law in this respect turns itself to a moral law is questionable, for in a free society, the individual's decision about his/her social life should be respected and protected.

On the part of the private employers, who are largely profit oriented, payment of maternity leave allowances and the cost of temporary replacements needed during the maternity leave period, may lead to undocumented prejudice against female employment. At every opportunity an employer will likely prefer to employ men at the expense of women.

In all the survey industries, the one hour break given to nursing mothers (for the purpose of breast feeding) is taken one hour before the official closing hour, meaning that nursing mothers close one hour earlier than others. This is done giving cognisance to infrastructural problems, including distance of home to workplace; traffic congestion and transport cost where nursing mothers are without

personal/official cars. However, it is believed that one hour for nursing purpose is grossly inadequate and inappropriate. Although the maternity protection law forbids an employer from terminating a woman's employment during the maternity leave, such law does not protect employment termination shortly after resuming from maternity leave.

Another major problem with the maternity protection legislation is that the law exempts both employers in the private and public employment from the responsibility of paying for expenses incurred by a female employee in lieu of pre-natal and post-natal medical services. This contradicts the employment provisions of free medical services as long as a worker remains in an employment (for not all ailments during pregnancy have direct relationship with the pregnancy). This also contradicts the value of a woman not only as a worker, but as a medium of producing future needed manpower. The woman therefore bears the physical inconveniences and risk involved in being pregnant, and also bears the cost singly on behalf of the society which she continues to service.

The medical care arrangement which also discriminates between married men and women (in terms of what each group is entitled to re: extending medical benefits to spouses) is nothing but an unequitable distribution of rewards, and could have implications for women's work attitudes. So also, medical arrangement which exempts the family of a junior staff and all casual labourers from medical benefits has implication

for the quality of life of these workers, and more importantly for the women. For example from observation, women are in higher percentage among the casual labourers, while majority of the total employed women are predominantly in the junior cadre.

Although the night work protection legislation is made in recognition of the dual role of the woman as a worker and a mother/wife, it is believed that the legislation could be more flexible whereby a woman readily decides what hour is convenient for her. It is also believed that the scope of workers currently included in this protection law (nurses, women in management and other welfare services) is rather very small. To encourage more opportunities for the females, the category of women who could work night shifts should include telephonists, hostesses, newscasters, clerical staff and any other job which the women themselves are ready to undertake. However, adequate provisions need be made for the security of these women, as well as their male counterparts.

Although a great need exists to make special protection laws for women, however, such laws should take into consideration not only the nature of the women, but also the direct impact of such a protection on the employers of labour who may turn around using such laws as a prejudice against employment. To sustain protective legislation for women might mean enforcing employers to have a certain minimum quota for the employment of women as this will serve to ensure

continuous employment of women.

A 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 both at home and at work. 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.

5.7 Empirical evidences from case studies describing the social environment of work

To collect detailed information on the social environment of work, the case study approach was used to elicit information from 36 workers from the following categories - management; supervisory; workers in sex-atypical jobs and labour union executives. Four different interview guides were constructed and used for the 36 respondents (19 males and 17 females). The respondents interviewed here, were also included in the main interview survey. On the whole, 5 management staff; 10 supervisory staff; 13 workers in sex-atypical jobs; and 8 labour union executives were included in the case studies.

The responses from these workers provide further information on labour policies, and likely deviations from documented evidences provided in hand books.

5.7.1 Management staff

All the 5 personnel managers interviewed are all men. Women were not included in this category because we found it more relevant to classify such women as workers in sex-atypical jobs. Issues explored include policies relating to gender; and attitudinal questions.

a. Policies relating to gender

i. Recruitment

When these managers were probed on recruitment patterns and policies, it was reported that most of the employers do not have a strict policy on whom to employ (whether male or female), although, sometimes, the nature of the job dictates the gender to be employed. Thus, one of these managers reported -

"it is clearly stated on the requisition form the type of gender to be employed. If it's female, it will be stated there, if its male, it will be stated. At times it may be open for either male or female".

The above statement reveals a support for job segregation. A common feature of all the establishments surveyed is that most of the female employees are concentrated in the administrative sections, while the production line is predominantly a male affair.

A notable feature of the workers in the production line (revealed during interviews with managers) is that the few female production workers in key professional positions are

usually recruited depending on performance during 'a one-year industrial attachment' with their respective companies.

Quoting one of the managers -

"a young lady who shows exceptional ability and interest whilst on a one year industrial attachment with the company could be employed as a permanent staff in the production line. Otherwise, the best the company does is allow some of these females to spend their one-year attachment here, as this is needed for the award of their degrees".

When the same manager was probed further on how many of such girls have been retained in this company, he said only one had been retained for full employment. This trend is the same in other companies surveyed. Very few among the women on industrial attachment are retained; while on the other hand, very few female technical professionals are employed in general.

Dominant social values about femininity and masculinity are used to define job requirements and job placement. For example, it is the policy 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 pharmaceutical company;
- the bottling section of the brewery;
- the spinning; weaving; printing and the boiling sections of the textile mills;
- and the oven area of the beverage producing companies.

Thus, one of the personnel managers argued in favour of

job segregation saying -

"it is to the favour of the woman 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, and thus most of the times, men are preferred as processors because of the task of lifting pounds of sugar....."

However, female supervisors identified moral issues involved in job segregation. It is argued that "a place not too healthy for women to work, is likely to be also unhealthy for men". This points to health hazards prevalent in Nigerian industrial sector which more often than not, has made most of the industrialists unwilling to allow researcher into work environment.

A chat with some of the women factory workers revealed that such a segregation of job based on gender considerations are nothing but part of male chauvinism. This was beautifully described by one of the female informants (a 50 year old woman 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: - "Don't mind them my child, there is nothing extra-ordinary in those sections. I have been working here before I had my first baby and I never had a single miscarriage. Today, I am a proud mother of 5 children. I had worked in all the sections beautifully well. In fact, I trained most of the men that now work in the spinning and the weaving areas. But do you know what they do as soon as I train a man, he takes over my position. It is like they are pushing me round the sections to build up

confidence in the men. But what happens today, those women who worked hard in those sections have been pushed out by the frustrations they impose on us. For example, if I were to be younger than I am now, I would have left rather than becoming redundant in the make-up section where continuous cutting of cloth has deformed my fingers. Can you see the fingers yourself?. Yet, after 25 years of employment all I earned myself is 'mama of everybody and not even the least supervisory position.."

The above quotation explains some of the negative attitudes of employers towards women, culminating on employer's inability to select the best person (man or woman) for the best job because of over emphasis of sexist facts. Women are thus denied the opportunity offered by the new complex technological advancement. Recruitment trend in the surveyed industries (as reported by the managers) confirms that where a man and a woman are prima facie qualified for a job, the establishment mostly employ 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. Thus, a personnel manager in the brewery company said -

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

Another personnel manager from a pharmaceutical company) said, "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 employers 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 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 retrained. 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 trainings compared to women and men in other departments. At other times, a pregnant woman may lose training opportunity to the officer next to her pending her delivery. Hence, for women, pregnancy often hinders the opportunity to train.

iii. Promotion:

Generally, promotions are not automatic, but are given depending on vacancies. Other factors considered before a person can earn a promotion include length of service, ability, competence, personal records and sometimes physical appearance. All the managers included in the case study

confirmed that promotions are relatively faster for men because women's employment tends not to be continuous because of maternity leaves, and other exigencies demanding women's attention in the home (like children getting sick or attending to a sick husband). An industrial relations manager when interviewed 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)....."

Productivity is measured at the group level in the production line (that is, meeting group targets); while at the office level, it is very difficult to quantify individual's work. Promotions, more often than not, principally depends on the recommendation given by a boss on his/her staff. It is often impossible to control for bosses' biases.

Although promotion could be sometimes spontaneous depending on acquisition of additional educational training/qualification; or due to innovativeness of a particular worker, often, promotion is a bi-yearly event. Generally, promotion is not automatic, except there is an existing vacancy to be filled. Promotions tend to be higher in the senior/middle levels while, it is very slow in the junior staff level, particularly among the unskilled.

Policies on firing are guided by redundancy, personal records and often nature of job.

b. Attitudes towards female employment

Series of attitudinal questions were asked to document managers' attitudes towards female employment. They were asked about particular problems they encountered having female or male workers; thereby making subjective assessment of employees job performance (that is, by making a gender comparison).

The managers reported encountering different problems working with men and women respectively. It seems the major problems encountered with female employees are mainly the problem of women having to combine household responsibilities with work roles; and sometimes infidelity. A manager in the pharmaceutical 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 textile manager gave a very broad description of females' problems with work. He said -

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

This manager's experience with the single women working in the establishment is "nothing to write home about", for according to him such women exhibit a high level of promiscuity. He said over the years, it has been found that putting both men and women on the shop floor have created an unhealthy relationship between the sexes. Quoting him -

"these men and women get involved and snatched other peoples husbands/wives. Such an informal relationship

growing among the shop-floor workers have drastically affected workers' concentration rate, and has in turn affected the level of productivity".

As a result of the incidences recalled above, the management has replaced most women in the production sections (like weaving and the spinning sections). To show the seriousness of this single incidence, this manager remarked -

"if we can honestly do away with the few women remaining in some of these sections, we shall surely do it".

Yet the same manager claimed that when a woman is placed in the "appropriate section" (sections where women perform traditional roles), "women perform better than men after receiving the necessary trainings".

An industrial relations manager in his own remarks said he had not encountered any problems with the married women, particularly, those who have put in more than five years of service; while on the contrary, he said the younger girls just coming out of the University or those with lesser qualifications, "before it's closing time, cars are already parked waiting for them. You cannot get them to concentrate one hour to the closing time. You therefore have to be firm and assertive to get the best out of them".

It was also remarked that in some years past, out of every 10 members of staff due for disciplinary action., eight of them were men, while in the last two years -

"it appears that the clock is now the other way round. Women now are going into fraud and other undisciplined actions. On the whole women's insubordination has increased with the urge to get rich quick...."

A different dimension of the problem is identified, as managers espoused problems of having male workers. A manager at the textile mills, said the males could sometime be "high-handed". Therefore as a boss, "one has to know when to be democratic or autocratic. Also, problems with male workers are reportedly aggravated when male subordinates are older in age, and they relatively lack the necessary educational qualification. Such subordinates are not only uncooperative but they tend to over-react to situations.

However, some of the managers opined "some people are 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.

In terms of job performance, the general belief is that men are better performers. Some of the managers argued that men can be made to do over-time work, while sometimes, a man can keep late night in the office to finish an assignment. On the contrary, it is believed that married women rush home at the closing time to fix meals for their families while the single girls rush out to attend parties etc. However, women who intend staying over for 'over-time' work cannot, because of what the society would say (that she is sleeping around with a man").

5.7.2 Supervisory staff

At this level, 10 respondents were interviewed (5 males and 5 females). The aim is to document specific experiences of male and female supervisors who work with different categories of workers; and thereby documenting the extent to which the job environment is discriminatory on the basis of gender.

Male Supervisor/Production Managers:

A male supervisor was interviewed in each of the companies surveyed. The ages of the male supervisors ranged from 39 to 50 years (with a mean age of 45.6 years). Three of the supervisors have university education while 2 have technical education. The length of service with the present employer ranged between 5 and 20 years, with a mean of 11.4 years. Four of the supervisors directly supervise production staff, while one is from the sales department. The number of workers working under these supervisors ranged between 50 and 400 workers with a mean of 85 workers.

Generally, the style of supervision depends on the type of job routine and the type of subordinates. A preferred style is being democratic, while the general attitudes of workers to work tends to dictate when the supervisor becomes autocratic.

A quality control manager in the pharmaceutical company said sometimes he is persuasive, while at other times he could be authoritative; while a packaging manager (who works predominantly with women) said sometimes he plays a sort of a

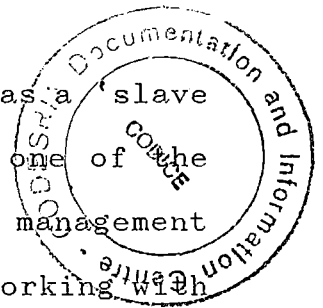
'team leader' and at other times, he sees himself as a 'slave driver' or a 'task master'. The supervisor from one of the sales departments said his style of supervision is management by objective (MBO). He identifies various people working with him, for example, 'those who are quick to take instruction'; 'those who need to be assisted'; and those who are naturally stubborn'. For him, 'the attitude of the subordinate to work determines the type of treatment'.

In general, work groups are often mixed except in areas where job is sex specific like processing and packaging sections respectively.

Different problems were reported by officers who supervise men and women either in mixed or non-mixed groups. For example, a common problem identified with mixed work groups is that the men in such groups 'run after' the women (that is, 'get involved'); and two, the women in mixed groups easily leave a tedious job for a man to do, whereas in all women group, women tend to face all the challenges in their work (that is, without dependence on men).

i. Experiences of male supervisors who work with women:

All the supervisors identified one problem or the other with supervising women. A supervisor interviewed here, compared his 18 years spent working in Britain with 10 years spent in Nigerian Industry, and concluded that the Nigerian women have not yet learnt what industrial work 'takes'. In



his words -

"women could really work if they want to. The only fear about them is that they cannot continue for long. In other words, you cannot rely completely on them for a whole month or a whole year there's bound to be some break in-between. The worse a man can come up with is that my wife is not well and I want to take her to the hospital ...but a woman is prepared to take advantage of that and have to sleep in the hospital all day ... and never minding what the job is suffering".

Another production manager who works with a work group which is 99.9% females said -

"the problem with women is that they complain a lot. Otherwise they are very easy to handle. With a little teasing you can make them do what they will normally do in two days just in a day. I think a leader should just learn how to put up with their usual complaints".

At other times, it was reported that women need more encouragement and some sign of appreciation. Thus a supervisor remarked:

"a supervisor cannot be too harsh on women. You have to listen to them, even their matrimonial problems. When you allow them to trust you, like a brother, then you can get the best out of them".

Another problem identified with women (particularly the professional women) is that they are untrained and unprepared for the reality of the practice of their professions. For example, a major pharmaceutical company included in the survey, does not have a single Nigerian female pharmacist on its employment list because Nigerian female pharmacists earlier employed were not psychologically ready for industrial production. The quality control manager of this pharmaceutical company reported that the only female pharmacist in the company is a Polish (married to a Nigerian).

This company employed about three Nigerian female pharmacists some 3 years ago, but have all left because of what they called 'company restrictions'. First, they hated the idea of wearing uniform at work (white over-all and white dress and a white cap); and especially having their nicely made 'jerry-curved' hair covered (a method which the company has used over years to ensure high standard of hygiene on the shop-floor). Second, the ladies complained of too much standing and too much discipline imposed on production workers. Third, the ladies (like most pharmacists) believe that pharmacists involved in marketing (owing personal drug stores) make more money than the industrial pharmacists.

Recounting his experience, a textile spinning manager said "women take a lot of excuses to attend to either a sick family member or to attend a funeral; and while on the job, women are often engaged in what he called 'talk-talk' (gossips)". Another major problem he identified, is that, it is difficult to control women. Using his words,

"the company used to have a lot of women on the machine but the women became 'involve' with the managers. The managers became very weak and ineffective that they couldn't discipline. Men were only punished for offences while the women were left alone. A state of anarchy erupted. So, therefore, we have stopped bringing women to the shop floor for about 4 years now. Today, only men are trained as spinners and machine operators, while women are merely auxiliary staff".

Another major problem identified is that many male supervisors have the problem of 'talking straight' to women because the women can turn round to say something else. As a result of this it was reported that a lot of men would never

like to supervise women. It was argued that what could be termed a subtle discrimination against women is nothing but 'fear' on the part of the men. One of the 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. But once a person is civilised enough, you don't look at that".

Education is another yardstick these supervisors used to measure the problem of women. It was argued that because the education of women on the production line in particular is rather low (highest qualification for majority of women in the packaging section being secondary/modern three), it takes a longer time for them to grasp new technologies and instructions. Since profit-oriented organizations want results, more qualified persons (mostly men) replace these women.

Supervisors who were sympathetic towards the conditions of women in work organisation remarked that Nigerian women are too passive and complacent. One of such production managers said -

"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 here are rather complacent and uneventful"

Thus another manager also remarked -

"my general observation is that women hardly take the initiative to develop themselves beyond their qualification at the point of entry".

Notably, some of these supervisors identified some good

points about female employees. A supervisor said -

"women are 'durable' and 'enduring'. They are not like men who will indulge out of work. Tell those girls in the packaging section they will close about 10 p.m. tonight, going home or not they don't care. They are going to work till 10 p.m".

A common belief among the male supervisors is that women who have passed the child bearing age are more responsible, for such women have confidence and interest in their jobs.

ii. Experiences of male supervisors who work with men

Many problems were also identified with working with the male employees. It was reported that men who are close in rank are more difficult to control. Male workers are generally seen as being rude, arrogant and often high-handed.

A spinning manager with 400 male workers under him, said - "men play 'eye service'. They leave their machines when the supervisor is not around, and they perform less during the night shift because supervision in the night is not thorough".

Also, while men are good at jobs requiring physical exertion, they cannot work well on jobs demanding the use of fingers, full concentration and coping with monotony. Thus, according to one of the production managers, -

"men brought into the packaging section have not been able to cope because the job itself is a continuous process, requiring some dexterity and concentration. The men are too restless to cope with such demand".

On the whole, the supervisors said there is no discrimination based on gender in cases of promotion, training, salary and treatment. For example, production

managers supported job segregation and argued that job segregation exists because of consideration for women's biological roles. A production manager recalled -

"the company used to have a lot of women on the machine; but a lot of sick reports and mis-carriages were recorded because the heat was affecting the women's health more. Hence, the number of women working in this section has to be reduced very drastically".

Also, women are not allowed to work in the printing and the colour kitchen of the textile industry because of acidic fume which is said to be injurious to women of child bearing age.

In general, the male supervisors said they would prefer to work with male employees for best results. The male supervisors reported that their personal evaluation shows that men are more productive than women; while older single women (the separated or the divorced; or women who have passed childbearing age) are more productive than the young single girls and the matured married women with children.

6. Female supervisors/production managers:

Five female supervisors were interviewed (one from each company surveyed). The ages of the female supervisors range between 32 and 45 years (with age mean of 37.2 years). They are all married with children. The number of children ranges from 3 to 4 children. Two of these female supervisors have university degrees while two have the Ordinary National Diploma Certificates and the last one has a Secondary Modern School Leaving Certificate. The length of service ranges

between 9 to 12 years (with a mean of 10.4 years). Four of the female supervisors work directly with the production workers, while one is a supervisor in the account section.

The interview conducted with one of the female supervisors, a Polish woman married to a Nigerian, is very revealing. Re-appraising her work as a production supervisor, she said it is only in Nigeria that being a machine operator is seen as a man's affair. She does not admit it only takes a 'super-woman' to work in the processing unit of the pharmaceutical company. In her words -

"anybody who's trained with the proper educational background should be okay with the job, although it is physically demanding. Physically, a person, be it a man or a woman has to be strong to remain on the two feet all day".

All the female supervisors believe there is no technology specifically made for men, and that the story of women in child-bearing 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 chemical industries for example, need the same protection from chemical fumes and poison; and constant medical check up. The only female supervisor who believes that job segregation between men and women in the production line is appropriate is herself an account-supervisor. 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.

Each female supervisor 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 them (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 suggestions too seriously. They think women exaggerate a lot, and so, it takes a longer time for a woman to convince colleagues on policy issues. Back in Europe, you are seen first as a professional before your gender. And to this extent, it is difficult for women living in the Nigerian environment".

The female supervisors are very careful dealing with male senior colleagues. The following statements reveal some of the strategies the women employ -

"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, the female supervisors said they find it easier to deal with male employees than workers of same gender. Often, (because women at the top are few) there are petty rivalries between them, while it is easier for the men to use the 'divide-and-rule' method to bring dislocations between

these few women; while on the other hand, there is a communication gap between a female supervisor and the other ladies in the establishment (mainly because very few of the women are likely to have equivalent educational qualification). One of the ladies remarked -

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

Another female production supervisor said some of the women around do not accept her because she is too 'plain' for them. According to her, she does not follow fashions, neither does she wear ear-rings because her job requires her to put on her uniform. Also, because she closes late, she never has time to visit friends. She also thinks her personality makes it difficult for her to get along with women - (in her words) -

"working in the production makes you very straight forward. I mean giving somebody instructions in the industry, you have to be very 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"

The female supervisors are sympathetic towards women who are still in the child bearing age. One of the female supervisors 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 are not okay. So it's in this way that it's a bit much difficult for a woman to cope with factory work. It can be very exhausting.

Another person said the protective legislation actually back-fires on women. For example, some women lose their promotion because of maternity leaves while often at times, selection panels drops off a lady because of the fear of her biological responsibilities in the future.

It was remarked that the Nigerian society expects so much from the woman, thus, she is either involved with celebrations in her husband's extended family or those of her own, or her friends.

It was reported that the breeding rate among the female workers have reduced in the recent times because of economic crises. Thus, women are more stable at work. On the whole, no major problem was reported working with female subordinates except for those time when women's familial roles conflict with work roles. However, the female supervisors reported a lot of insubordination from male workers. Handling such cases has toughened them more than their male counterparts.

Majority of the female supervisors confirmed existence of gender discrimination in treatment in day-to-day experience on the job (both at group and individual levels). A female production manager said -

"there is a high level of discrimination in the Nigerian market. It's appalling. Some pharmaceutical companies made it very plain that they can only employ a lady pharmacist as medical representative. Yet with my personal experience on the job, despite series of enticement, most of the male pharmacists employed here leave before spending up to six months, whereas a lot of young female pharmacists who actually performed excellently well during their one year industrial

attachment here, are not given opportunity for permanent employment".

The female production manager therefore argued that performance in industrial work is not really the issue of gender, rather it all depends on the individual interest, the job environment, training, personality and the capability of surviving the stress of working in the industry. In her words-

"that I stay here for so long is because I happen to be persistent. I know what I want from job, and I know what to do to get it. Other men who came after me have left because they lack these qualities.

It is important to note unique features of these female supervisors -

- i. they have all stopped having children;
- ii. Only one of them supervises a male-dominated group (for example drug processors); while others supervise predominantly female groups (for example packaging workers);
- iii. none of them is in the management level (except the Polish lady who is a manager);
- iv. all of them prefer working with males than females;
- v. all of them are married with children.

3. Workers in sex-atypical jobs:

Thirteen respondents were interviewed (10 women and 3 men). The ages of women in sex-atypical jobs interviewed ranged between 22 and 50 years with an mean of 35.7 years. Six of the women are married and 4 single. Four of the women have Ordinary National Diploma Certificates; two have University Degree and its equivalent; one is a qualified

accountant, while the remaining 3 have General Certificate of Education and below. Eight of the women work in the production line, while the remaining two are in management level jobs.

The three men interviewed in this category have age mean of 29 years. They are all married with children. Two of them are confidential secretaries, while the third is a caterer, (all possessing the Ordinary National Diploma Certificate in their respective fields of study).

a. Women in sex-atypical jobs

The women see their work as a challenge, and they continue to enjoy what they are presently doing (like men, some of them climb over the engines arranging bottles, others operate other mechanically powered machines). The women have different stories to tell about how they eventually got to the production line. A Lady (who works in the bottling section of the brewery said she got to the production line after a long pleading with her manager (because the policy of the company does not allow a woman to work on the production line).

She said at first, she hated the heat, but now, she is use to the heat like any of her male counterparts. She remarked that the men on the production line were hostile to her initially. For most times, they ignored her, but with determination, she has learnt her routines, and sometimes sneaked out of her routines to see how the men operate the

heavy machines. To her colleagues' surprise, she has learnt to operate the machines without being taught. Thus, the men have learnt to accept her and often at time encourage her. Another woman who supervises in the Works department of the Pharmaceutical company also identified some of the challenges in her work. She said -

"it's 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"

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 checker in the pharmaceutical company said -

"hardly has any woman been allowed to work in the processing section where syrups are mixed and the tablets are 'molded".

Another woman 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".

It therefore seems there is 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. It therefore seems that while women are made to operate machines that perform repetitive tasks and work that restrict their physical mobility; men often operate machines that require

skill and encourage work autonomy. Thus meaning that while women's work is controlled impersonally by their equipment, the assembly line, and work-flow devices; men's work is under human control, chiefly by the operator or work group. When a woman enjoys the same autonomy like a male counterpart, she reveals positive affection toward her machines. Thus, the happiest moment at work for a lady on the production line was when she solved a fertilizer-puzzle (a puzzle the senior manager could not solve). In her words, "I felt very happy because they never believed a woman could do something like that and I did it very fine".

The relationship women in sex-atypical jobs have with other staff in their respective establishments is unique. Men, at all levels, have a way of relating to these group of women.

Sexual harassment is one of the major things these women experience at work (like their other female colleagues). For example, a 22 year-old female production supervisor recounted her experience with the 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 production line. Therefore, for a lady to win here, you have to be very hardworking so that you can never be faulted".

Another woman remarked, this a hurdle most women have to pass through, working in any part of this establishment. Her story is also similar to the above. She said -

"the major problem I have with men here is that each of them, including the managers believe they could make a pass at me. Refusing them all has made most of the bosses my enemies. In fact I have earned myself so many nicknames such as 'tom-boy'; 'S.U. (member of an evangelical sect which is seen as being fanatical and dogmatic about the ethics of the christian religion).

A female personnel manager 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 had been her major frustration on the job. Quoting her -

"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 I'm having job satisfaction, but it's making me work much more than even my male counterparts because you have to prove to them that you are capable and 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 child care. So right now I don't think I can complain about my relationship with my superiors".

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"

This woman a production checker recalled her experience with her supervisors. She said she used to get scared of them because "they will always criticise each of my movements on

the production line. Now, that I have learnt the trick of this work, I feel so confident and sometimes I force my boss to listen to me".

Different experiences were reported with male subordinate. For example, a female production supervisor had this to say -

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

A 22 year old female supervisor, who works with a crowd of male subordinates) said she has been very careful about her relationship with her subordinates. She addresses them like brothers. In her words -

"sometimes when the floor is dirty or when there are broken bottles around, I normally give a shout that somebody should clean the floor, but when I remember they are all men, I wouldn't know when I'll just pick up a broom and start rushing at it myself and things like that....

While relationship with other female employees are reported to be generally very cordial, it is also reported that there are occasional in-fighting amongst women (within and across occupational groups). For example, other women see women in sex-atypical jobs as being too aggressive and 'unlady-like'. One of these female supervisors 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".

Women who directly supervise women's groups said they handle the women with "iron-hand" in order to get the best out of them. On the whole, female supervisors reported that they find it easier to control female work groups.

Assessment of Gender Discrimination by women in sex-atypical jobs

While some of these women said gender discrimination in the various establishments is subtle, others believe it is obvious. For example, it is argued that the numerical difference between men and women in the respective establishments is an obvious sign of discrimination against women (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 industries is an obvious indication of discrimination against women. For example, a female supervisor was personally crossed with the idea that women cannot be sales representatives, and in her words -

"for instance in marketing department, they don't have a woman sales person. Each time we ask the sales manager why he refused to employ women, what 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".

Yet few other women see sex segregation of factory jobs as beneficial to women. A female packaging supervisor accepts that men are better cut out for 'process work' because processing requires physical strength and energy. She said that even in the packaging section; the major complaint women

make is that they suffer frequently from backache because of lifting cartoons of packed drugs and too much standing.

However, other discriminations against women are rather subtle. For example, a remarkable difference was reported between men and women in terms of promotion prospects -

"...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. And in some cases, a man who came in at the same time with a woman, may have his salary trippled compared to the woman's salary, in less than 4 years".

The result of this is that some of these women develop a consciousness to work harder, while for other women, such action had ruined their morale and work expectations.

Even though some of the women reported no obvious gender discrimination at work, such merely points to their lack of consciousness about the subject and inability to grasp the reality of their work situation (that is, being be-clouded by expected social norms of what their roles should be as women juxtaposed to men). For example, a woman reported no gender discrimination at work in terms of promotion, hiring and firing because according to her "the management knows best whom to hire and whom to fire ...".

However, some women believe gender discrimination could be tilted in both ways. For example, women who have 'godfathers', it is argued, "get all what they want from job without working for it, and they often rise faster than their male and female colleagues". A female production supervisor

remarked that half of women employed in her establishment got their employment by using "bottom power" (that is, being a mistress to one of the big bosses). Quoting her -

"such women are source of disgrace to womanhood, and I personally find them disgusting. They are very lazy and they don't want to work because they think they've got what the men need. For example, we have some two ladies across my department, who merely stroll around not believing they are here to work".

This woman lamented that the "useless" women described above give most men a lot of misconception about women in general. Therefore, a hardworking woman "has to go extra miles to be noticed".

Part of the recipes for over-coming gender discrimination, given by this woman is for "the woman to be initiative, and be ready to learn and unlearn at every stage of her career building".

Both men and women could perform well at work if the work environment is conducive. Women, it is reported, are not only thorough and dedicated, but could be "enduring" (they can work continuously for long hours without becoming restless, unlike men). Sex segregation of jobs in the modern labour market has contributed immensely to the partial development of the total person. For example, most men transferred to the packaging section of the production lines surveyed, have always failed to cope with work there (meaning that work organizations have contributed to the failure of man developing the skills relating to the use of the fingers). In the same vein, 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).

Women in the sex-atypical jobs show unique enthusiasm about their jobs. Women in this category who are still single would prefer husbands who will appreciate their work and respect their opinions. They hope to continue their work even after marriage. The married women in this category reported strains and stress combining their work with familial roles but they have been able to cope because of reasonable support received from husbands.

c. Men in sex-atypical jobs:

Unlike women, the men in sex-atypical jobs are not as enthusiastic about their jobs. They still hope to change their jobs at the slightest opportunity. The three men in sex-atypical jobs that were interviewed, recounted stories of how they eventually came into their present professions.

A male confidential secretary reported -

"I came into this profession after all my attempts to secure a place in the University failed. I also thought I could go into the Polytechnic to read Accounting, but I did not gain admission".

The story is the same with the other two men. Another male worker who lost his parents at a tender age took refuge with

an aunt who could not afford to train him up to the University level. The only admission open to him then was Catering at one of the Federal Polytechnics.

Unlike women, these men went into their professions because there were no alternative ones. They have grown to accept these professions but more often than not, they feel personally frustrated being bossed by a woman, who according to them "bears the same age-group with their wives". Although they remarked that most of their female bosses tend to treat them with "care", yet, they prefer male bosses.

It is important to note that these men (that is, in sex-atypical jobs) hold important positions in their professional unions and labour unions. Since there is a relatively less demand on their time (compared to men in the management or those at the production lines), they find it easier to combine work roles with social functions within and outside the organization. For example, all the three men in this category are actively involved in their labour unions.

The men in sex-atypical jobs remarked that most of the male bosses prefer them to their female counterparts. A male confidential secretary said -

"I think the bosses feel safer with us, especially when there is need to do over-time work. Although, the womanizers prefer the beautiful ladies to serve them their tea".

No obvious gender discrimination is reported by these men although all of them hope to go into business as soon as they

can save enough money to take off.

5.7.4. Labour union leaders/activists

Unions have been known to have significant effect on wages, wage differentials, job security, fringe benefits, promotion, pensions and all the other aspects of employment. However, unions have not always lived up to the altruistic goal of non-discriminatory treatment it stands for. Also, the impact of unions is not likely to be uniform for all categories of workers. Feminists have argued that traditional unions have not only ignored women's issues but have actively discriminated against women and have made little or no effort to organize them. What we find in the present study falls in line with these earlier assumptions. Not only are women lukewarm about union matters, the culture of the organization and societal view of what the roles of women should be, inhibit their active participation in the labour unions.

Questions were asked on possible reason why women continue to participate less in labour unions; and what labour unions have achieved for women in the recent times. In other find answers to these questions, six men and two women who are all currently labour union executives were interviewed. The ages of the eight union executives ranged between 29 and 45 years (with a mean of 34.1 years). Six of them are married while two men are single. Giving the general roll call of existing female union executives in the companies surveyed, it

is observed that they are mainly in the junior staff category; while the male union executives possess relatively higher educational levels and they mostly fall into the intermediate and senior levels in the job hierarchies (most of them being in the supervisory levels). The years these union executive members have spent with their employers range between 9 and 22 years (with a mean of 12.9 years).

It is important to note that while the male executives occupy the very important posts in the union (for example, chairpersons, general secretaries, treasurers etc.), the few female union executive members are given insignificant roles to play, such as assistant secretaries and assistant treasurers etc.

Many reasons are given for women's low participation in labour unionism. First, is the attitude of the woman herself towards unionism. One of the male union executives, argued that women generally do not like taking risks. Women fear their participation in the union could either make them "lose access" with their bosses or could make them lose their jobs. A male production manager and a secretary general of his union said -

"women generally like comfort and they often fear that being an active unionist will also get them into detention room. They always fear things that would tamper with their general wellbeing".

Others argue that women lack the requisite training and enlightenment about union matters. For example, the male

production manager and a secretary general of his union,
said -

"women lack the requisite training on union matters. Some of them are so uninformed and they lack knowledge of what is going on around them. I believe our women need to be retrained in order to take leadership positions in the unions".

The second major reason given is that husbands generally do not like their wives to get 'exposed' or become activists. Women, therefore, because of fear of what their husbands would say tend to show less interest in union matters. For example, a male supervisor and the chairman of his union, reported that-

"husbands have been the major hindrance discouraging women becoming active unionists; and unless they are educated on this, women will never have a chance in unionism".

This labour union chairman explained that husbands misjudge the intentions of women who become active unionists. In his words-

"most husbands would think the ties spent at union meetings are used by the woman to fool around. Some husbands would even think the woman would get involve with the male union executives".

A female factory worker and an assistant secretary to her union said -

"Nigerian husbands do not want wives who will out-shine them. They definitely don't like their wives to become a public figure while they stay in the background. (Jokingly she added) I don't think Nigerian husbands are ready for 'a Mr. Thatcher".

She argued further that most of the hindrances facing women in labour unionism is in fact caused by men at work. In her

words -

"men around here think labour unionism is a male prerogative. They know if women become union executives, it will be difficult for them to 'chop union money. Men therefore will do anything to prevent women from occupying big union positions".

The third major hindrance identified is the dual work role of women (work and family roles) which gives women a double-day and a little time for consuming activities of the labour union organization. According to a male production manager and a union leader, women find it difficult to combine work, family roles and unionism. He said labour unionism is time consuming and sometimes inconvenient for women with families. According to him, this is because most of the meetings are usually held after the office hours when the women are usually rushing home to fix lunch or dinner for their families, and to attend to children's needs. He also argued that the Nigerian society frowns at women activists. In his words -

"if you want women to become involved in freedom fights, you have to educate the society. You have to change the orientation of the society which continues to see the ideal lady as that who is 'gentle' and 'mild'".

Further, this same man argued that the structure of work organization as it is, is not conducive to identifying talents amongst women. This is principally because of the general distribution of women along job hierarchies, whereby few women are at the management level while majority are unskilled factory workers. Since active participation in trade unionism

requires some minimum level of enlightenment, women who often lack the basic requisite of formal educational training are often at a disadvantage.

However, most of the union executives interviewed think women are becoming active in labour unionism in the recent time. It was reported that at the National level women now head some of the professional unions (quoting the examples of Olubi and Ajibola - who respectively in 1989 chaired the union of Nigerian accountants and the union of Bankers and other allied financial houses); while at the organizational level, a production manager in GNL said a woman is now a branch chairperson in GNL, with four women in the management level currently serving as officers of the GNL labour union.

When the union executives were probed further on the achievement of the various unions (specific to the welfare of women within the past 5 years), most of them exhibited a lot of ignorance. Some of them in fact do not know the general policies on maternity and night duty legislation. However, the major achievements of the union concerning the welfare of the female workers include the present arrangement which allows women the choice of taking the whole 12 weeks maternity leave from the day of delivery. According to the female union executive members interviewed, the new option given by the present maternity leave arrangement was not achieved by the local labour union but by the National labour union in collaboration with the Federal Government of Nigeria.

It is significant that very few of the union executives accept the presence of gender discrimination in the policies of their respective employers; while sex segregation of jobs is seen as normal and inevitable because it protects women from biological hazards. Contrary to men, all the female union executive members interviewed think gender discrimination is a major problem in work organization. For example, a female factory worker in the union executive identified some of the problems facing women on the shop floor. She said -

"some women have been here roughly 27 - 30 years who are supposed to have been supervisors before now, but the management keep neglecting them, while they prefer to make men the supervisors. Also, women used to be employed as operators in the weaving and spinning sections. But suddenly they started to transfer the women because a few of them complained of health problems. Women have currently been reduced to half-size it used to be in the production department".

When the same woman was asked whether she had personally taken this up with the union, her answer was 'no'; yet, neither has anybody informed the union about this trend. This corroborates an observation made by one of the male union executives that "male workers tend to bring in more complaints to the union than the women".

By implication, the general attitude of male union executive is that men are "better performers" and if women should face any discrimination as such, it is because of their general attitudes to work and not because of the structure of the organization in which they work. The implication of this

pure and simple male-chauvinistic explanation is given in the summary chapter.

There is a gap of difference in opinion between the male and female union executives on what should be done to reduce gender discrimination at work and the type of support system women would need to perform better at work. Below is a list of what the female union executives list as priorities for women in their respective organizations -

- i. the need to create specific positions in the union hierarchy to be filled by women.
- ii. increasing the number of women employed through the job hierarchies.
- iii. making men and women liable to the same tax benefits;
- iv. establishing day care/nursery centres within the work environment;
- v. granting women who have been on maternity leave the benefit of paid annual leave (during the same year);
- vi. allowing women to work in any part of the organizational network (so far such women so desire).

On the other hand, men list the following as priority issues for the welfare of women -

- i. establishing daycare centres/nurseries to cater for worker with infants and toddlers;
- ii. granting women both paid maternity and paid annual leave within the same year;
- iii. training women for leadership positions;
- iv. combating sexual harassment of female workers.

No doubt, our general observation shows that the male

union executives tend to take women's issues for granted (sometimes they consider them to be non-issues); and when they do give consideration to women's issues, priority of emphasis differs between male and female union executives.

The male union executives though showed some liberalism towards their wives becoming activists themselves, yet, they were hesitant on the implication of such for their homes. Thus, one of them remarked -

"I will definitely allow my wife to join a programme of action of any kind, so far she doesn't come home and lord it over me".

Notably, the two female executives interviewed have a full support of their husbands to take active part in unionism. They both remarked that the day their husbands frown at such engagement, they would stop their activism.

It is against this background description of physical and social environment of work in MGNXC that we present in chapters 6 and 7, the data collected using a quantitative methodology, that is, the interview survey.

CHAPTER SIX
DATA ANALYSIS I

The data analysis is premised on the assumption that gender differences in work attitudes and behaviour are best explained with the gender - organization - system (GOS) approach which focuses on personal characteristics; the organizational context; and the larger social and institutional system in which they function. This is because behaviour in organizations is a continuous interaction of feedback between personal characteristics (that is, gender), situations (that is, the organisational context) and the social-institutional system in which these interactions occur.

The data analysis is presented in two chapters, that is chapters 6, and 7. Chapter 6 is divided into 4 sections. The first section presents data on socio-economic characteristics of the sample. It focuses on such variables as sex, age, religion, ethnic group, marital status, number of children, education, years spent in school, income level, occupational status, and social background. The second section reports respondents' work history and general conditions of work, including a description of perceived gender discrimination in work environment. It also includes a description of protective legislation and labour union activities. The third section briefly looks at work and family roles, while the last section describes the gender ideological values of the society

in which these men and women operate

6.1 Social and demographic characteristics of the sample

The sex composition of the total population shows that male workers out-number female workers (See Tables 1-3). However, the sample was selected using sex as a stratification variable, thus, we have a high representation of female population when compared to the total population of workers in the selected industries. On the whole male respondents account for 59.8% (168) of the total sample while female respondents represent 40.2% (113) of the total sample.

The general predominance of males over the females in Nigerian industries is well documented^{27, 97}. 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 down turn in the economy since the 1980s. According to Fapohunda¹⁹⁹, the percentage of women employed in manufacturing industries declined from 15% in 1974 to 10% in 1976 and to 1.4% in 1983.

6.1.1 Age:

The variable age, is considered important because 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

¹⁹⁹ Fapohunda, E., Economic recession and employment patterns among women in the modern sector, in Fashoyin, T. et al (eds) Women in the modern sector labour force in Nigeria: Issues and prospects, Lagos. Leamson Printers Ltd., 1985, 37-46p.

TABLE 4
Percentage distribution of respondents by age, religion,
and marital status

CLASSIFICATIONS	Male	Female	Total
<u>AGE-GROUP</u>			
18 - 20	1.8	1.8	1.82
21 - 25	14.7	23.4	18.25
26 - 30	34.4	19.8	28.47
31 - 35	15.3	28.8	20.80
36 - 40	19.0	14.4	17.15
41 - 45	5.5	10.8	7.66
46 - 50	8.6	0.9	5.47
51+ yrs	0.6	-	0.36
Total	100	100	100
<u>Religion</u>			
Christianity	72.6	43.3	76.5
Muslim	22.0	30.2	18.9
Indigenous Religion	8	1.8	1.8
No Religion	1.2	-	.7
No response	2.4	1.8	2.1
Total	100	100	100
<u>Marital Status</u>			
Single	45.2	38.1	42.3
Married	50.6	54.0	52.0
Divorced	1.2	5.3	2.8
Widowed	1.2	1.8	1.4
Separated	1.8	.9	1.4
TOTAL	100	100	100

TABLE 5

Percentage age distribution of respondents by employers

Age levels	M & B		GNL		NTM		XLB		CNL	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Young (18-25yrs)	9.5	7.1	1.2	6.2	3.6	7.1	1.8	3.5		.9
Middle Age (26-40yrs)	12.5	15.0	19.0	16.8	10.1	4.4	11.3	12.4	13.7	14.2
Old (41-50yrs)	3.6	1.8	2.4	2.7	4.8	1.8	1.2	1.8	1.8	2.7
Very old (51yrs and above)	-	-	-	-	.6	-	-	-	-	-
No Response	-	-	1.2	-	-	-	-	.9	1.8	.9

Key:

M = Male
F = Female

TABLE 6

Percentage distribution of respondents by ethnic group;
job description and rural/urban background

CLASSIFICATIONS	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
(ETHNIC GROUP)	60.1	69.9	64.1
Yoruba			
Ibo	17.3	20.4	18.5
Hausa	1.8	-	1.1
Minority Groups	20.8	9.7	15.4
TOTAL	100	100	100
(JOB DESCRIPTION)	90.5	62.8	79.4
Sex-typical jobs			
Sex-atypical jobs	9.5	37.2	20.6
TOTAL	100	100	100
(BACKGROUND)	26.2	24.8	25.6
Rural			
Urban	73.8	75.2	74.4
TOTAL	100	100	100

period when women combine maternal responsibilities with income generating activities and also, it is a time when child-bearing generates role conflicts for working-mothers²⁰⁰. 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 18 years and 52 years. About half of the total sample (49.3%) falls within the age range of 26 - 35 years (see Table 4). Majority (34.4%) of the male sample falls in the age range 26 - 30 years; 14.7% in age range 21-25 years and 15.3% in age range 31-35 years.

For the women, those (23.4%) in age range 21-25 years are mostly single; while those (19.8%) in age range 26-30 years and in age group 31-35 years (28.8%) are mostly married with children respectively. This trend contradicts the assumption

²⁰⁰Adeokun, L. A., Reconciliation of reproductive and productive roles of women, Paper presented at a Seminar on Nigerian Women and National Development, University of Ibadan, 20-21 June, 1985.

that in the early adult years men are predominantly income seekers while women at this age are mostly involved in raising and nursing a family. The fact that 68.7% of the male sample and 63% of the female sample fall within the middle age range (26-40 years) (see Tables 4 and 5), shows that both men and women show a great preference for work in the early adult years, despite conflicting domestic roles, particularly for the woman. Both men and women continue to be financial contributors in the home. Table 5 however shows that across industries, majority of workers employed are middle age while most workers retire in their early 50s.

6.1.2 Ethnic origin

All the major ethnic groups in Nigeria are represented in the sample, showing the heterogenous nature of Lagos metropolis. The data on ethnic origin shows that the Yorubas are in majority (64.1%) (see Table 6). The higher representation of the Yorubas shows Lagos as a Yoruba city which has for sometime now faced the influx of other ethnic groups, as the Federal capital until recently, and also as a major commercial centre in Nigeria. However, no Hausa woman was represented in the sample.

6.1.3. Religion:

Information collected on respondents' religion shows that majority (76.5%) are christians, 18.9% are muslims, while only 1.8% claim the indigenous religion. It is assumed that religious values could influence individual's perception of

gender relations both at work and at home. For example, Islamic religion 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.

6.1.4 Marital status:

Table 4 shows that 52% are married; 2.8% are divorced; 1.4% are widowed while 1.4% are separated. It is significant that majority (54%) of the women are 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 resultant role stress and role strains on mothers' health status has not been well touched upon. The 8% of the female sample which represents the divorced, the widowed and the separated, points to a new trend in family structure, that is, the female-headed households.

When marital status is cross-tabulated with occupational status, it is found that for the female sample, 8% are married and in managerial position; 4.4% are divorced and in managerial position while .9% are widowed and in managerial position.

In response to the question "were you married when you

TABLE 7

Percentage distribution of respondents by years spent in school, educational level and marital status at job entry

CLASSIFICATIONS	Male	Female	Total
<u>No of Years Spent in School</u>			
No formal education	1.8	-	1.1
6 yrs and below	7.1	4.4	6.0
7-12 years	31.5	37.2	33.8
13-18 years	45.2	54.9	49.1
19 years and above	8.3	2.7	6.0
No response	6.0	0.9	3.9
Total	100	100	100
<u>Educational qualification now, compared to at point of entry</u>			
Same	66.1	78.8	71.2
Changed (i.e. higher)	31.5	16.8	25.6
No response	2.4	4.4	3.2
Total	100	100	100
<u>Whether married at point of job entry</u>			
Yes	30.4	29.2	29.9
No	25.6	35.4	29.5
Not applicable	42.3	35.4	39.5
No response	1.8	-	1.1
Total	100	100	100

first joined this establishment?", the following response was recorded - for the male sample, 30% were married before their appointment while 26% married during the course of their employment. Also, 29% of the female sample married before their present employment, while 35% married during the course of their present employment (see Table 7). In relative terms, more women came in unmarried. 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 are made more explicit in some of the case studies on employers' attitudes towards female employment.

6.1.5 Number of children

Data on number of children does not show any significant difference between men and women, except, for men with more than one wife, who tend to have more children. Notably, 3% of the female sample have more than 7 children on the average, and 6% with six children (see Table 8). For both men and women, 4 children tend to be a generally accepted number per family. However, the number of children a respondent currently has depends on age of marriage and socio-economic status of the respondent. When number of children is cross-tabulated with occupational status, respondents with more than 4 children average fall within the category of clerical and the unskilled workers.

TABLE 8

Percentage distribution of respondents by number of children and length of service with present employer

CLASSIFICATIONS	Male	Female	Total
<u>No. of Children</u>			
1	17.4	9.0	13.8
2	18.5	11.9	15.7
3	17.4	23.9	20.1
4	18.5	26.9	22.0
5	8.7	14.9	11.3
6	9.8	9.8	8.2
7 & above	5.4	5.4	4.4
Married without children	4.3	4.3	4.4
Total	100	100	100
<u>Length of service with present employer</u>			
1-5 years	54.8	52.2	53.7
6-10 years	29.8	36.3	32.4
11-15 years	11.3	11.5	11.4
16-20 years	3.6	-	2.1
21-25 years	.6	-	.4
TOTAL	100	100	100

6.1.6 Number of wives/husbands

Information collected on the number of wife/husband ever had show that for the married male sample, 91% have an average of one wife; 7% have an average of 2 wives while 2% have an average of three wives. For the married female sample, none reported having more than one husband even though our sample include the divorced, the widowed and the separated. It is significant that majority of women in this category (widowed/divorced/separated) fall within the managerial and the technical occupational groups.

6.1.7. Educational level:

The data on educational qualification of respondents at the point of entry shows that for the male sample, 1.8% had no formal education; 9.5% had primary/modern school education, secondary school education, 61.3% fell into the category of OND/NCE/Nursing, while 27.4% had University degrees or higher National Diplomas (24.4% had HND/First Degree; 1.8% had full professional qualification in ACCA/MBA; and 1.2% were with Masters Degree/Ph.D). Among the female sample, none of the women are uneducated; 12.4% have primary/modern school educational; 31% had secondary school education; 3.9% are in the category of OND/NCE/Nursing; while 24% are University degrees or full professional qualifications (2.4% had HND/First degree; 2.7% had full professional qualification in ACCA/MBA, .9% are Masters degree).

Enquiries on current educational level show that for the

male sample, 4 out of every 10 are improved on their qualification since the point of entry, by acquiring a better qualification through in-service training, part-time studies and 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. Thus for those who have improved their educational qualification during the course of employment, 73.6% of them are men while 26.4% are women. This shows a significant difference between the sexes. It therefore means that men tend to acquire more on-the-job educational training.

Table 9 shows the distribution of respondents by current educational qualification by employer. Education as a major criterion used in recruitment to modern sector employment is well supported by our data. Only 1.1% of the total sample have no formal education. These are workers (usually men) who were employed to do the pre-processing jobs, particularly in the Textile Mill where bales of cotton had to be moved from one production point to the other. Employers tend to employ men on such job requiring muscular strength, and involving a lot of weight lifting.

The data on years spent in school shows that both men and women included in the survey have been exposed to western education, although majority (82%) of those with 19 years and above are men (see Table 7). There is a corresponding relationship between level of education and years spent in

TABLE 9

Percentage distribution of respondents by current educational qualification by employer

Educ. level	M & B		GNL		NTM		XLB		CNL	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
No formal Education	-	-	-	-	1.8	-	-	-	-	-
V. Low	3.0	2.7	-	-	1.2	4.4	1.8	3.5	1.2	-
Low	7.7	12.4	9.5	1.8	5.4	3.5	6.5	6.2	4.8	3.5
Medium	11.3	5.3	4.2	15.0	6.0	2.7	1.2	4.4	3.0	7.1
High	3.6	3.5	10.1	8.8	4.8	2.7	4.8	4.4	8.3	8.0

school. Thus, because men spend more years in school, they tend to have relatively higher level of education compared to women

6.1.8. Occupational Level:

Table 10 presents 27 occupational categories represented in the survey. These occupational categories are later grouped into sex-typical and sex-atypical jobs. Sex-typical jobs for men and sex-atypical jobs for women are classified as - managerial jobs; professional accountants/auditors; engineers; electricians; technologists; skilled factory jobs (operatives) and unskilled factory jobs (weight-lifting).

Sex-atypical jobs for men and sex-typical jobs for women include managerial (secretarial); confidential secretary; typist/receptionist; nursing; and unskilled factory work (packaging and cleaning) and other soft works. Clerical work is taken as typical for both men and women²⁰¹.

Data on sex-typical and sex-atypical jobs shows a significant difference between the sexes, thus supporting a sex segregation of jobs in the modern sector employment. Table 4 shows that 90.5% of the male sample are in sex-typical jobs for men, while only 37% of the female sample are in such jobs. Only 9.5% of the male sample are in the so-called feminine jobs.

²⁰¹Alo, O. I. and Adjebeng-Asem, Collective bargaining in women occupations: the case of Nigerian clerical workers, Paper presented at the Seminar on Nigerian women and National Development, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, 20-21 June, 1985.

TABLE 10

Percentage distribution of respondents by official designation of jobs

Official designation of Jobs	Male	Female	Total
Manager (Admin)	5.4	8.0	6.4
Manager (Finance)	4.2	-	2.5
Manager (Production)	7.1	2.7	5.3
Manager (Technical)	1.2	-	.7
Manager (Secretarial)	-	2.7	1.1
Accountant/Auditor	2.4	3.5	2.8
Electrician	-	.9	.4
Technologists/Lab Analysts	6.0	8.0	6.8
Chemist	-	.9	.4
Pharmacist	1.8	-	1.1
Programmer	1.2	-	.7
Quality Checker	-	.9	.4
Admin Officers	4.2	3.5	3.9
Supervisor (Production)	7.7	2.7	5.7
Supervisor technical	1.2	2.7	1.8
Foreman	.6	.9	.7
Maintenance officer	-	.9	.4
Sales Rep./Marketing Officer	4.8	3.5	4.3
Confidential secretary	2.4	14.2	7.1
Typist/Receptionist	1.2	10.6	5.0
Accounts Clerk	11.3	1.8	7.5
Planning/Admin. Clerk	4.8	1.8	3.6
Production Clerk	1.2	2.7	1.8
Skilled Production Workers	21.4	10.6	17.1
Unskilled Production worker	4.2	15.9	8.9
Weight Lifter	3.6	-	2.4
Nurses	1.2	.9	1.1
Total	100	100	100

For further analysis, occupational categories are regrouped as follows:

a. Managerial:

This group includes all groups of managers (Administration/Finance/Production/Technical/Secretarial).

b. Professionals:

This group includes the accountants; auditors; engineers; electricians; technologists; laboratory analysts; chemists; pharmacists; programmers; administrative officers; confidential secretaries; nursing sisters; sales representatives etc.

c. Technical:

This group includes supervisors (production); supervisors (technical); foremen; skilled production workers (that is sighters, liners, weavers, operators, processors, spinners, compounders).

d. Clerical and Unskilled:

Clerical include typists; receptionists; accounts clerks; planning and Administrative clerks; production clerks etc.

Unskilled workers include all the unskilled production workers (cutters; packaging workers; weight lifters, cleaners etc.

TABLE 11

Percentage distribution of respondents by occupational category and employer.

Marital Status	M & B		GNL		NTM		XLB		CNL	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Managerial	3.6	1.8	6.5	4.4	2.4	1.8	3.0	.9	3.6	4.4
Professional	7.7	6.2	6.0	15.0	3.0	5.3	3.0	6.2	4.2	5.3
Technical	8.3	3.5	6.5	3.5	5.4	1.8	6.5	2.7	5.4	4.4
Clerical	3.0	4.4	4.2	2.7	6.5	1.8	1.2	4.4	3.0	3.5
Unskilled	3.0	8.0	.6	-	1.8	2.7	.6	4.4	1.2	.9

Key

M = Male

F = Female

Table 11 shows the distribution of respondents by occupational category and by employer. Men outnumber women in all the occupational categories except the professionals and the unskilled. Most of the women in the professional category are confidential secretaries, administrative officers and nurses, whereas men in the professional group are mostly engineers, accountants, auditors, electricians and technologists.

The majority of the unskilled factory workers are not included in the survey because most of them are casual labourers, who are not entitled to promotion, annual salary increment, training and other job advancement. They are mostly daily-paid workers who can be laid-off at the shortest notice. However, field observation shows that women outnumber men in this category. In-availability of up-to-date records on the casual workers does not allow for documentation. However, unskilled workers represent 7.1% of the male sample, and 15.9% of the female sample.

For the managerial category, 19% of the male sample are in this category, while 13.3% of the female sample are also in the managerial cadre. In reality, this gap is wider. The special attention given to women in this study tends to over-represent the female population compared to the male population in the survey locations.

About 75% of workers in the technical category are men while 25% are women. Case studies of women in technical

category (as electricians or engineers) give interesting revelations about women currently moving into jobs traditionally meant for men. Summaries of such case studies are given in chapter 5.

When occupational status is cross-tabulated with marital status, the data on respondents in managerial category shows that 87.5% of male managers are married while 12.% are single. For female managers, 60% are married, 33% are divorced, 6.7% are widowed, while none of the female managers is single. This further emphasizes the importance placed on marriage within the Nigerian society. Women in managerial position must have passed marriageable age. There is the tendency for women to marry late today because of years devoted to schooling and training for modern employment, however, the society frowns on women who are over 30 years and unmarried. That 33% of female managers are divorced is 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 occupational mobility for some divorced women as they are likely able to devote more energy on economic success.

The data on the professionals also points to a new trend in female employment in the modern labour force. For example, a cross-tabulation of age and occupational category shows that women in the professional category are relatively younger than the women managers. Table 12 shows that 47.5% of male

TABLE 12

Percentage distribution of respondents by marital status and occupational group

Marital Status	Managerial		Professional		Technical		Clerical		Unskilled	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Single	2.4	-	1.3	21.2	15.5	4.4	11.3	7.1	4.8	5.3
Married	16.7	8.0	11.9	16.8	13.7	10.6	6.5	9.7	1.8	8.8
Divorce	-	4.	-	-	.6	-	-	-	.6	.9
Widowed	-	.9	-	-	1.2	.9	-	-	-	-
Separated	-	-	.6	-	1.2	-	-	-	-	.9
Total	19.1	13.3	23.8	38.0	32.2	15.9	17.8	16.8	7.2	15.9

Key

M = Male

F = Female

TABLE 13

Percentage distribution of respondents by current educational level and occupational status

Educational level	Managerial		Professional		Technical		Clerical		Unskilled	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
No formal education	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.8	-
Low level (Pry. & Post pry)	.6	-	2.4	8.0	25.0	8.0	7.7	7.1	5.4	15.0
Medium (OND/NCE)	3.6	2.7	7.7	14.2	4.8	7.1	8.9	9.7	.8	.9
High (Unv. & Equivalents)	14.9	10.6	13.7	15.9	3.0	.9	-	-	-	-
Total	19.1	13.3	23.8	38.1	32.8	16.0	16.6	16.8	7.8	15.9

Key

M = Male

F = Female

professionals are single, 50% are married while 2.5% are separated. For the female professionals, 55.8% are single, while 44.2% are married. This confirms the general observation made during the field work, that there is an upsurge of a new crop of female professionals, particularly as accountants, pharmacists and public relations officers. It is important to note that both married and unmarried women are found across all occupational categories.

A cross-tabulation of occupational category with educational qualification shows a strong association between the two variables for both men and women that is, educational level tends to be positively related to occupational status (see Table 13). Table 13 shows that none of those in clerical/unskilled categories possesses a high education (that is, HND/First Degree/M.Sc./Ph.D). It is interesting to note that 2.1% of those in managerial position have low education (Secondary School/Trade Centre etc.), this category being all men. This could be explained as meaning the existence of a more favourable condition for men to develop through the job hierarchies; or a self-determination to 'make it', on the part of the men. In the medium educational level (that is, OND/NCE and its equivalents), are 66.7% men and 33.3% women. Also, in the higher educational level (University degrees and full professionals) are 67.6% men and 32.4% women. This pattern runs through the occupational hierarchies, confirming the general assumption that men are often better educated in a

society dominated by patriarchal values and capitalist orientations.

6.1.9. Income level:

Table 14 shows the distribution of entry salary per annum for the respondents. About 58% of the total sample fall below ₦3,000 per annum, making up 59.2% men and 40.7% women. It is significant to note that 98.2% of the female population fall within the range of ₦9,000 and below. Though the majority (92.8%) of the male sample also fall in the salary range of ₦9,000 and below, 85.7% of respondents with entry salary of ₦9,001 and above are men while 14.3% are women.

Table 14 also presents data on the present income level of the sample. Only 23.1% earn less than ₦3,000 (that is, 16.8% of the female sample and 27.4% of the male sample). The general income distribution in table 14 shows that an average worker has enjoyed at least one salary increment. Respondents with relatively high income level (that is, ₦12,001 and above) are mostly men (70%). Tables 15 and 16 show that in all the companies, most workers are employed at a relatively lower occupational hierarchy. Workers therefore develop through the job hierarchies. Salaries, work routines, promotion, training and general conditions of service in the establishments surveyed indicate homogeneity in organisational climate (this is explicated in the respective employees handbook).

TABLE 14

Percentage distribution of respondents by Income level

Income Level	Male	Female	Total
<u>Salary per annum at point of entry</u>			
Below N3,000	57.1	58.4	57.7
3000-6,000	28.0	44.0	29.9
6,001-9,000	7.7	7.0	7.5
9,001-12,000	4.8	-	2.8
12,001-15,000	1.8	.9	1.4
Above N15,000	.6	.9	.7
Total	100	1000	100
<u>Present salary per annum</u>			
Below N3,000	27.4	16.8	23.1
N3,000 - 6,000	27.4	52.2	37.4
6,001 - 9,000	16.7	12.4	14.9
9,001 - 12,000	11.9	8.0	10.3
12,001 - 15,000	10.1	8.0	9.3
Above N15,000	6.0	2.7	4.6
No response	.6	-	.4
Total	100	100	100

TABLE 15

Percentage distribution of respondents by present salary by company

PRESENT SALARY	M & B		GNL		NTM		XLÉ		CNL	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Below N3,000	17.3	15.0	11.3	11.5	11.3	8.0	10.7	13.3	6.5	10.6
N3,000 - 6,000	4.2	8.0	8.3	12.4	3.6	3.5	3.0	4.4	8.9	4.4
N6,001 - 9,000	3.6	.9	1.8	1.8	.6	-	.6	.9	1.2	3.5
N9,001 - 12,000	-	-	1.8	-	2.4	.6	-	-	.6	-
N12,001 - 15,000	.6	-	-	-	1.2	.6	-	-	-	-
Above N15,000	-	-	.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

KEY

M = Male

F = Female

TABLE 16

Percentage distribution of respondents by present salary by company.

PRESENT SALARY	M & B		GNL		NTM		XLB		CNL	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Below N3,000	9.5	5.3	6.0	4.5	6.0	2.7	3.6	1.8	2.4	2.7
N3,000 - 6,000	6.5	14.2	4.2	8.8	7.1	8.8	3.6	12.4	6.0	8.0
N6,001 - 9,000	4.2	1.8	3.6	6.2	1.8	-	2.4	2.7	4.8	1.8
N9,001 - 12,000	1.2	1.8	4.2	1.8	1.8	.9	3.6	.9	1.2	3.5
N12,001 - 15,000	3.0	.9	3.0	3.5	1.2	.9	1.2	.9	1.8	2.7
Above N15,000	1.2	-	2.4	.9	1.2	-	.6	-	1.2	-

KEY

M = Male

F = Female

TABLE 17

Percentage distribution of respondents by occupational status and income level

Occupational status	Below N3,000		N3,000 - 6,000		N6,001 - 9,000		N9,001 - 12,000		N12,001-15,000		Above N15,000	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Managerial	-	-	-	-	3.0	1.8	3.6	1.8	7.1	7.1	5.4	2.7
Professionals	3.0	9.7	4.8	14.2	7.1	7.1	6.0	6.2	2.4	.9	.6	-
Technical	12.5	.9	10.7	13.3	5.4	1.8	2.4	-	.6	-	.6	-
Clerical	6.5	3.5	10.1	11.5	1.2	1.8	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unskilled	5.4	2.7	1.8	13.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	27.4	16.8	27.4	52.3	16.7	12.5	12.0	8.0	10.1	8.0	6.6	2.7

A cross-tabulation of income level and occupational status shows a strong association between the two variables for both men and women in the samples. Table 17 shows that within the managerial category, none earns less than ₦6,000, while 25.5% of them earn above ₦15,000 per annum (some earn as much as ₦50,000 per annum, excluding fringes). About 75% of managers who earn above ₦15,000 are men while 25% are women.

None of the clerical staff earns above ₦9,000 while none of the unskilled workers earns above ₦6,000 per annum.

6.1.10. Social background

The data on respondents' social background, including socio-economic characteristics of their spouses are presented below:

a. Rural/Urban Background

The data collected shows that 26% of the total sample have rural background while 74.4% have urban background. The towns/villages named by respondents are classified rural/urban depending not only on population but industrial growth (existence of industries; higher institutions; commercial centres; telephone; transport facilities etc.). The towns classified as urban include Lagos, Ibadan, Onitsha, Enugu, Abeokuta, Aba, Kaduna etc.); while the smaller towns are

grouped as rural. This is because we are more concerned with measures of industrial growth, which might have exposed our sample to modern industrial work and industrial way of life. Data on rural/urban background shows no significant difference between the male and female samples. Data collected shows majority (73.8% of the male sample and 75.2% of the female sample) have urban background.

b. Spouses' Socio-economic characteristics

Basic information sought on respondent's spouses show that .4% are farmers; 12.3% are either in 'business' or trading; 17.8% are teachers/nurses/caterers; 12.6% are civil servants; 3.6% are in managerial position; 5.8% are professionals (lawyers, accountants etc.); while 2.2% are factory production workers. About 46% of the study sample are still unmarried.

When compared along gender lines, the wives of male respondents are concentrated in trading, teaching, nursing, catering and civil service; while husbands of our female respondents are concentrated in business, civil service, professional jobs (as lawyers, accountants, auditors, engineers etc.); managerial jobs; and factory production. There are cases of wives in managerial and professional jobs (15.4% of our respondents with spouses in the managerial/professional jobs are men while 84.6% are women).

The data on spouses' level of education shows that 9% have no formal education; 32% have secondary school education

and below; 14.1% have NCE/OND and its equivalents; while 42.9% have University education and its equivalents. About 21% of the spouses with no formal education are men, while 78.6% are women. Also, 40.2% of spouses with high education are women while 59.8% are men. With sex as a dependent variable, there is a significant relationship between sex and spouse's level of education (that is, male spouses have higher educational qualification than the female spouses). The data on spouse's occupational status and level of education shows that women generally marry a high status male (hypergamy), while men on the other hand generally prefer to marry below their own class position.

Majority (83.8%) of the spouses are christians while 16.2% are muslims, still supporting the early exposure of christians to western education.

Also, more than half (52.3%) of the spouses are monogamously married and have never been divorced, while majority of those who have changed spouses one time or the other are mostly men. Significantly, data on the number of children shows preference for small family size. For example, families with 4 children and below represent 69.4% while 25.9% have 5 children and above. The data however reveal no strong difference between men and women since most of the families are monogamous. It is however worth noting that half of those with more than 7 children are women while half are men, showing that some people still place a great emphasis on large

family. Ironically, this population falls among the low skilled workers who are not likely to be capable of meeting the financial demands of keeping large families, considering that their skills attract little monetary rewards.

6.2 Work history and general conditions of work

This section provides information on respondents' work history and the general conditions of work. It focuses on workers' access to factors which make for growth and advancement in the chosen career.

6.2.1. Previous employments

Information collected on job history shows that majority (65.8%) of the respondents (67.3% of the male sample and 64% of the female sample) had worked elsewhere before the present job, while just about one-third are in paid employment for the first time. Our data does not show any significant difference between the male and female samples in terms of job history. For example 40.5% of the male sample and 39.8% of the female sample report that their former jobs are similar in form and content to the present jobs while 28% of the male sample and 24.8% of the female sample reported that last jobs are different from the present jobs. This does not necessarily mean that both men and women have similar processes of proletarianization, as job segregation is a predominant feature of the modern industrial labour market. Modern industrial world tends to be fluid for workers with requisite skill and training. Labour turnover itself often tends to be

related to the socio-economic environment of work. For example, in Nigeria, with current debt crises, and attendant inflation and rising prices of goods, skilled workers tend to seek the highest bidder for their skills, while workers with less demanded skills are stuck with their employers because of the high level of unemployment.

Notably, majority (60.8%) of those who prefer their present jobs to the previous ones are men. It is not uncommon to find women who have resigned from an interesting job because of family responsibility, particularly, husband's transfer. This is the commonest reason given by women for leaving the very last employment. Other reasons given for leaving the last employment include - involuntary retirement/termination (53% men and 46.7% women); spouse's transfer (75% women and 25% men); victimization and other unhealthy relationship at work (57.1% women and 42.9% men), further studies/retraining (70.4% men and 29.6% women); lack of job security (51.9% men and 48.1% women); poor condition of service (66.7% men and 33.3% women); the nature of the jobs (that is lack of satisfaction with job; lack of prospect and growth; lack of challenge etc.) (62.5% men and 37.5% women).

The data on reasons for leaving the very last employment shows that both men and women industrial workers face involuntary retirement/termination; lack of job security; poor conditions of service and so on; which are caused by global and local current economic crises. However, women are more

affected by husband's transfer than vice-versa. Also, more men tend to leave their job for further studies than women. On the whole, our data shows that women tend to stick to their jobs more than men even in cases of obvious social deprivations.

6.2.2. Present employment

Table 8 presents data on respondents length of service with present employer. Two observations are made in relation to the "length of service" data. First, 60.9% of respondents who have just spent 1 - 5 years are men, while 39.1% are women. This might mean a preference for male workers in a situation where there is surplus of human labour. On the other hand, it might also reflect change of policy in favour of women (meaning that women are gradually penetrating the modern industrial labour market). However, it is significant to note that 100% of those who have spent 16 years and above with their employers are men. This is not unrelated to the fact that women are just entering industrial labour force in the recent times.

The data on total years spent in paid employment shows that 29.8% spent 1 - 5 years; 26.3% spent 6 - 10 years; 20.3% spent 11 - 15 years; 2.1% spent 21 - 25 years whilst 1.8% spent 26 - 30 years. It is also significant that no woman in the sample has spent up to 26 years in paid employment.

The information collected on nature of present employment shows that all respondents included in the survey sample are

TABLE 18

Percentage distribution of respondents by
respondents by department/sections

Department	Male	Female	Total
Personnel (Admin)	18.5	31.9	23.8
Production	47.0	42.5	45.2
Finance	16.1	10.6	13.9
Technical/Maintenance	6.5	4.4	5.7
Marketing/Purchasing	8.9	6.2	7.8
Public Relations	1.8	3.5	2.5
Health Unit	1.2	.9	1.1
TOTAL	59.8	40.2	100

on permanent appointment. As already indicated, workers on part-time, temporary and contract appointments are left out because they are not entitled to promotion, and intensive training and therefore fall outside the sample.

Table 18 shows the distribution of respondents in the various departments. Data in this table hides sex segregation in the labour market, for in reality majority of men are found in production line, finance, technical and marketing departments; while women are mostly found in personnel, public relations and health unit. However, that 66.7% nurses in the sample are men also point to the fact that men have started to make an in-road into occupations traditionally seen as female's. Notably, 37.8% of production workers are women, while 31.3% of technical workers are women. This also indicates that women are also moving into the traditional male-occupations.

In order to measure the position of women within the organisational authority structure, respondents were asked whether or not they have ever held supervisory positions. The data collected shows that majority (89.7%) of the sample are responsible to immediate supervisors, while 10.3% are not. About 79% of those who are not responsible to immediate supervisors are men while only 20.7% are women. This shows that men tend to be more in supervisory positions (or positions commanding authority). This also indicates a big difference between men and women, in terms of accessibility to

supervisory roles.

Among workers (77.9%) who have direct subordinates, 57% are men, while 43% are women. Significantly, majority (79%) of those who have never held any supervisory positions before, are women. The data here points to relatively lower positions for women (compared to men) in the organisational authority structure.

6.2.3. General conditions of work

In order to elicit information on the general condition of work, questions were asked on such things as allowances (medical, housing, transport, leave and so on); gratuity scheme; mode of recruitment; in-service training; promotion etc.; and the way the individual compares himself/herself to same or opposite gender in comparable job positions.

(a) Allowances

Allowances paid to workers include medical, housing, transport, leave, end of year bonus and food subsidy allowances. Some of these allowances are paid in cash whereas others are in kind, for example all the companies run catering services where workers either eat free or pay 40% of cost. Also, most workers receive free medical services from the respective company's clinic.

No significant differences are recorded between men and women in terms of these allowances (differences tend to be along occupational lines rather than gender lines). Since majority of women are in the low level jobs, it can be

inferred that women, as a category tend to earn less, in terms of total spending on the labour force.

The data on medical allowance shows that majority (77%) cannot estimate their medical allowance, while 6% report their medical allowance is below ₦500 per annum; 5.7% have a medical allowance of ₦500 - ₦1,000 per annum; for another 5%, it is ₦1,001 - ₦2,000; 1% estimated it to ₦3,001 - ₦5,000, while for 1.4% said it is above ₦5,000. It is significant that 100% of those earning ₦5,000 and above for medical allowance are all men. Thus, when medical allowance is cross-tabulated with occupational category, all respondents with ₦5,000 and above for medical allowance are all in managerial positions. This is to say that workers' allowances are directly related to occupational status. Since men tend to occupy the top job positions, they tend to earn more in terms of allowances. This trend is the same for other allowances.

The difference between men and women in terms of medical allowance is brought out more succinctly as respondents list other family members covered by their medical allowance; and whether or not their medical allowance covers the cost of the following:

- i. drugs/hospitalization for self
- ii. drugs/hospitalization for children
- iii. drugs/hospitalization for spouse
- iv. maternity care for self
- v. maternity care for spouse

vi. drugs/hospitalization for parents.

From the responses got, the following observations are made -

- i members of the family of the junior staff are not covered by the various medical schemes for workers. Forty-two percent of the total sample do not have the company's medical scheme extended to their family members. When 'medical care arrangement' is cross-tabulated with occupational group, it is found that majority of respondents whose families do not enjoy the medical care supplied by employers are junior staff, or senior staff who are still single.
- ii members of the families of the senior staff are covered by the medical care arrangement but with a significant difference between male and female workers. For example, an average senior staff (male) is covered in the medical care scheme including a wife and 4 children; while for a woman who is a senior staff, the medicare is extended to her, and her 4 children, whereas her spouse is excluded.
- iii all the casual labourers (both men and women) are not entitled to the company's medicare (except in case of accident while on duty which requires first aid or further medical treatment).
- iv it is also significant to note that each company

does not bear the cost of surgical operations, dental, ophthalmic, aural, maternity or venereal disease treatment, nor of artificial limbs or surgical appliances; nor is treatment extended to parents of employees.

The data on housing allowance shows that the companies surveyed do not provide living accommodation for most employees. Rather, a house rent subsidy is payable at a specified rate depending on occupational status. Housing allowance varies from N840 per annum to above N5,000 per annum (difference in rate is among occupational groups rather than gender groups). Where husband and wife work for the same employer, only one of them is entitled to housing allowance, otherwise, both men and women are entitled to housing allowance irrespective of spouse.

Information on transport allowance shows that all employees receive transport allowance (ranging between N720 per annum and N4,000 per annum) except in the following circumstances -

- i. where the company provides transport for workers
- ii. where an employee possesses a company vehicle, or
- iii. where the worker resides in the company housing estate very close to the factory premises.

All workers eat at the company canteen at subsidized rates. When there is an official outside assignment (where there is no company canteen), workers are paid lunch

allowances depending on occupational status.

Paid annual leave/allowance is granted only after 12 months of continuous employment with the employer. The leave allowance depends on salary level, while the leave period is also dependent on occupational status. In most cases, the leave allowance is a minimum of one month basic salary.

End of year bonus is usually at the company's discretion, but more often than not, it is also same as a one month basic salary. Also, both the gratuity scheme and the staff provident fund are with equal terms for both men and women.

(b) Absenteeism

To measure absenteeism, respondents were asked to sum up days/week stayed off work because of -

- i. personal health problem
- ii. child illness
- iii. maternity leave
- iv. spouse illness
- v. to attend ceremonies
- vi. examinations.

The data collected on absenteeism show that only 30.6% (44.2% being women and 55.8% being men) had stayed away one time or the other because of personal health problem; 68.3% said they never stayed away from work because of health problems. It is important to note that there is no significant difference between the responses of male and

female workers.

The information gathered on those who have stayed away from work because of sick children show that only few (7.5%) of those with children had stayed away to attend to sick children (81% of this being women and 19% being men). However, this finding confirms the general assumption that mothers, more often than fathers, would likely leave their jobs to attend to sick children. According to Oppong²⁰², there is a tacit assumption that reproduction is the domain of women, thus, this forms the major basis of female role conflict. However, the relative small number of parents who have stayed away from work because of sick children implies that parents have started to device different strategies to cope with domestic demands which traditionally tend to jeopardize their work interests.

Maternity leave is only granted expectant mothers. Our data shows that 23% of the female sample have enjoyed maternity leave within the last one year (that is, 1988 January, to 1989, January). With the mean age of the female sample being - 29.05 years, this is not an unusual finding, as most of the married women are in the child bearing age. This, however, has implication for an organization which is profit oriented in terms of effectiveness, efficiency, continuity,

²⁰²Oppong, C., Family structure and women's reproductive and productive roles: same conceptual and methodological issues, in Anker, R. et al. (eds) Interactions between women's roles and population trends in the Third World, London, Croom Helm, 1982.

and productivity.

The information on respondents who have stayed away from work because of sick spouse shows that only 33.3% are men, while 66.7% are women. Also, 59.2% of those who stayed away because of social engagements (burials, wedding, and other ceremonies connected with the welfare of friends and blood relations) are women, while 40.8% are men. The higher percentage of women in this category further emphasizes the pivotal role the woman plays as a wife, mother, sister, daughter-in-law and friend; and for both men and women, it emphasizes how much time is consumed by individual's obligations to immediate and extended family unit. Marshall²⁰³ had observed that a Yoruba wife gives generously of her time and money to activities in her affinal compound in order to gain the favour of her husband and other co-wives.

About 78% of those who have taken time off to sit for different examinations within the one year are men, while 22.2% are women. The higher percentage of men in this category further confirms the fact that men, more than women, spend more time on status building roles.

(c) Nature of Work

The data presented here reveal information on work routines; pattern of recruitment; in-service training; promotion prospects; and taxation.

²⁰³Marshall, G. A., Women, trade and Yoruba family, Unpublished Ph.D Dissertation, Columbia University, New York, 1964.

Work routines

Our findings show that 28.2% of the sample engage in shift work. Most women (83%) who do shift work, do day-shifts, while majority (91.4%) of those who do night-shifts are men. The few women (8.6%) who do night-shifts are all nurses and clinic attendants working in company's clinic. These findings agree with the government stipulation that women should not work on the shop floor after 10 p.m. Thus, women who engage in shift work are only engaged till 10 p.m.

Recruitment patterns

Many of the workers (76.4% of the male sample and 41% of the female sample) are recruited through routine interviews; while others (2.8% of the male sample and 39.6% of the females) are recruited through personal contacts. This data shows a significant difference between men and women in terms of recruitment pattern. For example, the data shows that more women, than men, are likely to be employed through personal contacts.

The implications of the above data might be that a lot of prejudices still exist towards female employment in the manufacturing industries thus, few of the women (compared to men) are employed through the normal channel of advertisement/interview phenomenon. Majority of women are therefore employed through the 'back-door', using personal contact. This phenomenon has implications for women employment in general, viz -

- i. it may mean that the most qualified women are not employed especially where such women lack necessary personal contact.
- ii. since the best women are not employed for the best job, there could be attendant implication for job performance. That is, the performance of the privileged few (women employed through personal contact) might not represent average performance of women in general.

iii. the awareness of a privileged position of a small class of women by other workers (especially men) might lead to wrong assumptions about women workers in general. That is, it could lead to subtle antagonism between male and female workers (the case studies presented in chapter 8 reveal some of the implications of this, particularly what men call "bottom-power").

In-service training

Our data does not show any significant difference in exposure to in-service training between men and women, the average mean for men is 3 and 1.08 for women. The data on in-service training shows that sex as a variable, does not have significant effect on in-service training; rather, there is a direct relationship between in-service training and variables such as occupational status and length of service. When length of service is cross-tabulated with in-service training, the association between the two variables showed a positive relationship. It is found that the number and type of in-service training received by workers depends on length of service and type of job done.

Promotion patterns

Most of the respondents who are promoted for outstanding performance before others in the same job level, are mainly male workers (66%). The significance of sex as a factor of

promotion is also shown when respondents were asked the number of times they have been promoted, as it is found that the mean for men is 4, and 2.2 for women.

Tax deductions (P.A.Y.E)

The data on tax paid per month shows that what is paid as tax by individual worker is directly related to income level and occupational status, however, the noticeable difference is between men and women occupying the same occupational status, earning the same salary and with same marital status. For example, it is found that whilst a man pays between N5 to N100 as tax, a woman in the same job category pays between N30 to N200 per month. A comparison of tax paid by both men and women with the same emolument shows that -

- i. women are overtaxed
- ii married women do not receive children allowance, except there is a written application by the husband, allowing the wife to do so.
- iii. women do not receive spouse allowance.

d. Organisational Opportunity structure

To measure the organizational opportunity structure as perceived by the individual respondent, more indepth information is sought on pattern of promotion and general prospects at work. Data on promotion shows that while about 70% of the male sample have received one type of promotion or the other within the last 5 years, only 56% of the female sample have experienced the same. About 30% of the male sample and 44% of the female sample are yet to receive any form of promotion since employed.

A strong relationship is found between year of last promotion and length of service on one hand and occupational status on the other hand. When recorded promotion is cross-tabulated with length of service, majority (53.1%) of those with low promotion record have not spent more than 5 years with the present employer while 82.6% of those with high promotion record have spent between 6-15 years with their present employer ($X^2 = 150.4$, $df = 8$, sig. at $P < = .01$).

The data on year due for the next promotion shows no significant relationship between gender and promotion prospects. About 26% of the male sample and 9.7% of the female sample expect promotion in another two years; while 16.7% of the male sample and 21% of the female sample report they are already overdue. Thirty-five percent of the male sample and 29.2% of the female sample could not say categorically when their promotions will come. The fact that

there is no strong association between gender and perceived lack of promotion prospects does not mean that equal treatment are meted out to both men and women, for the higher percentage (63%) of women among those people who expect their promotion within the next one year might mean that more women than men are already overdue for promotion. Again, that more women (56%) than men report that they are already overdue for promotion confirms the imbalance in promotion prospects between men and women.

Since it is likely to have variation among people who in fact occupy the same job ladder in terms of promotion prospects, we try to measure situations reflecting opportunity differences for men and women, using items reflecting managerial tasks and occupational segregation (these items were used by Kanter in her Indisco study). Table 19 shows that both men and women positively desire items related to increased responsibility and managerial tasks. However, our findings show a 74.7% average for men on desirability of items reflecting managerial tasks, while for women, the average percentage of desirability is 91.9%. This slightly contradicts Kanter's finding that desirability of these items is higher among men than women. However, in Table 17, the percentage average for men (78.8%) and for women (59.5%) show that these items are more desirable than likely for women. The positive response of women to the desire for managerial tasks might not be unconnected with the growing consciousness

TABLE 19

Percentage distribution of respondents by desirability and likelihood of events if and when in managerial position

Desirability and likelihood of events in managerial position	M	F	T	M	F	T
<u>Things most desired</u>						
<u>(a) Items reflecting managerial tasks -</u>						
1. Increased responsibility	86.3	93.8	89.3	13.7	6.2	10.7
2. Making policy decisions	91.1	95.6	92.9	8.9	4.4	7.1
3. To be a leader	91.7	92.9	92.2	8.3	7.1	7.8
4. Independent thought/action	91.1	90.3	90.7	8.9	9.7	9.3
5. Outspoken/Objective	92.9	95.6	94.0	7.1	4.4	6.0
6. Aggressive/Competitive	86.3	83.2	85.1	13.7	16.8	15.0
<u>Items reflecting occupational Segregation</u>						
7. Opposite gender coworkers	75.0	82.3	85.1	14.9	15.0	14.9
8. Opposite sex boss	41.7	80.5	57.3	58.3	19.5	42.7
9. Problem of acceptance as an equal.	15.5	8.0	12.5	84.5	92.0	87.5
10. Same sex co-workers	94.0	85.8	90.7	6.0	14.2	9.3
<u>(2) Things most likely to happen</u>						
<u>(a) (Items reflecting managerial tasks) -</u>						
1. Increased responsibility	85.1	85.0	85.1	14.9	15.0	14.9
2. Making policy decisions	76.8	40.7	62.3	23.2	59.3	37.7
3. Being a leader	74.4	45.1	62.6	25.6	54.9	37.4
4. Independent thought/action	60.1	29.2	47.7	39.9	70.8	52.3
5. Outspoken/objective	87.5	78.8	84.0	12.5	21.2	16.0
6. Aggressive/Competitive	88.7	77.9	84.3	11.3	22.1	15.7
<u>(b) Items reflecting occupational segregation)-</u>						
7. Opposite gender co-worker	53.0	84.1	65.5	47.0	15.9	34.5
8. Opposite sex boss	24.4	87.6	49.8	75.6	12.4	50.2
9. Problems of acceptance	39.3	87.6	58.7	60.7	12.4	41.3
10. Same sex co-workers	90.5	61.1	78.6	9.5	38.9	21.4

KEY: M = Male; F = Female; T = Total.

among Nigerian women that within the present socio-economic development, the survival of their homes depends on how much they are able to contribute both in cash and in kind.

Items reflecting occupational segregation (see Table 19) show that 75% of the male sample and 82.3% of the female sample desire having opposite gender co-workers, while majority (80.5%) of the women feel that if they become managers, their main problem will be gaining acceptance and respect from other managers, who are mostly males. This indicates a greater reluctance on the part of men to accept the opposite sex as a boss, or as an equal.

(e) Gender discrimination within the work environment

Perceived gender discrimination is measured in four different ways. That is, the respondents assess the following as they compare themselves to workers in comparable jobs:

- i. objective conditions of work (salary, fringes, tax per month, training and promotion);
- ii. subjective conditions of work (that is, encouragement received from others to advance in work and to improve in job performance/general well-being;
- iii. social relations at work; and
- iv. a general appraisal of gender discrimination.

The subsequent paragraphs present data on the different measures of perceived gender discrimination.

i. Objective indices of perceived gender discrimination at work

The objective indices of perceived gender discrimination are assessed by making comparisons across and within gender groups.

Comparisons across gender groups:

Salary

In assessing salary across gender groups, most (60%) of those who report lower salaries are women, while majority (68%) of those who enjoy higher salaries are men. On the whole, majority of the respondents (54% of the males and 62% of the females) report no difference in salaries; while 2.1% (100% of whom are men) are not in position to compare since there are no women in comparable jobs. No significant difference is recorded on how men and women in the same job level perceive their salaries, particularly when they compare themselves to the opposite gender. Although when the overall proportions of women and their total salaries are compared to those of men, there might be a sharp difference. Any consideration of salary difference between the genders in work organizations needs to take into account such indices as -

- educational level
- job experience (training)
- occupational status
- promotion etc.

Fringe benefits

A significant difference is found between men and women of comparable jobs when fringe benefits are assessed. Although majority (53.6% of male sample and 64.6% of the female sample) share the same fringe benefits; others, enjoy lower (14% of the male sample and 21.2% of the female sample); or higher (23.2% of males and 12.4% of females) fringe benefits.

Tax deductions (P.A.Y.E.)

The data on tax shows that majority (68%) of those who pay less tax (compared to those of opposite gender) are men, while women are more (63%) among those who report higher taxes. Others (39% of the males and 34% of the females) claim that tax deductions are same across gender groups.

Training

The data on opportunity to train on the job shows that men and women do not enjoy the same opportunity to train. Thus, majority (75%) of those who report a higher opportunity to train on the job are men.

Promotion prospects

The data on promotion prospects also indicates different experiences across gender groups. Although about half of the total sample report equal opportunity prospects with those of their colleagues irrespective of gender, more women (68%) still report lower promotion prospects, while (70%) of those with higher promotion prospects are men.

Comparison within the same gender group

Using the same objective indices identified above, respondents also compare themselves to 'same gender' in comparable job level within the same establishment.

Salary

In terms of salary, very few respondents (10.7%), that is, 20 men and 10 women, report that their salary is lower than those of the same gender in comparable jobs; while there is no significant difference between men and women in terms of likelihood of higher salaries (7.7% of the male sample and 7.1% of the female sample report that their salary is higher than those of same gender). However, the few who earn less or more indicates the effects of personal attributes in terms of job performance and efficiency which could earn a worker, less or more prospects at work.

Fringes

The data on fringe benefits does not show any significant difference between responses of men and women as they compare themselves to the same gender in equivalent jobs. Both men and women tend to enjoy the same work fringes, although few workers (9%) report lower fringes.

Tax deductions

When respondents compare the monthly tax deduction on their salaries with those of the same gender and in comparable jobs, majority (65%) report no difference in tax deductions, while those who report lower (8.9%) or higher (18.1%) tax

deductions, link this occurrence with their marital status. Single women tend to pay less tax compared to married women of the same salary level; while on the other hand, married men tend to have more tax relief than single men, and hence married men tend to pay less tax.

Training and promotion prospects

In terms of training, and promotion prospects, over 80% in both instances, claim the same experience, while few others have experienced either lower or higher training/promotion prospects.

The data on objective indices of discrimination, as respondents compare themselves with opposite/same gender show a significant difference between gender in terms of perceived gender discrimination.

Table 20 shows the distribution of respondents by level of discrimination (see Chapter 4 for detailed description of gender discrimination indexing). When comparison is made across gender groups, 24.8% of the female sample feel highly discriminated against, while only 8.9% of the male sample feel the same. On the other hand, 20.8% of the male sample and only 8.8% of the female sample report that they are better treated than those of the opposite gender.

A sharp difference exists between men and women when comparisons are made across gender groups, whereas such a distinction disappears when comparisons are made within a gender group. For example, comparing within the same gender

TABLE 20

Percentage distribution of respondents by level of perceived discrimination at work

Perceived discrimination in condition of work	Compared to opposite gender			Compared to same gender		
	M	F	T	M	F	T
<u>(Objective indices)</u>						
High level (05-08)	8.9	24.8	15.3	11.3	8.8	10.3
No discrimination (90-11)	48.2	56.6	51.6	69.0	1.7	70.1
Positively favoured (12-15)	20.8	8.8	16.0	8.3	7.1	7.8
Incomplete index	17.3	9.7	14.2	10.1	1.5	10.7
Not applicable	3.6	-	2.1	.6	.9	.7
No response	1.2	-	.7	.6	-	.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>(Subjective Indices)</u>						
High level (04-06)	8.3	20.4	13.3	10.1	13.3	11.4
No discrimination (07 - 09)	62.5	53.1	58.7	64.3	67.3	65.5
Positively favoured (10 - 12)	16.7	19.5	17.8	19.6	16.8	18.5
Incomplete index	7.7	4.4	6.4	4.2	.9	2.8
Not applicable	4.2	2.7	3.6	1.2	1.8	1.4
No response	.6	-	.4	.6	-	.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

KEY: M = Male; F = Female; T = Total sample.

group, very few respondents (11.3% of the males and 8.8% of the females report a high level of discrimination at work.

ii. Subjective indices of gender discrimination at work:
encouragement to improve and advance on the job

To measure respondents' perceived discrimination at work, respondents compare themselves with other workers at comparable jobs within and across gender groups, in terms of encouragement received from different categories of workers to improve and advance on the job.

Comparison across gender groups

When comparison is made across gender groups, majority (58%) of those who report lower encouragement from the male superiors are women, while about the same number of men and women report higher encouragement. On the whole, majority (53%), that is, 98 men and 49 women, report the same level of encouragement from male superiors.

The level of encouragement received from female superiors compared to opposite gender also shows more of the female workers (23%) receive less encouragement from them, although 15.5% of the male sample and 20.4% of the female sample receive higher encouragement. Notably, majority (56%), that is, 100 men and 58 women, receive equivalent encouragement from female bosses. About 11% of the male sample and 5.3% of the female sample do not work directly with female superiors. From personal discussions with respondents and personal observations, it seems gender discrimination at the subjective

level is rather subtle than obvious. In fact at this level, the existence of gender discrimination is easily taken for granted, and sometimes seen as personal vendetta rather than a group affair. The cultural boundary created between the two gender groups makes it more difficult to deal with such gender prejudice and often means gender discrimination could be more persistent while yet, workers lack consciousness of its existence.

When respondents assess their relationship with female co-workers it is revealed that 10.7% of the male sample and 8% of the female sample receive lower encouragement from female co-workers, compare with the opposite gender; 67.9% of the male sample and 73.5% of the female sample report the same level of encouragement, while 13.7% of male sample and 15.9% of female sample report higher encouragement (from female co-workers) to improve in job performance. The data on female co-workers (when comparison is made across gender groups) does not show any significant difference between gender groups.

Data on encouragement received from male co-workers, 6% of the male sample receive lower encouragement; 67.9% receive same encouragement while 19.6% receive higher encouragement. About 12% of the female sample, receive lower; 69% receive same; while 15.9% receive higher encouragement. The relationship between male and female co-workers are further espoused in our case studies enumerated in chapter 5. However, the data presented above show that majority of the

respondents share the same work relationship both within and across gender groups. The following observations could also be made -

- (i) the male workers tend to receive more favour from both male and female superiors (that is, compared to their female counterparts).
- (ii) gender has less influence on how a female worker relates to other co-workers (men and women)
- (iii) group-sentiments appear stronger among the male co-workers (the data show more antagonism across gender groups rather than within same gender). For example male co-workers tend to encourage themselves more than they will across gender group.
- (iv) as will be further shown below, female bosses identify less with female workers.

Comparison within the same gender group

When respondents compare encouragement received from male supervisors with same gender in comparable job level, 8.9% of the male sample and 9.7% of the female sample report low encouragement; 64.9% of the male sample and 70.8% of the female sample report equivalent encouragement; while 23.8% of the male sample and 17.7% of the female sample claim that they are well encouraged by their male supervisors. There is no significant difference between men and women in terms of

treatment reportedly received from male bosses.

When encouragement received from female bosses are reported, very few receive negative treatment, while majority (64.9% of the male sample and 75.2% of the female) report no discrimination; while very few (17.3% of male sample and 12.4% of female sample) report being more favoured. Personal discussions with respondents and the data on the relationship between women in junior cadres and women in more superior positions show that uneasy relationship exists among women across occupational groups. This raises a lot of questions - 'could it be that women find it easier to work with men?'; could it be that women tend not to tolerate themselves?' etc. Answers to some of these questions are supplied in our case studies.

Finally, when respondents compare themselves to workers of the same gender in comparable positions, subjective experience at work shows the same trend within gender groups. Female co-workers show more favourable attitudes toward male co-workers than they do to female co-worker. About 11% of the male sample and 12.4% of the female sample receive very poor encouragement from female co-workers, while 12.5% of the male sample and only 11.5% of the female sample receive special favours from female co-workers). The male co-workers show less sentiments towards the female group (for example, 7.1% of the male sample and 11.5% of the female sample receive very poor encouragement from the male co-workers while 17.3% of the

male sample and 16.8% of the female sample receive special favours from the male co-workers).

A composite index of gender discrimination (subjective indices) (see Table 20) however, shows a relationship between gender and encouragement received at work in order to improve in job performance, and advance at work (especially when a worker compares himself to the opposite gender).

iii. Social relations at work

Gender and choice of friends at work -

More questions were asked on the subjective elements of work. Respondents were asked to mention the group they are likely to choose their friends from. For the men, 20.2% would choose friends from their own gender; 4.2% would choose their friends from the opposite gender while for 72.6%, gender does not have any influence on their choice of friends. About 22% of the women would likely choose friends from their own gender; 11.5% would choose their friends from the opposite gender, while 66.4% would choose their friends without any consideration for gender. Although no relationship is established between gender and choice of friends, it is important to note that while 65% of workers who prefer informal relationship with the opposite sex are women, only 35% are men. This finding has implications for social relations within and across gender groups.

Type of social relations with different groups of workers

Respondents were further asked to describe their

TABLE 21

Percentage distribution of respondents by social relations at work (social relations at work)

Categories of workers	Social Relations at Work							
	Not Very cordial		Strictly official		Official & Cordial		Very cordial	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Superior (males)	3.0	6.2	13.1	8.8	63.7	68.1	18.5	16.8
Superior (Female)	4.2	5.3	14.3	9.7	65.5	69.9	10.1	14.2
Female Co-workers	-	4.4	9.5	1.8	70.8	69.9	16.7	23.0
Male co-workers	.6	4.4	6.5	6.2	67.9	69.9	24.4	17.7
Female Subordinates	.6	3.5	9.5	6.2	66.1	69.9	14.9	18.8
Male Subordinates	1.2	3.5	4.8	7.1	71.4	69.9	16.7	15.9

KEY: M = Male
 F = Female
 T = Total

relationship with different groups as of the time of the interview. Table 21 presents data on social relations at work.

Male and female superiors

Data on relationship at work with male superiors show that majority of the sample (63.7% of the males and 68.1% of the females) have 'official and cordial relationship' with male superiors. When relationship with female bosses is considered, majority (66%), that is, 107 men and 77 women, also report official and cordial relationship with them. Although the few reported cases of "not very cordial" relationship at work are made against supervisors (notably women are in higher percentage within this category) (see Table 21). In all, women report most of the 'uncordial relationships' with different categories of workers - superiors, contemporaries and subordinates. On the whole, the data in Table 21 implies that workers generally tend to establish a favourable relationship with those in authority either males or females.

Female co-workers

Data on the female co-workers shows that 1.8% (100% of whom are women) report uncordial relationship with other female co-workers; 9.5% of the male sample and 1.8% of the female sample report a strictly official relationship with female co-workers; 70.8% of the men and 69.9% of the women see their relationship with female co-workers as strictly official

and yet cordial; while 16.7% of these men and 23% of the women have a very cordial relationship with female co-workers. Although there is little difference between gender groups in their relationship with female co-workers, the data reveal that the few respondents whose relationship with female co-workers are not very cordial are all women. The percentage however points to the fact that a strained relationship develops more between women than between men.

Male co-workers

Information on the relationship with male co-workers show that for the male sample, less than 1% have an uncordial relationship with the male co-workers; 6.5% have a relationship that is strictly official with them; 65.9% have a relationship that is official and cordial with male co-workers, while 24.4% have a very cordial relationship with the male co-workers. For the female sample, 4.4% do not have a very-cordial relationship with the male co-workers; 6.2% have a relationship that is strictly official with them; 69.9% have a relationship that is official and cordial; while 17.7% have a very cordial relationship with the male co-workers. The data do not show any significant gender difference in their relationship with the male co-workers (see Table 21). The data however shows that 83.3% of those who have no cordial relationship with male co-workers are women. This points to the general reluctance of men to accept women in certain work groups, and vice versa.

Female subordinates

Information collected on relationship with female subordinates shows that less than 1% of the male sample and 3.5% of the female sample have a relationship which is not so cordial with female subordinates; 9.5% of the male sample and 6.2% of the female sample have relationship that is strictly official with female subordinates; 66.1% of the men and 69.9% of the women reported a relationship that is official and cordial with female subordinates. About 5% do not have female subordinates. It is significant to note that 80% of those who have no cordial relationship with female subordinates are women.

Male subordinates

The data on male subordinates shows that 1.2% of the men and 3.5% of the women report a relationship that is not cordial with male subordinate; 4.8% of the male sample and 7.1% of the female sample indicate a strictly official relationship with male subordinates; while 71.4% of the men and 69.9% of the women report a relationship that is official and cordial; and 16.7% of the men and 15.9% of the women report a very cordial relationship with male subordinates. Although majority have official/cordial relationship with male subordinates, notably, a higher percentage of those whose relationship are not cordial with male subordinates (66.7%) are women.

The fact that this trend cuts across the different groups

TABLE 22

Percentage distribution of respondents by composite values of social relations and overall perceived gender discrimination

Composite Values	M	F	T
<u>1. Social Relations</u> (Discrimination index varies from 6-24)			
i. Poor social relations at work (less than 15 composite value)	12.5	13.3	12.8
ii. Conducive social relations at work (15 scores and above)	78.0	84.1	80.2
iii. Incomplete index	9.5	2.7	6.0
Total	100	100	100
<u>2. Overall perceived gender discrimination at work:</u> (Discrimination at work varies from 9-36).			
i. No gender discrimination at work (23 composite value and above).	61.3	38.9	52.3
ii. High level of gender discrimination (less than 23 composite value)	36.3	59.3	45.6
iii. Incomplete index	2.4	1.8	2.2
Total	100	100	100

KEY: M = Male; F = Female; T = Total.

of workers shows that there is something gender - specific in the relationship women have within their gender group and across gender groups.

Composite index of social relations at work

In order to make a summary of social relationships across the various work groups, a composite index of such social relationships at work was made. The index of social relationships at work varies from 6 to 24. Less than 15 index value indicates poor relationship at work, while 15 index value and above indicates a conducive relationship at work. The data presented in Table 22 shows a significant difference between men and women when over-all social relationship at work is compared across gender groups. A striking feature of social relationship at work is the fact that for all groups of workers, social relationship at work which tends to be official and cordial reigns supreme. This shows the peculiarities of modern industrial sector. Formalized working relationships which are features of the modern sectors tend to make people hide their individual prejudices against other workers, both senior and junior.

iv. Overall assessment of gender discrimination at work

To make an overall assessment of gender discrimination at work, respondents were asked whether subtle discrimination exists against their gender taking a bird's view of both objective and subjective elements of work (see Table 23). The two columns in Table 23 presenting data on "often" and "not at

TABLE 23

Percentage distribution of respondents by overall assessment
of gender discrimination at work

Aspect of work	Often		Sometimes		Rarely		Not at all	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Salary	10.1	13.3	29.2	44.2	17.9	14.2	42.3	28.3
Fringes	14.9	26.5	18.5	33.6	19.6	13.3	45.8	25.7
Tax	15.5	48.7	19.0	17.7	19.6	14.2	44.6	18.6
Promotion	14.9	46.0	23.8	18.6	19.6	16.8	41.1	17.7
Training	13.7	44.2	24.4	21.2	19.0	14.2	42.3	19.5
Attitudes of superiors (Males)	14.9	31.0	28.0	29.2	22.0	19.5	33.9	20.4
Attitudes of superiors (Female)	13.7	24.8	24.4	25.7	18.5	28.3	41.1	20.4
Attitude of male co-workers	11.3	12.4	21.4	17.7	19.6	23.9	47.0	45.1
Attitude of Female co-worker	11.9	12.4	18.5	15.0	22.6	22.1	45.8	48.7

KEY: M = Male; F = Female; T = Total.

all" show a great contrast (the female respondents record the highest percentages in the column which says discrimination is "often"; while male respondents record the highest percentages in the column that says "not at all", that is, discrimination does not exist.

When a composite index value of overall perceived discrimination at work is built, 61.3% of the male sample and 38.9% of the female sample claim that no gender discrimination exists; while 36.3% of the males and 59.3 of the females report high degree of gender discrimination at work (see Table 22).

e. Protective Legislation:

Respondents assessed existing protective legislation (maternity and night duty legislation). Majority (69% of the males and 53% of the female) see the maternity regulation adequate as it exists today; while 7.7% of the male sample and 30% of the female sample criticized it vehemently. Yet others do not know anything about maternity legislation. It is however significant to note that majority of those who see the maternity legislation as adequate are still single while all those who claim it is inadequate, are married with children, and are mostly women. This implies that the maternity legislation as it is today needs a critical reassessment.

Majority (52%), that is, 90 men and 56 women, equally assess the night duty legislation as adequate, while 18.5% and 32.7% male and female samples respectively acclaim its

inadequacy; yet about 22.8% of our total sample do not know anything about this. It is also significant that women for whom the legislation is supposed to protect constitute 54.4% of those who see the night legislation as inadequate.

Alternative suggestions made by the respondents are that maternity leave should be extended to six months with pay, while such leave period could be taken by both men and women so as to spread such leave over different employment. Others argue that night duty is unhealthy and uncultural for women, and should therefore stay as it is while others see night duty legislation as protectionist, thus depriving women access to viable employment options. Many women argue that women should be given the freedom to choose whichever duty they like (for some women might prefer night duty where there is problem of childcare during the day, while others may prefer day shift, especially women in single parent families).

Another area needing legislative attention is the system of taxation which takes so much from the women's income earnings. Respondents want tax legislation which will apportion same tax indices for men and women.

Only few of our respondents (8.3% of the males and 18.6% of the females) want policies that treat women as different and unique. A larger number (54%), that is, 103 men and 48 women, prefer policies which give the same treatment to both men and women, so far both earn same salary (that is, nothing like granting what they call 'undue privileges' to women).

Also, about 26% of the male sample and 37.2 of the female sample prefer policies which give consideration to women's reproductive roles, and ensure both genders are treated equally. Lastly, very few (5%), that is, 5 men and 10 women, want policies which encourage women to stay at "home where they belong" are preferred.

e. Labour union activities:

To document the extent to which the work environment is committed to women's needs, questions were asked on labour union activities, and the involvement of women in these.

About 35% of the male sample and 17% of the female sample are active members of their respective labour unions, while majority (69%), that is, 106 men and 88 women, are not active union members. A further probing shows that most men who are not active members of labour unions are in fact mostly in the management positions, who by virtue of their being part of the policy making body cannot be too active in labour union matters. Union members are mostly in non-management positions, and are expected by rule to be active unionists. The above data shows a gap between male and female responses and the level of awareness women have on labour union matters. In fact majority (77%), that is, 128 men and 88 women, confirm that women have not been involved in union matters, thus confirming the general low awareness rate of women in union matters and the general notion that women are less aggressive

in matters relating to assertion of rights.

A further probing on why women have not been active unionists gives a list of responses which include statements like:

- "women lack education/enlightenment on union matters",
- "women shy away from being labelled radicals",
- "women fear their husbands might not approve of such";
- "unionism is too demanding for women, as there is more pressure on their time, that is sharing time between housework, childcare and work roles";
- "no husband wants a militant woman as a wife";
- "some women lack interest while others are generally lazy and have low intuition";
- "men see unionism as male prerogative and often men hinder women from becoming union executives" etc.

A brief overview of the above statements shows that the extent to which women become active unionists depends on the encouragement women receive from the men in their lives (that is, their husbands; their employers who are mostly men; and the male coworkers); and also the extent to which women themselves become critical about the part they should play in making the world a better place to live in.

6.3. Work and family roles

For a long time now, the employment of women have been viewed with a particular emphasis on family stability. Such a functional explanation tends to focus on strains imposed on family members because of women's employment outside the home. According to Afonja¹⁷, several studies have established a correlation between juvenile delinquency, crime and marital instability. However, the socio-economic implications of structural adjustment programmes in the Third World following debt crises and oil gluts, make it mandatory for women to have access to both property and autonomy. The first step in improving women's access to modern sector employment is reviewing the division of labour which produces conflicts between reproductive and productive roles of women; and seeking an appropriate social reorganization which will help women participate fully in modern industrial employment. Attempt is therefore made to measure the impact of the home environment on work roles. The subsequent paragraphs briefly describe responses to questions related to domestic work/problems; provision of nurseries and daycare; decision making at household level; and family expenditure. It is believed that for both men and women, familial situation has a part to bear in explaining work attitudes and behaviour.

6.3.1. Domestic work and child care:

The specific domestic problems that most (86%) of the

female respondents encounter as a result of engaging in paid employment include childcare, performing domestic chores and other familial roles; whereas male respondents 90% generally do not encounter any domestic problems. Since the married males are more than 50% of the male sample, these data show that even when men are married, they identify less with domestic chores.

Majority of the male respondents identify the following specific domestic problems as a result of wives taking up paid employment: insufficient time for family chores; late dinners; problem of baby care; and being forced sometimes to help wives in some of the household chores. These men do not see housework as a shared endeavour, because according to one of them "breeding and rearing children and meeting the needs of the husbands are the primary roles of women to humanity". On their own part, the female respondents seem to be more alert to the problem of combining work and family roles. They identified "baby care" as the main problem, especially in the absence of good and reliable house-maids and day care centres. The female respondents identify as problems, keeping housemaids, and bringing in mother-in-laws/other relations to live in. The housemaids often cannot be trusted as some of them steal; lack basic hygiene; and at the extreme, could seduce husbands. On their own part, mother-in-laws, when living - in to give child care services, often, cause tension in their sons' homes. For example, one of the female

respondents interviewed said

"my mother-in-law used to live with us helping to take care of the kids. But those times were nothing but hell on earth. She was critical of everything I do. She saw marriage as a game of chess, where winner takes all. She wanted to make sure that her son keeps winning all the time".

Respondents also enumerate the problems of day care. They report that daycare centres are often over-crowded, thus aiding the spread of infectious diseases like diarrhoea, measles, and chicken pox among others. Others point out that such daycares are quite expensive (about ₦150.00 per month in Lagos); and they are sometimes quite a distance from mother's place of work and home.

When asked whether employers make provision in relation to nurseries and daycare centres, it is found that none of the five companies surveyed provides nursery/day care services even though about three-quarter of respondents with children are presently in need of child-care arrangements.

As part of strategies for resolving some of the problems of child care arrangement, respondents were asked the question - "do you think we should have special paternity arrangement for fathers with infants?". Responses to this question show a significant difference between men and women. About 18% of the males and 66% of the females see such an arrangement as "uncalled" for. These data are significant for several

reasons:

i. that majority of our respondents do not support paternity arrangement reemphasises the patriarchal ideology into which our respondents are socialised, which makes child care the prerogative of the women.

ii. That majority of the female respondents do not support paternity arrangement shows that merely identifying male prejudice against women only succeeds in presenting half of the story. It therefore shows that the problem of working women likely lies mainly in women themselves, and particularly in their definition or lack of definition of their situation. Women remain unconscious about the need for shared responsibility at the household level. It seems women through socialization admit the myth of women's inferiority and thus, women do not admit their own perceptions about reality. Hence, the idea of equality has no meaning to them.

For the few who want special paternity arrangement for fathers with infants, the types of arrangements suggested include: granting fathers paternity leave; reduction of their working hours in order to baby sit, while majority feel the government should plan strategies for paternity arrangements.

As earlier noted in the general conditions of service, the respondents when interviewed also confirm there is a one hour leave daily for the nursing mothers until the baby is 6

months old.

To describe the conflicting demands made on workers time, questions are asked on various domestic activities and time spent on them.

Majority of our respondents (77.4% of the males and 96.5% of the females) participate in domestic chores, while 22.6% of the male sample, and 3.5% of the females do not participate in domestic work. However, there is a notable difference between the domestic activities of men and women. While the women engage in food preparation, cleaning, washing, ironing, child care and marketing; the men generally have their domestic activities as washing cars; fixing and repairing household gadgets, and sometimes helping wife to draw water (where pipe borne water is non-existent). Very few men report fixing meals for children when mothers are not around the homestead. Such meals are the simple ones like making tea or warming up the stew.

The type of segregation in daily routines at the household level no doubt likely influence work allocated to women in the job market, and the general perception of what a woman can do whatever her trainings.

To collect information on time-use, respondents give the estimate hours spent working everyday (domestic work inclusive). Being full-time permanent workers, the minimum hours individual spends at work per day (Monday to Friday) is 8 hours. However, there are also over-time work which is paid

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TABLE 24

Percentage distribution of respondents by the average hours spent on work (including domestic work).

Average Hours Spent	Male	Female
8 hours	5.4	8.0
8-10 hours	58.3	23.9
11-13 hours	22.0	33.6
14-16 hours	12.5	27.4
Over 17 hours	1.8	7.1
Total	100	100

for, if a junior or intermediate worker; and unpaid for if a management staff. Data on time-use (see Table 24) shows that while majority of the men spend between 8-10 hours on different kinds of productive work per day, most women record above 13 hours per day.

A cross-tabulation of occupational status with average hours spent on work everyday (Monday to Friday), shows that men who spent between 11 and 17 hours working are mostly in the management positions; while only few (20%) of women who spent the same number of hours daily fall into the management positions. Further enquiries show that while men stay back at work for over-time work, women rush home to prepare dinner for their family members. However, many of the women in the management positions work late in the office to attend board meetings and the like, but such, as reported, put a lot of strains on their domestic responsibilities.. Women who have

passed child bearing age tend to be more flexible about time-use. They reported that the grown-up children could take care of the house needs when there is need for them to be away from home. Some women of child-bearing age tend to be good managers of time. Thus, majority of them reported that they wake up early enough (4 a.m) to prepare lunch which they safely preserve in food warmers to be served by househelps to children on return from school.

In summary, data on time-use shows that:

- i. all the workers in the survey spend a minimum of 8 hours daily at work (Monday to Friday);
- ii. women face more role conflicts than men, as they combine work and family roles;
- iii. women appear to be good managers of time;
- iv. Men spend more time on institutional work roles because of less demand on men's time at the household level;
- v. Women face more strains and stress as they combine work and domestic roles;
- vi. the time-use pattern of individual worker is therefore determined by occupational and marital statuses.

6.3.2 Decision making in homes

No doubt dominant male ideology continues to predominate at the household level in our society. However, joint family decision making is continually enhanced by factors like

women's exposure to formal education, high status occupation and high income levels. Working with the assumption that the relative exposure to decision making at the home level likely influences the extent to which individual reaches out for rewards on work performance, respondents were asked to indicate who takes 10 separate decisions within the household level (that is, between husband and wife or both). Table 25 shows that majority believe that decisions should be jointly taken in the home, starting a building; buying a car for husband's use/wife's use; type of school for a child to go to; choice of life partner for a child; husband changing a job; wife changing a job; buying furniture; and number of children to have. Notably, the "choice of menu" is taken as a female's prerogative.

To measure the reality of the situation, "decision making" is cross-tabulated with marital and occupational statuses. The married respondents are more specific on who takes such family decisions in their respective homes, while the unmarried respondents are merely hypothetical. A cross-tabulation of marital status with decision making pattern shows that for those who said "husband only" took decisions on starting a building, 86.7% of the male category and 82.7% of the female category are married. This trend is the same with decisions on buying a car for husband; husband changing a job; and buying furniture for the house (that is, in reality, husbands dominate things that the society gives masculine

priority, like building a house and other capital projects).

TABLE 25

Percentage distribution of respondents by decision making pattern in the home

Decisions Often taken in the home	Husband Only		Wife Only		Both husband & wife jointly	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
1. Starting a building	44.6	25.7	-	1.8	54.2	72.6
2. Buying a car for husband	41.1	36.3	2.4	2.7	54.8	61.1
3. Buying a car for wife	19.0	12.4	8.9	13.3	70.2	74.3
4. Type of School for Children	6.5	4.4	3.6	2.7	89.3	91.2
5. Choice of life partner for a child*	5.4	7.1	1.8	5.3	70.8	73.5
6. Husband changing a job:	36.3	21.2	4.8	2.7	56.0	72.6
7. Wife changing a job:	10.1	9.7	15.5	13.3	72.6	77.0
8. Buying furniture for home:	33.3	15.9	8.9	4.4	56.5	79.6
9. Choice of Menu	4.2	2.7	54.2	43.3	41.1	54.0
10. No. of children to have:	9.5	3.5	2.4	2.7	86.9	93.8

* Only 16.7% reported choice of a life partner is the prerogative of the children.

It is also significant that a cross-tabulation of household decision making pattern and occupational level shows that 93% of the female category who said decision on buying car for wife's use is taken by the wife herself, fall into the management level, while 80% of the female category who said decisions on wife changing a job should be by "wife only" falls into the same level. On the contrary 91.8% of the female category who said the choice of menu is by "wife only" are in the junior/intermediate staff categories.

However, decisions on type of school for a child; choice of life - partner for a child; and number of children to have; are expressively joint. This shows that matters involving child rearing tend to be a joint responsibility.

In summary, the data in table 25 indicate that :

- i. men still dominate household decisions in matters of house building, buying furniture and changing jobs.
- ii. Family menu continues to be the prerogative of the women.
- iii. the unmarried hypothetically believe family decision patterns should be joint while the reality of married life shows it is not.
- iv. joint decision making at the household level is enhanced by the women's education, occupation and income level.
- v. whatever the status of the woman, she cannot

wholly decide the number of children to have; the choice of life-partner for her child; the type of school for a child; and neither can she morally start a building without the knowledge of her husband.

Our findings support those of Karanja²⁰⁴ and Omideyi²⁰⁵. Karanja,²⁰⁴ in a Lagos study, found that men still dominate major issues in the home; while majority of Omideyi's sample in a study of Yoruba women, still believed husbands should dominate issues related to major family decisions.

The question therefore arises, "how does the woman who grew up, depending on the males in her life detach herself from a male perception of her roles?"; and secondly, "how does a man, who is used to taking major decisions at the household level and with strict adherence to the household sexual division of labour and societal conventions implicit in sex roles, admit the authority of the female bosses?".

6.3.3 Family expenditure

With the assumption that the degree of financial need of the individual and those of the family members likely

²⁰⁴Karanja, Wambui Wa, "Conjugal decision making: some data from Lagos", in C. Oppong (ed.) Female and Male in West Africa. London, George Allen and Unwin, 1983, 236-241p.

²⁰⁵Omideyi Kunbi, "Cultural beliefs and fertility behaviour among Yoruba women", in The cultural roots of African fertility regimes. Population Studies Centre, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U.S.A., 1987.

TABLE 26

Percentage distribution of Respondents by family expenditure

ITEMS	Nothing in cash		Below 10%		10-30%		31-50%		Above 50%		N . A	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Feeding	1.2	6.4	.6	8.3	32.7	17.7	42.3	43.4	20.2	21.2	-	-
Children school fees	3.0	5.4	8.5	16.2	20.8	21.2	12.5	7.1	9.1	19.2	45.1	40.5
House Rents	2.5	20.9	8.5	13.3	53.6	34.5	10.7	5.3	8.6	2.6	14.1	21.8
Car Mainten.	2.4	6.4	6.1	9.1	16.7	31.0	8.3	7.1	6.7	1.8	59.4	43.6
Clothing for Children	11.0	1.9	5.6	13.9	19.1	29.2	3.0	9.7	1.2	2.8	48.2	40.7
Drugs for Children	5.6	6.3	2.6	16.3	13.7	24.8	7.1	7.1	1.2	3.6	47.8	41.4
Children books	4.3	3.7	3.6	19.3	20.2	23.9	7.1	6.2	5.6	3.6	48.1	42.2
Coths for Spouse	13.8	10.8	1.3	12.8	13.7	26.5	6.0	5.3	.6	1.8	52.8	45.9
Respon dent's extended family	5.1	7.3	6.1	27.5	31.5	23.9	6.5	5.3	4.5	2.8	23.6	32.1
Spouse's extended family	8.8	2.8	1.5	27.1	16.1	23.8	3.6	8.8	4.5	2.8	46.5	32.7

influences individual worker's work attitudes and behaviour; respondents were asked to state how much they contribute to family expenditure respectively, using percentage range.

Table 26 presents the frequency distribution of respondents showing family expenditure. Feeding tends to take a relatively highest percentage of the total family expenditure for about 20% of the total sample spend above 50% of their salary on feeding; 42.7% spend between 31% and 50% on same; while only 3.3% do not spend any cash on feeding (the latter group are mainly respondents who are relatively young and who cohabit with their parents). The high spending on food items reflect the general inflatory trend in Nigeria whereby current earnings are hardly enough to feed members of one's family. The data on feeding shows the significance of women's access to income generating activities, for a relatively greater percentage of women compared to men spend over half of their earning on food. When feeding expenditure is cross-tabulated with marital status, it is found that most women in the categories identified are married. This trend contradicts the myth of "male breadwinner".

Expenditure on children school fees show that majority (40.7% of respondents with children of school age) spend between 10% to 30% on children school fees. It is also significant that this represents 20.8% of the male sample and 21.2% of the female sample. It is also significant that while only 9.1% of the male sample said they spend above 50% of

their salary on children's school fees, as high as 19.2% of females said same. This shows a high demand on female earnings in the recent times, contrary to the myth of "dependent female".

Data on house rent shows that this is a male prerogative. About 54% of the male sample spend between 10% and 30% on rent while 34.5 of the female sample spend 10% to 30% on same. When house rent is cross-tabulated with marital status, the result shows that most women who spend between 10% and 30% on rent are still single, while those who spend higher percentages of their salaries on rent are the divorced/separated or the widowed. The latter group also falls into relatively high occupational status.

Data on car maintenance show that majority (22.4%) spend between 10% and 30% on this. It is significant that more women than men spend this percentage on car maintenance, while 8.3% of the males and 7.1% of the females spend between 31% and 50% on car maintenance. It is however significant to note that more men, are in the management cadre and therefore have access to official cars. This reduces cost of car maintenance for men. It is also significant to note that 53.1% of the total sample possess no cars of their own, thus pointing to the effect of the current structural adjustment programme on the life of the individual member of the society, whereby, owning a car is almost a fantasy.

Expenditure on 'clothing for children' shows that

majority of the males (25.6%) spend below 10% of their salary on this, while majority of the females (29.2%) spend between 10 - 30% of their salaries on children's clothing. About 10% of the females spend between 31 - 50% on children's clothing, showing that this is a female prerogative.

Expenditure on drugs for children, shows that while majority of the males (22.6%) spend below 10%, majority of the females (24.8%) spend between 10 - 30% on same.

Children's books tend to be the joint responsibility of both husband and wife, while buying of cloths for spouse tends to be outside the joint family expenditure, as each spouse caters for individual clothing needs. However, for those who see this as a family responsibility, it seems on the average, women tend to be more concerned about husband's clothing needs. Thus, while 13.7% of the males spend between 10 - 30% on wives' clothing, 26.5% of the females spend same on husbands' clothings. Concern for husband's clothing seems to be a feature of modern monogamous marriage where the wife feels, more than ever before, concerned with the general well being of the husband; and sometimes she is made to feel answerable to all the husbands short-comings.

Data on expenditure on extended families of both husbands and wife fall into about the same pattern as above. The data shows that majority of the sample (70.8%) spend between 10 - 30% of their salaries on their own extended family needs, while 47.8% of the total samples spend same on spouses'

extended family needs. The data also shows that for the man, he spends more of his salary on his own family members and less for the spouse's family; while for the woman, she spends relatively more for spouse's family and less for her own (see Table 26).

Important to our study is that the family expenditure shows a high need for women's income earning for individual family survival. There is therefore a strong pressure from the homefront for both men and women to keep their jobs, for they are not only responsible to themselves, but to their children, extended family members and the society they live in. The heavy burden of sustaining a home is not only felt by women whose husbands have migrated to urban centres,²⁰⁶ but more so on women whose families continue to face the burden of inflation and depression created by national and global economic wars. This also shows that any rise in women's income forces them to bear more of the burden of supporting the family, and men less; thereby making meaningless any equation of autonomy and ultimate control over the disposition of resources. However, more importantly, both men and women have no other choice for economic survival but to sell their labour to those who control the means of production.

²⁰⁶Akande, B. E., "Impacts of education and rural-urban locations on the contemporary roles of Yoruba women in the Oranmiyan Local Government Area", Ph.D Thesis, O.A.U., Ile-Ife, 1988.

6.4. Gender ideological values

Recognizing that the male ideology itself is a product of society, effort is made to make respondents identify societal values which they think should be changed so that women can better perform at work. Notably, majority (63%) of those who want "things to remain as they are", are men; while for those who believe change is inevitable, a list of descriptive/prescriptive statements are given which are listed here for their richness. Thereby, the values to be changed using respondents' own words are terms include -

- "the idea that women are neither wise nor powerful like men";
- "the idea that women are the weaker sex";
- "inadequate recognition given women's role";
- "excluding women in national policy making body like the AFRC";
- "inability of men to accept women as equal";
- "choosing stereotyped careers for women by parents or husbands";
- "forcing women into early marriage";
- "keeping women in purdah"; etc.

The following prescriptions are made by the respondents -

- "it is time to do away with the old belief that women are inescapably second fiddle";
- "stop seeing women as men's appendages";
- "both boys and girls should be brought up in the

same way";

- "women should be exposed to all occupations that are traditionally taken over by men";
- "women should be respected for what they are";
- "women should be free to decide whether or not to marry";
- "increase general social awareness of women and the society at large";
- "allow women to lead";
- "stop discrimination against women";
- "erase the idea that male children are to be given extra-ordinary care to the detriment of the female children";
- "stop treating women differently";
- "women should stop offering themselves for sales and as favours";
- "increase support system to women who have children and are working";
- "women's perception about men as 'wonder beings' should change";
- "if men were to undergo prenatal and natal conditions, they too will experience the same setbacks women now experience at work; women should not be penalized for their biological functions which conflict with work because they are the suppliers of the needed human resources";

- "make men committed to the responsibility of child care" etc.

No doubt, this list of quotes from our respondents helps to summarise the reality of the world of work which more often than not, is seen as the 'males's world'; where women, on a daily basis continue to struggle for a 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.

Overview of chapter

This chapter has been able to supply a background on which we will measure respondents' work values, attitudes and perceptions (a detailed analysis of which is supplied in the next chapter). However, chapter six has revealed the following as the major features of the surveyed labour market

- i. Women are just a small percentage of the total labour force;
- ii. sex segregation of jobs is still a predominant feature of the modern labour force, although few men and women are presently cutting across traditional barriers;
- iii. the lower paid and less prestigious cluster of jobs is still attributed to women (that is, women occupy most of the dead-end jobs);

- iv. majority of the female respondents are in child bearing age, thus contradicting the assumption that women will necessarily show preference for motherhood than for full employment outside the home;
- v. men tend to develop their human capital much more than women (for example, they spend more time in school; acquire higher educational qualifications; and undertake more off-the-job part-time studies);
- vi. women on the whole, are still responsible for the welfare of the family members much more than the men;
- vii. majority of the sample (males and females) have urban background and high exposure to modern industrial way of life;
- viii the socio-economic characteristics of the sample show that there is a sharp class difference between workers and their spouses (that is, male workers, tend to marry below their class, while female workers marry above their class positions);
- ix. a small family size is preferred among the senior level workers while a large family size is preferred among the junior workers. On the whole, it seems there is a general preference for moderate family size among workers;
- x. more men occupy positions within the organisational authority structure; and are therefore responsible for making policy decisions;

- xi. existing labour legislation is still in favour of men (for example, women are overtaxed; they enjoy no spouse or children allowances); a pregnant woman enjoys no natal/post-natal medical allowance; while a single mother is discriminated against in cases of maternity leave allowance;
- xii. discrimination against women in cases of promotion, training and recruitment is rather subtle. The majority of the respondents are not too conscious of its existence, while others take it for granted;
- xiii. subjective experience of women at work shows a subtle discrimination against women as a group; and a greater division within female groups and a greater harmony within the male group;
- xiv. protective legislation as it exists today needs review;
- xv. women inactivity in labour union matters contributes to a relatively low attention given the 'woman's question' in work organizations;
- xvi. work ideological values are still predominantly sexist, while women on a daily basis continue to struggle for a general acceptance in formal work organizations.

The general observation therefore is that men are better prepared for modern industrial employment, while the work environment itself is much more conducive to men in terms of career choice and career development. Chapter 7 therefore critically assesses individual worker's work attitudes and

behaviour and focuses on variations created in them by personal attributes, structural and systemic variables.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

DATA ANALYSIS II

WORK VALUES, ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS

This chapter focuses on measures of work attitudes and perceptions. The indicators are - work aspiration, work commitment, work orientation (value), job satisfaction, work alienation, work involvement, work motivation, and perceived female bosses attributes.

The data on each of the measures of attitudes are presented, followed by the test of the nine hypotheses earlier listed in chapter one. In testing the hypotheses, personal, structural and systemic variables, serve as independent variables while measures of work attitudes and behaviour serve as dependent variables.

7.1 Measures of work attitudes and perceptions

(a) Work aspiration

To measure respondents' work aspiration, two major questions were asked. The questions are:

- (i) do you aspire to move into the highest cadre in your profession while in this establishment?;
- (ii) what is the probability that you will be promoted to this position before the end of your career here?

Information collected on workers' level of work aspiration show that majority of the respondents (77%), that

is, 126 men and 90 women, aspire to the highest cadre of their profession with current employer; while others exhibit depressed aspiration. No significant difference is found between men and women in their response to situations making for increased or depressed work aspiration. Importantly, the few workers who express depressed aspirations are workers in low status jobs.

The probability of being promoted to the position aspired to was investigated. The data shows that less than half (34%), that is, 65 men and 30 women, indicate a high probability of promotion; less than two out of every 10 respondents (that is, 13.1% of the male sample and 14.2% of the female) signify low probability of promotion, while more than half of the female sample (that is, 44% of the male sample and 53% of the female sample) are skeptical of being able to earn promotion aspired to. The higher percentage of women among those who are not too sure of earning the next promotion shows that men, more often than women, are more likely to have a fulfilled aspiration.

For a detailed understanding of 'work aspiration', personal, structural, and systemic variables are used as explanatory variables and are espoused in the hypotheses testing section.

(b) Work Commitment

Seven different measures were used to measure work commitment. The first question asked, sought to know if respondent would choose a different occupation from the present one if he/she were to go back to the age of 15 years and start life all-over again. This is to test the extent to which the present job is a factor of worker's commitment to work in general. Majority of the respondents (58% of the male sample and 65.5% of the female sample) will choose a different occupation from the present one; while 40.5% of the male sample and 34.5% of the female sample will choose the same occupation.

For the respondents who will like to change their jobs, the alternative occupations listed are mostly highly professional jobs (like engineering, pharmacy, law, medicine and banking/accountancy). Others want to go back to school, while others will like to set up their own businesses. The present socio-economic changes in the country has likely raised the general awareness about professions which could attract high salaries or lead to self-employment. However, no significant difference is recorded here between the choices made across gender groups.

The second question on work commitment was intended to find out that aspect of work that the individual valued most. It is assumed that a person to whom work is central, would value work for itself, and would likely place more emphasis on

TABLE 27

Percentage distribution of respondents by things which will be missed most if to go on voluntary retirement now

What will be missed	1ST		2ND		3RD	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
i. The work itself	24.1	25.7	5.4	6.2	7.1	5.3
ii. Fringes/pay etc	32.1	36.3	28.6	33.6	17.3	25.7
iii. Friends/ co-workers	23.5	28.3	24.4	25.7	15.5	15.0
iv. Boss/Supercisors	1.2	.9	1.2	2.7	-	1.8
v. Environment of work	-	-	4.2	4.4	4.8	5.3
vi. Gifts/Customers	1.2	1.8	1.2	-	3.6	.9
vii. Nothing	17.9	7.1	16.7	9.7	17.3	10.6
viii. No Response	-	-	18.5	17.7	34.5	35.4

intrinsic factors of work (that is, seeing job as self-fulfilling). For those who are peripherally committed to their work, emphasis would be placed on extrinsic factors (that is, pay, fringes and other material rewards), thus for such people, work is merely a means to an end, and not an end in itself.

Fourteen different needs were mentioned in answering this open-ended question - "if you were to go on a voluntary retirement today, what three things will you miss most in your present job? (listing them in order of importance)". Answers to this question range from 'nothing will be missed' to those aspects of work later classified as extrinsic and intrinsic factors, in order to allow for easy classification of responses. Seventeen percent of the male sample and 9.7% of the female sample said they will not miss anything if they leave their jobs (see Table 27). For those who will miss certain things if they should leave their present jobs (that is, 32.1% of the male sample and 36.3% of the female sample), they list fringes and pay on the first priority list, while about a quarter of the total sample (25.5%) emphasise relational factors (missing of friends and co-workers therefore occupies the second place in the category of first thing that will be missed); while factors related to work itself occupy the third position. This trend is also true for the second and third categories of things respondents will miss if they quit the job now.

The general emphasis placed on extrinsic factors like pay and fringes is not unconnected with the current economic crises in the country. Also, Table 27 shows that both men and women place emphasis on relational factors (that is, informal relations at work with both co-workers, customers and bosses). This contradicts the thesis of women being "social specialist" while men are supposedly "task oriented".

Another question asked was whether the respondent will leave present employment or remain in it, if given an alternative employment. More than half of the total sample (53%), that is, 87 men and 63 women, said they will leave the present job if given a better employment elsewhere, while 46.4% of the male sample and 43.4% of the female sample will still retain their work. No significant relationship is established between gender and commitment level of workers. This is further supported by reasons men and women give for their answers to the above question. For those who will change their work, both men and women will like to change if the new job promises better pay, fringes and promotion prospects. Majority of those who like to retain their job give consideration to their retirement, as they will not like to jeopardize their work entitlement and gratuities, because of their long years of service. Others prefer to go into self employment rather than go into another salary job.

To the question 'do you ever wish you could work at your job on evenings and weekends?', less than half of the sample

(47.6% of the male sample and 32.7% of the female sample) will not mind working at weekends if there is need for such; while majority (58%), that is, 87 men and 76 women, never wish to work at evenings/weekends. Although majority of the respondents will not like to take on this extra responsibility, more women than men tend to disapprove work at evenings and weekends. This gives a relatively strong relationship/association between gender and evening/weekends jobs.

These data support the assertion that men are seen as occupying the position of 'breadwinner' in the home, while the women, despite her productive roles outside the home, is expected to look after the family members; for all the women who would not like to work during evenings/weekends claim that even though they love their jobs, they still needed time to look after their families. On their own part, men who do not like to work evening/weekends, claim they need time for social activities so as to avoid fatigue. This is to say that when there is conflict between 'home' and "work outside the home", it is the women who adjust their time to suit family needs.

Respondents were also asked whether they regard the success and failures of their respective establishments as their own personal success/failures. Majority (82%), that is, 136 men and 94 women, identify with the success/failure of their respective employers, while very few (17.9% of the male sample and 11.5% of the female sample) are indifferent. Using

TABLE 28

Percentage distribution of respondents by factors which encourage level of commitment

Factors of Commitment	Yes			No		
	M	F	T	M	F	T
Pay	54.8	66.4	59.4	45.2	32.7	40.2
Job security	59.5	59.3	59.4	40.5	39.9	40.2
The work itself	66.7	70.8	68.3	33.3	28.3	31.3
Co-worker	44.0	43.4	43.8	60.0	56.6	56.2
Supervisors	38.1	52.2	43.8	61.9	47.8	56.2

KEY

M = Male; F = Female; T = Total sample.

sex as an explanatory variable, the data on the extent to which respondents identify with organizational goals shows no significant difference across gender groups. The percentage scores however indicate a slightly greater commitment to the organizational goal on the part of the women.

Using the description High, Medium or Low level of work commitment, majority (71% of the male sample and 67.3% of the female sample) describe their work commitment as high; few (23.8% of the male sample and 23% of the female sample) describe it as medium; while only insignificant number (4.8% of the male sample and 8% of the female sample) describe their commitment as low. Table 28 shows factors which encourage respondents' level of commitment. For men the factors (in order of importance) are "the work itself" (66.7%); "job security" (59.5%); "pay" (54.8%); "co-workers" (44%); and supervisor (38.1%). For women, it is "the work itself" (70.8%); "pay" (66.4%); "security" (59.3%); "supervisors" (52.2%); and "co-workers" (43.4%). The different ordering of these factors for men and women indirectly means that different treatment received at work, and different needs to be met create different levels of work commitment among workers rather than the influence of gender.

Finally, the question was asked "if by some chance you won a lottery or inherited enough money to live comfortably without working, do you think that you would still continue to work?". The data collected shows that almost 9 out of every

10 respondents (this is, 86.3% of the male sample and 87.6% of the female sample) will still work even after winning a lottery; while 13.7% of the male sample and 12.4% of the female sample will stop work. The relative value placed on work by both men and women is obvious from these data. It is also significant to note that women do not opt to stay back at home caring for children and attending to other domestic needs, rather responses from the female workers show that work itself is fulfilling for women, and much more beyond the provision of survival needs. There is also no significant relationship between gender and decision to work or not to work after a lottery gain. However, about half of the sample (61%), that is, 85 men and 86 women, are willing to continue their present job after winning a lottery, while 40.5% of the males and 38.9% of the females like to change their job. More often than not, the subjective experience at work dictates whether a worker will leave or retain a job.

Respondents who like to change their job after a lottery luck identify trading, medicine, hotel management and nursing as alternative occupations, while some will like to go for further studies. The fact that most of them will like to go and retrain or to further their education, indicates that most of the respondents in this category are presently in low opportunity jobs. The fact that responses do not show any significant association between gender and alternative occupations shows that men and women, independently of sex,

tend to react to the same job situation in the same way.

To measure factors which could cause differences in the level of work commitment among workers, the level of work commitment is cross-tabulated with the following variables: employers; marital status; educational level; occupational status; income level and gender discrimination index.

Data on work commitment and employer shows that for respondents who show high commitment to work, 19.5% are from M & B; 29.7% are from GNL; 10% are from NTM; 20% are from XLB; while 20.5% are from CNL. This distribution shows that the highest percentage (29.7%) came from GNL, while the lowest percentage (10%) came from NTM. This finding is not unconnected with the general climate of the companies. For example, GNL tends to have higher salary structure for its workers than the other companies studied. As a brewery factory, its products tend to be in high demand, compared to textile goods, drugs and beverages (especially in a society where great emphasis is placed on social celebrations of the dead and the births).

The success story of GNL is obvious by a general observation of the company's physical development (that is, its well furnished offices, canteen facilities and the number/type of official cars in use). NTM suffers from lack of fund (as the company itself is capital intensive than all the other companies studied) and rigid bureaucratic rules which are often features of government establishments. NTM has the

poorest salary structure, while the general work environment looks like another government secretariat. It is therefore assumed that the success-story of each establishment will have direct impact on the workers and particularly the way they identify with their work.

Work Satisfaction

To measure respondents' work satisfaction level, 19 different job facets are identified. A measure of overall job satisfaction is developed based on the responses of workers to level of satisfaction with the 19 listed job facets (see chapter 4 for how the job satisfaction composite value is calculated).

Table 29 presents data on respondents' level of satisfaction with 19 facets of job. In order of importance, the following are the first 5 facets men are satisfied with: "relations with colleagues" (94%); "treatment received in view of gender" (88.1%); "hours of work" (81.5%); "task/performances utilization" (79.8%). For women, they are "relations with subordinates" (85%); "relations with colleagues" (83.2%); "task/performance" (82.3%); "equipment" (81.5%); and "job security" (80.5%).

The first five items male workers are generally dissatisfied with are : "the pay" (41.7%); promotion and work decisions (41.1%); accessibility (40.5%) training (35.7%) and flexibility of duties (34.5%). For women, they are work

decisions (54.9%); promotion (50.4%); training (48.7%); prestige of job and the pay (42.5%); and flexibility of duties. Sex as a dependent variable is not significant when responses to level of satisfaction with the different job facets are considered between men and women. When sex is cross-tabulated with satisfaction level with different facets of job, no significant relationship between sex and satisfaction level was recorded, except for the following 5 job facets:

- i. skill and ability utilization in work performance;
- ii. control over the work process and duties;
- iii. participation in work decisions;
- iv. relations with superiors; and
- v. treatment received at work in view of respondent's gender.

For the above job facets, sex as a dependent variable tends to be significant. Collapsing the satisfied/very satisfied responses on one hand and very dis-satisfied/dis-satisfied responses on the other, our data shows that majority (79.8% of males and 76.9% of females) are satisfied with skill and ability utilization.

The gap is greater when only the "very satisfied" response is considered (71% for men and 27% for women). When the "control over work process" is considered more men (64.8%) show satisfaction while more women (40.7%) show dissatisfaction. This trend is also the same with

"participation in work decisions". Data on "relations with superiors" show that majority of those satisfied with this are men (77.9%), while more women (35.4%) than men (22.1%) show dissatisfaction with this facet. It is also significant that 88.1% of the male sample are satisfied with treatment received at work in view of their gender, while only 58.6% of female are satisfied with same. Significantly, majority (70%) of those who express dissatisfaction with treatment received in lieu of gender are women.

The data above confirms women's lack of access to 'power' in the work organization, as dictated by their lack of control over work process and lack of participation in work decisions. Even when women acquire necessary skill, this does not guarantee full utilization of skills and it is therefore not surprising that more women than men expressed dissatisfaction with relations with superiors and treatment received at work in view of gender.

Distribution of respondents by composite value of satisfaction shows that for the male sample, majority (77.4%) are satisfied, and 2 out of every 10 (21.4%) are dissatisfied; while for the female sample, majority (66.4%) are satisfied while 3 out of every 10 (32.7%) are dissatisfied (see Table 30).

Satisfaction with intrinsic work facets also show that for men, majority (73.8%) are intrinsically satisfied, while only few (25.6%) are not; and for the women, 65.5% are

TABLE 29

Percentage distribution of respondents by level of satisfaction with different facets of job

Job Facets	Dis-Satis		Satisfied		No Resp.	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
i. Prestige of job	30.9	42.5	69.1	57.5	-	-
ii. Skill & ability usage	19.9	23.0	79.8	76.9	.6	-
iii. Task/performance	19.6	17.7	80.3	82.3	-	-
iv. Control of work process	35.1	40.7	64.8	59.3	-	-
v. Equipment	25.0	18.6	73.8	81.5	1.2	-
vi. Work decisions	41.1	54.9	59.0	45.2	-	-
vii. Flexibility of duties	34.5	42.4	64.9	57.5	.6	-
viii. Training	35.7	48.7	64.2	51.3	-	-
ix. Physical environment	19.7	21.2	79.1	78.7	.6	-
x. The pay	41.7	42.5	57.8	57.5	.6	-
xi. Promotion	41.1	50.4	58.3	49.6	.6	-
xii. Fringes	31.0	34.5	68.5	65.5	.6	-
xiii. Job security	21.4	18.5	78.5	80.5	-	-
xiv. Hours of work	18.4	20.3	81.5	77.9	-	1.8
xv. Accessibility	40.5	34.2	59.5	55.8	-	-
xvi. Relations with colleagues	6.0	16.8	94.0	83.2	-	1.8
xvii. Relation with supervisors	20.9	35.4	77.9	64.6	1.2	1.8
xviii. Relation with subordinates	11.9	13.3	86.3	85.0	1.8	1.8
xix. Treatment in view of gender	11.9	41.6	88.1	58.4	-	-

TABLE 30

Percentage distribution of respondents by composite value of satisfaction

Composite value of satisfaction with job facets	M	F	T
1. <u>General Satisfaction Level</u> (Scores varies from 19-76).			
i. Satisfied: (48 Scores and above)	77.4	66.4	73.0
ii. Dissatisfied: (Less than 48 scores)	21.4	32.7	26.0
iii. Incomplete index	1.2	.9	1.0
Total	100	100	100
2. <u>Satisfaction & Intrinsic work facets</u>			
i. Intrinsically satisfied (20 scores & above)	73.8	65.5	70.5
ii. Intrinsically dissatisfied (Less than 20 scores)	25.6	34.5	29.2
iii. Incomplete Index	.6	-	-
Total	100	100	100
3. <u>Satisfaction & Extrinsic facets</u>			
i. Extrinsically satisfied (28 Score & above)	77.4	67.3	73.3
ii. Extrinsically dissatisfied (Less than 28 scores)	22.6	32.7	26.7
Total	100	100	100

intrinsically satisfied, while 34.5% are not. This trend is the same with extrinsic satisfaction, majority (77.4%) of the men are extrinsically satisfied, while 22.6% are not; and for the women majority (67.3%) are extrinsically satisfied, while few others (32.7%) are not. Table 30 shows that women's level of satisfaction (considering the different facets of the job) appears lower than that of the men.

Other general questions were also asked on job satisfaction using a unidimensional measure of job satisfaction. In response to the question - 'looking at all aspects of your present job, how do you feel about the job in general' - there is no significant difference between the responses of men and women. For the male sample, 37.5% are highly satisfied, 40.5% are somewhat satisfied, 12.5% are somewhat dissatisfied, while 7.7% are highly dissatisfied. For the female sample, 24.8% are highly satisfied, 54.9% are somewhat satisfied, 14.2% are somewhat dissatisfied, while 3.5% are highly dissatisfied. It is significant to note from these data that the majority of the respondents (46.3%) expressed 'somewhat satisfaction' as against being highly satisfied. This might be due to the general constraints currently facing workers within industrial sector, irrespective of gender.

Several factors are identified as reasons for sticking to the job despite dissatisfaction. Majority (47.4%) stick to their jobs because there are no alternative jobs; 29.5% are

stuck to their jobs because of pay; while more women (66%) than men (34%) are stuck to their jobs because of immobility of spouse. Thirty-two percent (56.3% being men and 43.7% being women) love their jobs despite all odds. By implication, dissatisfied workers are stuck to their jobs mainly because of the economic situation and general unemployment pattern or because of immobility caused by family obligation, in the case of women. Otherwise, others love their work, and see it as an end in itself; for others, they cannot afford to miss the monetary rewards accompanying their work, and are therefore, stuck to their job in the face of no alternative source of income.

Work Alienation

Twelve structured questions were asked in order to measure work alienation. Table 31 presents data on the different indices of work alienation. When asked if respondents exercise much authority on the job, majority (53.3%) responded in positive terms, while 46.7%, that is, 80 men and 51 women, never exercise any authority at work. Also, majority (60.9) decide their work speed, (meaning that majority of our respondents do not work under alienating conditions for example, machine tending). This observation shows that our sample is spread across departments (production unit through personnel division).

When asked whether they work under close supervision (that is, not having freedom of movement), only 26% work under

TABLE 31

Percentage distribution of respondents by alienation factors

Alienation factors	Disagree			Agree		
	M	F	T	M	F	T
1. Much authority is exercised	47.7	45.2	46.7	52.3	54.8	53.3
2. I decide my work speed	40.5	37.1	39.2	59.6	62.9	60.9
3. Work speed is determined by machine	65.4	58.4	62.7	34.6	41.6	37.3
4. Don't work on the machine	58.3	66.4	61.6	39.7	33.6	38.5
5. Work under close supervision (No freedom of movement)	73.8	74.4	74.1	26.2	25.7	26.0
6. No say in policies	63.1	53.1	59.1	36.9	46.9	41.0
7. My work is important to success of the organisation	18.8	14.2	16.4	82.2	85.9	83.7
8. Work is boring/routinised	73.2	73.4	73.3	26.7	26.6	26.7
9. No challenge in work	78.0	82.3	79.7	22.1	17.7	20.3
10. Hardly do I interact with others	79.7	78.8	79.4	20.3	21.3	20.7
11. Interest is limited to work	76.8	77.9	77.3	23.0	22.2	22.8
12. I work with others in a group	40.5	38.1	39.5	59.6	62.0	60.5

close supervision and do not have freedom of movement. This is usually the general pattern among workers who work on the production line. A major difference between the male and the female samples tend to occur in response to the question on whether respondents have a say in decisions/policies affecting their work. Fifty-nine percent (63.9% being men and 36.1% being women) have a say in work decision/policies; while 41% do not have a say in policies affecting their work. Responses to other alienating factors are shown in Table 31 indicating that the job situation of each work tends to determine the extent of alienation.

The data on composite value of alienation index shows that 77.4% of the male sample and 73.5% of the female sample are not alienated, while 20.2% of the male sample and 24.8% of the female are alienated.

Work Orientation

Data on what respondents valued most in their jobs shows no significant difference between gender (see Table 32). In the list of importance (picking the highest percentage across the four value categories), the following gives a picture of value difference between men and women (which may not be due to gender factors but work conditions and other structural factors) -

MEN (facets valued most in order of importance) - (see Table 32).

- i. skill and ability utilization; and availability of equipment;

TABLE 32

Percentage distribution of respondents by work value

Work facets	Unimportant			Important			Not Resp.		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1. The prestige of job	14.9	14.1	14.6	85.1	85.8	85.4	-	-	-
2. Skill and ability	11.9	13.3	12.4	87.5	86.8	87.2	.6	-	.4
3. Control over work process	15.5	14.2	15.0	81.9	85.8	84.7	.6	-	.4
4. Equipment	12.5	10.6	11.7	87.5	89.4	88.3	-	-	-
5. Participation in work decisions	17.8	7.1	14.9	80.4	90.2	82.9	1.2	2.7	1.8
6. Chance to do different things	25.0	16.8	21.7	75.0	83.1	78.3	-	-	-
7. Opportunity to train	17.8	10.6	15	82.2	89.4	85.1	-	-	-
8. Chances for promotion	19.0	10.6	15.5	79.7	87.6	83.0	1.2	1.8	1.4
9. Pleasant physical surroundings	22.4	13.3	15.7	76.3	84.9	82.9	1.2	1.8	1.4
10. Convenient travel to & fro	19.1	15.1	17.4	80.4	84.1	81.9	.9	-	.4
11. High income	13.6	13.2	12.1	81.5	86.7	87.9	-	-	-
12. Job security	15.5	9.8	13.1	84.6	85.5	86.4	-	.9	.4
13. Hours of work	21.5	19.5	20.7	77.4	80.6	78.6	1.2	-	-
14. Chances to make friends	26.8	20.3	24.2	70.8	79.6	74.4	2.4	-	1.4
15. Opportunity to be of service to others	20.8	13.3	17.5	78.5	84.9	81.5	.6	1.8	1.1

TABLE 33

Percentage distribution of respondents by the composite values of Intrinsic and Extrinsic work values

WORK VALUES	M	F	T
1. <u>Intrinsic work values</u>			
a. Poor intrinsic work value: (Less than 18 scores)	13.7	12.4	13.2
b. High intrinsic work values: (18 scores and above)	85.1	87.6	86.0
c. Incomplete Index	1.2	40.2	.8
Total	100	100	100
2. <u>Extrinsic work values</u>			
a. Less emphasis on extrinsic work value (less than 20 scores)	19.6	15.9	18.1
b. high emphasis on extrinsic work (20 scores and above)	78.6	84.1	80.1
c. Incomplete index	1.8	-	1.1
Total	100	100	100

Intrinsic Value:

$\chi^2 = 1.481$, $df = 3$, is not sig. at $P = 0.05$

Etrinsic Value

$\chi^2 = .4261$, $df = 3$, is not sig. at $P = 0.05$

KEY: M = Male; F = Female; T = Total.

- ii. the prestige of job;
- iii. job security;
- iv. opportunity to train;
- v. control over work process;
- vi. high Income;
- vii. participation in work decision;
- viii. convenient travel to and from work (accessibility);
- ix. chances for promotion;
- x. opportunity to be of service to others;
- xi. Hours of work;
- xii. pleasant physical surroundings;
- xiii. chance to do different things (non-routine work);
- xiv. chance of make friends;

WOMEN (facets valued most in order of importance) - (see Table 32).

- i. participation in work decisions;
- ii. availability of equipment/opportunity to train;
- iii. promotion;
- iv. skill and ability utilization
- v. high income;
- vi. control over work/the prestige of job;
- vii. pleasant physical surroundings/opportunity to be of service to others;
- viii. job security;
- ix. convenient travel to and from work (accessibility);
- x. non routine job

- xi. hours of work;
- xiii. chances to make friends.

The data on work orientation value show no significant difference between men and women. Both men (85.1%) and women (87.6%) place high emphasis on intrinsic values, while high emphasis is also placed on extrinsic values by both men (78.6%) and women (84.1%) (see Table 33). This supports Di Domenico's²⁷ finding that both sexes share to a considerable extent the same norms, values and perceptions regarding work and income generation, while it contradicts those who argue that work is not a 'central life interest of female workers'¹²⁵. The high emphasis placed on extrinsic factors by both men and women reflects the prevailing socio-economic changes which has brought about high cost of living, unemployment and a high level of inflation.

The second measure of work orientation value is the definition of the activity respondents regard as 'work'. From the data collected, 5.4% of the male sample and 0.9% of the female sample defined work as activity which has to be done and organized by others; 15.5% of the males and 12.4% of the females define it as activity which is satisfying and enjoyable; 16% of the males and 24.8% of the females define it as activity which requires effort; 33.3% of the females see work as an activity for which one is paid; for 7.1% of the male sample and 7.1% of the female sample, work involves responsibility for others; while very few respondents see work

as activity which is routine and monotonous. However, others see it as something everybody has to do in order to keep on living (that is, exercising the body muscles and at the same time earning a living).

The data above shows no difference in men and women's view of work. For both men and women, work as an 'activity which leads to an end product or service' occupies the first position in the hierarchical ordering of definitions of work. For the two sexes, the second place in the hierarchy is 'work as an activity which requires effort'; while 'work as an activity which is satisfying and enjoyable' occupies the third place. The definition which ranked fourth is "work as an activity for which one is paid" (that this definition occupies the third place for women, shows a relatively greater emphasis on monetary rewards by women than men). This might have been caused by the greater economic burden created for women in the maintenance of the household by the current economic situation in the country (particularly as the effects of structural adjustment programmes have a greater implication for women's work²⁰⁷). However, it is important to note that work is generally perceived as a means to an end, and not an end in itself, thus, the general emphasis which is now placed on the reward system.

²⁰⁷Aina, O.I., Rural transformation and national development: implications for Nigerian women labour force participation. Paper presented at the National Conference on Rural Transformation and National Development: Strategies and prospects, O.A.U., Ile - Ife, 8 - 12 July, 1990.

Job Motivation

To measure workers' job motivational level, the respondents were asked to rank seven factors which could serve as the most driving force for effective job performance. The ranking positions fall between 1st-7th positions.

Table 34 shows the frequency distribution of respondents by ranking of job motivation factors. Table 35 shows the average ranking of the seven motivational factors used in the study. The sequence of rank shows that for the total sample, adequate financial reward occupies the first position. It is significant that financial reward is equally valued and ranked first by both men and women. Emphasis on work which guarantees extrinsic needs tend to reflect uncertainty and instability of the current economic situation in the country. Findings on motivational factors tend to be inconsistent with responses on work orientation values. Even though the workers generally put a lot of emphasis on intrinsic work orientation values, ironically, in terms of motivation, monetary reward occupies the first position in the list of factors which could energize them to work better. This finding is not unconnected with the socio-economic situation in the country, whereby, the individual is primarily concerned with lower level needs. Emphasis placed on extrinsic factors shows that these can also serve as important motivational factors.

For both men and women, interesting work is ranked second, showing that for both men and women both extrinsic and

TABLE 34

Frequency distribution of respondents by ranking of job motivation factors

Factors serving as driving force for effective job performance	FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY POPULARITY PREFERENCE RANKING INDEX													
	1st		2nd		3rd		4th		5th		6th		7th	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Adequate financial rewards	62	42	23	14	33	18	21	20	13	12	9	5	7	2
Job Security	23	12	48	34	29	16	31	18	19	19	9	7	8	7
Interesting work	39	25	29	19	36	32	21	18	18	13	17	4	8	2
Good Working conditions	13	3	17	8	18	8	27	22	28	12	23	33	42	27
Friendly co-workers	6	4	10	3	12	5	20	5	43	18	39	36	38	42
Promotion/growth	31	25	40	30	17	8	23	17	13	17	32	11	12	5
Gender equality	5	4	9	9	20	24	21	13	27	21	32	15	54	27

KEY: M = Male; F = Female

TABLE 35

Average Rank of Job factors of motivation by sex

JOB FACTORS	Average Ranking					
	Total sample	Sequence of Rank	Male		Female	
			Av. Rank	Sequence	Av. Rank	Sequence
1. Adequate financial Reward	5.3	1	5.3	1	5.3	1
2. Interesting work	4.9	2	4.8	2	5.0	2
3. Job security	4.7	3	4.7	3	4.6	4
4. Promotion/Growth	4.6	4	4.6	4	4.8	3
5. Good Working Conditions	3.2	5	3.4	5	2.9	6
6. Gender Equality	3.0	6	2.8	7	3.3	5
7. Friendly Coworkers	2.7	7	2.9	6	2.3	7

intrinsic factors of work serve as motivating factors. In a descending order, men rank the other motivational factors as - job security; promotion/growth; good working conditions; friendly co-workers; and gender equality. Also, in a descending order, women rank the remaining motivational factors in this sequence - promotion/growth; job security; gender equality; good working conditions and friendly co-workers.

The pattern of response (Table 35) shows that both men and women place emphasis on both extrinsic and intrinsic factors with a greater emphasis on the extrinsic factors. While men rate gender equality the least; for women, this falls into the fifth position, showing that women are more affected on the issue of gender inequality.

Lastly, job motivation is measured by asking the question "considering all things about your job which of these may probably make you leave this company?". Six items were listed. Majority (67.9% of the male sample and 77% of the female sample) indicate inadequate reward system, while 64.8% will leave when there is job insecurity. Also, 61.6% will leave if there is lack of opportunity for advancement and 55.2% when there is limited career prospects. About fifty-three percent will leave if there is a general lack of interest and 43.4% will leave in case of gender inequality. It is significant that about 56.6% of the total sample will not leave even when there is obvious gender inequality, while

only 28.5% will remain when there is inadequate reward system. These findings reveal that a great emphasis now put on instrumental needs by Nigerian workers, is a reflection of Nigerian political economy, for according to Maslow¹⁵⁸, the lower level needs must be satisfied before the need at higher levels become operative.

Work Involvement

Work involvement is measured using 10 work involvement indices (see Table 36). Notably both men (76.7%) and women (85.9%) will do extra work even when not compelled. Both men (75.6%) and women (82.3%) look forward to next day's work. On the whole the composite value of involvement shows that about 70% of the male respondents are involved with work, while 71% of the women are equally involved with work. For those not involved with their work, we have 28.6% of the male sample and 28.3% of the female sample.

More information is supplied on work involvement in the section on hypotheses testing.

Gender role orientation

In order to classify respondents into those with traditional or modern gender role orientation, 14 variables were used as measures. Respondents chose one out of 4 alternative options of different weight whereby totally reject = 1; reject = 2; accept = 3; and totally accept = 4.

Table 37 gives the percentage distribution of the fourteen items describing respondents' gender role orientation

TABLE 36

Percentage distribution of respondents by work involvement factors

Work involvement factors	Disagree			Agree		
	M	F	T	M	F	T
1. Feel real self outside work	66.0	66.3	66.2	34.0	33.7	33.8
2. Work does not fit personality/ Life interest	62.5	61.9	62.3	37.5	38.0	37.7
3. Never look to next day's work	75.6	82.3	68.5	24.4	17.7	21.7
4. More joy in work than leisure	47.6	38.9	44.2	52.4	61.0	55.9
5. Keep working on the job even when money is not needed	64.3	61.0	63.0	35.1	38.9	36.6
6. Overtime without pay	56.5	54.9	55.9	43.5	45.1	44.2
7. Hate extra work except compelled	76.7	85.9	80.5	23.3	14.2	19.6
8. Job is irritable/tiring	74.4	78.8	76.2	25.6	21.2	23.8
9. Most important happenings involve my work	63.7	64.6	64.0	36.3	35.4	35.9
10. Used to care about my work	74.4	78.7	76.5	25.6	21.2	23.9

TABLE 37

Percentage distribution of respondents by gender role orientation values

Gender role orientation values	Reject			Accept		
	M	F	T	M	F	T
1. More important helping husband's career than wife having one	70.4	89.4	84.0	22.6	10.6	16.0
2. Won't vote for a woman as president of Nigeria	81.0	92.0	85.4	32.0	7.9	14.6
3. Woman with capable husband need not earn money	87.5	98.3	91.8	12.5	1.8	8.2
4. Husband should take major decisions	52.4	79.7	63.3	47.6	30.4	36.7
5. Leadership position is for men	57.8	80.5	66.9	71.0	19.5	33.1
6. Wife is not to earn more than husband	74.4	77.9	75.8	25.4	22.2	24.2
7. Man are better as heads of departments	52.3	81.4	64.1	80.0	21.0	36.0
8. Girls should enter feminine vocations	81.6	87.6	84.0	31.0	14.0	16.1
9. Women should not eye sex-atypical jobs	82.2	87.7	84.4	30.0	14.0	15.6
10. Husband should not stay home while wife works outside	47.0	73.4	57.7	89.0	30.0	42.4
11. Our culture prohibits gender equality	47.7	50.5	48.8	88.0	56.0	51.2
12. I prefer what culture says	75.6	84.9	79.3	41.0	17.0	20.6
13. Women run homes, men run the country	73.3	84.1	77.6	26.8	15.9	22.4
14. Men are better politicians	39.9	72.5	53.0	60.1	27.5	47.5

(most of which are general statements about what the position of women should be in the society). A composite value of gender role orientation is built whereby respondents with 35 scores and above are taken as those with traditional gender role value (that is people who emphasis the traditional roles of women as wives and mothers; and who believe women should remain at home where they belong, at all times); while those with less than 35 scores are said to be having modern gender role orientation (that is, those who believe women have a part to play in building a viable public sector). On the whole, just about 2 out of every ten men and 1 out of every ten women have traditional gender role values, meaning that majority (81.9%) of our respondents have relatively modern gender role value.

In order to determine any relationship between respondents gender role orientation and individual characteristics, gender role orientation value is cross-tabulated with consciousness about gender discrimination at work and other personal variables like education, occupation, and marital status. Irrespective of gender role orientation, majority of the female sample indicate the presence of gender discrimination. For example, 9 out of every 10 female respondents with traditional gender role value indicate the existence of gender discrimination; while 58% of women with modern gender role value, signify the existence of gender discrimination. The findings however point to the high level

of exposure most of our respondents have had in terms of attitude - change. It is assumed that a study of this kind in a semi-urban/rural location might create a stronger association between gender role value and the level of consciousness about gender discrimination.

The data on gender role value and marital status does not vary between the male and the female sample. On the whole 19.3% of respondents who are still single tend to have traditional gender role value while only 14.6% of the married respondents fall into the same category. However, it is significant that majority (77.8%) of women in the categories of the divorced/widowed/separated have modern role values; while for men in the same categories, it is 57%.

Distribution of respondents by gender role orientation and occupational status indicates a significant relationship between the two variables for the female respondents. The data collected show that for the female sample, majority (90.9%) of those with traditional gender role value have low occupational status, while none of the women in managerial positions possesses a traditional gender role value. However, about 34% of men with traditional gender role value are from the managerial and professional groups. This means that women, more than men, tend to do away with traditional characteristics (that is, traditional belief about gender roles) as they move up the organizational hierarchy, or become more exposed to modern virtues.

Also, for both men and women, data on gender role value and educational level shows a strong relationship. Thus, only 16% (87.5% being men and 12.5% being women) of those with traditional gender role value possess a high level of educational status.

The data above tends to indicate that cultural values affect psychological functioning, which may in turn be re-oriented by long exposure to agents of modernization, particularly formal education and modern sector occupational training.

Perceived female bosses attributes

Table 38 contains respondents perception of female bosses attributes. Out of the 10 listed attributes, majority (51.3%) of the respondents agree that women bosses are too concerned with efficiency while others (50.9%) said female bosses take things too personally and 49.8% said women supervise too closely. It is significant that most of the other stereotypes used in describing women bosses tend to be less commonly held by the respondents.

A composite value of perceived female bosses attributes shows that 42%, that is, 93 men and 25 women, hold negative attributes for female bosses, while 57.3%, that is, 70 men and 88 women, tend to describe female bosses in positive terms. The data shows a greater acceptance of female bosses by women, whereas more men tend to give female bosses negative attributes. By extension, this supports a greater antagonism

TABLE 38

Percentage distribution of respondents by perceived female bosses attribute

Perceived female bosses attributes	Disagree			Agree		
	M	F	T	M	F	T
1. Too jealous	57.8	74.3	64.4	42.2	25.7	35.5
2. Positions go to their heads	42.8	71.7	54.4	57.1	28.3	43.6
3. Take things too personally	36.9	67.3	49.1	63.1	32.7	50.9
4. not business like	70.8	86.7	77.3	29.2	13.3	21.8
5. Too concerned with efficiency	41.0	60.2	48.8	58.9	39.9	51.3
6. Slaves to the system	65.5	77.8	70.5	34.6	22.1	29.9
7. Supervise too closely	41.6	62.8	70.5	34.6	22.1	29.9
8. Fault finders	46.4	67.3	54.8	53.5	32.7	43.2
9. Bossyness takes their feminity	44.6	71.7	55.8	54.7	28.3	44.2
10. Men are better bosses	41.1	77.8	55.9	58.9	22.2	44.1

KEY: M = Male; F = Female; T = Total

witnessed by women bosses from the males. It also supports the strong belief among employers and workers that women should not supervise male or mixed-work group²⁰⁸.

Above summaries provide a background for testing the major assumptions made in this study. The next section therefore focuses on tests of hypotheses.

7.2 Test of hypotheses

All tables used in testing the nine operational hypotheses (that is, Tables 39 to 60) are presented together at the end of chapter seven for logistic reasons, particularly, since the same set of tables contain information for the testing of the various hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1

"Men and women with the same level of education tend to have similar work attitudes and behaviour".

Central to hypothesis one, is the assumption that men and women who have a low educational status will likely exhibit poor work attitudes (for example, depressed aspiration, low job satisfaction, low work commitment etc); while those with high educational status are expected to exhibit favourable work attitudes (for example, high work aspiration level, job

²⁰⁸ Oppenheimier, Valerie, The female labour force in the United State. Berkeley, Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1970.

satisfaction, and high commitment level etc.). It is assumed that if anything alters this expected pattern, the effect of such should be the same for both men and women (thus playing down gender factors which have been predominantly used to explain only the behaviour of women at work).

To test hypothesis 1, educational level is cross-tabulated with 7 different measures of work attitudes and behaviour (that is, work aspiration, work orientation value, work commitment, work satisfaction, work alienation, work involvement and work motivation) respectively.

Using educational status as a control variable, work aspiration pattern tends to be the same for both men and women (see Table 39). Therefore, for both men and women, the highest percentage (29.5% men and 24.2% women) of those with depressed aspiration are from the low educational group. No significant difference is established between the behaviour of men and women in both low and medium levels of educational status (χ^2 values; and Pearson's R and the contingency coefficients are not statistically significant - see Table 39).

Notably, men and women with high educational level possess higher work aspiration (see Table 39), although majority of the few workers with depressed aspiration are mostly women ($\chi^2 = 9.78$, $df = 4$, sig. at $p = 0.05$). However, that as high as 85% of women with high educational level express high work aspiration, shows that it is not a normal

pattern for women with high educational status to possess depressed aspiration. Therefore, other intervening variables unique to the situations of these workers might be at play.

Therefore our findings support the view that irrespective of gender, those in dead-end jobs and those ill-equipped for modern industrial jobs face the highest frustrations at work.

Tables 40 and 41 present data on educational status and work values (that is, intrinsic and extrinsic work values respectively). Only one of the chi-square values establishing difference between men and women in each of the educational status categories and intrinsic work values is statistically significant (meaning that assumed difference in behaviour of men and women in the same educational category is rejected). The only statistically significant relationship is that between high educational level and intrinsic work values ($\chi^2 = 3.64$, $df = 1$, sig. at $P = 0.05$; contingency coefficient = .3; Pearson's $R = .269$, sig. at 1% level). That the 100% of all women with high educational status expressed high level of intrinsic work value (see Table 40) contradicts the general assumption that women only work for cash and are not necessarily to take industrial work as a way of life.

Table 41 also shows that there is a general high emphasis on extrinsic work value (which, as earlier argued, is a likely response to the current socio-economic situation in the country). It is significant that both men and women in each status group react to the present economic crises in the same

way (that is, there is a general emphasis on financial rewards in order to meet daily needs and sky rocketing inflationary prices of goods).

The chi-square and Pearson's R values of the relationships between men and women in each of the three educational categories respectively and extrinsic work value are respectively not statistically significant (meaning that an assumed difference between men and women in work orientation pattern is rejected).

Using education as an independent variable, Table 42 shows that none of those men and women with high educational status show low commitment to work, while the few who express low work commitment are those with low educational status (men and women). Education as a variable, often determines individual occupational status and income. It is therefore not surprising that those with higher education tend to occupy high status jobs which tend to be more lucrative. Thus, irrespective of gender, those who occupy low opportunity jobs tend to be less committed to the organization and its goals.

Notably, none of the gender relationships expressed between educational status and work commitment is statistically significant (that is, using the contingency coefficients; chi-square values; and Pearson's R). We therefore reject any assumed difference between men and women with the same educational status, in respect to work commitment.

Table 43 shows that majority of the respondents are satisfied with their work irrespective of gender and educational status. However, majority of the dissatisfied workers are men and women in low educational status groups. The chi-square values of all the relationships between each educational status category and the general satisfaction level are not statistically significant (meaning a rejection of the null hypothesis assuming a difference between men and women of the same educational status).

A critical look at Table 43 further shows that across educational groups, more men indicate satisfaction with job, while the pattern is reversed for dissatisfaction level (that is, majority of workers in this category are women). Although the general pattern of behaviour of workers with the same educational status does not vary much across gender lines, our data still imply that:

- i. majority of those who expressed satisfaction with their jobs are men who occupy high educational status;
- ii. more women in high educational status group; than men and women in low educational group, express satisfaction with their jobs;
- iii. above findings mean that higher educational status can lead to better working conditions for both men and women.

However, the fact that a larger number of women with

relatively high educational status than men in low educational status express dis-satisfaction with work implies that:

- i. women need more than mere acquisition of necessary educational qualification to procure jobs which become satisfying.
- ii. irrespective of gender, a worker with low educational status might not frequently find work which is attractive and satisfying within the formal labour market.

Table 44 presents information on level of education and work alienation, showing that majority of the respondents are not alienated, while majority of those who express alienating factors are mostly men (28.4%) and women (30.6%) in low educational status group. None of the relationships establishing gender difference within educational category and work alienation is statistically significant (see Table 44 for contingency coefficient and chi-square values), thereby showing no gender difference in patterns of work alienation within educational categories.

Table 45 presents data on educational status and work involvement. The table shows that majority of those who express non-involvement with work are men and women in low educational status categories.

The pattern of behaviour is also the same for those with high educational status. Thus, majority (80.4% men and 96.3% women) express high work involvement. The contingency

coefficient, chi-square, and Pearson's R values indicate no gender difference in attitudes in any significant way.

Table 56 describes relationships between educational level and motivational factors. The data on Table 56 show that the value attached to each motivational factor varies depending on level of education, rather than gender. For example, all respondents (both men and women) with low educational level rank adequate financial reward in the first position, whereas men with high educational status rank it second while women rank it third. Both men and women with high educational status rank interesting work' first, showing that they are more likely to be motivated more by intrinsic job factors, while the respondents with low educational status put a lot of value on extrinsic motivational factors.

The data enumerated above shows the same pattern of behaviour for men and women who have the same educational status, while more variations in behaviour are found across educational groups, rather than within gender groups per se. Hypothesis one is therefore confirmed. Using a multivariate analysis, we further employ the logistic regression model to examine the relationship between the different measures of work attitudes; and personal attributes/ structural variables.

Tables 54 and 55 show a negative relationship between educational level and some work attitudes probabilities, that is, work aspiration; work commitment; intrinsic work value and work satisfaction. On the other hand, educational level is

positively related to extrinsic work value, work alienation and work involvement probabilities. This means that workers with relatively high educational status tend to exhibit a rather low work aspiration, low work commitment, low intrinsic work value; and job dis-satisfaction, whereas they show higher level of extrinsic work value, work alienation, but still show a higher level of work involvement than those with low education. The logistic regression model therefore supports a difference in work attitudes and behaviour among workers, across educational groups. The reasons for such difference tends to depend on situational factors (unfulfilled aspirations and general economic crises) rather than gender differences per se. Our findings contradict earlier findings which associate low work aspiration, low work commitment, low intrinsic work value and low job satisfaction with femaleness⁴; and with dead-end jobs⁷. Workers, irrespective of sex, and job positions, who witness unfulfilled aspirations at work are likely to exhibit poor work attitudes, and they will likely show a general disenchantment at work.

Hypothesis 2

"Men and women with the same marital status tend to have similar work attitudes".

To test hypothesis 2, marital status is used as an independent variable against the 7 measures of work attitudes.

When marital status and work aspiration are cross-tabulated (Table 39), the result shows that men and women who are currently married show a higher work aspiration level than workers who had never been married before. It is also significant that majority of those with low work aspiration are found in the unmarried category. It is however significant to note that the situation of marriage can have a major effect on individual relationship with work. For example, it is not unlikely for a person to relate positively toward work because of perceived financial obligation to the home; while on the other hand, an unmarried adult might be forced to look at work for fulfillment, particularly when there is nobody to share the responsibility of living with. The operational hypothesis which assumes no difference between men and women in pattern of work attitudes because of marital status is accepted since the relationship of an assumed gender difference within marital group and work aspiration is not statistically significant. Table 39 shows that using sex as a control variable, none of the relationships expressed between indices of marital status and work aspiration is statistically significant.

However, it is significant to note that being divorced, widowed or separated (for both men and women) could mean turning to work for social and economic fulfillment.

Using a multivariate analysis, we further employ the logistic regression model to examine the relationship between

work aspiration probabilities and marital status. Our findings show that this relationship is significant at 5% level (see Table 54). The implication of this finding is that irrespective of gender, workers who are married tend to have higher work aspiration than those who are still single (or had never been married). This also implies that for both men and women, marriage and its economic implications complement rather than contradict paid employment.

Tables 40 and 41 show that most workers irrespective of marital status put high emphasis on both intrinsic and extrinsic factors of work. However, the respondents in the married category form the major group with high intrinsic and extrinsic factors. All the divorced (8); the widowed (4); and 50% of the separated indicate a high level of intrinsic work value. It is also found that women, irrespective of the marital status, tend to put more emphasis on intrinsic value, contradicting the assumption that when women work, they merely work for cash to supplement family income, rather than have a planned career. Majority (61%) of those with poor intrinsic work value are single, while 39% are married. Also, 72.7% of those with poor intrinsic work value are men, while 28.3% are women. These data show that for both men and women, the financial responsibilities of setting up a family could serve as a 'push' factor in taking industrial work as a way of life. Table 41 shows that majority (89.4% men, and 88.5% women) of those in the married category express high extrinsic work

value. Both men and women (single, married, divorced, separated or widowed) equally become conscious of working for economic survival. More than ever before, the economic input of women in the homes has become a force to be reckoned with.

Table 40 and 41 show that none of the relationships establishing a difference between men and women within the same marital status group and work values is statistically significant considering contingency coefficients, chi-square values, and Pearson's R. Thus, we accept the operational hypothesis which assumes no difference in work orientation between men and women with the same social situation (marriage).

Table 42 shows a higher commitment ratio among married categories. The few recorded cases of low commitment are found mostly among the unmarried category. The data in Table 42 show that for both men and women, marital status (and other home based conditions) tend to influence the level of work commitment. Married men and women, because of marriage responsibility would tend to seek the best from work, while the financial predicaments of divorce, widowhood and marriage separation tend to affect men and women's relationship to work.

The chi-square values of relationship between gender groups in each of the different categories of marital status respectively and work commitment are not statistically significant (thereby confirming the operational hypothesis

which assumes no significant difference in work commitment between men and women of the same marital status).

Although several other factors jointly determine, workers satisfaction level, it is significant to note that one's marital status can be one of those factors. Thus Table 43 shows that the highest percentages of those with high work satisfaction are in the married category. Within the unmarried category no significant difference is recorded in the expression of satisfaction between men and women (see Table 43). This shows that no difference in work commitment is recorded between men and women of the same marital status.

Table 44 shows no significant difference in work alienation between men and women within the same marital status group. None of the relationships between marital status categories and work alienation is statistically significant (see Table 44), thereby confirming the operational hypothesis. However, the logistic regression model (Table 55) shows a negative relationship between work alienation probabilities and marital status (that is, respondents in the married category are negatively related to alienating factors, while those in the unmarried category easily exhibit alienating attitudes). This relationship is significant at 1% level. This further confirms a different reaction to work across marital categories.

When marital status was cross-tabulated with work involvement (Table 45), no significant difference is recorded

between men and women within unmarried marital group ($X^2 = 1.09$, $df = 2$, not sig. at $P = 0.05$); and married marital group ($X^2 = .9$, $df = 2$, not sig at $P = 0.05$). For these relationships, the Pearson's R values are also not statistically significant. Hence, the operational hypothesis which holds that there is no difference in work involvement between men and women with the same marital status, is therefore accepted.

Data on job motivation and marital status (Table 57) shows no marked differences between men and women who belong to the same marital status group, with respect to factors viewed as work energizers. Rather, there are recorded differences across marital groups.

The irregular patterns of job motivation among men and women across marital groups show that the circumstances of marriage can influence motivational patterns of workers (see Table 57). Such marital influence on job motivational patterns are rather about the same for both men and women within the same marital group.

The analyses of the data on marital status and work attitudes, using contingency coefficient values; chi-square values; and Pearson's R and logit coefficients, help to statistically confirm hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 3:

"Men and women with the same familial status (that is,

married with or without children) tend to have similar work attitudes and behaviour".

To test hypothesis 3, familial status is measured by whether or not a respondent has dependent children and later, is cross-tabulated with 7 measures of work attitudes and behaviour (that is, work aspiration; work values, work commitment; satisfaction; alienation; and work involvement).

Looking through Tables 39 to 45, none of the relationships between familial status and the different measures of work attitudes is statistically significant, thereby confirming the operational hypothesis which assumes the same work attitudes for men and women with the same familial status.

The logistic regression model in Table 54 and 55 indicates positive relationships between familial status and the following measures of work attitudes - work aspiration, commitment, work values, satisfaction and work involvement; while the relationship is only negative for work alienation. The data indicates a more positive response to work from workers who are married with children, although only the relationship between familial status and intrinsic work value is statistically significant at 1% level.

Above findings confirm hypothesis 3.

Hypothesis 4

"Men and women with the same occupational status tend to

have the same work attitudes and behaviour".

To test hypothesis 4, occupational status is used as a control variable. The data are presented in Tables 46 to 52. All the established relationships between occupational status and different measures of work attitudes and behaviour (with the exception of 2 of them) are not statistically significant considering the chi-square values, Pearson's R and contingency coefficients (see Tables 42 to 48.

The two identified relationships with statistical significance include:

- (i) the relationship between workers in managerial category and work aspiration, using sex as a dependent variable;
- (ii) Clerical category and work aspiration.

Table 46 shows that in the managerial hierarchy, 90.6% men and 73.3% women reported high work aspiration. This, in itself, contradicts the general belief that women's central life interest is in "family" while men are pre-occupied with employment and earnings. However, that 26.7% of women in managerial position have depressed aspiration is significant. For example, all the women managers in the survey sample are either junior or middle level managers, showing that when compared to men, women managers lack the chance to move into exempt status (that is, their job ladders are relatively short while the job ceilings are low). In one of the companies surveyed, a confidential secretary can be promoted to a

managerial position, yet she still has it as her duty to type, serve the boss, and make his tea. In such an arrangement, it is most unlikely for the confidential secretary to become an executive manager, neither could she sit as a "Chairperson" at meetings to make important policy decisions, for as always, she still takes notes at meetings. It is therefore not surprising if such a group expresses depressed aspiration.

Although a very high percentage (90.6% men and 73.3% women) of managerial staff express high work aspiration, the differences in response between men and women is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 10.30$, $df = 2$ sig. at $P = 0.05$; also Pearson's $R = .347$, sig. at 10% level).

Table 46 also shows that among the clerical workers, and the unskilled, majority of those who express depressed aspiration are men. On the whole, about 72% of men and women with low status jobs express depressed aspiration. This supports the assumption that people have low aspirations when they think their chances for mobility are low. The difference in response between men and women in clerical group in respect to work aspiration, is statistically significant, although not statistically confirmed when the table values of chi-square are considered ($\chi^2 = 9.11$ $df = 2$, sig. at $P = 0.01$; and Pearson's $R = .424$, sig at 1% level). Data on clerical staff and work aspiration simply imply that factors making for type of work aspiration are not sex specific, but rather depend on matrix of factors (which could be structural, systemic or individually

based; rather than mere biological). It also shows that men and women who experience the same structural condition will likely behave in the same way. This pattern is also found when factors of motivation are measured against occupational status (see Table 58).

The above findings do not alter the basic assumption in any way (that is, men and women who have the same occupational status will tend to possess the same work attitudes). Hypothesis 4 is therefore accepted.

The logistic regression models in Tables 54 and 55 further clarify the relationship between work attitudes probabilities and occupational status. Respondents with relative high occupational status (managerial, professionals and technical) expressed negative relationship with work aspiration, intrinsic value, work satisfaction and alienation; and positive relationship with work commitment, extrinsic work value and work involvement, although, only the relationship between occupational status and work commitment is statistically significant at 10% level.

The above findings tend to point to the constraints imposed on the individual worker by the current socio-economic conditions. First, most workers (men and women) are dissatisfied with the current trend which heightens job insecurity, retrenchment and lack of promotion possibilities. The tendency to over - emphasise extrinsic work values at the expense of intrinsic, even by high occupational status workers,

contradicts earlier research findings which argue that professionals tend to value those aspects of their jobs that provide for the psychological needs for self-expression and self actualization, while unskilled and semi skilled workers tend to value those factors that provide for their financial needs. Across occupational groups, there is a general concern for high income, job security and promotion prospects, while less emphasis is placed on intrinsic work values.

However, that the relationship between work commitment and occupational status is statistically significant, is indicative of the general research findings that people at the upper levels of organizational hierarchy tend to be more motivated, involved and interested in their jobs than those at lower levels.

It is also significant that a negative relationship exists between occupational status and work alienation probabilities, meaning that workers in high occupational status tend to be less alienated, although the relationship is not statistically significant.

Table 51 however indicates that all managers who report alienation are all women, meaning that gender factors can become important factors in the measuring of work alienation.

The logistic regression tables support differences in work attitudes across occupational groups, irrespective of gender attributes

Hypothesis 5

"Men and women with the same income group tend to share the same work attitudes and behaviour"

To test hypothesis 5, income level is used as a control variable to determine variation between men and women with respect to various measures of work attitudes and behaviour.

Data presented on income level and work attitude (Tables 46 to 52) are not statistically significant for work values; commitment; satisfaction; alienation; and work involvement; except for work aspiration.

Even for work aspiration, only a relationship with one of the three income categories is statistically significant, that is, the high income group ($X^2 = 10.83$, $df = 3$, sig. at $P = 0.01$; Contingency Coefficient = .50; Pearson's $R = .192$, not sig. at $P = 0.05$) - (see Table 46). It can be assumed that what causes difference in work aspiration between men and women in high income group is not sexual, rather, it could be a reaction to incomparable income, or differential treatment prohibiting growth and advancement among a particular gender group. It can be assumed that if men, also go through the same treatment, they will also exhibit depressed aspiration (for, in medium income group, 95.9% of the women and 87.5% of the men exhibit high work aspiration).

Therefore the operational hypothesis which assumes no significant difference in work behaviour between men and women

in the same income group is accepted.

The logistic regression tables (54 & 55) however try to establish a relationship between income level probabilities and work attitudes. Table 54 and 55 show a negative relationship between income level probabilities and work aspiration; work commitment; work satisfaction, work alienation, and work involvement respectively, although only two of these relationships are statistically significant. These data show that those with low income level have overall negative relationship with the already identified work attitudes, while these negative relationships are statistically significant for work commitment (5% level).

However, a positive relationship is established between income level probabilities and work values, although the relationships are not statistically significant. The logistic regression models further support differences in work attitudes across income levels, while cross-tabulation tables by sex (Tables 46-52) show no statistically significant difference between men and women within income groups and work attitudes, meaning that the general attitudes at work have little or nothing to do with femaleness or maleness.

Hypothesis 6

"Men and women with the same promotional prospects tend to have the same pattern of work attitudes and behaviour"

Two different variables are used as measures of

"promotional prospects". They are:

- (i) "recorded promotions" (which was obtained by asking respondents the number of times they have been promoted); and
- (ii) "probability of promotion".

The two variables are cross-tabulated with the different measures of work attitudes and behaviour. Tables 46 to 52 present data on promotional prospects and work attitudes. With sex as a dependent variable, none of the relationships between measures of promotional prospects and work attitudes is statistically significant (see Tables 46 - 52), thereby meaning an acceptance of the operational hypothesis which holds that there is no significant difference between men and women with the same promotional prospects in terms of work attitudes.

However, the logistic regression models in Tables 54 and 55 show that "recorded promotion" is positively related to work aspiration, work commitment, extrinsic work value, and work involvement (that is, those with good promotion records tend to have high work aspiration, work commitment and are highly involved with work. These relationships are statistically significant for work aspiration (5% level) and work involvement (10% level). On the other hand, recorded promotion is negatively related to intrinsic work value, work satisfaction and work alienation, meaning that a good promotional record does not change worker's view of intrinsic work value (for example promotion might not necessarily change the nature of

work itself); while it might not be the only factor making for job satisfaction (hence a negative relationship with job satisfaction). The negative relationship is statistically significant between recorded promotion and intrinsic work value (5% level).

Probability of promotion and measures of work attitudes are also positively related to work commitment (statistically significant at 10% level); work satisfaction (statistically significant at 1% level); and work involvement, (although not statistically significant). This means that those with high probability of promotion tend to be more committed to work, expressed high work satisfaction level and are likely to be more involved with work.

Negative relationships are also found between probability of promotion possibilities and extrinsic work value (statistically significant at 1% level); intrinsic work value and work alienation (although, both relationships are not statistically significant).

The above descriptions show that factors which make for variations in work attitudes and behaviour are much more due to structural factors and social situations. What determines a worker's attachment or non - attachment to work is often likely to be due to the nature of work, the environment of work and the general opportunity structure rather than the biological nature/functions of sex. Hypothesis 6 is therefore accepted.

Hypothesis 7

"Men and women who perceive that they are discriminated against at work because of their gender tend to exhibit similar work attitudes and behaviour (i.e poor work attitudes)".

Table 46 to 52 present data on perceived gender discrimination and different measures of work attitudes. None of the established relationships in these tables is statistically significant, thereby expressing the same pattern of reaction between men and women towards gender discriminating treatments.

However, a closer look at the percentage distributions in Tables 46-52, is indicative of the following:

- (i) That despite reported gender discrimination, most respondents express positive work attitudes;
- (ii) Numerically, when respondents with, and those without perceived gender discrimination are compared, the number of those with favourable work behaviour are more amongst those respondents who suffered no gender discrimination.
- (iii) Numerically, when respondents with, and without perceived gender discrimination are compared, the number of those with poor work attitudes are more amongst respondents who have experienced gender discrimination.

The observations above mean that we cannot totally rule out relationship between perceived gender discrimination and work attitudes. However, the extent to which such relationship becomes significant depends on the extent to which individual becomes conscious of the existence of gender discrimination and the extent to which the individual sees it as a problem.

However, a critical look at the data on perceived gender discrimination and work attitude further shows that a higher percentage of those who reported gender discrimination are mostly women, while majority of those who experience gender discrimination and possess poor work attitudes are mostly men. This might imply that men react more violently against gender discrimination than women, while women take it for granted.

Personal observations show that gender discrimination is more of a cultural prejudice (particularly against women), thus people shy away from reporting it. As observed among the female informants, most women do not want it as an open discussion. Casual observations show that more women in the high occupational status are more conscious of the existence of gender discrimination than women at the low hierarchy jobs. Gender discrimination against women in discretionary jobs is more obvious, because here, women find themselves not free to take decisions that can affect outcomes.

The non discriminating laws and policies in the country, particularly the equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value tends to hide gender discrimination,

when we consider the objective conditions of work; while gender discrimination against women appears more pronounced at the attitudinal level (that is, in terms of subjective treatment received from superiors and co-workers).

From the data presented so far, significant relationships have been established between personal and structural factors like education, income, occupational status and organizational opportunity structure which are themselves sources of gender discrimination between men and women, and which often at times are taken for granted by women, and at other times, are taken as normal and inevitable.

The logistic regression models (Tables 54 & 55) provide the statistical significance for the relationship between gender discrimination and work attitudes. Data on Tables 54 and 55 show that perceived gender discrimination are negatively related to work aspiration and intrinsic work value probabilities. This means that those respondents (men and women) who have experienced gender discrimination at work, tend to have low work aspirations, and emphasis less, the intrinsic work values. Both relationships are statistically significant at 1% and 5% levels respectively.

Also, gender discrimination as an independent variable, tends to be positively related to work commitment, extrinsic work values, work alienation and work involvement, although none of these relationships is statistically significant. Thus, despite gender discriminatory treatment, respondents

still exhibit some level of job satisfaction (statistically significant at 10% level); some level of work commitment and work involvement; while they also tend to exhibit some work alienating tendencies and also put emphasis on extrinsic work values.

Tables 46 to 52 provide statistical support for the assumed same pattern in work attitudes and behaviour by men and women who had witnessed gender discrimination treatment; while Tables 54 and 55 provide data supporting a relationship between gender discrimination and poor work attitudes (by both men and women).

Hypothesis 7 is thereby accepted. However, the extent to which perceived gender discrimination affects individual's work attitudes and behaviour depends on the level of consciousness about the existence of such a factor; or the extent to which a person sees gender discrimination as a social rather than its being viewed as a cultural problem.

Hypothesis 8

"Men and women who possess traditional gender role orientation tend to differ in work attitudes and behaviour (that is, men with traditional gender role orientation tend to show positive attitudes to work, while women with traditional role orientation exhibit poor work attitudes)".

Null Hypothesis

"Men and women who possess traditional gender role orientation tend to have the same pattern of work attitudes and behaviour".

Hypothesis 8 assumes a basic difference between men and women who possess traditional gender role orientation with respect to attitudes towards industrial employment. This view supports the traditional idea about sex roles, particularly that which sees men as the "breadwinner" while women work only to complement husband's income, rather than for career development.

Tables 46 to 52 show that the behavioral pattern of men and women with traditional gender role orientation is the same, in terms of work aspiration, work values, work commitment, work satisfaction and work alienation. In all, majority of men and women with traditional gender role orientation exhibit favourable work attitudes and behaviour.

Statistically, none of the relationships expressed in Tables 46 to 52, controlling for gender role orientation, is significant (with the exception of work involvement - Table 42). This means that there are no recorded variations between men and women who have traditional gender role orientation with respect to patterns of behaviour at work. However, for the variable - work involvement - a significant difference exists between men and women with traditional gender role orientation value ($X^2 = 6.04$, $df = 2$; while Pearson's $R = .279$, sig. at $p = 0.05$).

However, the trend in work involvement for men and women with modern gender role orientation shows similar pattern ($X^2 = 0.62$, $df = 2$, not sig. at $P = 0.05$).

With a recorded similarity in work attitudes of both men and women (particularly with reference to work aspiration, work values, work commitment, work satisfaction, and work alienation; and partially work involvement), the null hypothesis for hypothesis 8 is accepted while hypothesis 8 is rejected. Both men and women irrespective of gender role orientation tend to value work, and develop personal attachment to their work. However, the data on work involvement tends to point to the conflicting responsibilities facing women as workers, wives, mothers and daughters. These are roles women have learned to balance, such that none takes priority over the other. Yet, this does not make women perform less at work, for more than ever before the economic survival of the home depends on both men and women.

The logistic regression model (Table 54 and 55) further establishes direct link between gender role orientation probabilities and work attitudes. Table 54 and 55 show that gender role orientation probabilities are negatively related to work aspiration, extrinsic work value, work satisfaction and work involvement. This means that respondents with traditional gender role orientation (irrespective of gender), are likely to possess low work aspiration (statistically significant at 10% level); and are not likely to be satisfied nor involved with

their work; whereas they are positive in work commitment, intrinsic work value, and work alienation. Respondents with modern gender role orientation tend to have higher work aspiration, and are more satisfied, involved, and committed to modern industrial work. However, that most of these relationships are not statistically significant means that gender role orientation pattern itself is not a strong determinant of work attitudes and behaviour of individual workers.

The findings on gender role orientation contradict those of Agassi¹⁸⁵ who used gender role orientation as a critical factor in explaining peculiarities in women's work behaviour. For example, according to Agassi, women with traditional sex role orientation derived first as much satisfaction from being a housewife, as against employment outside the home. Our study lends support to the assumption that work outside the home (within the African context) is central to individual life, man or woman; married or unmarried²⁰⁹.

Hypothesis 9

"Men and women who possess traditional gender role orientation will tend to view female bosses negatively".

Null hypothesis

"Men and women who possess traditional gender role

²⁰⁹ Aina, O.I., Nigerian women in the labour force: past and present, in Simi Afonja *et al.* (eds.), Women and Social Change in Nigeria (forthcoming).

orientation will tend not to view female bosses negatively".

To test hypothesis 9, the composite value of gender role orientation value is cross-tabulated with the composite value of perceived female bosses attributes, using gender as a dependent variable (see Table 53).

Table 53 shows that for those who possess traditional gender role orientation value (71.1% of the males and 45.5% of the females), they perceive female bosses negatively, while within the same category, others (28.9% of the males and 54.5% of the females) perceive female bosses negatively. On the other hand, for respondents with modern gender role orientation value, more men (52.3% men and 19.6% women) perceive female bosses negatively while more women (46.9% men and 80.4% women) perceive female bosses positively. The data presented here implies that:

- i. majority of respondents with traditional gender role orientation perceive female bosses negatively.
- ii. significantly, about half of the women with traditional gender role orientation perceive female bosses positively.
- iii. significantly, about half of the men with modern gender role orientation perceive female bosses negatively.
- iv. majority of women with modern gender role orientation perceive female bosses positively.

Within the traditional gender orientation category, the relationship between gender and perceived female bosses attributes is not statistically significant ($X^2 = 1.47$, df 1; not significant at $P = 0.05$). On the contrary, the relationship between modern gender role orientation and perceived female bosses attributes is statistically significant along gender lines ($X^2 = 27.2$, df = 2, sig. at $P = 0.01$; and Pearson's $R = .304$, sig. at $P = 0.01$).

The data above, helps to reject the null hypothesis, while the operational hypothesis 9 is confirmed.

The data on modern gender role orientation value however, shows that men are more particular about culturally accepted sex role patterns. By implication, any programme which aims at the welfare of women must start with men in order to reach a desired goal. On the whole, it seems men are protective of the status quo.

In conclusion, eight out of the nine operational hypotheses have been accepted (only hypothesis 8 is rejected). By implication, the basic assumptions I & II are fully accepted, while assumption III is only partially accepted.

It has been shown that variations in work attitudes and behaviour between men and women are not based on femaleness or maleness, rather they depend on the treatment received from the social environment of work. Thus, men and women who share the same life situations and work experience will likely embrace modern industrial work in the same way.

This is further supported by data presented in the logistic regression model probability table (Table 59). The data on this table shows the level of the probability of a relationship between the independent and the dependent variables, first by measuring the effect of each of the independent variables on work attitudes probabilities; and second, by pooling all the independent variables together and measuring for their single effect on work attitudes probabilities.

From the probability table (Table 59), the following are the findings -

1. It is notable to find that marital status (for both men and women) has a very high probability of affecting almost all the indices of work attitudes except for intrinsic work value. This further confirms that the heavy emphasis placed on monetary rewards in today's work organization is a by-product of the Nigerian political economy, and increased aggressiveness shown by both men and women to meet family survival needs.
2. Also, for familial status, a high probability is established with all the indices of work attitudes.
3. Educational status is strongly related to work satisfaction, work alienation and work involvement; and so is the income level.
4. Recorded promotion has high probability of affecting work aspiration, commitment, work satisfaction, work alienation

- and work involvement.
5. Probability of promotion predicts success perfectly with work aspiration (that is, the effects is more of certainty than mere probability); and it also has a high probability of influencing all other indices of work attitudes, with the exception of extrinsic variable.
 6. Perceived gender discrimination has a statistical significance of influencing work commitment, work alienation and work involvement.
 7. Gender role orientation has high probability of affecting work commitment, work satisfaction, work alienation and work involvement.
 8. Occupational status has a high probability of influencing work commitment, work satisfaction, work alienation and work involvement.
 9. However, when all the independent variables are pooled together (linear combination), they have a high probability of influencing all the indices of work attitudes except intrinsic work value and work alienation. This could be explained by the less emphasis now placed on intrinsic work values because of a general preoccupation in the larger society with survival needs as a result of growing inflationary trends and economic dislocations. The fact that only few of our respondents are machine tenders (that is, work group with the highest documented rate of work alienation) also explains the relative less

display of work alienation.

Table 60 presents work attitudes probabilities at three different levels - personal; organisational; and systemic. The table shows that work aspiration probabilities depend more on personal attributes (for both men and women) than the other two categories (organizational and systemic variables). However, all the elements in the GOS model have important role to play in determining workers commitment level. Extrinsic work value is more dependent on personal attributes and organizational opportunity structure; and less on systemic category which dictates gender stereotypes. Intrinsic work value is more dependent on organizational opportunity structure, and the same goes for work satisfaction probabilities. The feeling of alienation is highly dependent on organizational structure of work and the ideological belief about sex roles. Also, whether a worker is involved or not involved with his or her work depends on personal attributes and the structure of work itself, while systemic view of gender roles plays a lesser role.

A closer look at Table 60 shows that at various points, there is an interplay of personal attributes, organizational structure and systemic variables on the different dimensions of workers' attitudes. The organizational opportunity structure however, presents a relatively higher predictive level on work attitudes probability levels, while the systemic category presents the least.

Our findings further support a multi-dimensional view of work attitudes and behaviour in organizational analysis. It also supports the thesis which holds that the behaviour of individual worker in work organization is contingent upon a complex interplay of social relations, including basic ideological values.

There is no doubt that men and women are changing the cultural view of gender roles. However, the change seems slower for men compared to women. Rather than reject "work" for "home" life, and vice versa, women continue to juxtapose their roles as wives; mothers; and workers.

TABLE 39

Percentage distribution of respondents by work aspiration and by personal attributes

Personal Attributes	Work Aspiration				X ²	Df	CC
	High		Depressed				
	M	F	M	F			
<u>Educational Status</u>							
Low	70.5	75.5	27.5	24.2	1.09	3	.09
Medium	70.8	80.0	29.2	19.5	4.87	3	.27
High	89.1	85.2	8.7	14.8	9.78*	4	.34
<u>Marital Status</u>							
Single	71.1	74.7	29.0	23.3	3.21	3	.16
Married	81.2	85.2	17.6	14.7	1.41	4	.10
Divorced	50.0	33.5	50.0	66.5	4.44	3	.60
Widowed	-	100.0	100.0	-	-	**	.71
Separated	33.3	100.0	66.7	-	-	**	.50
<u>Familial Status</u>							
-Married with children	80.5	84.4	19.5	15.6	0.16	1	.05
-Without Children	50.0	33.3	50.0	66.7	-	**	.16
-Unmarried	79.7	76.1	30.3	23.9	0.30	1	.07

X² = Chi-square

** = Fisher's Exact Test.

df = degrees of freedom

CC = Contingency Coefficient

* = Statistically significant at 5% level

TABLE 40

Percentage distribution of respondents by intrinsic work value
and by personal attributes

Personal attributes	Intrinsic Work Values				X ²	Df	CC
	Poor		High				
	M	F	M	F			
<u>Educational level</u>							
Low	13.7	10.2	86.3	89.8	.11	1	.05
Medium	4.2	22.2	87.5	77.8	6.29	3	.30
High	17.4	-	82.6	100.0	3.64*	1	.26
<u>Marital Status</u>							
Single	21.1	14.0	77.6	86.0	1.56	2	.11
Married	8.2	11.5	91.8	88.5	.14	1	.05
Divorced	-	-	100.0	100.0	**	-	-
Widowed	-	-	100.0	100.0	**	-	-
Separated	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	**	-	-
<u>Familial status</u>							
-With Child.	8.0	12.5	92.0	87.5	.40	1	.07
-Without Children	-	-	100.0	100.0	**	-	-
-Unmarried	21.3	13.0	78.7	87.0	.82	1	.10

* = Statistically Significant at 5% level.

** = Fisher's Exact Test

TABLE 41
Percentage distribution of respondents by extrinsic work value
and by personal attribute

Personal attributes	Extrinsic work value				X ²	Df	CC
	Low		High				
	M	F	M	F			
<u>Educational Status</u>							
Low	21.1	20.0	77.0	77.6	.53	2	.06
Medium	12.5	16.7	79.2	83.0	3.20	2	.23
High	19.6	3.7	80.4	96.3	2.4	1	.22
<u>Marital Status</u>							
Single	30.3	23.3	67.1	76.7	1.98	3	.13
Married	10.6	11.5	89.4	88.5	.00	1	.01
Divorced	50.0	16.7	50.0	83.3	**	-	.32
Widowed	33.3	50.0	66.6	50.0	**	-	-
Separated	66.7	100.0	33.3	-	**	-	.32
<u>Familial Status</u>							
-Married with children	9.2	12.5	90.8	87.5	.15	1	.05
-Married without children	50.0	-	50.0	100.0	**	-	.48
-Unmarried	31.1	21.7	68.9	78.3	.82	1	.10

* = None of the relationships is statistically significant
 ** = Fisher's Exact Test.

TABLE 42

Percentage distribution of respondents by work commitment and by personal attributes

Personal Attributes	Work Commitment						X ²	Df	CC*
	High		Medium		Low				
	M	F	M	F	M	F			
<u>Education Status</u>									
Low	64.2	44.0	27.4	38.8	8.4	16.3	5.26	2	.19
Medium	58.0	80.6	37.5	11.1	-	2.8	6.30	3	.31
High	93.5	88.9	6.5	11.1	-	-	0.06	1	.08
<u>Marital Status</u>									
Single	63.2	65.1	28.0	18.6	6.6	11.6	3.20	3	.16
Married	80.0	65.6	17.6	29.5	2.4	4.9	3.90	2	.16
Divorced	-	83.3	100.0	-	-	16.7	5.30	2	.63
Widowed	100.0	100.0	-	-	-	-	**	-	-
Separate	33.3	100.0	66.7	-	-	-	**	-	-
<u>Familial Status</u>									
-Married with child.	78.4	70.3	18.2	25.0	3.4	4.7	1.30	2	.09
-Married without child.	75.0	-	25.0	66.7	-	3.3	4.28	2	.62
-Unmarried	62.7	70.5	30.7	18.2	6.7	1.4	2.64	2	.15

* = None of the relationships is statistically significant

** = Fisher's Exact Test.

TABLE 43

Percentage distribution of respondents by work satisfaction level and by personal attributes

Personal Attributes	Work Satisfaction				X ²	Df	CC
	Satisfied		Dissatisfied				
	M	F	M	F			
<u>Educational status:</u>							
Low	70.5	63.3	29.5	36.7	.49	1	.07
Medium	83.3	58.3	12.5	41.7	6.90	2	.32
High	93.5	85.2	6.5	11.1	2.27	2	.17
<u>Marital Status:</u>							
Single	68.4	58.1	31.6	41.9	.86	1	.10
Married	89.4	70.5	10.6	27.9	8.90*	2	.24
Divorced	50.0	83.3	50.0	16.7	-	-	-
Widowed	-	100.0	100.0	-	-	-	-
Separated	33.3	100.0	66.6	-	1.3	2	
<u>Familial Status:</u>							
-With Children	87.4	74.6	12.6	25.4	3.2	1	.16
-Without Children	75.0	-	25.0	100.0	-	-	.60
-Unmarried	67.1	60.9	32.9	39.1	.25	1	.61

* = Statistically Sig. at 5% level

TABLE 44
Percentage distribution of respondents by work alienation and
by personal attributes

Personal Attributes	WORK ALIENATION				X ²	Df	CC
	Not alienated		Alienated				
	M	F	M	F			
<u>Level of Educ.</u>							
Low	70.5	65.3	28.4	30.6	1.60	2	.10
Medium	75.0	75.0	20.8	25.0	1.61	2	.16
High	93.5	85.2	4.3	14.8	2.98	2	.20
<u>Marital Status</u>							
Single	71.1	72.1	27.6	27.9	.57	2	.07
Married	83.5	75.4	15.3	23.0	1.47	2	.10
Divorced	100.0	83.3	-	16.7	-	-	.21
Widowed	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	-	-	.00
Separated	66.7	-	33.3	100.0	-	-	.50
<u>Familial Status</u>							
With Children	83.7	77.4	16.3	22.6	.57	1	.08
Without "	100.0	33.3	-	66.7	-	-	.59
Unmarried	72.0	73.9	28.0	26.1	-	1	.02

* = None of the relationships is statistically significant.

TABLE 45
Percentage distribution of respondents by work involvement and
by personal attributes

Personal Attributes	Work Involvement				X ²	Df	CC
	High		None				
	M	F	M	F			
<u>EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:</u>							
Low	61.1	55.1	37.9	42.9	.62	2	.07
Medium	79.2	72.2	16.7	27.8	2.35	2	.19
High	80.4	96.3	17.4	3.7	3.67	2	.22
<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>							
Single	69.7	76.7	28.9	23.3	1.08	2	.09
Married	72.9	65.6	25.9	32.8	.92	2	.08
Divorced	50.0	00.0	50.0	-	-	-	.55
Widowed	-	50.0	100.0	50.0	-	-	.50
Separated	33.3	-	33.3	100.0	1.33	2	.50
<u>FAMILIAL STATUS</u>							
With							
Child	70.9	8.3	29.1	31.7	.03	1	.03
Without	100.0	6.7	-	33.3	-	-	.43
Children							
Unmarried	69.3	6.1	30.7	23.9	.35	1	.07

* = None of the relationships is statistically significant

TABLE 46

Percentage distribution of respondents by work aspiration and
by Structural Variables

Structural Variables	High Work Aspiration		Depressed Work Aspiration		X ²	D	CC
	M	F	M	F			
<u>OCCUPATIONAL STATUS</u>							
Managerial	90.6	73.3	9.4	26.7	10.3*	2	.42
Professional	82.5	79.1	15.0	20.9	1.7	2	.14
Technical/ Skilled	79.6	88.9	20.4	11.0	0.8	2	.10
Clerical	50.0	89.5	50.0	10.5	9.1*	2	.40
Unskilled	41.7	66.7	58.3	33.4	1.9	2	.24
<u>INCOME</u>							
Low	63.0	76.9	27.0	13.1	5.9	3	.18
Medium	87.5	91.9	12.6	8.5	1.7	3	.15
High	88.9	66.7	7.4	33.0	10.8*	3	.50
<u>RECORDED PROMOTION</u>							
Low	88.5	82.6	11.5	17.4	0.5	2	.10
Medium	85.4	88.4	14.6	11.7	3.5	3	.19
High	80.0	66.7	15.0	33.3	7.3	4	.49
<u>PROBABILITY OF PROMOTION</u>							
High	100.0	100.0	-	-	-	-	-
Low	59.1	81.3	40.9	18.9	5.0	3	.34
<u>PERCEIVED GENDER DISCRIMINATION</u>							
None	69.9	75.0	30.1	25.0	5.9	3	.20
High	85.2	83.6	14.8	16.5	1.9	3	.12
<u>GENDER ROLE ORIENTATION</u>							
Traditional							
GRO	57.9	54.5	39.5	45.5	5.3		.31
Modern GRO	78.9	82.4	21.1	17.7	4.1		.13

* = Statistically Significant at P = 0.01 (1%)

** = Statistically " " P = 0.05 (5%)

TABLE 47

Percentage distribution of respondents by extrinsic work value
and by structural variables

Structural Variables (Organisational and system)	Extrinsic Work Value				X ²	Df	CC*
	Low		High				
	M	F					
<u>OCCUPATIONAL STATUS:</u>							
Managerial	12.5	-	84.4	100.0	2.62	2	.23
Professional	17.5	9.3	80.0	90.7	2.40	2	.17
Technical/ Skilled	29.6	16.7	70.4	83.3	1.60	2	.15
Clerical	13.3	26.3	86.7	73.7	0.59	1	.16
Unskilled	16.7	33.3	83.3	66.7	0.35	1	.18
<u>INCOME</u>							
Low	26.1	21.8	72.8	78.2	1.33	2	.09
Medium	8.3	4.3	87.5	95.7	1.42	3	.14
High	14.8	-	85.2	100.0	0.70	1	.22
<u>RECORDED PROMO</u>							
Low	19.2	13.0	76.9	87.0	1.32	2	.16
Medium	14.6	11.6	83.3	88.4	1.10	2	.11
High	10.0	-	85.0	100.0	0.52	2	.15
<u>PROBABILITY OF PROMOTION</u>							
High	12.6	13.6	85.0	86.4	0.88	3	.08
Low	18.2	18.8	81.8	81.3	0.00	1	.01
<u>PERCEIVED GENDER DISCRIMINATION</u>							
None	12.6	13.6	85.4	86.4	0.88	3	.88
High	29.5	16.4	68.9	83.6	4.42	2	
<u>GENDER ROLE ORIENTATION</u>							
Traditional	18.4	18.2	78.9	81.8	0.30	2	.08
Modern	19.5	15.7	78.9	84.3	2.27	2	.10

* None of the relationships is statistically significant

TABLE 48

Percentage distribution of respondents by intrinsic work value and by structural variables

Structural Variables (Organisational and systemic)	Intrinsic Work Value				X ²	Df	CC*
	Poor		High				
	M	F	M	F			
<u>OCCUPATIONAL STATUS:</u>							
Managerial	12.5	-	85.5	100.0	0.76	1	.20
Professional	12.5	7.0	85.0	93.0	1.88	2	.15
Technical/ Skilled	18.5	16.7	79.6	83.3	0.38	2	.07
Clerical	6.7	21.1	93.3	78.9	1.19	1	.21
Unskilled	16.7	22.2	83.3	77.8	0.0	1	.07
<u>INCOME</u>							
Low	16.3	16.7	82.6	83.3	0.85	2	.07
Medium	8.3	14.0	91.7	95.7	0.61	2	.09
High	14.8	-	85.2	100.0	0.70	1	.22
<u>RECORDED PROMO</u>							
Low	3.8	13.0	92.3	87.0	2.18	2	.21
Medium	8.3	14.0	91.7	86.0	0.27	1	.09
High	20.0	-	75.0	100.0	0.96	2	.20
<u>PROBABILITY OF PROMOTION</u>							
High	7.7	-	90.8	100.0	2.96	2	.17
Low	9.1	18.8	90.9	81.3	0.15	1	.14
<u>PERCEIVED GENDER DISCRIMINATION</u>							
None	5.8	6.8	93.2	93.2	0.48	2	.06
High	26.2	14.9	72.1	85.1	3.78	2	.17
<u>GENDER ROLE ORIENTATION</u>							
Traditional	13.2	18.2	86.8	81.8	0.0	1	.06
Modern	13.3	11.8	85.2	88.2	1.76	3	.09

* None of the relationships is statistically significant

TABLE 49

Percentage distribution of respondents by Work Commitment and
by Structural Variables

Structural Variables	Work Commitment						X ²	Df	CC*
	High		Medium		Low				
	M	F	M	F	M	F			
<u>OCCUPATION STATUS</u>									
Managerial	93.8	86.7	6.3	13.3	-	-	0.06	1	.12
Professional	77.5	74.4	20.0	20.9	-	2.3	0.97	3	.11
Technical/ Skilled	66.7	77.8	24.1	22.2	9.3	-	1.93	2	.16
Clerical	46.7	52.6	46.7	36.8	6.7	10.5	0.56	2	.11
Unskilled	66.7	38.9	25.0	22.2	8.3	33.3	3.70	3	.33
<u>INCOME</u>									
Low	57.6	60.3	32.6	25.6	8.7	11.5	1.61	3	.10
Medium	81.3	73.9	18.9	26.1	-	-	0.16	1	.08
High	96.3	100.0	3.9	-	-	-	0.00	1	.11
<u>RECORD PROMOTION</u>									
Low	69.2	60.9	26.9	26.1	-	8.7	2.40	3	.22
Medium	77.1	76.7	22.9	20.9	-	2.3	1.16	2	.11
High	85.0	100.0	15.0	-	-	-	0.00	1	.15
<u>PERCEIVED GENDER DIS-CRIMINATION</u>									
None	71.8	72.7	26.2	15.9	1.0	9.1	7.80	3	.22
High	68.9	64.2	19.7	28.4	11.5	6.0	3.14	3	.15
<u>PROBABILITY OF PROMOTION</u>									
High	89.2	66.7	9.2	26.7	-	-	7.22	2	
Low	27.3	62.5	63.6	9.1	31.3	6.3	4.80	2	.33
<u>GENDER ROLE ORIENTATION</u>									
Traditional	63.2	36.4	23.7	36.4	13.2	27.3	2.62	2	.23
Modern	73.4	70.6	23.4	21.6	2.3	5.9	2.57	3	.11

* None of the relationship is statistically significant.

TABLE 50

Percentage distribution of respondents by work satisfaction and by structural variables

Structural Variables	Work Satisfaction				X ²	Df	CC*
	Satisfied		Dissatisfied				
	M	F	M	F			
<u>OCCUPATIONAL STATUS:</u>							
Managerial	96.9	80.0	3.4	13.3	4.12	2	.28
Professional	87.5	69.8	12.5	30.2	2.86	1	.28
Technical/ Skilled	66.7	72.2	31.5	27.8	0.46	2	.08
Clerical	76.7	68.4	23.3	31.6	0.09	1	.09
Unskilled	41.7	38.9	58.3	61.1	0.00	1	.28
<u>INCOME</u>							
Low	68.5	57.7	31.5	42.3	1.68	1	.11
Medium	87.0	78.3	10.4	17.4	3.30	3	.21
High	88.9	100.0	10.1	-	0.30	1	.19
<u>RECORDED PROMO</u>							
Low	84.6	56.5	15.4	43.5	4.40	1	.30
Medium	79.2	76.7	20.8	20.9	1.13	2	.11
High	90.0	66.7	5.0	33.3	2.72	2	.33
<u>PROBABILITY OF PROMOTION</u>							
High	92.3	83.3	7.7	16.7	0.93	1	.13
Low	50.0	56.3	50.0	43.8	0.03	1	.06
<u>PERCEIVED GENDER DISCRIMINATION</u>							
None	84.5	77.3	15.5	22.7	0.66	1	.09
High	65.6	61.2	32.0	37.3	2.29	3	.13
<u>GENDER ROLE ORIENTATION</u>							
Traditional	68.4	63.6	31.6	36.4	0.00	1	.04
Modern	80.5	66.7	18.8	32.4	7.74*	3	.18

* Statistically significant at 5% level.

TABLE 51

Percentage distribution of respondents by work alienation and
by structural variables

Structural Variables	Work Alienation				X ²	Df	CC
	Not alienated		Alienated				
	M	F	M	F			
<u>OCCUPATIONAL STATUS:</u>							
Managerial	84.4	100.0	12.5	-	2.62	2	.23
Professional	85.0	79.1	15.0	20.9	0.17	1	.08
Technical/ Skilled	59.3	55.6	38.9	38.9	0.70	2	.10
Clerical	60.0	73.7	40.0	26.3	0.45	1	.14
Unskilled	50.0	38.9	41.7	61.1	2.22	2	.26
<u>INCOME LEVEL</u>							
Low	64.1	64.1	34.8	34.6	0.01	2	.01
Medium	70.8	78.3	27.1	21.7	0.77	2	.10
High	85.2	100.0	11.1	-	1.98	2	.22
<u>RECORDED PROMO</u>							
Low	65.4	65.2	34.6	34.8	0.0	1	.00
Medium	79.2	74.4	20.8	23.3	1.24	2	.12
High	60.0	100.0	30.0	-	1.84	2	.27
<u>PROBABILITY OF PROMOTION</u>							
High	81.5	86.7	16.9	13.3	0.69	2	.09
Low	54.5	62.5	40.9	37.5	0.86	2	.15
<u>PERCEIVED GENDER DISCRIMINATION</u>							
None	75.7	75.0	23.3	22.7	0.02	2	.01
High	59.0	70.1	39.3	29.9	2.55	2	.14
<u>GENDER ROLE ORIENTATION</u>							
Traditional	65.8	27.3	31.6	72.7	6.04*	2	.33
Modern	71.1	75.5	27.3	23.5	0.62	2	.05

* Statistically Significant at P = 0.05

TABLE 52
Percentage distribution of respondents by work involvement and
by structural variables

Structural Variables	Work Involvement				X ²	Df	CC
	High		None				
	M	F	M	F			
<u>OCCUPATIONAL STATUS:</u>							
Managerial	84.4	100.0	12.5	-	2.62	2	.23
Professional	85.0	79.1	15.0	20.9	0.17	1	.08
Technical/ Skilled	59.3	55.6	38.9	38.9	0.70	2	.10
Clerical	60.0	73.7	40.0	26.3	0.45	1	.14
Unskilled	50.0	38.9	41.7	61.1	2.22	2	.26
<u>INCOME LEVEL</u>							
Low	64.1	64.1	34.8	34.6	0.01	2	.01
Medium	70.8	78.3	27.1	21.7	0.77	2	.10
High	85.2	100.0	11.1	-	1.98	2	.22
<u>RECORDED PROMO</u>							
Low	65.4	65.2	34.6	34.8	0.0	1	.00
Medium	79.2	74.4	20.8	23.3	1.24	2	.12
High	60.0	100.0	30.0	-	1.84	2	.27
<u>PROBABILITY OF PROMOTION</u>							
High	81.5	86.7	16.9	13.3	0.69	2	.09
Low	54.5	62.5	40.9	37.5	0.86	2	.15
<u>PERCEIVED GENDER DISCRIMINATION</u>							
None	75.7	75.0	23.3	22.7	0.02	2	.01
High	59.0	70.1	39.3	29.9	2.55	2	.14
<u>GENDER ROLE ORIENTATION</u>							
Traditional	65.8	27.3	31.6	72.7	6.04*	2	.33
Modern	71.1	75.5	27.3	23.5	0.62	2	.05

* Statistically Significant at P = 0.05

TABLE 53

Percentage distribution of respondents by perceived female bosses attributes and by psycho-structural variables

Psycho-structural Variables	Perceived female Bosses Attributes				X ²	Df	CC
	Negative		Positive				
	M	F	M	F			
<u>EDUCATIONAL LEVEL:</u>							
Low	62.1	32.7	36.8	67.3	12.27*	2	.20
Medium	70.8	19.4	29.2	80.6	13.80*	1	.50
High	39.1	7.4	60.9	92.6	7.09	1	.32
<u>OCCUPATIONAL STATUS:</u>							
Managerial	46.9	13.3	53.1	86.7	3.63	1	.31
Professionals	47.5	23.3	50.0	76.7	6.88	2	.30
Technical/Skilled	66.7	11.1	33.3	88.9	14.56	1	.40
Clerical	56.7	21.1	43.3	78.9	4.66	1	.33
Unskilled	58.3	38.9	41.7	61.1	.45	1	.19
<u>INCOME LEVEL</u>							
Low	60.9	25.6	39.1	74.4	19.79*	1	.33
Medium	47.9	13.0	50.0	87.0	9.07*	2	.34
High	55.6	16.7	44.4	83.3	3.65*	1	.34
<u>MARITAL STATUS:</u>							
Single	55.3	27.9	44.7	72.1	7.22*	1	.26
Married	52.9	14.8	45.9	85.2	23.55*	1	.37
Divorced	100.0	50.0	-	50.0	-	-	.41
Widowed	100.0	-	-	100.0	-	-	.71
Separated	100.0	100.0	-	-	-	-	-
<u>GENDER ROLE ORIENTATION</u>							
Traditional	71.1	45.5	28.9	54.5	1.47*	1	.23
Modern	52.3	19.6	46.9	80.4	27	2	.33

* Statistically Significant at P = 0.05

TABLE 54

Logistic Regression Model on Work Aspiration; work commitment
and work values

Selected Covariates	Work Aspiration	Work Commitment	Extrinsic Value	Intrinsic Value
	Logitcoeff.	LogitCoeff.	LogitCoeff.	LogitCoef
1. Marital Status	1.9554**	.5086	1.4270	17.5947
2. Familial Status	1.4078	1.1183	.0954	16.7231
3. Educa- tion leve	-.1064	-.8852	1.2698	-.1311
4. Income Level	-.2764	-1.4304**	1.0779*	.0893
5. Recorded Promotion	1.6820**	.3365	.2901	-1.7167**
6. Probabi lity of Promotion	****	.6265***	-1.8810*	-.8459
7. Gender Discrimi nation	-1.3338**	.5305	.0844	-1.7839*
8. Gender Role Orienta tion	-1.4171***	.4245	-.7063	.5859
9. Occupa- tional status	-.2510	.6241***	.0751	-.2532

* Significant at 1% level

** Significant at 5% level

*** Significant at 10% level

**** Predicts success perfectly

TABLE 55

Logistic Regression Model on Work Satisfaction, Alienation
and Work involvement

Selected Covariates	Work Satisfaction	Work Alienation	Work Involvement
	Logit Coeff.	Logit Coeff.	Logit Coeff.
1. Marital Status	-.5973	-17.2116*	.0991
2. Familial Status	.3434	-17.3278	.1163
3. Educational Level	-.7097	.3015	.7937
4. Income Level	-.8760	-2 .1357	-1.9750**
5. Recorded Promotion	-.6961	- .3818	1.1690***
6. Probability of Promotion	1.5966*	- .3686	.5206
7. Gender discrimina tion	.6374***	.4244	.5954
8. Gender Role Orientation	-.1967	.2036	-.6409
9. Occupational Status	-.0433	- .00139	.0847

* Significant at 1% level

** Significant at 5% level

*** Significant at 10% level

TABLE 56

Average Rank of Job factors of Motivation By Educational level

Job Factor	Nil		V. Low				Low		Medium				High					
	M		M		F		M		F		M		F					
	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S				
Adequate Financial Reward	6.0	1	5.3	1	6.3	1	5.4	1	4.9	1	5.6	1	5.5	1	5.3	2	5.0	3
Job Security	5.0	3	4.3	3	4.7	3	4.8	2	4.6	4	4.3	3	4.7	3	5.1	3	4.5	4
Interesting Work	3.0	6	5.0	2	4.3	4	4.4	4	4.8	3	4.5	2	5.0	2	5.5	1	5.8	1
Good Working Conditions	1.0	7	3.4	5	2.8	6	3.5	6	2.9	6	3.4	5	3.0	6	3.4	5	2.6	6
Friendly Co-workers	5.3	2	2.8	7	2.3	7	2.7	7	2.5	7	3.0	6	2.3	7	2.8	7	2.1	7
Promotion/ Growth	4.3	4	4.1	4	6.3	1	4.6	3	4.9	1	4.3	3	4.6	4	4.5	4	5.1	2
Gender Equality	3.3	5	3.1	6	3.8	5	4.0	5	3.5	5	2.6	7	3.1	5	3.3	6	3.2	5

TABLE 57

Average Rank of Job Factors of Motivation by Marital Status

	Single		Married				Divorced				Widowed				Separated					
	M=76		F=43		M=85		F=61		M=2		F=6		M=2		F=2		M=3		F=1	
	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S	R	S
Adequate Financial Reward	5.3	1	5.4	1	5.3	1	5.2	1	4.5	3	5.2	3	7.0	1	4.0	3	4.3	4	4.0	4
Job Security	4.7	2	4.7	2	4.9	2	4.6	4	3.5	4	4.0	4	6.0	2	3.0	4	2.3	6	3.0	5
Interest ing work	4.7	2	4.7	2	4.8	3	5.1	2	6.0	2	5.5	2	5.0	3	7.0	1	5.3	2	6.0	2
Good Working Conditions	3.6	5	3.6	5	3.1	5	2.4	6	1.5	7	1.7	7	1.0	7	6.0	2	5.7	1	2.0	6
Friendly Co-workers	2.7	7	2.0	7	3.1	5	2.4	6	2.5	6	3.0	6	2.0	6	3.0	4	2.0	7	1.0	7
Promotion/ Growth	4.1	4	4.4	4	4.7	4	5.0	3	7.0	1	6.0	1	4.0	4	2.5	6	5.3	2	7.0	1
Gender Equality	3.1	6	3.2	6	2.6	7	3.3	5	3.0	5	4.0	4	3.0	5	1.5	7	3.0	5	5.0	3

R = Average Ranking

S = Sequence.

TABLE 58

Average Rank of Job Factors of Motivation By Occupational status

JOB FACTORS	Managerial		Profes- sional				Technical				Clerical				Unskilled					
	M=32		F=14		M=40		F=42		M=54		F=18		M=30		F=19		M=12		F=18	
	AV. R	S	AV. R	S	AV. R	S	AV. R	S	AV. R	S	AV. R	S	AV. R	S	AV. R	S	AV. R	S	AV. R	S
Adequate Financial Reward	5.2	3	4.7	3	5.3	2	5.4	1	5.3	1	5.6	1	5.3	1	5.5	1	5.4	1	5.3	1
Job Security	5.4	2	3.5	5	4.6	3	4.8	3	4.6	3	4.7	2	5.0	2	4.8	3	4.1	3	4.6	4
Interest ing Work	6.0	1	6.1	1	5.4	1	5.2	2	4.6	3	4.5	3	4.1	4	4.9	2	4.0	4	4.9	2
Good Working Conditions	3.4	6	2.4	7	3.2	5	3.0	6	3.1	5	4.4	4	3.9	5	2.8	6	4.4	2	2.6	6
Friendly co-worker	3.5	5	2.5	6	2.5	7	2.0	7	2.9	7	2.6	7	2.9	7	2.7	7	2.8	7	2.3	7
Promotion Growth	4.3	4	5.8	2	4.4	4	4.1	4	4.7	2	4.3	5	4.4	3	4.4	4	3.8	5	4.9	2
Gender Equality	2.4	7	3.7	4	2.6	6	3.2	5	3.0	6	3.2	6	3.1	6	2.9	5	3.3	6	3.8	5

AV.R = Average Ranking
S = Sequence

TABLE 59

Logistic regression model probability table on gender-organization-systemic effects on work attitudes

GOS VARIABLE	WORK ASP.	WORK COM.	EXT. VALU	INTR. VALUE	WORK SATIS	WORK ALIEN	WORK INVOL
Marital Status	.83*	.79*	.78*	.38	.85*	.98*	.57*
Familial Status	.73*	.87*	.60*	.86*	.93*	.98*	.57*
Educ. Level	.38	.48	.01	.04	.83*	.99*	.72*
Income	.38	.35	.01	.30	.81*	.99*	.89*
Recorded Promo.	.78*	.76*	.01	.16	.83*	.99*	.79*
Proba. of Prom.	***	.81*	.01	.98*	.98*	.99*	.67*
Gender Discri.	.15	.79*	.01	.14	.30	.99*	.68
GRO	.14	.60*	.02	.07	.90*	.99*	.38
Occup. Status	.46	.81*	.01	.13	.91*	.99*	.56*
All Indep. Variable	.81**	.86**	.99**	.06	.85**	.01	.72**

* = Cases where each independent variable has a high probability of affecting a specific dependent variable.

** = Cases where when a linear combination of all independent variables are made, show a high probability of affecting the specific dependent variable.

*** = Predicts success perfectly (i.e. effect is certain).

TABLE 60

Logistic regression model of work attitudes and
gender-organisation-system matrix

WORK ATTITUDES	Personal Attributes	Organisation Variables	Systemic Variables
Work Aspiration	0.95	0.41	0.12
Work Commitment	0.81	0.82	0.60
Extrinsic Value	0.99	0.88	0.15
Intrinsic Value	0.16	0.97	0.67
Work Satisfaction	0.16	0.09	0.07
Work Alienation	0.19	1.00*	0.99
Work Involvement	0.76	0.63	0.38

* = Predicts success perfectly.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS OF STUDY

8.1 Summary and conclusions

Although the study of sexual division of labour in the society is as old as the field of Sociology itself, not until recently was attention directed at gender factors within work organizations. Organizational studies have not only been gender blind, but also sexist. This is because for a long time organization studies 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 toward 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/roles with the emergence of industrial capitalism, only recently are national governments (following the United Nations Decade for Women - 1975 - 1985) globally responding to the need of more than 50% of the world

population (women). Feminists, the world over, are currently pre-occupied with solving some of the puzzles that have long subordinated women to men. Not only are feminists developing new methodologies of doing research, they are also re-changing thought and unveiling new social realities about the world we live in. Because 'work' is so central to the individual social life, the field of 'Women and Work' has attracted a great attention from social researchers, for access to economic autonomy is seen as the first step in the process of gaining social status by women.

For a long time, many studies which have focused on the economic status of the Nigerian women have predominantly focused on women in the agricultural sector, while others have made sweeping generalizations about women within the modern formal labour market. 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. The principal objective of this study therefore is to document women's experience within work organization and the extent to which such experience differs from those of men. A detailed background analysis to the study of gender, relevant to this study, is thereby presented in chapter one.

To meet the objectives of this study (as listed in chapter one), three major assumptions are made, which later generate nine operational hypotheses. These assumptions are made giving consideration to the existing studies on gender differences in work organizations and cultural factors in the Nigerian context. Male-female differences in basic job attitudes have been analyzed using either structural (job - model) or the gender-socialization (gender - model) approaches. Proponents of the structural approach argue that work interests are primarily a function of perceived opportunity, and as opportunities equalize, gender work-interest differences should disappear. However, the authors who used the gender-centred perspective argue that men and women are socialised into different interpersonal styles and adult gender roles. Therefore, men and women in the same occupation are expected to exhibit different concerns and interests and pursue their careers in divergent ways.

The above dichotomous views about men and women in work organizations have been criticized for lack of precision and accuracy. It is criticized that the study of work organizations have proceeded along sex-differentiated lines because of sex segregation in the labour market. For a long time, economists justified sex-segregation in the labour market by focusing on real or imagined deficiencies of women, using competitive models of labour markets; and theories of labour market segmentation. Some writers have therefore argued for an

integrated model which takes into account the interaction between job and gender factors.

However, the modest contribution of the present study is the argument for a new paradigm which extends beyond integrated model; that is, a model which incorporates macro-level analysis with the integrated model of Feldberg and Glenn. This is because the integrated model ignored cultural and ideological issues. The new approach now referred to as gender-organization-system (GOS) approach suggests that women's behaviour and limited corporate progression in organizations can be due to their gender, the organizational context and/or the larger social and institutional system in which they function.

Behaviour in organizations is therefore seen as a continuous feedback between personal characteristics (for example, gender), situations (for example, the organizational context) and the social-institutional system in which these interactions occur (for example, ideological factors). The nine hypotheses drawn for this study are therefore informed by considerations for individual characteristics (for example, gender, educational level, marital and familial status); organizational context (for example; system of reward and opportunity); and socio-cultural variables (for example, gender orientation values). The extent to which these three categories create differences in work attitudes and behaviour of men and women in formal organizations is sought.

Chapter two documents the existing literature, focusing on perspectives on "Women and Work"; "Women and the Labour Market", and "Women's adaptive attitudes and behaviour to occupational conditions.

Chapter three presents the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study. The dialectical relationship between the social structure and psychological reality focused upon in this study is presented using the social action perspective as explicated in the Weberian tradition. However, the study integrates the Weberian tradition with Durkheimian collective consciousness, sustained in the writings of Peter Berger. This is to show that the subjective reality of individual consciousness is socially constructed, and that there is an ongoing dialectical relationship between psychological reality and the social structure. Though the individual responds to the changes within the macro-structural environment, the individual is still left with freedom to decide between and among alternative choices. Our respondents are therefore presented as conscious actors rather than as victims or pawns.

The need-theory model of work motivation and behaviour complements the broader social action perspective. This is because people differ in their choice of needs, and accordingly their behaviour also differs. Even though need-satisfaction models attribute freedom to an individual, on the other hand, they also deny a person freedom to behave, as needs serve as inevitable determinants of action. Thus, needs not only

provide explanations for behaviours, but also help to stabilize individual action and provide continuity.

Important to this debate is the implication of western theories for explaining African gender relations and the impact of development on African women's status positions. Tracing the applicability or non-applicability of the various theories (modernization theory; marxian tradition and feminism) within the African context, the central argument here is that to develop new methodologies and new theories which could best describe sporadic changes taking place within African continent, studies need take into cognisance local concepts and definitions. The first major step will be to start to understand African people using their own perception of their situations.

The research methodology is presented in chapter four. Data for this study were collected from 5 manufacturing industries located in Lagos. The methods of data collection include interview survey and indepth interview of selected case studies. Direct observations of production workers were made, while some policy records were reviewed. Two hundred and eighty-one respondents were included in the interview survey while thirty-six cases from specified categories were selected for the indepth interviews. For the interview survey, respondents were chosen using the stratified sampling technique, using sex and type of job as stratification variables. A simple random sampling technique was used to

select respondents from each cell.

Four different interview guides were constructed to collect information using the case study approach (see Appendices B-E). Data were collected personally by the researcher, assisted by three field workers.

Chapter five provides detailed profiles of the five companies surveyed. From the general review of conditions of employment existing in the 5 companies surveyed; and the Nigerian Federal Government circular on female employment; in principle, there are no differences between men and women who occupy the same job positions, in terms of salaries and fringes, except for such items as taxes and housing allowance. For example, because married men are granted children and spouse allowance, they pay less tax than married women of equivalent status. Also, in cases where both husband and wife work for the same employer, one of them (usually the man) is the only person entitled to housing allowance. The women can only claim a housing allowance if she could prove that she leaves separate from her husband, and that the husband is not in public service.

It is also significant that the government grants both legally married women, and unmarried female workers 12 weeks maternity leave except that for the latter, such leave is without pay; while for both group of women, maternity leave is annual leave consuming. Also, by law, no employer grants pre-natal and post-natal medical treatment to women, while cost of

treatment for sexually transmitted diseases are borne by the workers themselves.

Evidences abound in the respective companies employees handbooks showing a general neglect of issues connected with biological reproduction in work organizations thereby supporting the view that women, because of their reproductive roles, are seen more often as problems in work organizations. Using the case studies approach, the empirical evidences supporting this are presented in chapter five.

It is also significant to note that daily paid workers (of whom women are in the majority) are not entitled to medicare provided by the respective employers (except for emergency treatment or first aid treatment). This is evident in the respective companies handbooks, and later confirmed by respondents when interviewed.

The analyses of data collected using the interview survey, are presented in chapters 6 and 7. Chapter six presents data on socio-demographic characteristics; the general conditions of work; and workers' perception of work and family roles. Data on socio-demographic characteristics of respondents shows that male sample is about 60% of the total sample while female respondents represent 40%. In reality, the gender population gap is much wider.

The data on age indicates no significant difference between the sexes. For the female sample, the age mean is 29 years (a critical age for raising and nursing a family). By

extension, this shows that Nigerian women would readily combine work and childbearing, as against being full-housewives.

The majority are married, few of them are either divorced/widowed or separated; while less than half of the total population are still single. Significantly, 54% of the women in the sample are married, indicating that majority of the women in the sample tend to have 'double-day' - that is, combining work and family roles of 'mothers' and 'wives'. With up to 8% of the female sample being in the category of the separated/divorced/widowed, it points to a new trend in family structure, that is the emergence of female-headed households. It is also significant that some of the single female professionals tend to look at marriage with less enthusiasm. For them, what is important is to have one or two children, not necessarily out of love for a man but as a personal security measure for needed emotional support which children could give them at old age.

The data on children shows no significant differences between men and women, except that respondents with more than 4 children tend to come from the low occupational status (that is, clerical and the unskilled workers), and among the men with more than one wife. Although majority (91%) of the male sample have an average of one wife, men will easily take on another wife in cases of divorce/separation or death of spouse, while women might be more reluctant to do this. The relative high skill and economic autonomy of women in female headed families

included in the survey, make it easy for these women to shun remarriage.

The data on current educational level shows that more men improved on the educational qualification possessed at the point of entry, while very few women do. 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 employers' policies and other factors (particularly domestic) making demands on worker's limited available time.

Significantly, men tend to devote more time on human capital, although the extent to which women could be blamed for devoting less time on developing their human capital is debatable. For example, women have to work extra hard to be noticed for hard work (as exemplified in the case studies).

When the respondents are slotted into the sex-typical and sex-atypical pigeon holes, 9 out every 10 men are in sex-typical jobs (management, technical and professional jobs); while only 9.5% are in sex-atypical jobs (for example, secretarial jobs, nursing, and catering). For women, 62.8% are in sex-typical jobs while 37.2% are in non-traditional jobs (that is, technical jobs), showing that women are gradually moving into male traditional occupations.

Most of the women in the managerial category are married, although few are separated/divorced and/or single. Although the society still places a great emphasis on marriage, some incompatibility between work and family roles likely contributes to our having 33% of female managers in the divorced category. In the category of the professionals, women are not only relatively younger in age than those in managerial level, but are mostly single.

Educational level and occupational status also determine income level. Very few women occupy management positions, thus three quarter of managers earning above N15,000 per annum are men.

The data on spouses shows that over 85% of the spouses are in paid employment too, meaning that both men and women are turning to paid employment to meet survival needs.

Respondents work histories show that more men tend to leave jobs either to further their education, or because of the nature of the job (lack of job security/satisfaction/lack of challenge and growth); while women leave their jobs mainly because of husbands' transfer or victimization at work. However, both men and women face involuntary retirement/termination; lack of job security; and poor conditions of service (that is, both men and women suffer from the by-products of global and local economic crises).

It is found that men have a longer history of employment within the industrial labour market, as the average years men

have spent in paid employment is higher than those of women. For example, all those who have spent 16 years and above with their employers are men; while unlike men, no woman in the sample has spent up to 26 years in paid employment. Notably, majority of those who are/have been in supervisory positions (or positions commanding authority) are mostly men.

Since majority of women are in the low level jobs, they tend to earn less in terms of total spending on the labour force. However, some obvious differences exist between women and men in terms of fringes, and promotion opportunities. For example, while a male senior staff, his spouse and children are all entitled to medical services provided by the employer; for a female counterpart, her spouse is excluded. Also, women are not entitled to paid annual leave when same falls within the same year with maternity leave.

Looking at recruitment pattern, men seem to be more favoured, as the few women employed got their jobs through personal contacts; meaning that the most qualified women are not necessarily employed, a phenomenon which has further stained the image of women in formal organizations.

Although both men and women tend to have the same access to training; the access of men to promotion opportunities tend to be more rapid. The better access of men to promotion prospects tend to explain salary disparity between men and women with the same point of entry.

In order to measure gender discrimination in the

workplace, respondents were asked to assess both objective and subjective conditions of work, comparing themselves to both opposite/same gender in comparable job levels. When comparisons are made across gender groups, composite value description of both objective and subjective conditions of work respectively, show a strong association between 'sex' and perception of both objective and subjective conditions of work respectively. This shows that 'sex' is an important variable determining access to equitable salary, training, promotion, taxation system and encouragement received from other workers for improved well-being.

It is important to note that while majority of the respondents would develop informal relationship at work with little or no consideration for gender, a greater ratio of workers who prefer informal relationship with the opposite sex are women, while only few are men. This means that while men are more likely to make friends within their own male group, women often seek friendship outside their own gender group. It is found that strained relationships more often than not, develop in female groups than within male groups. The implications of this are many -

- a. it could mean that women always look forward to men for emotional support because of their own socialization and orientation of dependency;
- b. it could also mean that women as a group become internally competitive as they compete for the

favour and attention of the superiors at work who are usually men;

- c. it could also mean that because of the comparatively small numbers of women to men in work organizations, women are forced to have confidants across their own gender group; or otherwise, a divide-and-rule mechanism becomes easy for men who want to always control women.

Promotion prospect is found to vary between people occupying different occupational status irrespective of gender, while promotion varies across gender groups within the same job status. However, because women are mostly found in low status jobs, they are less likely to report lack of promotion prospects, since such jobs normally attract less promotion, and workers in such positions become less enthusiastic about promotions.

Our findings support sex segregation of occupations, even though both men and women positively desire items related to increased responsibility and managerial tasks. Supporting the existence of gender segregation of jobs, our data show that women are not often likely to be in managerial positions, while neither are the men likely to have opposite sex boss. At the management level, women perceive they are more likely to have opposite gender co-workers, opposite sex boss; having difficulty of acceptance and less likely to have co-workers of the same sex.

To measure workers' work attitudes and behaviour, the following items are measured - work aspiration; work commitment; work orientation/value; work satisfaction; work alienation; involvement; work motivation and gender role orientation. To establish any gender differences in patterns of behaviour, sex is statistically controlled for; while relationships and associations between each of the attitudinal variables and individual characteristics on one hand; and structural variables on the other, are statistically determined using contingency coefficient values, Chi-square values, Pearson's R, and the logistic regression model.

Eight of the nine operational hypotheses are accepted while one (hypothesis 8) is rejected. Generally, responses to attitudinal variables show that independently of sex, men and women tend to react to the same job situation in the same way. For example, our data shows no significant difference between the sexes in terms of work aspiration, although more men than women are often more likely to have fulfilled aspiration. Work aspiration variable when cross-tabulated with such variables as educational status, marital status, familial status, occupational status; income level; gender discrimination, gender role orientation; the results show that workers (men and women) with limited opportunities for job advancement tend to exhibit low work aspiration. This is statistically confirmed by the logistic regression model.

Also, the assumption that men and women who work under

conditions of low opportunity tend to possess poor work commitment is supported. Both personal characteristics and structural variables affect worker's level of work commitment. Individual's need-level also serves as intervening variable in determining the level of work commitment. For example, the high emphasis placed on extrinsic factors like pay and fringes is a direct by-product of current economic crises in the larger social context, which subsequently forces workers to give a higher consideration to meeting lower level needs. Also, unlike in the West where females are entering traditionally male-dominated jobs as a result of different affirmative actions (that is, agreement forcing an employer to set goals for the hiring of a particular minority or gender group in order to make up for past deficiencies in the hiring of that group), in Nigeria, such affirmative actions are not in existence. The present socio-economic conditions have helped people to make alternative choices, and in determining job/occupation preferences. For example, because of the high value placed on extrinsic factors of jobs, both men and women prefer jobs with better pay, fringe benefits, security, training, and promotional opportunities. Since these are characteristic features of most traditional male-dominated jobs, it is not surprising that females are changing their job orientation, and are seeking ground in traditional male-dominated jobs.

Notably, when there is conflict between domestic roles and

work roles (for example, paid employment), it is the women that adjust their time to suit family needs. For example, more women than men; and more married women than single women would not like to take on extra work responsibilities which involve over-time work during the evenings and the weekends (especially if such work is not mandatory). This gives support to the idea that very little change has been effected at the household level concerning sharing of roles and responsibilities, particularly those involving physical energy.

Also, no significant association exists between sex and work orientation values. Majority of the workers place emphasis on intrinsic values, although a greater percentage of those with poor intrinsic work value are still found among the operatives, clerical and the unskilled. No doubt the nature of the work still determines the extent to which intrinsic factors become important to the average workers.

However, it seems the economic depression in the country in the recent times tends to force people to appreciate their work more. Also, for both married men and women, the financial responsibilities involved in setting up a family could serve as a 'push' factor in making industrial work as a way of life.

The data on extrinsic work value and marital status shows that for both men and women (single, married, divorced, separated or widowed), they have all become conscious of working for economic survival, while the economic input of women in the homes has gained more recognition. The high

emphasis put on extrinsic factors across occupational groups is therefore a reflection of socio-economic institutions in crises. More than before, both professionals and non-professionals are generally concerned with high income, job security and promotion prospects. Also, while the unskilled is glued to his job because of high rate of unemployment, the highly skilled changes his job at the slightest monetary enticement. Thus, the workers, perceive work as a means to an end and not necessarily an end in itself.

Sex differences in job satisfaction were also measured, looking at both individual characteristics and job factors. Majority express a high satisfaction level with work, while the level of satisfaction for women (considering the different facets of the job) appears lower than those of men. Looking at the different facets of job, our data shows that women lack access to 'power' in work organization, for, compared to men, women lack control over work process and decision making at work. Even when women acquire necessary skills, it is not impossible that more often than men, they are hindered from utilizing such skills and abilities. Our results contradict those of Varcas et al.²¹⁰ that occupational level moderates pay and promotion satisfaction among males and females; and

²¹⁰ Varcas, P. E; Schaffer G. S., and McCauley C. D., "sex differences in job satisfaction revisited". Academy of Management Journal, 26, 348-353p.

those of Smith and Plant²¹¹, that any male-female differences in job satisfaction are not psychologically meaningful. Although, our data shows that majority of respondents with high education express satisfaction with their work while majority of those dis-satisfied with their work have low educational status, our data still shows that the number of women with high educational status who express dissatisfaction with their jobs is greater than the number of men in high educational status and the number of women with low educational status who are dis-satisfied with their work. This means that women need more than mere acquisition of formal education to become satisfied with their jobs. We found that irrespective of gender, workers with low educational status tend to be in less attractive and less satisfying jobs. Also, because education often determines individual occupational status and income levels, there is a strong association between occupational status and job satisfaction level. For example, the higher the income, the less dis-satisfaction expressed with job, while unique to our study, a higher percentage of women are dis-satisfied irrespective of income levels. Whatever the status of the woman, she is marginalized at work, thus, about half of the female sample who are extrinsically dis-satisfied are managers and professionals. On the whole, over half of the female sample expressed perceived gender discrimination. Therefore,

²¹¹ Smith, D. B. and Plant W. T.: "Sex differences in job satisfaction of University Professors", Journal of Applied Psychology, 67, 1982, 249-251p.

men and women who encounter gender discrimination in both objective and subjective conditions of work are dis-satisfied with their work; however, men react more violently against gender discrimination than women, while women take it for granted. Majority of our respondents stick to their jobs despite their dis-satisfaction because there are no alternative jobs in the labour market; while majority of women stick to their jobs because of immobility caused by family responsibilities.

Men and women who work under conditions of low opportunity tend to exhibit alienating tendencies. Thus, majority of the alienated workers are from the low occupational status group, while the fact that alienated workers in the managerial positions are all women shows that irrespective of occupational status, women face more alienating factors than men at work. This trend is the same with workers' work commitment level.

Taking into account the present socio-economic conditions in the country, both men and women place a greater emphasis on extrinsic motivational factors irrespective of occupational status. Our data shows that 'gender equality' as a motivational factor, ranks low compared to other motivational variables, thereby pointing to the fact that many workers tend to take gender issues for granted or as given. Significantly, emphasis on intrinsic as against extrinsic motivational factors depends on the respondent's relative placement within the occupational hierarchy rather than a reflection of sex group.

Another major finding is the effect of gender role orientation on work attitudes and behaviour. Irrespective of gender role value, female workers put much emphasis on both intrinsic and extrinsic work value, while no significant relationship is found between gender role value and being conscious of gender discrimination. It is significant that majority of women in the categories of the divorced/widowed/separated have modern gender roles values. It is found that women more than men, tend to do away with traditional gender role values as they move up the organizational hierarchy, while educational status also determines a respondent's gender role values.

A strong association is found between gender role value and perceived female boss attributes. For example, majority of those with traditional gender role value hold negative attributes for the description of female bosses, while majority of those with modern gender role value describe female bosses in positive terms.

The results support an interlocking system of relationship between and among gender, work and cultural (institutional) factors. Gender sometimes has a pre-eminent influence on work roles, while at the same time men and women in the same occupation tend to share about the same work interests, hours, and employment status than men and women across occupations, signifying the influence of structural factors. Also, cultural barriers interact with discriminatory intent to produce forms

of discrimination that sometimes remains rather invisible yet perpetuating. Thus, Smircich²¹² argues that culture metaphorically promotes a view of organizations as expressive forms, manifestations of human consciousness. Hence, organizations are to be understood and analyzed not mainly in economic or material terms, but in terms of their expressive, ideational, and symbolic aspects. Therefore, attitudes and assumptions about organization life of both men and women are informed by socially constructed rules of gender which they, in turn, serve to reproduce²¹³. Mills argues that in examining sexual discrimination at work we need to be aware of a multiplicity of societal and organizational influences that come together within organizations. By focusing upon culture, we are able to espouse a reality that is at one and the same time a reflection and a transformation of societal values.

Hypotheses 1-7 being statistically confirmed, also directly support the Major assumptions I & II, thereby indicating that the effect of selected personal attributes and structural variables on work attitudes and behaviour is the same for both men and women. Sometimes, the pattern may vary slightly because of differential treatments, basically the responses of men and women to socio-economic situations are the same.

²¹² Smircich, Linda, "Concepts of Cultures and Organizational analysis". Administrative Science Quarterly, 28, 1983, 339-358p.

²¹³ Mills, Albert J., "Organisational acculturation and gender discrimination", Canadian Issues, X(1), 1988, 1-22p.

The logistic regression model shows that variations in work attitudes and behaviour are usually by products of differences in personal attributes and structural treatments, rather than differences across gender groups per se.

Assumption III is partially accepted since only one (Hypothesis 9) of the two hypotheses (H8 and 9) formulated is accepted. Our findings show that men and women who possess traditional gender role orientation tend to have the same pattern of work attitudes and behaviour. Also, men and women with traditional gender role orientation tend to view female bosses negatively.

With the belief that for both men and women, familial situation has a part to bear in explaining work attitudes and behaviours, questions were posed on domestic work/problems and child care arrangements. It is found that women see combining work and familial roles as a way of life; while for men, even when married, domestic work is not given any prerogative. Not only is the task of maintaining the home shifted totally to the woman, worst still, for the man, an ideal wife is the one that perfectly incorporates work and domestic roles by independently building her own adaptive mechanisms. The assumed "domestic" responsibilities of women is reflected throughout organizational life, affecting not only female perceptions of the jobs they might appropriately seek but also the perceptions of male employers as to who they may appropriately appoint and for what type of job.

As it is, production and reproduction are contradictory for the working class women. Not only is there a greater incompatibility between the nature of their work and the nature of mothering, the reliance on paid help for childcare have attendant implications for the well-being of the child. None of the employers surveyed makes provisions for daycare facilities, even though this service is in high demand. Available daycare facilities outside work are not only expensive but sub-standard. Also, non-professional women generally have fewer economic resources, which curtails their ability to buy support services and household help. No doubt, women spend less time on career development, compared to their male counterparts, because of familial obligations. Women, however, appear to be good managers of time. Generally, the time-use pattern of individual worker is determined by occupational and marital statuses.

Dominant male ideology predominates at the household level, while joint family decision making is continually enhanced by factors like women's exposure to formal education, high status occupation and high income levels. Data on family expenditure shows a high need for women's income earning for the individual family survival within the growing global economic crises. Yet, 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. This is explicated by the vast qualitative data presented in Chapter 5.

The selected case studies earlier presented in chapter 5, show that female experience within organizations can vary depending upon whether they are viewed as 'wife', 'daughter' or 'lover'. This is to say that sexuality plays a powerful role within organizational life. For example, in obtaining a job, a female may find that sexual attractiveness forms at least part of the assessment on which she is recruited²¹⁴. It may also serve as a basis of exclusion, particularly to traditionally male dominated occupations and industries. Our data supports gender segregation of jobs, for often the nature of the job dictates the gender to be employed. The perceived role of female as 'homemaker' (attribution to women of a number of traits and personality characteristics) affects recruitment, training, and promotion opportunities for females.

Our data supports 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 supervisors²¹⁵; differential treatment of females in

²¹⁴ Ferguson, Kathy E., The feminist case against bureaucracy. Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1984.

²¹⁵ Mayer, H and Lee, M., Women in traditional male jobs: the experiences of ten public utility companies. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982.

the workplace²¹⁶; slow rate of promotion and assignment to less attractive or less challenging jobs, and less training opportunities than male workers²¹⁷ and sexual harassment²¹⁸.

We find that relatively more men than women work with machines, while more often than not, more women either use simple handtools or operate machines that perform repetitive tasks and restrict their physical mobility. Also, more men operate machines that require skill and encourage work autonomy. The work of the blue-collar women is mainly controlled impersonally by their equipment, the assembly line, and the work flow devices, while for men, their work is mainly under human control.

No doubt, women continue to accept the new technologies, and often struggle to be exposed to the total package without much success. Men in sex-atypical jobs (female traditional jobs like secretarial jobs) are not enthusiastic about their jobs, yet there is a growing preference for male gender in such jobs.

In recent times women have taken up the fight for better work by acquiring more education and skill, the extent to which

²¹⁶ Levitin, T.; Quinn, R. P., and Staines, G. L., "Sex Discrimination against the American working women". American Behavioural Scientist, 15, 237-254p.

²¹⁷ Terborg, J. R. and Ilojen, D. I., "a theoretical approach to sex discrimination in traditionally masculine occupations", Organizational Behaviour and Human Performance 13, 1975, 352-376p.

²¹⁸ Gutek, B. and Morasch, B., "Sex ratios, sex role spill over, and sexual harassment of women at work", Journal of Social Issues, 38, 55-74p.

they have turned their economic gains to female empowerment is still questionable. According to Jennifer²¹⁹, for women, fears of being fired are combined with common anti-union sentiments which create formidable barrier against organizing women in the work setting. Significantly, we find that family role differences appear to inhibit women's propensity to unionize, although, there is no evidence to show that women are less interested than men in union activities. However, our findings show that union leadership perceives discrimination against women in work organizations in punitive terms. Thus, union leaders are less concerned and sometimes uninformed about the situation of female workers. We find that gender issues are rarely in union agenda.

A major issue is the realization that women themselves are less sensitive to gender discrimination in the workplace. Thus, the key to overcoming gender disparity at work is achieving a change in women's attitudes to themselves. According to Audrey Wise²²⁰, "once you start to feel that you are important, then you are much more likely to demand your rights". Therefore, women need to see their work as important to the organizational functioning, and until women gain confidence, and begin to share in the running of their unions, policies guiding male/female jobs will remain relatively

²¹⁹ Penny, Jennifer, Hard earned wages: Women fighting for better work. Toronto, Wome's Educational Press, 1983.

²²⁰ Wisee, Audrey, "Women in trade unions", Women Speaking, 1(1), Jan.-March 1974) 13-14p.

unchanged.

8.2 Implications of the findings for policy:

Women are about 50% of the country's population, thus, failure to adequately integrate them into national development is a direct neglect of the country's human resources. Nigerian women (single or married) have always worked both inside and outside the home not only for economic reasons, but to gain social status.

Although by the Nigerian 1979 Constitution, there should be no discrimination based on sex, race or religion in gaining access to employment, our study found that gender-based discriminations are built into employment systems by policies and practices resting on unexamined assumptions and stereotypes. Such systemic discrimination appears indirect, impersonal and often unintentional. For instance, systemic discrimination may arise from such stereotypical assumptions about physical strength; the family breadwinner; over-emphasis of biological functions of women in deciding their work placement; protection legislation among others. Other policies are gender-neutral, thereby, tending to penalize women.

To create employment equity, practices which serve as barriers to the full participation of women in the workforce need to be changed. One major barrier is that up till now the country does not possess legislation guiding employment equity,

neither are there affirmative action programmes to counter the effects of prevailing systemic discrimination based on gender.

Below are some of the areas needing immediate legislative attention-

- a. reviewing the tax law that continues to discriminate against women;
- b. prohibiting discrimination base on sex, marital status, and pregnancy;
- c. variable work hours for employed women;
- d. legislating against sexual harassment;
- e. improving the policies guiding the conditions of work for unmarried mothers;
- f. access to medical facilities by both male and female junior staff and their families; and including pre-natal and post-natal medical services in medicare package for workers;
- g. pay equity (although the study found that men and women enjoy the same salary at the point of entry, but subsequently, because men accrue promotions and advancement faster than the female counterparts, a gap is created between them; also, the fact that most women are engaged in work that is different from men's, direct comparisons between 'women's jobs' and 'men's jobs' become difficult, while the equal pay principle is non-existence).

Recommendations

To create employment equity (that is, practices which could eliminate discriminatory barriers to employment options and access to optimum utilization of skill by the individual worker), the following recommendations are made to guide policy planning aimed at improving men and women access to full employment opportunity, and thereby sustaining positive view of industrial work across gender groups.

a. Tax law should be reviewed, granting same tax benefits to both men and women (that is, spouse and children allowances should be shared by both husband and wife, where both engage in paid employment; and are equally responsible for the care of these children). The recent modification in tax laws is a welcomed development. The new tax measures and amendments show that on the personal level, workers are to gain additional tax relief, but the previous N500 wife allowance is abolished. Personal allowance is to be increased from N2,000 to N3,000 (that is, 50% increase), and an overlay of 15% of an individual's total earned income. The dependant's allowance of N600 is retained but children allowance is up, that is, from N400 to N500 for a maximum of four children which is the officially recommended number of children for a woman. The existing tax rate of 55% of income is scaled down to 45%. Ogundele and Ojediran²²¹, remarked in the Guardian Newspaper

²²¹ Ogundele, Jide and Ojediran, Bisi, "Tax, duties modified in new fiscal regime". The Guardian Newspaper, Friday, January 3, 1992.

of 3rd January, 1992 -

....."perhaps in deference to women consistent clamour for equal treatment on personal tax, their husbands have been deprived of the N500 wife allowance, but their loss would be offset by their enhanced personal allowance"

Despite the current tax adjustments, some issues are still left unresolved, for example, children allowance are still wholly claimed by the husbands, while the society itself sees no reason for granting equal tax concessions to both men and women. Women still lack access to other work benefits, for example, housing allowances; while the unmarried mothers are still denied maternity allowances. Even for the married mothers, there are no pre-natal and post-natal medical coverage granted by the government.

b. The government should make specific laws against discrimination in recruitment/hiring; promotion; and training among others, that are based on sex, marital status and pregnancy.

We thereby recommend affirmative action whereby employers of labour increase the employment of under-represented groups in order to create a workforce that is representative of the nation (that is, hiring of a particular minority or gender group in order to make up for past deficiencies in the hiring of that group. The first step to abolishing job segregation in the labour market will be to encourage more women to enter male-dominated jobs while more men enter female-dominated jobs.

Such an interchange will not only help to raise the value of women's jobs, it will also help to establish pay equity within and across jobs (meaning 'equal pay for equal work' and 'equal pay for work of equal value').

c. The most critical period in the life of the female employees is predominantly the period corresponding with child-bearing years. Women's employment opportunities are therefore often influenced by their access to child care services. We therefore feel that policies specific to mothering should be introduced in work organizations. Such policies could include

i. making it mandatory for employers to provide childcare services as an intrinsic part of work conditions for their employees (both males and females).

ii. introducing part-time work possibilities for mothers who might find it difficult to cope with child care demands if employed full-time.

iii. making shift work hours more flexible for women so that preference of choice is granted women with infants and toddlers.

iv. planning meetings (corporate, non-corporate and union meetings) to accommodate women with family responsibilities).

v. granting parental leave (whereby either the mother or the father of the infant, is allowed to temporarily stay off work because of childcare responsibilities). The non-existence of paternity or adoption leave reinforces the

stereotype that domestic commitments interfere with women's commitment to their work. The twelve weeks maternity leave as it exists today appear inadequate, as many parents find it difficult arranging suitable care for their infants.

- vi. The current legislation which provides maternity leave without pay for unmarried women should be canceled. Not only are such women to enjoy the same entitlement as legally married females, they should be given access to public financial assistance and counselling.
- e. Sexual harassment (which can be physical, verbal, visual and psychological pressure), should be legislated against. Sexual harassment does not only often lead to low productivity, it can increase costs of recruiting, hiring and training because of loss of staff.
- f. Raising the consciousness of women through enlightenment programmes, through schools and the mass media will be a right step in the right direction.
- g. It should become mandatory for employers of labour to grant free pre-natal and post-natal medicare to female employees, while husbands, should be given access to medicare provided by their wives' employers (if husbands choose to use such facilities).
- h. Medical care entitlement provided junior workers and casual laborers should be improved upon, particularly as medicare becomes unaffordable for the individual within the present

socio-economic crises.

i. Exposing more women to leadership training and making it mandatory that union executive positions become equally shared between men and women.

j. Both men and women who work in Nigerian industries (particularly in the production lines) are exposed to series of health hazards. Therefore, steps should be taken to ensure that industrial production lines are safe for both male and female workers. In this regards, the government needs to step up required standards in the industries.

k. No doubt, men and women who work under conducive social environment tend to exhibit positive work attitudes and behaviour. Therefore, effort should be geared at intensifying provision of basic, vocational, technical and professional education for women in order to fully utilise about 50% of the nations human resources.

l. At the macro level, sex stereotyped ideologies which continue to discriminate against women need to be changed. This could start inform of mass campaign against sexual prejudices using the T.V. or the radio; or subtly at the household level as parents deviate from sexist socialization.

m. The individual women needs to refocus attention on building her own human capital (that is, readiness to receive qualitative education, and necessary skill for modern sector jobs). The educated women must act as conscious agents of change, who could inspire other women, and also serve as

enviable role models. The notion of the "weaker sex" should not be embraced by women, particularly in situations where work responsibilities depends on expertise and skill rather than physical strength. Women should therefore see gender stereotyped favours as retarding and unprogressive.

Many of the above recommendations tend to be gender specific because a lot remains to be done in changing stereotyped beliefs about gender relations. One of the most difficult things to change is ideological value. It is rather subtle but very enduring. It is obvious from the various data presented in this study that work is central to both men and women's lives. Given the same physical, social and psychological conditions, women tend to share about the same work attitudes and behaviour with male counterparts. Therefore, factors which presently hinder women from full participation need to be removed so that women can perform better in work organisations.

8.3 Implications of the findings for further study

Equity considerations in supervision, appraisal and promotion need frequent appraisal, while the relevance of gender discrimination within our own cultural context needs to be espoused more. We therefore hereby list some of the important areas needing further research in order to establish work environment devoid of gender inequities; and also establishing appropriate concepts and methodologies in explaining work behaviour in organizations with special

relevance to gender.

Gender-organization-system perspective as a new framework needs further empirical testing so that the extent to which each of the three contexts (gender/organization/institutional system) determine the behaviour of the individual worker is determined. To make existing organizational theories relevant to the study of African women, we need to incorporate both quantitative and qualitative methodologies so that the mundane, taken-for-granted experiences of women become meaningful.

Little is known about Nigerian women in management and other leadership positions. We need further researches into the problems which female managers encounter in gaining access to and maintaining positions of leadership, in order to address possible solutions to such problems.

We need to further explore the needs of dual-career and dual-income families. We need prescriptive oriented research which will move away from mere support for mothers (as this tends to ghettoize women in the work force even more), but which will build strategies for getting men involved, so that both men and women share equally in the economy, the family and career development. Maternity problem itself should therefore be seen as a societal issue, and not a woman's problem.

The health status of Nigerian women in the workforce has been a relatively neglected area of research. We therefore need future research on strains/stress caused in women because of managing work, family and self interests.

The issue of women and the professions seems unattended to in existing literature on Nigerian women. Future research in this area should help us 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).

We need more researches which will espouse the nature of mixed-work groups and non-mixed work groups in order to better understand gender-role spill-over, and thereby building models for creating a new sense of emerging role possibilities for women and men.

Finally, we suggest continuous research into societal valuation of men and women's role relationships and stereotyping in order to develop a programme for attitudinal change and a total restructuring of the political economy which continues to subjugate women.

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APPENDIX A
QUESTIONNAIRE

Part I: PERSONAL DATA

- 1(a) SEX: MALE FEMALE
- (b) AGE:(Last birthday)
- (c) RELIGION (d) Ethnic Group
- (e) Marital Status:
- (f) If Married: (i) No. of Children:
- (ii) No. of Wives No. of husbands ever had ...
- (g) Were you married when you first joined this establishment?
Yes ... No ...
- (h) Highest educational qualification when you joined this establishment?.....
- (i) Highest educational/professional qualification now?
(Specify).....
- (j) How many years did you spend in school altogether?
(Specify) yrs.
- (k) Please, answer the following questions about your parents;
and you spouse:
- Occupation
- Level of education.....
- Religion.....
- No. of children.....
- No. of wives/husbands ever had.....
- 2(a) The official designation of your present job (e.g. Spinner, Accounts Clerks, Manager etc.) (Specify)
.....

(b) Department (Section) of work.....

(c) Are you responsible to immediate supervisor(s)

Yes ... No ...

(d) Do you have direct subordinates? Yes ... No ...

(e) Have you ever held a SUPERVISORY position? Yes ...No ...

PART II - WORK HISTORY/CONDITION OF WORK

3(a) Did you work somewhere else before you present job?

Yes ... No ...

(b) If yes to Q. 3(a), Is your former job(s) similar to your present job? Yes ... No ...

(c) Do you prefer your present job to previous job(s)? Yes ... No ...

(d) Reason for leaving the very last employment before the present one (Specify)

(e) Name of present Employer?

(f) Months/years already spent with present employer?, (Specify months or years).

(g) Nature of present employment: Part-time ... Temporary ... Permanent ... Contract

(h) Years already spent in paid employment altogether? (Specify), (years).

(i) Town/City where most life is spent.....

4(a) Entry salary per annum (in present job). (Tick one)

(c) Can you estimate you allowances?

- (i) Medical allowance N.....
- (ii) Housing Allowance N.....
- (iii) Transport allowance N.....
- (iv) Food subsidy (Luncheon Vouchers) N.....

- (v) Leave allowance N.....
- (vi) End of year bonus N.....
- (vii) (Others) Specify N.....

(d) List others in your family covered by your medical allowance.....

(e) Does your medical allowance cover the cost of the following?

	Yes	No
(i) Drugs/Hospitalization for self
(ii) Drugs/Hospitalization for children
(iii) Drugs/Hospitalization for spouse
(iv) Maternity care (for self)
(v) Maternity care for spouse
(vi) Drugs/Hospitalization for parents

(f) Is there any pension or gratuity scheme in case of retirement, deaths etc. Yes ... No ...

(g) Sum up days/weeks etc. you have stayed off work because of the following (counting from January 1988 to date):

- (i) Personal health problem (Specify)
- (ii) Child illness (Specify)
- (iii) Maternity leave (Specify)
- (iv) Spouse illness (Specify)
- (v) To attend ceremonies (Specify)
- (vi) Other (Specify)

5. What is the nature of your work?

- (i) I do shift work during the day only
- (ii) I do shift work during the night only
- (iii) I do shift work both day and night
- (iv) I don't shift work (i.e. hours are regular)

6(a) How were you recruited for this job? (Tick one)

- Through advert/interview
- Through personal contact/interview
- Personal contact only
- Others (Specify)

(b) How many times have you received any formal professional/in-service training since you started working here?

Specify No. of times
 Never
 No such trainings here
 Others (Specify)

(c) Have you been specially promoted for outstanding performance before others in the same job level? Y e s
 ... No ...

(d) How much tax do you pay per month (P.A.Y.E.) N.....

(e) How many times have you been promoted since you joined this establishment? (Specify time): N o n e

7(a) Compared to the opposite gender in this establishment at comparable job level, what is your assessment of the following conditions of work?
 (Use scores 1 - 5). 1 = Lower 2 = The same 3 = Higher 4 = Don't know 5 = Not applicable.

	1	2	3	4	5
(i) Your salary					
(ii) Your fringe benefits					
(iii) Your tax per month					
(iv) Opportunity to train on the job					
(v) Your promotion					

7(b) Please give the reasons for some of your answers to Q.7(a)

7(c) Compared to the same gender in this establishment, at comparable job level, what is your assessment of the following conditions of work?
 (Use scores 1 - 5). 1 = Lower 2 = The same 3 = Higher 4 = Don't know 5 = Not applicable.

	1	2	3	4	5
(i) Your salary					
(ii) Your fringe benefits					
(iii) Your tax per month					
(iv) Opportunity to train on the job					
(v) Your promotion					

7(d) Please give the reasons for some of your answers to Q.7(c).

8(a) Compared to the opposite gender in this establishment, at comparable job level, how would you rate the encouragement received from the following people to advance in work; to improve in job performance and to improve your general well-being? (Use scores 1 - 4). 1 = Lower 2 = The same 3 = Higher 4 = Not applicable.

	1	2	3	4
(i) Superiors (male managers/supervisors)				
(ii) Superiors (female Managers/supervisors)				
(iii) Female co-workers				
(iv) Male co-workers				

8(b) Please give the reasons for some of your response to Q.8(a)

.....

8(c) Compared to the same gender of the same job level, how would you rate the encouragement received from the following people to advance in work; to improve in job performance and to improve your general well-being? (Use scores 1 - 4). 1 = Lower 2 = The same 3 = Higher 4 = Not applicable.

	1	2	3	4
(i) Superiors (male managers/supervisors)				
(ii) Superiors(female Managers/supervisors)				
(iii) Female co-workers				
(iv) Male co-workers				

8(d) Please give the reasons for some of your response to Q.8(c)

.....

9(a) Which group in this establishment are you likely to choose your friends from?

Same genderOpposite gender.....

Gender does not influence my choice of friends at work ...

9(b) How would you describe your relationship with the following people at work? (Use scores 1 - 5). 1 = Not very cordial
 2 = Strictly official 3 = Official and cordial
 4 = Very cordial 5 = Not applicable.

	1	2	3	4	5
(i) Superiors (Male Managers/Supervisors)					
(ii) Superiors (female " ")					
(iii) Female co-workers					
(iv) Male co-workers					
(v) Female subordinates					
(vi) Male subordinates					

9(c) Please list some of your reasons for your responses to Q 9 (b)

PART III - VALUES, ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS

10(a) Do you aspire to move into the highest cadre in your profession while in this establishment? Yes
 Do There Already Don't know

10(b) What is the probability that you will be promoted to this position (Q. 10(a)) before the end of your career in this establishment? High probability
 Low probability I don't know

10(c) What year did you receive your last promotion? year)

10(d) What year are you due for the next promotion? year)

10(e) Are you sure your next promotion will come at the expected time (10d), if you are still in this establishment?
 Yes, I know for sure
 Yes, may be..... No, I am not sure.....

10(f) If for example you eventually get into a managerial

position/or now in managerial position which of the following would you most desire: or is most likely to happen (Use the scores 1 - 2, Tick both where appropriate). 1 = Most desired. 2 = Most likely to happen.

	1	2
(i) Increased responsibility		
(ii) Participation in making policy decisions		
(iii) Opportunity to be a leader		
(iv) Independent thought/action		
(v) Being outspoken/objective		
(vi) Being a aggressive/competitive		
(vii) Having opposite gender co-workers		
(viii) Having an opposite sex boss		
(ix) Having difficulty being accepted as an equal by other at the new level		
(x) Having same sex co-workers		

11(a) If you were to go back to the age of 15 years and start life all over again, would you choose a different occupation from the present one?

Yes..... No.....

11(b) If yes to Q. 11(a), what other occupation(s) would that be? (Specify)

11(c) If you were to go on a voluntary retirement today, what three things will you miss most in your present job? (List them in order of importance).

-
- 11(d) Given an alternative employment will you leave this job?
 Yes No.....
 R e a s o n s f o r y o u r a n s w e r

- 11(e) Do you ever wish you could work at your job on evenings and weekends? Yes No.....
- 11(f) Do you regard the success and failures of this establishment as your own personal success and failures?
 Yes..... No.....
- 11(g) What can you say is your level of commitment to the organization: High Medium Low.....
- 12(a) If by some chance you won a lottery or inherited enough money to live comfortably without working, do you think that you would still continue to work?
 (i) Yes, I would still keep on working
 (ii) No, I would stop working.....
- 12(b) If yes to Q. 12(a), would you still keep on doing the same type of work you are doing now? Yes No.....
- 12(c) If no to Q. 12(b) what other occupation(s) would you like to engage in?
- 12(d) People value different things in their work, which of the following do you personally put the greatest value on? (i.e. the most important to you) (Tick one response using the scores 1 - 4). 1 = Very unimportant 2 = Unimportant 3= Somewhat important 4= Very important

- (1) The prestige attached to the job
- (2) Skill and ability utilization in work performance
- (3) Control over the work process and duties
- (4) Availability of equipment for doing the job
- (5) Participation in work decisions
- (6) Chance to do different things from time to time
- (7) Opportunity to train on the job
- (8) Chances for promotion (career development)
- (9) Pleasant physical surroundings
- (10) Convenient travel to and from work
- (11) High income
- (12) Job security
- (13) Hours of work
- (14) Chances to make friends
- (15) Opportunity to be of service to others

12(e) Please read through the following statements and indicate the ONE which comes closest to your own definition of work.

Work is activity which has to be done and is organized for you by others

Work is activity which is satisfying and enjoyable

Work is activity which requires effort.....

Work is activity which leads to an end product.....

Work is activity which is routine and monotonous.....

Work is activity for which one is paid.....

Work is activity which involve responsibility for others....

None of the above (Work is)

- 13 (a) Please tick only one response to indicate how satisfied you are with different aspects of your job. (Use scores 1 - 4). 1 = Very Dis-satisfied. 2 = Dis-satisfied. 3 = Satisfied 4 = Very satisfied.

	1	2	3	4
(1) The prestige attached to the job				
(2) Skill and ability utilization in work performance				
(3) The task/performance on my work				
(4) Control over the work process and duties				
(5) Equipment for doing the job				
(6) Participation in work decisions				
(7) The chance to do different things from time to time				
(8) Opportunity to train on the job				
(9) Physical surroundings (ventilation, lighting, sanitation etc.)				
(10) The pay				
(11) Chances for promotion				
(12) Fringe benefits (allowances)				
(13) Job security				
(14) Hours of work				

- (15) Travel to and from work
- (16) Relations with colleagues
- (17) Relations with superiors
- (18) Relations with subordinates
- (19) Treatment received at work in view of my gender.

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13(b) Looking at all aspects of your present job, how do you feel about the job in general?

Highly satisfied..... Somewhat satisfied.....

Highly dissatisfied..... Somewhat dissatisfied.....

14. The following tells us about the nature of your work and the level of your involvement with your work (Tick appropriate response using scores: 1 = Strongly Disagree
 2 = Disagree 3 = Agree 4 = Strongly agree
 5= Not Applicable.

.....
 happened involve my work.

15. Do you think there is any subtle discrimination against your gender in this establishment, looking at he following? (Use scores 1 -4). 1 = Often 2 = Sometimes 3 = Rely 4= Not at all)

7. My work is very important to the success
of this establishment
 8. My work is too boring/routinized to
bring out the best of my abilities
 9. No challenge in the work at all
 10. I hardly interact with other workers when
working
 11. My interest is limited to my work, and
not to other things happening in the
establishment
 12. I work with others in a group
 13. I feel my real self only when I am away
from work
 14. My work is not a true measure of my
personality and my life interest
 15. I never look forward to the next day's
work
 16. I derive more joy in my work than leisure
 17. I would probably keep working on this job
even if I do not need the money
 18. I will gladly stay over-time to finish a job
even if I am not paid for it
 19. I hate doing extra work except when compelled
 20. I feel irritable and tired doing this job
 21. The most important things that have ever
happened involve my work.
15. Do you think there is any subtle discrimination against
your gender in this establishment, looking at the following?
(Use scores 1 -4). 1 = Often 2 = Sometimes 3 = Rarely 4= Not
at all)

	1	2	3	4
1. Salary				
2. Fringes (allowances)				
3. Tax				
4. Promotion				
5. Training				
6. Attitudes of superiors (male Managers/ Supervisors)				
7. Attitudes of superiors (female Managers/ Supervisors)				
8. Attitudes of male co-workers				
9. Attitudes of female co-workers				

16(a) Have you ever had a woman as your immediate supervisor or boss? Yes..... No.....

16(b) Listed below are statements which may or may not be true of female bosses/supervisors: (Tick as appropriate strongly disagree; disagree; agree; or strongly disagree).

1. Women bosses are too jealous
2. Their positions go to their heads
3. They take things too personally
4. They are not business-like
5. They are too concerned with efficiency
6. They are slaves to the system
7. They supervise too closely
8. They are fault finders (too critical)
9. Bossiness takes away their femininity

10. On the whole men are better supervisors/bosses

17(a) List 3 things in your job that give you a feeling of accomplishment.....

17(b) List 3 things in your job that are particularly frustrating.....

18(a) Which of the following would serve as the most driving force for you to put in an extra effort at job performance:

(Give them positions - 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th)

- (i) Adequate financial compensation for my skills and efforts
- (ii) Adequate security of employment
- (iii) Doing work that is interesting, mentally challenging and that requires autonomy and personal initiative.....
- (iv) Good working conditions
- (v) Friendly co-workers
- (vi) Opportunities for promotion, growth and development in my chosen career
- (vii) Equal treatment along gender lines

18(b) Considering all things about your job which of these may probably make you leave this company? (Tick appropriate responses).

- (i) Lack of interest in the kind of work you do
- (ii) Inadequate financial rewards/incentives.....
- (iii) Uncertainty of my security of employment
- (iv) Limited career prospects on this job
- (v) Lack of opportunity for advancement
- (vi) Unequal treatment between gender groups.....

19. The following express your views on 'gender' issues, and other job conditions. (Please tick the most appropriate, using the scores 1 - 4.) 1 = Totally Reject; 2 = Reject; 3 = Totally Accept.

1. It is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have a career herself
2. If a woman is nominated for Presidency in 1992, I would not vote for her, even if qualified for it.
3. A married woman should not earn money in business or industry if she has a husband capable of supporting her
4. The husband should take primary responsibility for major family decisions, such as the purchase of a car or building a house
5. In groups that have both genders, it is appropriate that top leadership positions be held by males
6. A husband should feel bad if his wife earns a larger salary than he does
7. It is generally better to have a man as the head of a department
8. Girls should generally enter 'feminine vocations such as nursing, secretariat studies, teaching etc.
9. Women should not compete with men for jobs that have

traditionally belonged to men, such as engineering, army etc.

10. It is not good for a husband to stay home and care for the children while his wife is employed outside the home

11. Even when you feel like treating men and women the same way, our culture comes against it violently

12. I prefer what the culture says to what I feel on anything

13. Women should take care of running their homes and leave running the country up to men

14. Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women.

20(a) What is the general attitude of your spouse towards your working outside the home?

20(b) What is your own attitude towards your spouse engaging in work outside the home environment?

.....

21. How do you feel about the following existing Government Protective Legislation for women?

(a) Maternity Legislation:

(b) Night Duty Legislation.

22(a) What specific domestic problems do you encounter as a result of your working? (State problems)

(b) What specific domestic problems do you encounter as a result of your spouse working (State problems)

(c) In what ways have you resolved these problems?

(d) Do you have any special strategies for coping with work

and domestic responsibilities? Yes..... No.....

(e) If Yes, please state them

23(a) Are you an active member of your labour union? Yes.....

No..... No labour union in this establishment.....

Not applicable.....

(b) In your judgement have the women been truly involved in

labour union matters as men have Yes.....

No.....

(c) If no to Q.23(b), do you know why women have not been active unionists?

(d) What has the union done for you since you become a member?

24(a) Does your employer make provision in relation to

Nurseries/Daycare centres? Yes..... No.....

(b) If Yes to Q. 26(a) is the provision of daycare adequate?

(c) Are you presently in need of a child-care arrangement?

Yes No

(d) Do you think we should have a special paternity arrangement for fathers with infants? Yes.....

No Others.....

(e) If yes, suggest types of arrangement that could be made for fathers of infants

(f) Is there any provision of special working hours for nursing mothers in this establishment? Yes.....

No.....

25(a) Do you know your husband's/wife(s) income? Yes....

No....

(State it) = =N..... (per month).

(b) Do you participate in domestic work? Yes.....

No.....

State what you do

(c) Does your spouse participate in domestic work? Yes...

NO..... State what he/she
does.....

(d) Plus domestic work, can you estimate how many hours you

spend working everyday hrs. (Mon, -
Friday). Hours (Weekend)

26. These are some of the decisions usually taken in the home.

Please indicate who takes each of these. (Use the
scores).

1 = Husband only; 2 = Wife only; 3 = Both husband and
wife jointly. 4= Others (specify).

1. When to start building a house
2. When to buy a car for husband's use
3. When to buy a car for wife's use
4. Type of school a child should attend
5. Choice of life-partner for a child
6. When to change a place of work for the husband
7. When to change a place of work for wife
8. Buying furniture for the house
9. Choice of menu
10. Number of children to have

27. How much do you contribute to the following items in the home: (Use the percentage scores to show rough estimate) -

1 = Nothing in cash; 2 = Below 10% of my income
 3 = 10 - 20% of my income; 4 = 21 - 30% of my income
 5 = 31 - 40% of my income; 6 = 41 - 50% of my income
 7 = Above 50% of my income 8 = Not applicable; 9 = Can't say.

- (i) Feeding
- (ii) Children school fees
- (iii) House Rent
- (iv) Car maintenance
- (v) Clothing for children
- (vi) Buying drugs for children
- (vii) Children's books
- (viii) Clothing for spouse
- (ix) Financial obligation to my own extended family
- (x) Financial obligation to spouse extended family

28. Are there any societal values you would want to see changed so that women can perform better at work? List them:.....

APPENDIX B

Interview Schedule for the Management/Employer

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 or Nationality:
9. Years of experience/Employment Records:
10. Official designation of Position:

B. Policies Relating to Gender (Specific to the Establishment)

1. Recruitment (any restriction depending on section/dept./job description) e.g. where a man and a woman are prima facie qualified, whom will the establishment employ?
2. Training - Category of Staff/Gender restrictions
3. Promotion - Job evaluation technique
 - measure of productivity
 - guiding policies for promotion
 - effects of maternity leave etc on promotion of women?
4. Facilities - Day care/Nursery arrangements?
5. Criteria for Firing
6. Protective Legislation specific to women:
 - a. maternity leave
 - b. night duty

- c. toxic (that could impair reproductive organs)
- d. shifts

7. Medicare and other fringe benefits

Any differences between single/married women:

- Women/men
- senior/junior officers etc.

8. Reaction to some of the existing government policies in relation to gender/suggested alternatives.

C. Attitudinal Questions

1. Any particular problems encountered having female workers/male 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 establishment in general.

b. Any difference compared to men?

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

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

6. a. Whether he is conscious of gender discrimination per se in the establishment in terms of - pay/promotion/hiring/training/firing etc.

b. If Yes, is this justifiable?

7. Whether he/she thinks the present system is perfect, if

not, suggest amendments

8. a. Does he/she believe in supports for women?
 - b. Which kind?
9. His/her own attitude to women working in this establishment.
10. Where a man and a woman are prima facie qualified for a job whom will he/she like to employ.

APPENDIX C

Interview Schedule for the Supervisor

A. Bio-Data

B. Style of supervision

1. Style of supervision/leadership
2. Response of employees to supervision
3. Problems peculiar to supervising - men and women.
4. Job performance - evaluation technique
5. Efforts given to employees in terms of encouragement to advance/improve.
6. Work aspiration of employees supervised within gender lines.
7. Arrangement of work groups - men/men - Women/men (problems peculiar to each).

8. Problems in relation to sex as a supervisor?
9. Shifts/over time - any special problem from men/women.
- any criteria for arrangement depending on sex.
10. Description of work group presently supervised
11. challenge provided by the job
12. Resources for doing the job - (e.g. equipment;
adequacy of human resources etc.)
13. Personal experience/attitude to present work
(satisfaction/frustration etc)
14. occupational stress
15. Does the supervision have a free hand in matters
relating to the work-group?

C. Attitudinal Questions

1. Any particular problems encountered having female
workers/male 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
establishment in general.
b. Any difference compared to men?
4. Job performance (to make subjective assessment of
men/women
5. Do you think there is any particular job in this
establishment that a man or a woman should not do?
6. a. Whether he is conscious of gender discrimination
per se in the establishment in terms of -

pay/promotion/hiring/training/firing etc.

b. If yes, is this justifiable?

7. Whether he/she thinks the present system is perfect, if not, suggest amendments?

8. a. Does he/she believe in supports for women?

b. Which kind?

9. His/her own attitude to women working in this establishment.

10. Where a man and a woman are prima facie qualifies for a job whom will he/she like to employ.

APPENDIX D

Interview Schedule for men/women in sex atypical jobs

A. Bio-Data

B. Experience at Work/Attitude to Work

1. General experience on the job (those related to gender)

2. Technology - exposure, compared to men/women

3. acceptance of such technology/capabilities

4. Relationship with colleagues/supervisors/junior staff/workers of same gender.

5. To list areas of noticeable sex discrimination and attitudes towards them.

6. Whether above has major influence on their work attitudes.

7. Attitudes to wards protective laws/labour force

policies on women.

8. Any special problem from female employees/Is she certain other women accept her? and vice versa for men also.
9. Family responsibilities - Child care/house work etc.
10. Has position influenced the following:-
 - household expenditure/earnings
 - decision making.
11. Her own attitudes to paid employment.
12. Other problems at work that she/he would like to share
13. Whether she is getting what she originally desire from work.
14. has these desire changed over time - what they used to be and what they are now.
15. What supports exist and her/his evaluation of them.
16. What do you fell/think of female employment in paid employment in general.
17. a. What do you think of female employees in this establishment in general.
 - b. Any difference compared to men?
18. Job performance (to make subjective assessment of men/women.
19. Do you think there is any particular job in this establishment that a man or a woman should not do?
20. a. Whether he is conscious of gender discrimination per se in the establishment in terms of

pay/promotion/hiring/training/firing etc.

b. If yes, is this justifiable?

21. Whether he/she thinks the present system is perfect,
if not suggested amendments.

22. a. Does he/she believe in supports for women?

b. Which kinds?

23. His/her own attitude to women working in this
establishment.

24. Where a man and a woman are prima facie qualified for
a job whom will he/she like to employ

25. Any particular problems encountered having female
workers/male workers.

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

27. a. What do you thin of female employees in this
establishment in general.

b. Any difference compared to men?

28. Job performance (to make subjective assessment of
men/women.

29. Do you think there is any particular job in this
establishment that a man or a woman should not do?

30. a. Whether he is conscious of gender discrimination
per se in the establishment in terms of
pay/promotion/hiring/training/firing etc.

b. If Yes, is this justifiable?

31. Whether he/she thinks the present system is perfect,

if not suggest amendments.

32. a. Does he/she believe in supports for women?

b. Which kinds?

33. His/her own attitude to women working in this establishment.

APPENDIX E

Interview Schedule for the Labour Union Leaders/Activists

A. Bio-Data

B. Union Matters

1. Are women becoming more active than it used to be in the past?
2. What Labour Union has achieved for women within the last 5 years.
3. No of Union officials among men - and among women -
4. Reasons why women are not participating well OR otherwise
5. Suggestion for improvement
6. Any support system for women? And his/her evaluation of it.
7. Protective Legislation - whether adequate/inadequate and suggestions for improvement.

C. Attitudinal Questions

1. Any particular problems encountered having female/male co-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 establishment in general.
b. Any difference compared to men:
4. Job performance (to make subjective assessment of men/women.
5. Do you think there is any particular job in this establishment that a man or a woman should not do?
6. a. Whether he is conscious of gender discrimination per se in the establishment in terms of - pay/promotion/hiring/training/firing etc.
b. If Yes, is this justifiable?
7. Whether he/she thinks the present system is perfect, if not suggested amendments.
8. a. Does he/she believe in supports for women?
b. Which kind?
9. His/her own attitude to women working in this establishment.
10. Where a man and a woman are prima facie qualified for a job whom will he/she like to employ.