Intersectionality in Organisations: Exploring the Relationships between Gender, Ethnicity, Religion and Women's Work in a Postcolonial African Space.

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Abstract

This study focuses on academic women's perception of organisational structures involving recruitment, selection and promotion in the Nigerian higher education system, exploring how gender, ethnicity and religious identities, important factors in the Nigeria socio-economic context, can create inequalities within academia. Four Nigerian universities are used as case studies, drawing on semi-structured in-depth interviews and an online self-administered survey to collect data. The study employs the concept of intersectionality, which investigates how identities intersect to produce multiple forms of inequalities. However, the study contends that conceptualising intersectionality with Postcolonial and African feminisms creates a theoretical framework capable of highlighting the interactions between organisational structures, socio-cultural attitudes to gender and ethno-religious affiliations framed by colonial legacies and postcolonial policies, thereby developing an expanded Intersectionality which is able to adequately analyse experiences of Nigerian women working in academia. Postcolonial feminism is concerned with addressing the representation of women in formerly colonised areas, while African feminism seeks answers to gender equality issues within the contextual frame of historical and cultural realities in Africa. Both of these feminisms have criticised the perceived hegemony of Western feminist thought for what they consider its universalisation of women's oppression. The findings reveal that while the participants view themselves as successful academics with agency, there are socio-cultural attitudes to gender which have led to a normalisation of gendered practices in academia and an absence of organisational policies to tackle these issues. Furthermore, minority ethnic and religious women are more likely to experience discrimination in their organisations. Finally, while there is evidence of inequalities in all four case studies, women's experience of discrimination vary across different regions based on ethnic and religious affiliations, a testament to the non- homogeneity of women in their workplace experiences in Nigeria.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that all the material contained in this thesis is my own work.

Abbreviations

UNN- University of Nigeria, Nsukka

UNILAG-University of Lagos

UNIABUJA- University of Abuja

BUK- Bayero Kano University

NUC- National Universities Commission

CHAPTER 1

1.0 Introduction

Nigeria is the most populous African country with a wide regional variation and a rich diversity of resources both human and material. Nigeria has a population of 200,963,603 people (ILO, 2020) and has one of the largest youth population in the world (World Bank, 2017). Furthermore, the Nigerian society is culturally diverse, consisting of hundreds of different ethnic groups. As the biggest exporter of oil in Africa and the location of the largest natural gas reserves on the continent, the country is an important regional player in West Africa.

Despite the vast resources, some of the greatest challenges faced by the country include unemployment, poverty and limited access to education. The brunt of these issues is borne by women leading to inequality in national and organisational processes. Nigeria and South Africa are the largest economies in Sub-Saharan Africa as they both account for 50 percent of the region's GDP (World Bank, 2016). This is an indication of the country's influence within the region thus making it an ideal location for feminist research as any outcomes could potentially have significant ramifications for the wider region.

There is evidence that more women are going to school and entering into the labour market. The Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board (JAMB), which is Nigeria's university admissions body, reported that in 2000, a total of 24,169 (39.8%) female students were given admissions to study in universities while males were 36,460 (60.1%) (Odejide,2003). Another report by JAMB (2016) shows that in 2015, the number for female admissions was

124,769 (44.2%), while males were 157,224 (55.7%). As indicated by these figures (which do not include polytechnics and other tertiary institutions), there is a significant rise in female participation in tertiary education. However, even though a growing number of women are going into higher education, a key issue is that there is an underrepresentation of women in not only academic employment but also senior positions within academia.

Women have historically been denied access to academia with a long time elapsing before they were admitted into higher education (Muoghalu and Eboiyehi, 2018). The experience of Ugandan women provides one example (Kwesiga (2002). The same applies to women in Nigeria and other African countries. Although women constitute a considerable part of the workforce in academia, men are more likely to be found in senior positions (Johansson and Silwa 2014). In Nigeria, 38 of the Federal universities in the country (which constitute 95%) are headed by men while only 2 (5%) are headed by women (Ekpo, 2015). At the State level, men run 35 (87%) of universities while 12.5% (5) are run by females. Similarly, only 4.92% of the 61 private universities are headed by female Vice Chancellors while 95%(58) are run by men (Ekpo, 2015). Odejide et al (2006) found that in leadership, male leaders were preferred due to the belief that they would handle student unrest better**. Women in Nigerian universities are mainly represented in the lower and middle level academic and administrative positions with their participation decreasing at higher levels (Ogbogu, 2011). Additionally, they make up 4% of professors and associate professors, 10% senior lecturers and 15% of Assistant lecturers (Ekpo, 2015). This is indicative of the challenges faced by women in the workplace in Nigeria, thus leading to the question of the causes of these glaring inequalities in the workplace.

Women's status in sub-Saharan African universities reflects the position of women in society. There is an underrepresentation of women in sub-Saharan African universities and a tendency to focus on fields traditionally seen as dominated by females, including arts and humanities and education for those who proceed into higher education (Adusah-Kari-Kari 2008, Salo, 2003). A study of the conditions within which female academics worked at institutions in West, East, and Southern Africa revealed that the limited participation of women was due to a lack of focus on gender in policy formulation, particularly as higher educational institutions and governments did not readily include gender in their agenda (Salo, 2003). This is why many contemporary African feminists have contextualised their work with a focus on the mainstreaming of gender in which issues relating to gender are integrated across levels and involving both men and women (Sarumi et al, 2019). As Adichie (2018) says, "We Should All Be Feminists".

Women suffer gender discrimination in the workplace where they face glass ceilings and there is an underrepresentation – or even a total absence - of women in some fields of education especially the better paid fields (Ejikeme, 2012's review of Okeke-Ihejirika, 2004). The labour market structure has a considerable impact on employment status and serves as a fundamental determinant of income, as it provides opportunities for participants to earn their livelihood. Similar to most developing labour markets, the Nigerian labour market constitutes a major source of risk and absence of regular employment could mean poverty for individuals (Ogwumike et al, 2006).

However, there are challenges for women's employment and progression. Very few women in Nigeria are employed in the top management levels of organizations within the formal sector (Iweagu,2012). This could be a result of the socio-cultural attitudes to gender in Nigeria. There

has been some research on discrimination faced by women in the Nigerian workplace which has focused on the difference in gender roles (see Makama, 2013; Owoyemi and Olusanya, 2014, Bako and Syed, 2018) and have found out that due to various cultural and structural factors, gender inequalities have impacted on women's ability to participate across different spheres of the Nigerian society.

The Nigerian society is a patriarchal one and largely stratified based on gender, thereby providing advantages to men while limiting women's roles (Makama, 2013). In Nigeria, men have traditionally been considered to be a more appropriate choice than women in cases of appointment to executive positions (Anakwe, 2002). Qualities associated with masculinity such as drive, objectivity and an authoritative manner are perceived to be what a successful manager should possess (Omar and Ogenyi, 2004). Owoyemi and Olusanya (2014) identified various cultural, religious and biological factors as contributing to discrimination to women in Nigeria. Women are seen as inferior to men and are expected to carry out the majority of domestic responsibilities. Additionally, male children are encouraged to be more ambitious by their families while girls are expected to get married and produce children. Furthermore, there are religious practices such as purdah (seclusion) for Muslim women and the admonition for women to submit to their husbands which have theological roots in both Islam and Christianity which limit women's ability to develop socio-economically. Patriarchy is a social construction which promotes ideas of sex and gender that support the superiority of men and inferiority of women(Cudd and Holmstrom, 2011). These factors also influence the ability of women to access managerial positions in the workplace. Gender is usually the background identity which produces bias and influences the production of gendered behaviour within organisational structures (Ridgeway, 2009).

Across different political and socio-economic contexts in both the Global North and South, women are absent from leading academic roles and although women are entering into academic leadership, numbers are low (Morley, 2013). The consequence is the under-representation of women in decision-making activities, including recruitment panels, boards and committees. Women tend to be found in management areas with a high precarity, i.e., 'glass cliffs' where they may experience being inequitably selected for dissatisfying organisational duties and management positions accompanied by an elevated risk of adverse consequences (Ryan and Haslam 2005). Inequality in senior positions for women represents a problem that well-intentioned people have misunderstood, at various levels. For example, despite the rising numbers of organizations and institutions seeking to tackle the issue by initiating policies and strategies, the problem of barriers to leadership positions for women is yet to be resolved (Kalaitzi et al, 2017). Here, 'barriers' to leadership positions signifies a concrete wall, which might be visible or invisible (Eagly and Carly, 2007). Also, career progression and promotion are used interchangeably.

Interestingly, there are labour laws at work which have been put in place to guard against discrimination with regards to recruitment, training, evaluations, policies for promotion, remuneration and disciplinary action (Owoyemi and Olusanya, 2014). Several agreements have been made to counter discrimination such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979) and African Union Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa (Amnesty International, 2004) . However, there remains, a significant gender gap in education, economic empowerment and political participation in Nigeria (Social Institutions and Gender Index, 2016). The Nigerian NGOs Coalition have stated their concerns about the consistent challenges faced by women in the formal labour market, especially in access to work, promotion, and equal pay (Okpara, 2006).

However, gendered practices at work are not the only challenges faced by women in Nigeria. Culture, language, religion and gender are highly impactful in the Nigerian formal labour market. Therefore, it is pertinent to identify and explore these issues in relation to Nigerian women's recruitment and career progression (Fajana et al, 2011). This research focuses on the interactions between gender, ethnicity and religion and how they produce inequality for academic women in the Nigerian workplace with regards to employment and promotion to leadership positions. These factors may foster lack of diversity in employment as well as produce inequality for women who are in employment.

Ethnic and religious influences are pervasive in the employment of women and women face consistent cultural and religious discrimination (AFROL Gender Profiles, 2005). In addition, poverty in Nigeria has led to the intense competition for resources including jobs, which has resulted in exclusions of individuals based on their ethnic group (Davis and Kalu-Nwiwu, 2001). A study by Togunde (1999) revealed amongst its findings that a significantly higher number of Igbo and Yoruba women have a higher likelihood to be employed than Hausa women. It also found that the likelihood of Muslim women being employed is less than their Christian counterparts.

The issue of diversity particularly in relation to the formal labour market is critical. This is because a labour force which lacks diversity could serve as a hotbed for discrimination and inequality (Kirton and Greene, 2016). They have mentioned gender, race, disability, age, religion and sexual orientation as the major sources of discrimination and disadvantage in employment. Yet there are questions about how these factors interact to constitute barriers to women's employment and/or promotion opportunities. To what extent do these variables affect

recruitment, selection and promotion to leadership positions in employment for academic women in the Nigerian higher education system?   Thus, there is a need to address inequality within Nigeria, not just focusing on gender but examining the other equally important categories such as ethnicity and religion. The research aims to contribute in an important manner, to the empowerment of women by identifying and analysing the interrelationships of gender, ethnicity and religion and the barriers they may present to academic women's equality at work in Nigeria.

Nigeria was colonised by the British for a hundred years (1861-1960) from when it annexed Lagos as a colony (The Commonwealth, 2018) and the legacies of colonial rule still have an indelible impact on various aspects of the Nigerian society including in the labour market. This is because its educational and economic policies impacted pre-colonial gender relations, privileging men. These policies also laid a foundation for tensions between ethnic groups in the struggle for resources in postcolonial Nigeria. Women have to navigate these tensions within the labour market in addition to dealing the overarching patriarchy in the Nigerian society. It is therefore pertinent to analyse this situation from a postcolonial standpoint, giving voice to the 'other' (hooks, 2000), as western feminism theory is inadequate to theorize on women's issues in postcolonial locations as will be explained further in this chapter.

The majority of the studies on inequality and career progression in professional organizations have specifically focused on understanding the experiences of women in the West (Hammond, 2003), while a few studies direct their attention on Latin America and the Caribbean (Annisette, 2003; Ruiz Castro, 2012). Thus, very little is known about the various ways in which inequalities intersect and the manner in which such intersections are produced by cultural attitudes in different socio-cultural contexts, particularly as globalisation influences

professions, thereby impacting developing economies (Muzio and Tomlinson, 2012). This is pertinent as many of these developing economies such as Nigeria, are in postcolonial locations.

The intersectional theory developed by women of colour in America opened up a discourse on multiple aspects of identity and is useful for analysing multiple inequalities. The concept of intersectionality was introduced, to show the different interactions of race and gender and how they shape the multiple aspects of experiences of Black women with regards to employment (Crenshaw, 1989). White middle-class feminism was accused by black feminists of using the oppression experienced by white women as a standard for feminist politics in a way that excluded the reality faced by other women including black women (Lutz et al, 2011). Atewologun et al (2016) view 'intersections' as drawing attention to the location of individuals across multiple identity categories or dimensions. Arya (2012) further suggests that intersectionality is a methodological tool whose importance lies in its ability to identify differences and multiple perspectives.

Intersectionality allows us to understand various categories of social difference including gender, race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, religion and others as simultaneously interacting at individual, institutional and socio-cultural levels. These intersections result in complex inequalities due to the interactions of privilege and disadvantage and are beyond the analysis of a single category or merely summing up the different categories (Crenshaw, 1989; Collins, 2015; Cho et al., 2013; Weber, 2010 in Ruiz Castro and Holvino, 2016). Acker (2006), suggests the idea of inequality regimes as an analytic approach to understanding the creation of inequalities at work.

This approach is used in this study and depicts the interconnected practices and processes that produce persistent inequalities in all work organisations. In evaluating the causes of reproduction of inequalities, work organisations are very important locations, as considerable societal inequality emerge from such organisations. Some intersectionality scholars have found Acker's 'inequality regimes' useful for conceptualising the simultaneity of multiple inequalities as well as pinpointing of impediments to equality at work (Atewelogun et al, 2016). By drawing on the concept of inequality regimes, Healy et al (2011) showed that Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women in the UK experienced inequalities supported by formal and informal activities even in public sector organizations that increasingly encourage inclusion. Thus, it will also be useful for this research in order to draw out multiple inequalities experienced by women which have been influenced by societal structures and examine the barriers to equality at work for women in Nigerian academia. Acker (2006) acknowledges that there are various bases of inequality in organisations, but that race, class and gender tend to be "usually present" Acker (2006, p.443). With regards to the women in this study, the bases of inequality will include ethnicity and religion in addition to the traditional category of gender. This is because as will be discussed in the text, these two factors are influential in employment decisions in Nigeria as a postcolonial space.

However, this study argues that intersectionality cannot adequately explain women's actions and experiences in Nigeria especially with issues of Western feminist representation of women in the global south. Intersectionality, while useful for examining multiple forms of inequalities does not adequately consider the relational difference between gender activism in the West and the global south in contrast to postcolonial feminists, as the experiences of women are not universal (Kerner, 2017). With Nigeria's continued emphasis on ethnicities and religion and gendered practices framed by colonialism, it is imperative to examine these issues and

developing an intersectionality suited to the country's complexities. Perceptions of disregard for the complexities and differences in postcolonial women's experience have elicited criticism from postcolonial feminists such as Mohanty et al (1991). First world feminists need to be conscious of these differences and aware of the historical sensitivities of women across the world and work towards laying bare and challenging global power relations and hegemony in socio-economic, cultural and political spheres (Rajan and Park, 2005).

For postcolonial scholars, historical processes have shaped the contemporary postcolonial world. In their view, the impact of colonialism on current socio-political and economic structures and on current ways of thinking must be critically assessed (Kerner 2017). Thus, in this exploration of women's experiences at work in Nigeria, a postcolonial African location, this study aims to conduct this research from a postcolonial and African feminist standpoint. This is because one cannot investigate gender issues in Africa without exploring the impact of colonisation (Blay, 2008) and the cultural realities of Africa (Steady, 2005). One way to achieve the research aims is by constructing a theoretical framework with intersectionality (discussed above), Postcolonial feminism, African Feminism.

Postcolonial feminism explores how colonialism and neocolonialism intersect with gender, nation, class, race, and sexualities taking into context, the lives, subjectivities, work, sexuality, and rights of women (Schwarz and Ray, 2005). This is a key issue for feminist researchers within non-Western locations. In the face of globalisation, it is important to choose the appropriate approach to theorize on feminist research while taking into account, the experiences of women everywhere including those in postcolonial and transnational spaces. Mohanty (2013) notes that the aim of "Under Western Eyes" was to draw attention to the marginalisation within feminist discourse, of Third World women's lives with regards to their

agency, complexities and realities. This is particularly important for feminist researchers as it allows more insight into women's experiences globally.

Scholars such as Chandra Mohanty's "Under Western Eyes" (1986) and Gayatri Spivak's essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1988) questioned the authority of Western researchers and their research practices. Thus, feminist post colonialism sought to 'racialize' conventional feminist methodologies and to incorporate feminist issues within colonialism and post colonialism (Lewis and Mills, 2003). Mohanty (2003), in investigating gender issues, states that there is still a need to focus on the domination of Eurocentric or Western feminisms and emphasize the importance of postcolonial feminisms especially when dealing with formerly colonised territories and fluid borders. This is because legacies of Nigeria's colonial past and impact on gender and other identity relations have particular resonance in the workplace.

Research amongst feminist scholars indicate the utility of conceptualising postcolonial feminism and intersectionality (Dhamoon, 2011, Chambers, 2015, p.5, Kerner, 2017, Bartels et al 2019). Kerner (2017) suggests that both perspectives would gain a lot from being integrated and should be conceptualised as complementing each other. Furthermore, due to the growing body of social science research utilizing intersectionality, it might provide empirical support for postcolonial feminist investigations, in the long run. Thus, as intersectionality research becomes more global, the knowledge gained could prove useful to postcolonial feminism (Kerner, 2017).

Another key issue is a need to address the Nigerian women's experiences in the workplace from an African feminist perspective. African feminists consider patriarchal structures framed by other systems of oppression at the centre of analysis (African Feminist Charter, 2006).While

Postcolonialism addresses racism and the enduring impact of colonialism on women in the world, conceptualising it with African feminism would place a special focus on Africa, as other parts of the world such as Asia and the Middle East also share a colonial history. This would give a voice to not only the African feminist researchers, but to the researched, thereby resisting the hegemony of Western feminism. African feminism is by no means homogenous, with Nnaemeka (1998) and Ahikire (2014) suggesting that gender issues in Africa be examined within the context of African feminism(s). Furthermore, understanding the construction of African/Pan-African feminism as a form of Postcolonial feminism, is key to setting the stage for advanced non-Western feminist theorising and research in Africa (Martin, 2016) and will contribute towards developing research of Africans by Africans (Rajan and Park, 2005)**.** Blay (2008) suggests that African feminism is essentially, an African-centred methodology capable of providing a framework for investigating gender issues for Africans in Africa and across the world. This study will contribute to feminist theorising in organisational studies in locations which have been 'othered' and reducing the perception of dominance by Western feminism as all women and their experiences, are not the same (Mohanty, 2003). Therefore, conceptualising postcolonial feminist theory, African feminism and intersectionality will lead to an anchoring of intersectionality theory in the realities of an African postcolonial space. Rajan and Park (2005. p.66) have suggested that rather than a blind rejection or acceptance of theories from the West, many postcolonial feminists have adapted these theories within particular historical and geographical realities. For them:

> *"In postcolonial space, where political and economic contradictions are more plainly visible and less skilfully disguised than in the First World, postcolonial feminists have had opportunities to "try out" the theories for fit – and in some cases they have significantly and even fundamentally revised the theories themselves." (p.66)*

However, in Nigeria, there are very few studies on intersectionality and there are no studies in Nigeria conceptually linking intersectional analysis, African feminism and post-colonial

feminist theory in work and organisation. A search of literature revealed relatively few studies on intersectionality research in sub-Saharan Africa, with much of it being in South Africa (Elu and Loubert, 2013; Groenmayer, 2011; Booysen and Nkomo, 2010). So far, very little attention has been paid to research on the concept of intersectionality within social equality or organisational studies in Nigeria, e.g. Wallace (2011). Other existing studies are mostly focused on the diaspora (Ifekwunigwe, 2004; Kalunta-Crumpton, 2015, Umolu, 2014;). Therefore, this study will fill a crucial knowledge gap in intersectionality research in work and organisational studies in the global south and further build intersectionality, postcolonial and African feminist theory.

This study is focused on the impact of gender, ethnicity and religion on recruitment, selection and promotion to leadership positions of academic women in the higher education sector, and how these factors serve as the bases for the creation and reproduction of inequalities. The focus is on the Nigerian higher education sector, which might be expected to provide opportunities for progression. This is a very important sector as attaining tertiary education usually presents more career opportunities and has been an invaluable tool in the bid for gender equality. The term 'higher education', will be used interchangeably with academia for the purpose of this study. It looks at the experiences of academic women within the educational establishments, exploring the organisational practices of the institutions within the wider Nigerian socio-cultural and economic context. As Osibanjo and Adeniji (2013) suggest, a close relationship exists between organisational practice, beliefs and values and the recruitment process. These issues are explored using the intersectional approach drawn from Acker's inequality regimes viewed through the lenses of post-colonial feminist theory focused on African feminist discourse. Conceptually, the research is constructed based on existing literature on mainstream feminism, Postcolonial feminism, African feminism, and intersectionality. In conclusion then,

the aim of the study is to identify and explore how gender, ethnicity and religion interact to create barriers limiting women employment and career progression to leadership positions within the Nigerian Higher education sector.

1.1 Research Questions

1. How do gendered practices influence recruitment, selection and promotion of academic women in the Nigerian Higher Education Sector?

2. To what extent do ethnicity and religion affect the recruitment, selection and promotion of academic women in the Nigerian Higher Education Sector?

3. How do academic women perceive and manage the influence of socio-cultural attitudes in organisational structures and their career progression within a postcolonial African space?

1.1.2 Objectives:

I. To evaluate the interaction of gender, ethnicity and religion and their effect on the recruitment, selection and promotion of academic women in the Nigerian higher education sector using intersectionality theory.

II. To identify women's perception of any challenges within organisational structures and how they can achieve career progression from a post-colonial and African feminist standpoint.

III. To assess the relationship between socio-cultural influences, organisational structures and the career progression of academic women in Nigeria, from a post-colonial and African feminist standpoint.

1.2 Organisation of the thesis

The next sections will discuss women's position within the Nigerian labour market, outlining women's participation within the formal labour market. It will also discuss the higher education sector, women's education and their employment within the sector. Chapter three provides literature covering gender, ethnic and religious issues with regards to women's participation in the Nigerian workplace. It explores the impact of colonisation on different aspects of society and the impact they have on postcolonial Nigeria in terms of social relations. In addition, the chapter outlines the factors affecting recruitment and selection and promotion to leadership positions for academic women. Chapter 4 touches on the dynamic nature of feminist research, discussing feminist approaches and concepts such as postcolonial feminist theory, African feminism, intersectionality and how they can be conceptualized. Chapter 5 is concerned with the research methodology, where the philosophies underpinning the research are discussed and the research methods laid out. Chapters 6,7 and 8 are structured in such a way as to present the findings of each of the four case studies in readiness for analysis in chapter 9. Finally, Chapter 10 discusses the findings within the context of the literature and the theoretical framework while Chapter 11 presents the conclusion.

CHAPTER 2: WOMEN'S POSITION IN THE NIGERIAN FORMAL LABOUR MARKET

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the position of women within the formal labour market. Firstly, it will establish the context of the study, describing the structure of the labour market participation based on gender and providing statistics to paint a clearer picture of the situation. This will be followed by a description of the Higher Education sector in Nigeria, detailing the participation of women firstly as students and then as employees. It attempts to depict the challenges faced by women in academic employment within this sector especially in the attainment of leadership positions.

2. 2 Nigeria and its labour market

Nigeria has a population of 200, 963,603 (ILO, 2020). As Africa's most populous country, it is composed of more than 250 ethnic groups; the most populous and politically influential are: Hausa and the Fulani 29%, Yoruba 21%, Igbo (Ibo) 18%, Ijaw 10%, Kanuri 4%, Ibibio 3.5%, Tiv 2.5%. (CIA World factbook, 2015). The country has a young population as table 2.1 demonstrates.

Table 2. 1: Population by Age and Sex- UN estimates and projections, July 2019 (thousands)

Age	Female	Male
<15	42,923,411	44,872,622
15-24	19,042,978	19,676,277
25-34	13,568,101	13,958,261
35-44	9,970,933	10,239,151
45-54	6,534,860	6,511,377
55-64	4,187,899	3,965,133
65+	2,903,547	2,609,053
Total	99,131,729	101,831,874

Source ILO (2020)

Nigeria gained independence in 1960, following decades of British rule and is beset by ethnic and religious tensions. After nearly 16 years of military rule, Nigeria is currently undergoing its longest period of civilian rule since independence (World Bank, 2009). However, the ethnic and religious tensions which have consistently dogged the country remain. Resentment in the predominantly Muslim North has been intensified by feelings of neglect and marginalization amongst the general population.

This has bolstered the activities of militant Islamist groups such as Boko Haram, which has grown deadlier in its attacks against civilian and military targets. An example is the abduction of 276 Chibok schoolgirls in April 2014 which drew substantial attention worldwide.

Nevertheless, the general elections held in May 2015 further strengthened the country's democratic process due to the relatively peaceful result. For the first time, there was a successful transfer of power from the ruling government to the opposition (Ajakaiye et al. 2016). It is against this backdrop that the activities within the Nigerian labour market are organized.

The Nigerian labour market has a structure similar to that of other developing countries. Generally, the labour market consists of the informal and formal sectors, two separate but highly interconnected segments. Additionally, Ogwumike et al (2006) tell us that like other developing countries, the Nigerian labour market is largely diverse as a consequence of the various differences in factors which affect earnings and entry into the market. Onwioduokit et al (2009) suggest that in developing countries, the literature conceptually groups the labour market into three different sectors, namely, the informal urban, formal urban and rural sectors. Ogwumike et al (2006) also point out the FOS (2006) study that grouped the Nigerian labour market into; employer, public organizations employees, private organisations employees, employees of ministries and parastatals and those employed informally (household businesses, unpaid family workers, self-employed). In Nigeria, the age range of the total labour force is made up of persons aged 15–64 years. This does not include students, retired individuals, home-makers, stay-at-home parents, and individuals who are unable to work or not interested in work (Kale and Doguwa 2015).

The Labour Act (Decree) No. 21 of 1974 and its subsequent review culminating in the Labour Acts of 1990 and 2004 both govern labour issues in Nigeria. These issues generally include rules and regulations concerning relationship between employers and employees, workers' wages, employment contracts, and all the facets of working conditions (Folawewo, 2015).

While recruitment, compensation and other practices within employment in the formal sector are officially regulated, activities within the informal labour market are conducted without proper official regulations regulations (Olofin and Folawewo, 2006 in Folawewo, 2015).

However, the regulations emerging from the various Acts and legislations which govern the labour market operations are often poorly implemented and usually inadequate (Folawewo 2015). Similarly, Okoronkwo (2008) has suggested that the regulatory framework governing the protection of workers' rights, minimum wage compensation protection of vulnerable workers, and provision of decent working conditions is weak. It is imperative to identify any macro-economic factors which determine participation in the Nigerian labour market as they are impactful on inequality and poverty (Onwioduokit et al. , 2009),. This is because there is not much clarity within the literature regarding the extent to which these factors may influence on participation in the labour market. The formulation of policies intended to reducing poverty and inequality in Nigeria still indicate a disconnect with labour market outcomes.

Fadayomi and Ogunrinola (2014) found that many people are self-employed as compared with those working for others in return for wages and salaries. The reason for this is mostly to do with the large informal sector which is the major source of employment in developing countries. Furthermore, they found that the agricultural sector had the highest number of individuals working within it at 48%, closely followed by the Services sector at 46% with the Manufacturing sector taking up the remaining 6%. Ajaikaiye et al. (2016) tell us that the highest number of jobs for the labour force continue to be provided by the Agricultural sector even though this is declining. In 2014, it accounted for 45% of all jobs, down from 51% in 2000. The second largest sector in terms of job provision is the services sector. increasing from

24% in 2000 to 44% in 2014, while the number of jobs within the manufacturing sector fell from 11% in 2000 to 6% in 2014.

According to Fadayomi and Ogunrinola (2014) a further analysis of the data of the Nigerian labour market indicates that the total unemployment rate was 11% (based on 2005 estimates), while the level of unemployment was affected by various factors such as age, region of residence and household status of respondents. For instance, the highest unemployment rate of 18% was found in the South-South while it was 7% in the North-Eastern Nigeria. In terms of settlements either rural or urban, there is a higher rate of unemployment in the urban areas than in the rural areas; the more literate individuals experiencing a greater rate of unemployment, and young people within the 15-24 age range experiencing more unemployment than the older people. ILO (2017) estimated that in 2015, the unemployment rate was 5.1% for women while it was 3.6% for men.

The researcher acknowledges the limitations of these statistics due to the fluidity of the informal sector. While the Nigerian informal sector is a vibrant, somewhat uncontrollable source of employment, it is within the formal labour market that the research will focus, trying to establish employment by gender and women's participation in the labour market.

2.3 Labour Force Participation by Gender in Nigeria

Between 1980 and 2010, the female labour force participation rates across all age groups have increased (Fadayomi and Ogunrinola, 2014). This is in contrast to the falling participation rates for the males. Fadayomi and Ogunrinrola (ibid) have argued that the rise in female participation within the labour market can be credited to several factors such as more women attaining

education, decline in fertility levels due to this educational attainment, a greater focus on gender equality, and as the country's per capita income rises, the desire to enjoy a much better quality of life. On the other hand, the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 2015) have data which shows that women experience greater unemployment than men, with their access to quality job opportunities declining even further. In the past 5 years, the number of unemployed males has remained around 7 to 8 million, while the number of the unemployed female population grew to over 10 million in 2014 from 6.7 million in 2010 (NBS 2015). One thing that can explain this is the difference in educational attainment for men and women. Available data shows that only 39% of women in the 25+ age group at least completed upper secondary education compared with 50% of males in the same group in 2006 (World Bank, 2020).

In the figure below, a look at selected countries in different African regions show that less women participate in the labour force than men across the regions. In Nigeria 50.6% of women in the population are employed compared with 59.7% of men. This is similar to South Africa with 48.8% of women and 62.6% of men. The situation is better in Kenya as 63.6% of women are in the labour force compared to 69.1% of men. In this group, Algeria, has the lowest percentage of women participating in the labour market at 14.7% with 67.2 percent of men (UN, 2019).

Figure 1: Labour Force Participation rates by Gender in Nigeria and selected regional countries 2019
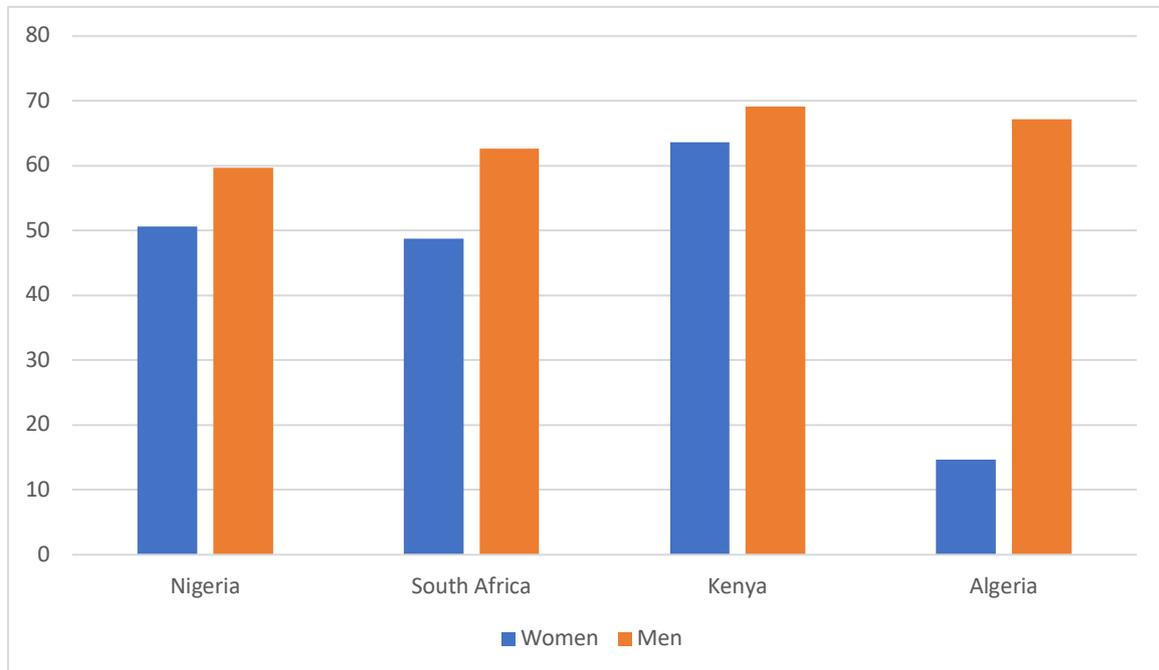
Source: UN (2019) Statistical Yearbook

Figure 2: Labour force participation for ages 15-65+ by gender for Nigeria and selected regional countries ILO modelled estimates July 2019 (%)
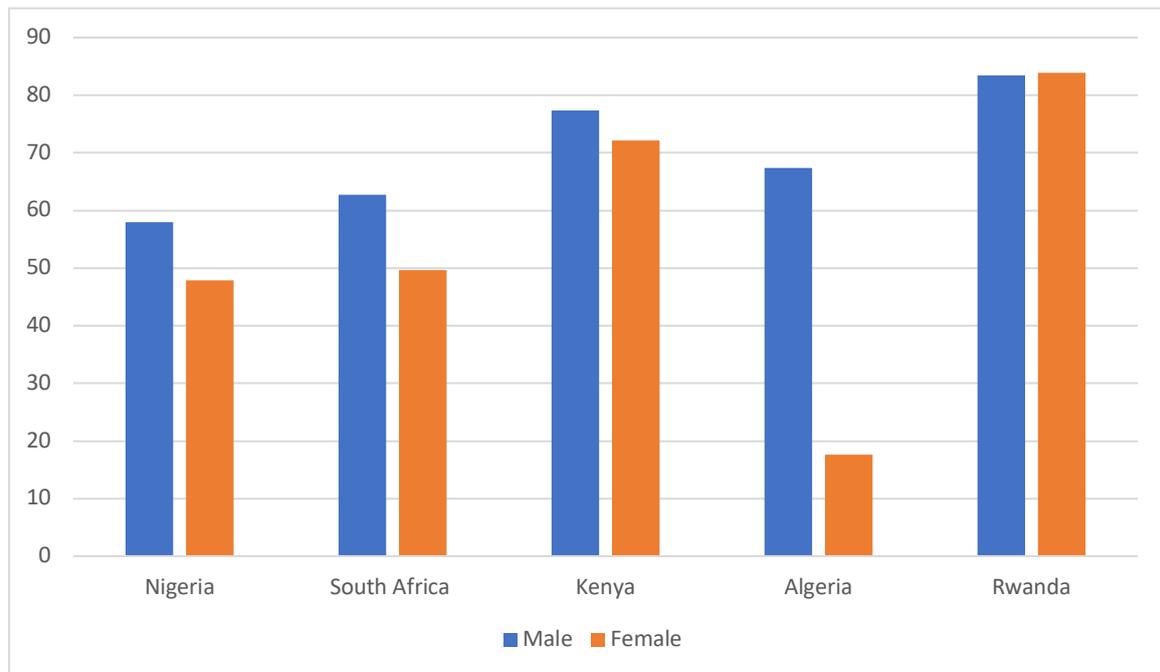
Source: ILO (2020)

The figure above shows that there is a higher level of gender imbalance in the Nigerian labour market participation for males (57.9%) and females (47.9%) within the 15-65+ age group compared with Rwanda where there was more parity. Infact, Rwandan women were slightly more than men at 83.9% and 83.4% respectively. The lowest numbers of female participation was in Algeria at 17.6% with men at 67.4%.

Figure 3: Labour Force participation rates within different age groups by gender for

Nigeria ILO modelled estimates July 2019 (%)
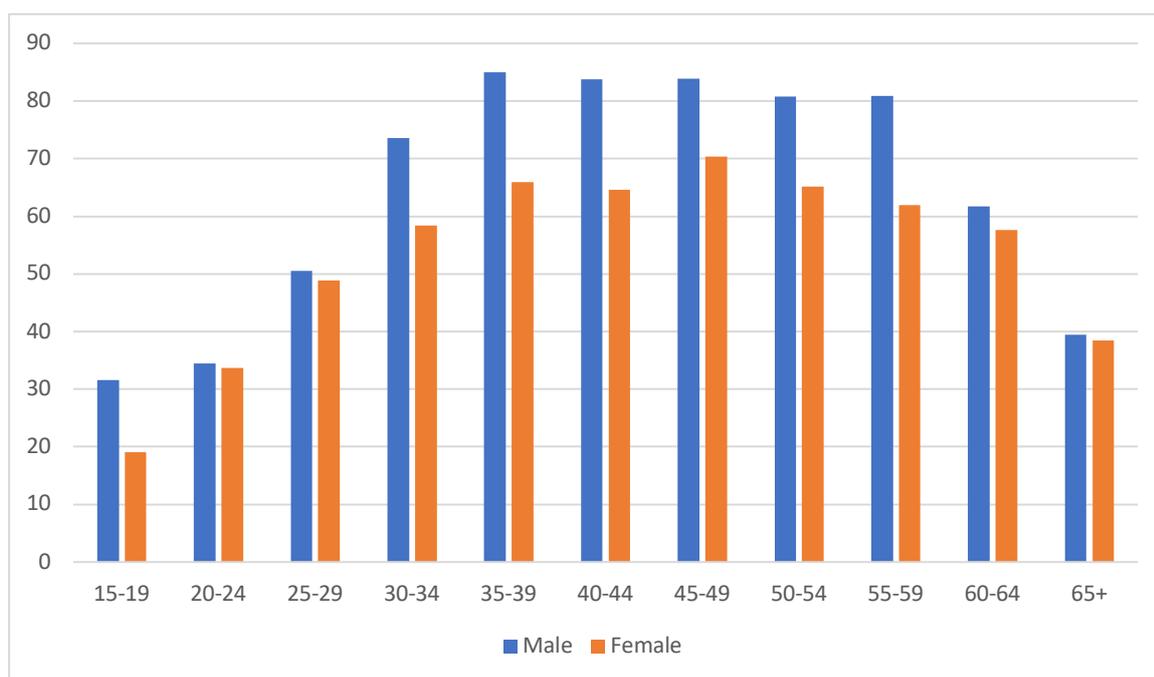
Source: ILO (2020*)*

This figure indicates a high disparity of employment particularly amongst certain age groups amongst people from 30-59 years. Amongst those aged 35-39, the men make up 85% in the labour force compared to just 65.9% of females within the same age group. Those within the 45-49 age group produced the highest percentage of women in the workforce (70.4%). Therefore, there is a high gender imbalance in the Nigerian labour market.

2.4 Women in the Formal Labour Sector

Seguino (2011) explains that the heterosexual family unit and women's role as care givers are the norm within a social context influenced by values and practices that represent rigid roles and gender hierarchy. Inevitably, this impacts on women and their treatment whilst in the workplace. As Seguino (2007) has pointed out, available evidence suggests that increases in the number of women taking up employment helps to build and sustain gender equitable norms and stereotypes. Temesgen (2008) says that, in comparison with men, Nigerian women have relatively limited access to education, especially at secondary and tertiary levels. This limited access extends to their participation within the formal labour market. According to him, women's labour market participation in Nigeria is 47% while in other African countries, it hovers at an average of 60%. The situation has not changed much in Nigeria as can be seen from the UN statistical data (2019) where 50.6% of women in the population are employed compared with 59.7% of men as indicated in figure 1. There is a longstanding gender disparity between the number of individuals employed in Nigeria. With the exception of petty trading, all other forms of work were dominated by men. As of 2020, around 44% of men are employed in agriculture compared with 23% of women (World Bank, 2020).

Since 1980, more women have been participating in education in Nigeria especially at the tertiary level (Anugwom, 2009). One would then expect more women to participate in the formal labour sector. However, Anugwom goes on to state that this is not the situation in Nigeria, as there appears not to be a direct relationship between education and employment. According to him, this is due to the fact that the number of women in formal employment is not proportionate to the number of women with formal education. Anugwom noted that women in the Nigerian labour market face several challenges to moving into formal employment.

These include inequity in wages, low quality employment, constant sexual harassment, violence and exclusion from benefits with regards to retirement and pensions (Rubery, 2004; ILO, 2008; UNIFEM, 2005 in Anugwom, 2009).

On the other hand, women in the 25 to 54 age range have increased participation in the labour force in most regions across the globe, while there has been a slight decline of participation for men in the same age group. Furthermore, participation has also risen within the segment of women aged 55 to 64 in most regions, due to changes in the statutory retirement age and pension reforms (UN, 2015). This trend of growth in women's presence in the labour market globally, is not a new one. The World Bank, 1995 reported global improvements in terms of women's labour force participation and increased attainment of education. This was particularly with regards to accessing education and completing of various levels of education in the developing world. For example, in East Asia, between 1970 and 1990, the adult illiteracy rate for women decreased from 43% to 24% ; while for Latin America it fell from 26% to 21% in the same period. Akanle (2011) has argued that more women are working, especially as Africa and Nigeria are experiencing a fast rise in globalisation, westernisation, urbanisation and industrialisation. Akanle et al (2016) suggests that this change is occurring in gender and family roles in Nigeria, prompting a reconstruction of established gender norms and family roles within existing realities. In their paper about female breadwinners in Nigeria, they point out that even in the patriarchal Nigerian society, more women are becoming the main breadwinners of their families, even taking on jobs traditionally dominated by men.

Similarly, scholars like Omoruyi et al. (2011) have suggested that, while women make up a relatively low percentage of employment within the formal sector in Nigeria, their entry into that sector has been increasing steadily. For instance, in 1956, only 2.1% of women were wage

earners; this number rose to 3.8% in 1959, moved up to 10.8% in 1985 and is currently hovering on the 13% mark. This is still a very small improvement considering that half of the population is made up of women and are participating more in education. In federal Ministries, Directorates and Agencies, men dominated as the percentage of women on grade level 01 to 17 including Special grade level was below 42% from 2014 to 2016. For grade level 15 to 17 there was a slight increase in the percentage of women from 23.79% (2014) to 24.31% (2015) and to 25.61% (2016) (National Bureau of Statistics, 2018). The Nigerian federal civil service is considered the top employer of government staff in Nigeria and information on this employment is deemed to be representative of the employment situation in the country (Omoruyi et al. 2011). This data indicates that the female labour force participation rate is lower than that of males at the federal level in Nigeria and the precarious nature of women's participation in the formal labour market.

At the state level, males continue to out-number females, even though women have consistently indicated their interest in the civil service. The percentage of men employed in the State Civil Service from 2014 to 2015 was higher than the percentage of women for both senior and junior positions. While, the average percentage of women employed in State Civil service from 2010 to 2015 in each category (junior and senior) was 38.16%, it was 68.84% for men (National Bureau of Statistics, 2018). A considerable number of women face challenges in accessing roles at managerial level and those who manage to achieve this struggle with decisions to start their own families and making compromises with regards to family (Murray and Syed, 2007).

One reason for this is the gender role socially assigned to women as care givers which could adversely affect women's employment due to the fact that it often entails working part-time or leaving employment either temporarily or permanently in order to raise children (Soroptimist,

2008). Furthermore, Anugwom (2009) has argued that another crucial obstacle to women's employment is the patriarchal attitudes within the Nigerian labour market. A sense of entitlement, which is supported by the socio-cultural practices in the country, where men view themselves as the bonafide owners of the formal economy is another factor women have to contend with in their quest for positioning within the labour market. Additionally, this patriarchy has led to many highly educated women not joining the labour force due to demands by husbands that they remain at home as homemakers, thereby leading to an under-utilization of their skills and knowledge within the economy.

Furthermore, Chovwen (2007) found that there was a subtle discrimination which manifested through women being excluded and perceived as incompetent. While the study focused on occupations dominated by men, in Nigeria, the premise remains the same as there was a lack of acceptance which led to many women reporting lack of job satisfaction which then negatively affected progression in their careers. Based on data obtained from a survey of manufacturing firms Temesgen (2008) provided empirical evidence indicating that being a woman in Nigeria decreases expected average wages by 19% compared with that of men even after controlling for several characteristics at the individual and organizational level. Attempts to use the law to improve gender equality in the workplace and the wider society have not been very successful as will be discussed in the next section.

2.4.1 Poor enforcement of anti-Discrimination Legislation

The National Gender Policy (2007), which is a replacement and reinforcement of the provisions made in the 1999 constitution, allows for equality, protects the interest and guarantees the rights of women, in light of the religious, cultural and traditional norms governing the Nigerian society. However, as we have noted, women still remain under-represented in many

occupations in Nigeria, particularly in high level positions (Eboiyehi et al, 2016). It has proven difficult to pass laws enshrining the equal rights of women. An example is the Gender and Equal opportunities Bill, which in 2016, after six years of deliberations, could not be successfully passed into law in Nigeria due to opposition. Makinde et al (2017) expressed their dismay at this, arguing that this is evidence that any achievement of gender equality where achieved, is able to significantly contribute toward socio-economic development in a positive manner.

Additionally, Guilbert (2015) has explained the benefits of tackling gender equality, arguing that the increase in women's contribution to the global workforce has been estimated to have the ability to increase the global economy by 12 trillion US dollars over the next decade with around 12% of this projected to happen in sub-Saharan Africa. Similarly, (ElborghWoytek et al., 2013) argue that gender equality can potentially improve the prospects of female child education, thereby increasing the contribution women make to the economies of developing nations. However, these benefits do not appear to have significantly influenced the zeal to use the law to tackle gender issues in Nigeria. This led Makinde et al (2017) to conclude that the enactment of legislation designed to tackle gender inequalities in a patriarchal culture is a highly challenging process despite the obvious benefits.

2.5 Women's participation in Formal Education

Assessing literacy rates is key to gaining a basic understanding of the education sector. There is an imbalance evident here with the literacy rate for men at 72. 1 percent and women at 50.4 percent (Index mundi, 2015). Literacy levels are very different across the regions, with the northern region lagging behind the southern region. Individuals coming from wealthier families are more likely to progress from pre-school to university. Available data shows that only 13.8%

of women compared to 20.8% of males at least completed post-secondary education (World Bank, 2020). Women in the lowest wealth quintile have very low literacy compared with those in the highest quintile (13% against 92%) (World Bank, 2013). Furthermore, Nigeria has a lower than expected level of educational achievement given its moderately high per capita income. The country was rated the worst performing out of 22 sub-Saharan and North African countries by the World Bank in 2008 with high illiteracy rates and huge gaps between social groups, boys and girls, and different regions Psacharopoulos (2015).

In many countries, there is gender parity in access to primary schooling, but this is not the case in Nigeria. There is a high regional disparity particularly in the Northern region. In the north-eastern and north-western states of Northern Nigeria, 47.7 % and 47.3% of girls attend primary school, respectively, which means that more than half of the girls are not in school. Many socio-economic and cultural practices are factors that discourage girls in these areas from attending school (UNICEF, 2020). Northerners are disadvantaged as they are four times less likely to be educated than Southerners (World Bank, 2013). Therefore, this disparity in basic education lays the foundation for disadvantage and discrimination against women which is present even as they go further into higher education.

2.5.1 The Higher Education Sector

Nigeria has the largest university system in Sub-Saharan Africa. Although South Africa's tertiary enrolments are higher, Nigeria boasts more institutions and serves as a magnet for students from neighbouring countries (Saint et al, 2003). There are currently 128 universities (43 federal, 38 states and 51 private) recognized by the National Universities Commission (NUC), the government umbrella organization that oversees the administration of higher

education in Nigeria. The NUC approves and accredits all university programs (World Education Services, 2013).

The establishment of Yaba Higher College in Nigeria heralded the introduction of higher education in the country (Olujuwon, 2002). The European colonial administration clearly targeted the African male population for higher education as they wanted to produce individuals able to assist the colonial administrators with day to day tasks. Higher education was in fact a continuation of policies of access and progress in the system from the lower levels. The marginalisation of African women in institutions of higher learning has its roots in the colonial past, (Steady, 2002). Furthermore, pre-colonial patriarchal arrangements whereby boys gain occupational skills, while skills relating to reproductive functions are transmitted to girls still have a lingering influence on the gender equity gaps in the university management in Africa (Aina et al., 2015). This has left a legacy for current practice as it has proved very challenging to achieve gender parity in education.

The challenge of achieving equality of access to tertiary education, is exacerbated by the inability of developing countries including Nigeria to attain equal access to basic education for both males and females (Adeyemi and Akpotu, 2004). Data from Federal Ministries of Education reveal that the rate of enrolment among school age girls in primary education was 48.6% in 2014 but it decreased in 2015 and 2016 to 47.4 and 47.5% respectively. More than half (51.4%) of the total number of students enrolled in primary schools in 2014 were boys. This increased to 52.6% in 2015 with a slight decrease to 52.5% in 2016. Between 2012 and 2016, the average enrollment rate in junior secondary schools was 47% for girls and 53% for boys. Across the country, the percentage of girls in senior secondary schools was below 50% from 2014 to 2016. More specifically, it was 45.9% in 2014 with this number slightly

increasing to 46.5% in 2015 and 46.0% in 2016. In senior secondary schools, 54% of boys were enrolled from 2014 to 2016 (National Bureau of Statistics, 2018).

Girls still have poorer educational attainments, especially at the secondary and tertiary levels in many developing countries. The disparity appears to widen as the education level gets higher. Gender equality in education in developing countries helps to promote the achievement of greater equality in employment outcomes and improve the circumstances of future generations (OECD, 2012). This is simply because, the more women are educated, the higher their chances are, of gaining sustainable employment in the formal sector which includes institutions of higher learning.

Table 2. 2: Applications to Universities in 2015 by Gender

Faculty	Male %	Female%
Administration (Business and Public)	49.6	50.4
Agriculture	49.6	50.4
Arts/Humanities	47.7	52.3
Education	41.7	58.3
Eng./Tech/env.Design	83.7	16.3
Law/Legal Studies	47.4	52.6
Medicine	40.3	59.7
Sciences	61	39
Social Sciences	56.7	43.3

Source: Based on figures from JAMB (2016)

Table 2. 3: Admissions to Universities 2015 by Faculty and Gender

Faculty	Male %	Female%
Administration (Business and Public)	52.4	47.6
Agriculture	49.8	50.2
Arts/Humanities	46.4	53.6
Education	45.1	54.9
Eng./Tech/env.Design	80.2	19.8
Law/Legal Studies	47.5	52.5
Medicine	47.7	52.3
Sciences	59	41
Social Sciences	56.8	43.2

Source: Based on figures from JAMB (2016)

Tables 2.2 and 2.3 show the disparity in the figures for male and are female applications and admissions, with more females granted admissions for subjects such as education 54.9 percent and males 45.1 percent, law 52.5 percent as opposed to 47.5 percent for males, medicine 52.3(females) percent and 47.7 (males). This indicates growing participation of women in tertiary education in Nigeria. The wide gaps are in the areas of engineering and sciences with male applications and admissions taking the lead by a wide margin.

Table 2. 4: Applications to Polytechnics 2015 by Faculty and Gender

Faculty	Male %	Female%
Engineering	**83.1**	**16.9**
Social Sciences	**52.8**	**47.2**
Sciences	**69.8**	**30.2**
Agriculture	**61.1**	**38.9**
Health	**40.5**	**59.5**

Source: Based on figures from JAMB (2016)

Table 2. 5: Admissions to Polytechnics 2015 by Faculty and Gender

Faculty	Male %	Female%
Engineering	**86.8**	**36.2**
Social Sciences	**51.2**	**48.8**
Sciences	**66.8**	**33.2**
Agriculture	**63.8**	**36.2**
Health Sciences	**34.3**	**65.7**

Source: Based on figures from JAMB (2016)

The figures from the polytechnics paint almost the exact same picture for male and female applications and admissions as in the universities as shown in tables 2.4 & 2.5. There are high disparities in the figures as more males applied and received admission except in the health sciences, with the social sciences following closely behind.

2.5.2 Employment of Women in Higher Education

Nigerian universities' ability to achieve organisational aims is dependent on their ability to attract a competent workforce (Gberevbie, 2006) and organisational effectiveness is determined by the quality of management, in terms of skills, education and experience and removing gender discrimination of any kind (Gberevbie et al, 2014). The total number of academic staff in the Nigerian university system as at 2006 was 27,394 (Federal Ministry of Education, 2009). Women account for half of the country's population. In the past, only three women have ever held the position of university Vice-Chancellor University of Benin, Lagos State University and privately-owned Covenant university (Abiodun-Oyebanji and Olaleye,2011). However, based on information from the National Universities Commission (NUC) only 2 federal universities namely: Federal University Dutse, Jigawa and Federal University Kogi currently have female vice chancellors, all the other Vice-Chancellors are men (NUC, 2017).

In comparison with the global percentage of 41%, women make up only 29% percent of academic staff in African universities, and constitute only 29 percent of academic staff, compared to the global figure of 41% (Boakye, 2011). According to Ogbogu (2011), women in Nigerian universities hold less than 35% of academic posts and are mainly represented in the lower and middle level academic and administrative positions with their participation relative to men decreasing at higher levels. This raises questions as to the causes of these disparities in employment and policies put into place by these institutions to tackle the issues surrounding the recruitment and promotion of academic women.

Table 2. 6: Academic Staff Profile in Universities across the country showing Gender disparity

Institution	Male	Female	Total
Abia State University	436	186 (29.9%)	622
Abubakar Tafawa Balewa University	831	88 (9.58%)	919
Federal University Dutse	435	49 (10.12%)	484
Federal University of Technology Owerri	659	267 (28.83%)	926
University of Ibadan	1021	424 (29.34%)	1445
University of Port-Harcourt	1048	452 (30.13%)	1500

Source: NUC Statistical Digest 2018

Table 2.6 shows lower figures for female lecturers compared to male lecturers in the above institutions including state and federal universities. Thus, this suggests that women continue to occupy the back bench in academia.

Table 2. 7: Percentage of Women in Teaching Staff By Year and Level of Education

Year	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
2010	54.0	47.0	25.4
2011	49.7	47.9	24.4
2012	47.8	38.7	25.6
2013	48.3	47.7	25.5
2014	50.1	47.3	24.9
2015	49.5	46.8	26.3

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (2016)

The table above and the figure below show the percentage of female teaching staff based onqualifications and education levels. Looking at these numbers, one can see that female teachers are the main source of primary school teachers in Nigeria.

Figure 4: Women in Teaching Staff by Level of Education and Year
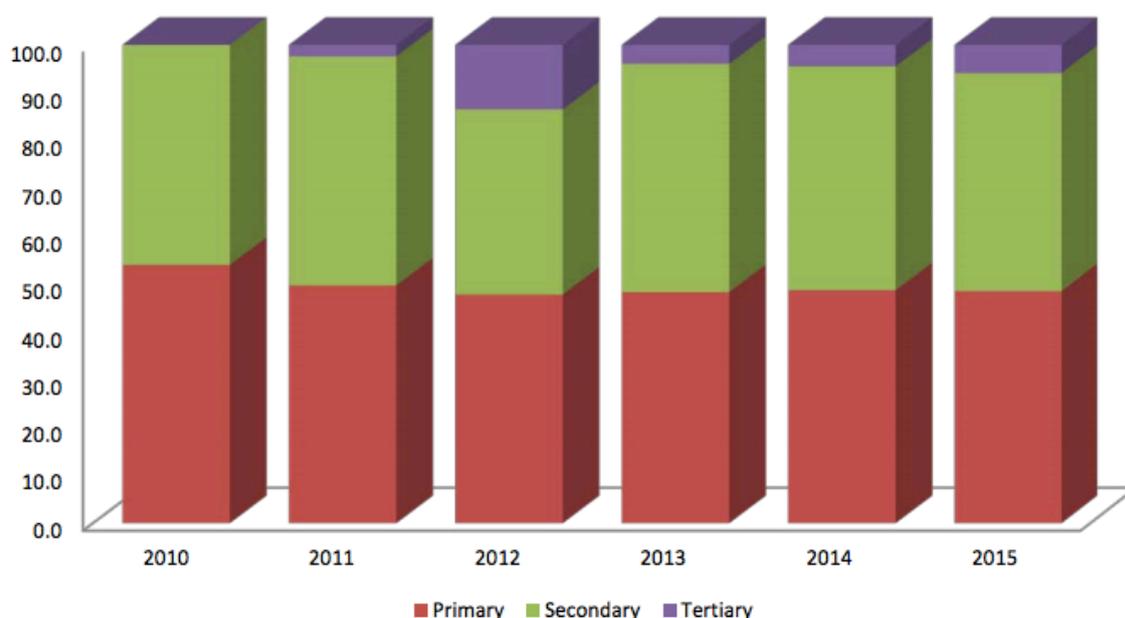
Source: National Bureau of Statistics (2016)

Table 2. 8: Percentage of Women in Teaching Staff by Qualification, Year and Level of Education

Qualification	2010			2011			2012			2013			2014			2015		
	Pry	Sec.	Tertiary	Pry	Sec.	Tertiary	Pry	Sec.	Tertiary	Pry	Sec.	Tertiary	Pry	Sec.	Tertiary	Pry	Sec.	Tertiary
TC II	27.4	·	·	30.0	·	·	20.4	·	·	35.2	·	·	24.4	·	·	35.2	·	·
NCE	53.1	35.6	62.2	55.4	38.1	39.0	53.8	32.4	39.9	54.5	49.3	40.8	58.3	34.2	40.1	54.5	43.9	41.4
HND	·	·	14.9	·	·	14.7	·	·	17.8	·	·	15.9	·	·	18.7	·	·	19.5
B.Ed.	54.8	48.5	27.6	56.4	46.0	24.5	56.3	46.9	31.6	58.7	49.7	32.9	65.3	49.6	36.1	58.7	47.9	39.2
B.Sc.	·	46.8	24.8	·	43.7	23.9	·	45.5	22.2	·	39.0	28.7	·	46.5	24.3	·	38.9	27.8
Masters	45.0.	49.5	26.1	46.1	49.3	27.4	48.1	46.9	29.2	46.3	46.7	26.4	49.8	49.6	26.8	46.3	47.5	25.7
PHD	·	·	25.5	·	·	24.0	·	·	27.9	·	·	24.4	·	·	29.7	·	·	23.9

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (2016)

The table above indicates that most female primary school teachers have earned their Bachelor of Education in the period under review, followed by those who had received their NCE certificate. The percentage of women with master's degree teaching at the tertiary level fell from 26.1% in 2011 to 25.7% in 2015. Similarly, there percentage fell from 25.5% in 2011 to 23.9% in 2015 for PhD holders. However, there was a rise for those with a B.Ed working in tertiary education, from 27.6% in 2011 to 39.2 in 2015.

Discrimination against women based on their gender appear to still be the norm across various levels in the society including in academia. As Olaogun et al. (2015) put it, there is inequality based on gender within every society, but the problem is widespread in Africa, with the continent's patriarchal system having very dangerous effects which are reflected in higher education institutions. While considerable efforts have been made to rectify gender disparity, a significant amount still needs to be achieved across all the sectors of the economy including higher education. Some scholars have suggested that women suffer gender discrimination due

to societal and cultural factors which sustain the patriarchal nature of Nigeria (Dibie, 2003; Adebola 2005), due to religious demands(Bamidele,2011) and ethnicity (Alex-Hart, 2016; Ojie and Ewhrudjakpor, 2009). How all these social categories inter-relate to produce inequality is what this study intends to investigate and will employ an intersectional approach together with post-colonial and African feminist conceptual frameworks to do so.

2.5.3 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has shown that women are disadvantaged in the Nigerian labour market and this is reflected in the Higher education sector where one might have expected to find a greater willingness to embrace equality than perhaps other institutions within the society. This raises questions about whether the issues faced by women stem from gender roles and socio-religious expectations of what a woman should be like even within the seemingly contemporary surroundings of higher institutions of learning. As Kalaitzi et al, (2017) note, these preconceived ideas about gender in leadership roles which may foster inequality, are deeply entrenched. There is a need for social and economic policies to address this situation in Nigeria. As Anugwom (2009) tells us, the developmental process of the country will remain distorted when a considerable number of educated people do not join the workforce, hence do not participate in the economy because they are women. Also, there is a considerable underrepresentation of women in positions in which they are responsible for making decisions. Instead they are overrepresented in positions such as domestic workers, roles requiring long hours, with low pay, and inadequate social protection (UN, 2015).

Additionally, as Kalaitzi et al (2017) have observed, the lingering underrepresentation of women in leading positions across sectors is indicative of a fundamental impediment in terms of organizational and societal progress particularly in terms of inclusiveness and equitable

decision making. Thus, there is a need for policy-makers and employers to place women's employment centrally within social and economic policies, while recognizing that there is a need for specific solutions for challenges faced by women in the world (Soroptimist, 2008).

Finally, there is a need to identify the causes of low participation in the formal labour market. As Togunde (1999) suggests, there is a need for detailed knowledge of the factors which determine women's participation in the labour force, particularly in Africa. Togunde argues that unless there is a proper understanding of the factors which impact women in the workplace, merely increasing women's employment opportunities may not provide a sustainable solution to the constraints placed on women in societies with patriarchal attitudes. Therefore, this study will focus on academic women working in higher education, to not only examine the recruitment and selection processes into work but also identify and analyse the causes of discrimination keeping them from achieving senior/leadership positions. The next chapter discusses these issues in detail, discussing how gender, ethnic and religious identities influence women's employment and career progression within academia.

CHAPTER 3: GENDER, ETHNICITY AND RELIGION WITHIN FORMAL EMPLOYMENT IN NIGERIA

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide an overview of how gender, ethnicity and religion influences socio-cultural norms and economic activities in Nigeria. In particular, it looks at gendered attitudes in the Nigerian labour market, examining all the gender issues in the work place, discussing colonial/postcolonial influences and gender attitudes in the postcolonial labour market and their impact on gender relations in the labour market. It also aims to outline the recruitment and selection processes, the effect of gender, organisational structure and culture, on promotion and career progression. Furthermore, it examines the impact of ethnicity and religion on women's employment and perceptions of female leadership. Thus, the chapter sets out to highlight current empirical evidence of gendered practices and challenges posed by the continued emphasis on ethnicity and religion in Nigeria along with the colonial and postcolonial practices and policies which have influenced the educational system and the formal labour market. Overall, this aims to provide insight into current literature on women's workplace experiences in Nigeria and how they are impacted by gendered attitudes, ethnicity and religion.

3.2 Gender Inequality and discrimination within the workplace

Gender is one of the more traditional axes of analysis investigated by intersectional scholars in their quest to determine the presence and experiences of inequalities within organizations and society. De Paola and Scoppa (2015) suggest that women remain greatly underrepresented in higher paying jobs and in top positions due to the so-called 'glass ceiling'. They state that this

may be due to lack of female investment in human capital or lack of experience, but the fact that promotion procedures are more advantageous to men rather than women may very well be the cause. Ridgeway (2011) argues that, at least within Western society, people employ the notion of gender to differentiate as well as make sense of their place in the society. By gender, we mean a construction of differences by markers based on the assumption of the interdependence of male and female, usually inextricable from sexuality and the structures, norms and processes that frame heteronormativity (Pringle, 2008).

Ridgeway (2011) further argues that discrimination arises when people use gender as the main cultural framework for forming relations in the society and that this framework also serves as a basis of gender inequality which surprisingly has lingered even in the face of major transformations from an agriculture-based economy to industrialization. England (2010) agrees, arguing that, in spite of the fact that women are accessing more male dominated jobs, gender discrimination at work has remained, albeit in an altered form. To a large extent, the gender inequalities in the Nigerian labour market are influenced by legacies from its colonial past. In order to fully understand this, we need to briefly look at the impact of colonial administration on the economic participation of women in Nigeria.

3.2.1 Colonial Legacy and Gendering of the Educational System and Labour market in Postcolonial Nigeria

Women played important roles in social and economic activities during the pre-colonial period (McKenna, 2007 in Encylopaedia Britannica). They controlled all processing of food, weaving, pottery and were key players in trade. Women in Yoruba land specialized in long distance trade, acquiring vast wealth in the process. There were many titled Yoruba female chiefs such as the Iyalode and there were powerful women such as Moremi of Ile-Ife in Yorubaland in

South- Western Nigeria and Queen Amina of Zaria in Hausaland located in present day Northern Nigeria.

In pre-colonial Nigeria, the Igbos (South-Eastern Nigeria) had what she termed a 'dual sex' political system in which women played an active part within the society. Women had maternal, economic and spiritual roles which led to them being held in high esteem within their communities. Men and women worked together to ensure sustained harmony in the society as cordial gender relations were important for the survival of the community (Nzegwu, 1995). Oyewumi (1997) agrees, noting that within gender relations in pre-colonial Igbo, Ijaw and Yoruba women were not seen to be in opposition to men.

However, with colonization came an altering of gender relations. The administration worked with the male chiefs in governance thereby relegating women to the background. This fostered structural inequality. Omolewa (2002) argues that this inequality is the legacy of a colonial system of education which was mainly organized to produce a workforce for the colonial government and has alienated women from educational and economic opportunities.

To illustrate this further, Uchem (2001) writes that before colonial rule, while Igbo women were culturally subordinated, they were not marginalized as they had a relatively high socio-economic status. There was a socio-political system which acknowledged distinctive gender roles and women participated actively in the economy. However, policies by the colonial administration along with the Christian missionaries, led to the economic, social and other marginalization of women as they stripped the structures put in place to ensure balanced power sharing between men and women. Similarly, (Chuku 2009 p. 103) notes that in pre-colonial Igboland, the roles were separated based on gender. However, the women's roles

complemented those of men. The women also had a measure of independence and had representation in political affairs. However, this has not been the case post-independence with the gendered hierarchy within the state evidenced by a marginalisation of women.

According to Uchendu (1995), Christian missionaries, who controlled the educational system did not adequately ensure that women were prepared for the labour market, instead they were imbued with domestic skills influenced by the Western concept of housewives, an idea foreign to Igboland at the time. The new economic structure put in place by the colonial administration had education at its crux and as women were marginalized in education, they were also marginalized economically. In precolonial Hausaland, the rise of Islam had led to the seclusion of women, their removal from public offices, and the implementation of Shari'a law (Bergstrom 2002). The colonial educational policy in predominantly Muslim areas such as Hausaland mainly discouraged Christian missionaries from coming and setting up schools, with very few government schools established by the British (Miles 1994).

Ferguson & King (2006), note that though concepts of patriarchy and inferiority of women seem to be firmly fixed within the consciousness of African societies, they are also legacy of neo-liberalism, and have played an important part in determining gender relations since the advent of colonialism in Africa, engendering a system that fosters male privilege. This was apparent even as the formerly colonised nations were decolonised. Rosser (2007) suggests that decolonisation led to a gender imbalance with women being discriminated against in various aspects of the society. Thus, this brief look at the gender relations of pre-colonial and colonial Nigeria is relevant to the thesis as it provides an idea of how colonization impacted on women within the labour market. It is apparent that the colonial policies have left a legacy of inequality which is still present in education and the labour market in post-colonial Nigeria. The next

section will review gender attitudes and other issues which constitute a challenge to equal employment opportunities, promotion and attaining leadership positions for women in the labour market.

3.3 Gender Attitudes in the Nigerian Labour Market

As described by the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) (2011), gender equality means that individuals of different genders, enjoy the same rights, protections, opportunities, and resources. Furthermore, it means that girls and women should be able to use those resources, rights, and opportunities to take important decisions and crucial life choices without fearing any adverse consequences. Indeed, according to the World Bank (2012), gender equality entails, equity, fairness, an increase in productivity, avoiding loss of efficiency, economic empowerment and adding to the number of taxpayers who are able to contribute to social protection systems. However, this does not appear to be the case in Nigeria.

Women in Nigeria have a low representation at the professional level and are harder-hit than men by poverty due to the relatively unenthusiastic behaviour towards female education, and the prevalence of early marriage which potentially exacerbates their impoverishment and subjection to statutory discrimination (Ojo 2002). Similarly, (NDHS, 2003) reports that the social pressures on females such as early marriages, perception of female education as secondary to that of boys and certain inhibitive religious practices in some parts of Nigeria are the major causes of the high illiteracy and unemployment rate amongst women.

According to Anyanwu (2016) gender inequality can be worsened by cultural factors as societal norms may encourage male dominance, and limit the involvement of women in public

activities, including school attendance. Cultural traditions may play a greater role in determining women's positioning in the modern labour market than the stage of development and modernization (Boserup (1970) in Anyanwu 2016). Patriarchy within the family unit, discriminatory labour practices, divergent inheritance laws, and societal norms add to the construction of the power relationship between men and women and promote gender inequality (Anyanwu, 2016).

To reiterate then, the Nigerian society is patriarchal and stratified on the basis of gender, where men are privileged and women face limitations in various areas of societal activities (Makama, 2013). This was fostered by existing cultural norms and colonial policies put in place for governance. Oyediran (2016) agrees, noting that within the Nigerian society, there is a consistent practice of rigid gender norms and social practices including the unequal distribution of power within marriage, restriction on women's mobility as well as the inclusion of very few women in political activities as well as decision making.

Preconceived ideas about gender in leadership roles especially with regards to equal opportunities, inflexible organisational structures, gendered corporate culture and inadequate social policies, combined with socially constructed gender roles in carrying out family obligations are deep-seated constraints which may encourage inequality (Kalaitzi et al, 2017). Sinha and Nayak (2008) tell us that the different roles played by women and men within the socioeconomic, political and cultural contexts of the society cause them to be treated differently leading to gender inequalities.

These inequalities are generally manifest in terms of access to opportunities, power, and resources, either at the household or societal level. The National Gender Policy was put in place

to address issues targeted at empowering women and, at the same time, commit to eliminating discrimination against women (Anyanwu, 2016). However, a significant gender gap remains - in education, economic empowerment and political participation in Nigeria according to the Social Institutions and Gender Index (2016). The United Nations Human Development Report (2005), classified Nigeria as a low development country with regards to equality in educational accessibility. In view of the attitudes and issues discussed above, it is therefore, not surprising to note that women face an imbalance in promotion and leadership opportunities. These issues contribute to the inequalities based on gender, faced by women in national and organisational processes in Nigeria. In this next section, recruitment and selection processes, gender inequalities due to socio-cultural factors, organisational practices in the workplace will be discussed, in an effort to determine how they affect the recruitment, selection and promotion of academic women working in the Nigerian Higher Education sector.

3.4 Gender and employment Within the Nigerian Higher Education system

There are inequalities based on gender, in existence within Nigerian academia notably in recruitment, promotion and general administrative practices (Aina, 2016). Furthermore, there is a failure to fully accept women into senior leadership positions, with only a handful of institutions employing women in top level jobs. Aina has argued that gender mainstreaming should be at the core of universities practices. Studies on institutional practices reveal that contemporary gender identities and inequalities are produced and reproduced in everyday interactions in Nigerian universities (Adedokun, 2004; Odejide 2003; 2007). As Odejide et al. (2005) tell us, being seen and treated as inferior or subordinate is part of the lived experiences of women in Nigerian universities. Gender is the symbol of unequal allocation of power in the relations between men and women. (Healy et al, 2019).

This can be mostly attributed to social factors which present women as being fragile, in need of protection by men and for their behaviour to be controlled (Odejide, 2007). Therefore, there needs to be an awareness and sensitivity to social issues and how they impact women's employment and career progression. Sometimes, women may be reluctant to admit to experiencing any inequalities as they may view it differently. Academic women may sometimes be resistant to a negative portrayal of their universities as unwelcoming and may deny any gendered experience at work even when presented with evidence (Britton, 2017). In order to affect gendered development outcomes, policies need to regard inequalities in social institutions as a disadvantage and foster ways to eradicate gender inequalities within these institutions (Branisa et al, 2013).

This situation in Nigeria is not uncommon, as within most cultures and organisations, there are clear contrasts between the number of women and men within the labour market, usually, with an unambiguous understanding about work that is considered appropriate work for either sex as well those in jobs considered to be "gender atypical" (Purcell, 1996). Deep-seated stereotypes have led to men being considered to be better leaders. However, Hurley and Choudary (2016) note that women's slow progress to the top positions comes as a surprise, as evidence from researchers prove that women possess various skills crucial for taking on position of leadership. Indeed in 2011, Zenger and Folkman (2012) surveyed 7,280 business leaders and found that at every level of leadership, women were rated more highly than men with the gap growing with each subsequent increase in management level.

Furthermore, as already mentioned, half of the population in Nigeria are made up of women. Also, more women are acquiring tertiary education. Why then are they so poorly represented in academic jobs and leadership positions within the higher education system? This is the issue

to which we now turn. In the next section, the recruitment and selection processes, organizational practices and culture and how they affect the recruitment, selection and promotion to leadership for academic women in higher education.

3.4.1 Recruitment and Selection Processes and Equality

Bratton and Gold (2007, p.239) define recruitment and selection as two separate functions:

"*Recruitment is the process of generating a pool of capable people to apply for employment to an organization. Selection is the process by which managers and others use specific instruments to choose from a pool of applicants a person or persons more likely to succeed in the job(s), given management goals and legal requirements*".

Newell (2005) describes recruitment as the process of attracting individuals who might contribute to an organization by filling a particular job or role. This is often triggered by the departure of a current employee or organisational expansion. It is very important for an organization to get its recruitment and selection processes right. As Pilbeam and Corbridge (2006) suggest, it is critical to get the recruitment and selection of employees right as not doing this could negatively impact organisational effectiveness and undermine reward and development strategies. Newell (2005) states that traditional methods of recruitment involve internal sources including the organization's existing employees or external sources such newspaper and online advertising, recruiting agencies, and educational institutions. Selection methods include interviews, personality and cognitive tests and assessment centres. These are regarded as 'best practice' methods.

However, Newell (2005) suggests that these conventional 'best practice' methods tend to assume that a job can only be best performed in a particular manner based on the person specifications. This assumption of there being only one way to perform a job can lead to prejudice and unfair discrimination as the selection procedure then tries to fit in an individual

with similar characteristics to the previous holder of that position to the exclusion of certain groups who may be underrepresented in that job, for example black women being employed in senior executive positions. This is particularly important in a country such as Nigeria where the patriarchal nature of the society often means women are discriminated against and which has so many different ethnic groups. Newell (2005) points out that, while recruitment and selection does involve discriminating between applicants, this should be on the basis of pertinent criteria such as skills and attitudes and not on gender, race, age or disability.

Similarly, Odeku and Animashaun (2012) suggest that employers can decide on the nature of the jobs and the qualification and skills needed to perform the jobs, thereby differentiating between applicants. However, Fudge (2009) warns that such differentiation could lead to discrimination if based on criteria such as race, gender, ethnicity and religion which are unlawful in most liberal states. French and Rumbles (2010) note that decisions made during the process of recruitment and selection, should be seen to be fundamentally fair and satisfactory to everyone involved, including individuals who were not accepted for the role.

Another reason why recruitment and selection should be carefully considered is due to the power of perception. French and Rumbles (2010) suggest that in order to improve the recruitment and selection process, it is crucial to understand the basic concepts of interpersonal perception and avoiding some common mistakes such as selective perception-where a recruiter picks up only certain characteristics of an individual, self-centred bias- assessing a candidate based on the recruiters own personal characteristics, early information bias- for example, an interview panel may make early decisions based on their immediate perception of a candidate and finally, stereotyping- evaluating an individual based on the attributes of the group to which they belong as this is discriminatory. They further suggest that the particular selection methods

employed can influence the fairness of the process. Anderson et al (2001) found that interviews, CVs, and work samples were highly regarded selection techniques.

However, Newell (2005) points out that research evidence appears to suggest that interviews are not an effective way to make selection decisions. On the other hand, French and Rumbles (2010) state that personality and cognitive tests are judged to be intermediate in terms of fairness. Therefore, an organisation needs to carefully consider its selection methods in order to be viewed as valid by potential employees and also select the best applicants. Furthermore, they suggest that discrimination and equal opportunities in the workplace also falls within the purview of fair selection. For example, there is Equality Act 2010 in the UK makes it illegal to discriminate on the basis of age, race, religion, disability, sex, marital status, pregnancy, gender reassignment and sexual orientation (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2020). In Nigeria, there is legislation against discrimination with regards to recruitment, training, evaluations, policies for promotion, remuneration and disciplinary action (Owoyemi and Olusanya, 2014). Also, several agreements have been entered into by the country to counter discrimination, such as Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979) and African Union Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa (2004) (Gberevbie et. al, 2014).

How much have these laws and agreements been implemented and impacted the Nigerian workplace in terms of equality? In 2016, the Gender and Equal opportunities Bill was rejected due to opposition from various groups in the society including religious groups (Makinde et al, 2017). This reveals the depth of the challenges of achieving gender equality in Nigeria. Healy et al (2019 p.1750) suggest that "gender is constructed as the difference that matters in who gets what types of jobs, for how much pay". Agu (2009) argued that there is a need to

encourage equal opportunities and treatment in order for discriminatory practices to be eliminated in the workplace. Thus, to what extent is there non-discrimination and equal opportunities in the Nigerian workplace? This thesis aims to find out by examining the impact of does gender, ethnicity and religion on the recruitment, selection and promotion of academic women in the Nigerian higher education sector.

3.4.2 Recruitment and Selection for Women in Higher education

In order to diversify their workforces, many institutions of higher learning have sought to recruit more academic women and minorities (Aguirre, 2000). However, Aguirre argued that this recruitment effort has not adequately considered how women and other minority academics including Latinos, Blacks, Asians and American Indians would blend in within a white male dominated sector such as higher learning. Also, there has not been a proper grasp of the workplace satisfaction and professional socialization of women and the aforementioned minority academics. This is especially important for institutions in order to ensure equal employee relations and build an equitable organisational culture. This is because as Osibanjo and Adeniji (2013) tell us, an organisational culture has the potential to hugely impact the recruitment and selection processes and selecting the most appropriate employees is crucial to the organisation's success.

Aguirre (2000) notes that institutions of higher learning are popularly viewed as enlightened, conflict and stress-free spaces. However, he suggests that the reality is that to thrive in academia, members of faculty have to establish their place within the knowledge hierarchy by associating themselves with networks within the institutions. Also, these institutions are influenced by the context or the society within which they operate. While Newell (2005) notes the competency approach-which based selection on the individual competencies of the

applicant- employed by organisations in their recruitment and selection, French and Rumbles (2010) point out the contingency approach, which views policies and strategies to be effective when they are determined by the specific context facing an organisation. For example, national culture is a 'contingent factor' which influences recruitment and selection. Rees and French (2010) note that various cultures consider different aspects in their approaches to recruitment and selection. Recruitment and selection practices in Nigeria are also influenced by the national culture. HRM in Nigeria can be said to be in early stages of development and still requires a lot of scholarly research. A major challenge facing HRM practices in Nigeria is the lack of models specifically developed to integrate into the Nigerian context. For this reason, a large part of the principles and practices in Nigerian organisations are a convergence with models inspired by Western HRM practices, influenced by the local cultural and institutional structures of the country (Fajana et al, 2011).

This has an impact on the organisations working within them, shaping their organisational culture and practices. Organisational practice, beliefs and values and the recruitment process are closely related (Osibanjo and Adeniji, 2013). Thus, in examining the impact of factors such as gender, ethnicity and religion on recruitment and selection of academic women, it is important to consider the local context of Nigeria, within which higher institutions operate as it is highly influential on their approach to equality in the workplace. The next section will discuss factors affecting the promotion of academic women in the workplace.

3.5 Gender, promotion and career progression in the workplace

Empirical literature tackling the gender-based disparities in higher academic institutions, argues that due to subliminal, gender-based biases culminating in the devaluation and marginalization of women, career progression through the academic channels has been

considered slow for women. (Carnes et al, 2008; Young, 2004; McTavish and Miller, 2009). Aguirre (2000) argues that women and minority academics were considered to be less competent than their white male counterparts and viewed themselves as suffering from salary disparities and an unfair remuneration system. Furthermore, McTavish and Miller (2009) note that gender inequality, along with organisational practices which are male-friendly, exacerbated by the limited opportunities for the acquisition of leadership skills (Madsen, 2010; Kodama and Dugan, 2013; Acker, 2010) have been pinpointed as important factors contributing to a high rate of gender inequalities within academia. Okeke-Ihejirika (2004) argued that, while education has provided the tools and opportunities for women to pursue careers, social attitudes to stereotypical gender roles persist in keeping women from going into the labour market and achieving career progression.

Bird and Meville (1994) suggest that a career is a path to achieving financial independence, gaining professional recognition whilst constructing an individual identity. Omar and Ogenyi (2004) in looking at the experiences of women managers in the Nigerian civil service surmised that, while women in Nigeria are experiencing greater access to occupations such as teaching, medicine, computing and politics, they do not play a significant role in management. They suggest that Nigerian female managers are faced with problems which can be attributed to socio-cultural factors. A discussion of this is relevant to the thesis as socio-cultural attitudes permeate different aspects of the Nigerian society and are very influential in determining leadership roles in organisations including higher education institutions. Gender roles constructed by societal expectations place a burden on women aspiring for higher positions and affect their promotion prospects. An example of such roles includes the perception of women as care givers for their families.

Work-family conflict occur due to the mutually exclusive nature of obligations at work and responsibilities in the home and family. (Twomey et al. 2002; Wulson and Moyes, 1998 in (Dorcas et al. 2014). In Nigeria, a country with well-defined gender roles and where women are mostly left to contend with the burden of child care and other family responsibilities, career advancement could be difficult to manage. Burn (2005) suggests that upward professional mobility may be impacted by family responsibilities. There may be rigid schedules which are not designed to be compatible with family life leading to a situation where women may have different priorities other than the activities associated with her career. This leaves women open to discrimination in terms of promotion as they may be seen as less career focused than men. In addition to social attitudes to gender, women experience challenges with organisational structures and practices which could impact their promotion. The next section will examine some of these organisational practices.

3.5.1 Organisational structures and Academic Women's Career Progression

In Nigeria, the fast growing and intricate federal university system has made it a challenge to efficiently manage the system and individual universities (Saint et al, 2003). Questions are being raised about the way universities are tackling the demands of contemporary knowledge economies and how this has impacted on gender relations within academia and the implications for gender balance in institutions of higher learning (Blackmore, 2002). El-Khawas (2001) attempts to produce answers to this question by distinguishing between rigid and responsive institutions of higher learning. A rigid institution is resistant to implementing changes in institutional behavior, often dismissing potential changes without taking into consideration, the feasibility or desirability of such changes. On the other hand, a responsive institution is more flexible, considers any changes in circumstance, determines more suitable ways to adjust in order to accommodate these changes, and takes responsive actions.

In their study of women leaders in higher education in the African context, Sader et al (2005) suggest that women are affected by rigid institutional structures that do not provide adequate support for the domestic responsibilities they bear. The ramifications are considerable: young women academics, especially in the sciences, cannot establish the academic track record necessary to attract postgraduate students and funding, both of which are crucial to success in their academic careers, as readily as men can. There is a lack of awareness of gender issues among staff and limited gender responsiveness in teaching and research culture within institutions(OAU,2009). This is mainly due to the organisational structures and culture of the higher education system. Organisational culture is the underlying framework of common beliefs and values within an organisation, which are viewed as the appropriate way of handling any organisational problems or opportunities (Osibanjo and Adeniji, 2013). This points to the pertinence of this thesis which seeks to examine how gender along with other socio-cultural factors, impact on women's recruitment and promotion within the Nigerian Higher Education sector.

These inequalities due to gender have been explored by feminist theorists. However, Harding et al (2013) are of the view that the more theoretically sophisticated work that is to be found in feminist and gender studies has not yet been explored in much depth. This implies the need for more research in this area to explore these lingering inequalities in organisations. This is true in the case of Nigeria, where there is a lack of research within feminist and gender studies. Therefore, it is the aim of this thesis to explore the impact of gender on the recruitment, selection and promotion of academic women. In doing so, tackling what could be seen in the literature, as pervasive unfair employment practices within the Nigerian labour market, with a

focus on higher education will have higher chances of success. The next section will discuss ethnicity as this is very important in determining employment in Nigeria.

3.6 Ethnicity

In this section, ethnic identities and their impact on employment in Nigeria will be reviewed as this is viewed as highly relevant to employment processes in the country. The socio-culturally diverse nature of Nigeria has an impact on its human resources practices. As Fajana et al (2011) point out, there is a tendency to overly rely on culture, language, religion and gender as a basis for employment in Nigeria. Thus, the opportunity for an average individual in Nigeria to gain employment highly depends on these factors including culture and language, which in Nigeria, are largely determined by one's ethnic group. Ethnicity has been described by Nnoli (1978, in Anugwom 2000) as a social phenomenon that is concerned with how members of different ethnic groups interact amongst themselves. These groups may be divided along the lines of language, culture, or both, with language being the most important distinctive trait in Africa.

Ukiwo (2005) suggests that ethnic groups are usually but not always, formed on the basis of common history, ancestry, language, race, religion, culture and territory. The group has to be classified as having a common identity separating it from others, even if all the above-mentioned variables are not present, in order to be defined as an ethnic group. There are many ethnic-linguistic groups in Nigeria, although the main languages are Hausa (primarily spoken in the northern regions), Yoruba (primarily spoken in the South West), Igbo (primarily spoken in the South East), and English (NPC and ICF Macro 2009). Gordon (2003) notes that the colonial rule lent credence to the concepts of ethnic groups or ethnicity in Africa.

3.6.1 Colonisation and Postcolonial Ethnic Relations

Many problems faced by modern Africa are a legacy of colonialism (Young, 1997). Following the Berlin conference of 1884, European colonizers brought with them, a novel system of boundaries and frontiers never before seen in Africa; they put in place infrastructure which till this date, greatly influences trade patterns and built economic systems based on mining and the sale of cash crops. They also left a legacy of their religions, cultural practices and languages. All these impacted the identities of the people and how different ethnic groups inter-related. According to (Osaghae and Suberu (2005), these identities have roots deeply embedded in the way these groups related in the pre-colonial era, and the unjust practices and ethnic inequalities established by both the colonial regime and carried on by administrations after independence. Practices by the colonial administrators such as discouraging integration of southern migrants in the North by housing them in Sabon Gari or strangers' quarters encouraged conflict and territoriality.

These colonial practices appear to have formed the roots of ethnic conflicts in postcolonial Nigeria. In his study of ethnicity in Nigeria, Ukiwo (2005) observed that insights into the cause of ethnic conflicts could be provided by structured investigation of 'horizontal inequalities', that is, inequalities that arise from the unequal access members of different ethnic groups have to lucrative political, economic and social resources. Indeed, as Osaghae and Suberu (2005) have argued, colonialism played a crucial role in the formation of contemporary Nigerian identities and the subsequent identity conflicts. The British put the various groups into a political entity that was artificial, encouraging inter-group competition for power and resources in Nigeria, thereby contributing to ethnic conflicts.

Thus, it could be said that economic need led to a resurgence of ethnic tensions due to feelings of marginalisation by various groups in the sharing of national resources as already discussed above. This is supported by Ukiwo (2005) who has noted that the unequal access of members of different ethnic groups to lucrative political, economic and social resources lead to conflict. Indeed, Alex-Hart (2016) suggests that the country of Nigeria was formed by the absorption of various entities such as pre-colonial villages, kingdoms and even empires into ethnic groups, under a central colonial administration. Thus, colonial policies led to inequality and tensions at the local levels despite the fact that men and women of different ethnic groups worked together at national levels- a major characteristic of postcolonial ethnic and gender interactions in the country.

3.6.2 Ethnicity and the Post-colonial Nigerian Socio-Economic system

This section discusses the tensions and inequalities produced due to a focus on ethnicity in accessing national resources and opportunities. These inequalities are visible in the Nigerian public sector. Adeleye et al (2014) note that in the Nigerian public sector, there has been a protracted struggle in the pursuit of a "real" equitable, inclusive and diverse representation. Rather than allocating official and political roles based on merit, they are awarded on the basis of state of origin and ethnic/tribal affiliations. This has fostered desperation, with individuals in some cases, lying about their states of origin and ethnic group in order to avoid discrimination and be selected for various professional and political jobs in the country (Odeku and Animashaun, 2012).

 Awe (1992) notes that the differences in cultures across Nigeria imply that discrimination occurs in different ways in various regions of the country. This is particularly important with

regards to this thesis as Alex-Hart (2016) notes, Nigerian women are by no means a homogeneous group and this ethnic diversity is highly influential on women's experiences at work and the society in general. Indeed, in their analysis of women's decision-making authority in Nigeria, Kritz & Makinwa- Adebusoye (1999) agree, with their data from researching the Kanuri, Hausa, Ibo, Yoruba and Ijaw ethnic groups revealing that culture, which is an integral element of ethnicity, is a crucial part of women's experiences in Nigeria. The Kanuri and Hausa ethnic groups allow for a division of inheritance by both sexes, while the Ibo and Yoruba are patrilineal whereby only male relatives are allowed to inherit property. On the other hand, the matrilineal system practiced by the Ijaw allows women to inherit property. Within the Kanuri and Hausa ethnic groups, women are kept in seclusion with their education and employment outside the home very much restricted. Conversely, the Ibo, Yoruba and Ijaw ethnic groups educate female children and encourage women's work outside the home.

These cultural differences between ethnic groups indicate the importance of studying the interactions between gender and ethnicity in Nigerian organisations by revealing how Nigerian women's ethnic affiliations impact their lives. Therefore, this is relevant to this study as women in Nigeria are doubly affected by their gender and their ethnic identities, which, as has been noted can also serve as a basis for discrimination.

3.6.3 Ethnic Tensions/Conflict in Postcolonial Nigeria

As a result of this perception of marginalisation, ethnic tensions are heightened with a high level of suspicion, distrust, eventually leading to conflict over how power and national resources are shared and allocated. Anugwom (2000) pointed out that the 1967-70 civil war in Nigeria is a prime example of the ethno-religious conflict in which millions of Igbos, who are predominantly Christians and from the south-eastern region were killed in their bid for

independence. The ethnic tensions continue to this day. Umezinwa (2012) tells us that though the war had ended, the ethnic suspicions and hatred still continue till this day. In another example, more than 800,000 people perished during the Rwandan genocide in 1994 caused by ethnic conflict between the Hutus and the Tutsis. Furthermore, Anugwom (2000) explains that in Nigeria, these conflicts and rivalry among various ethnic groups is seen as a product of colonisation. In fact, NnoIi (1978 in Anugwom 2000) views ethnicity as a class phenomenon, brought about by the wish of the colonizers to exploit the people being colonised.

However, Anugwom (2000) insists that independence did not reduce this exploitation of ethnicity; rather, it appears to be the case of an exchange with one privileged group, the western colonial masters, being replaced by another privileged group, an elite indigenous group, who then used ethnicity as a standard with which the contribution to nation building is measured and especially for the distribution of power and the allocation of national resources leading to inequality of access to these resources. This provides a clue as to how ethnicity can be a tool of inequality in Nigeria. In his work on identity politics in Nigeria, Jega (2000, ed.) argues for the need for extensive research in identity as there has been an unfolding of perplexing socio-economic and political dynamics which are yet to be fully understood, more so in a highly complex and pluralistic society such as Nigeria which has various competing ethnic and religious identities. He notes that in order for these dynamics to be better understood, there is a need for more empirical and multi-disciplinary studies with an unorthodox theoretical framework.

3.6.4 Federal Character Principle and Indigenisation

In an attempt to counteract this inequality of access and eliminate discrimination, the government embarked on diversity management based on the federal character principle (reflecting the country's ethno-cultural, linguistic and geographic differences) to ensure

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fairness when recruiting within the public sector (George et al, 2017). This task is managed by the Federal Character Commission and one of their primary tasks is to develop a formula for equitable distribution of all levels of posts in the state and federal Civil Service and Public Service, the military and police forces, as well as other federal and state corporate bodies and parastatals (Federal Character Commission, 2018). This includes public universities which are governed by the federal or state governments.

However, they have criticised the federal character method as not based on merit, thereby leading to the rise in mediocrity in the Nigerian public sector. Due to fear of marginalisation, qualified candidates prefer to remain in their home states than apply elsewhere. This is made more complicated by the indigenization policy. Nwanegbo et al. (2014) note that in postcolonial Nigeria, one is seen to be an indigene if one's lineage can be traced to a specific place or community and is recognized by others as one of the legitimate owners of the place. An indigene is one who claims to be the 'son' of the soil, a recognized citizen of a given space while a non-indigene or settler is a stranger, a migrant who does not have rights of occupancy (Ojukwu and Onifade, 2010, p.175). There is a certain duplicity to the constitution with regards to the indigene/settler issue. While it adopts a universal standard for Nigerian citizenship, it also allows indigeneship as a basis for ministerial appointments. The indigene is favoured over settlers/residents, which questions national unity as settlers are unable to become indigenes thereby revealing a structure where opportunities are available to citizens based on ethnicity rather than merit (Alubo 2009 p. 15 in Nwanegbo et al, 2014).

Okorie and Egbo (2014) have argued that in order to have a diversity management system which is truly balanced, all ethnic interests must be put aside and Nigeria seen as belonging to everybody regardless of the ethnic or social affiliation. Anugwom (2000) notes that the issue

of perceived marginalisation by certain ethnic groups is one of the crucial factors affecting development in the country. Interestingly, Englebert et al (2000) note that several theories have attempted to tackle why Africa lags behind economically including the theory of state capacity, which effectively proposes that the ethnic diversity of African countries is the cause of weak institutions and adopting of poor policies.

Overall, it is evident that, in addition to challenges due to their gender, women's lives are also affected by the ethnic conflicts and competition for resources in Nigeria. This is relevant to the thesis as the struggle for dominance by various ethnic groups invariably affects women within and outside the workforce. This is because they cannot separate their gender, which already serve as sources of discrimination, from their ethnic identities. Thus, there is a need for research within this area as it will provide more knowledge, which is currently lacking, on the challenges faced by women in Nigeria not just based on their gender but on ethnicity as well. The next section will then examine how ethnic identities impact on recruitment and selection processes within the workplace.

3.6.5 Ethnicity, Recruitment and Promotion practices within the Labour market

Generally, in identity politics, most Nigerians consider ethnicity as the most fundamental and important identity. This is because there is higher tendency for Nigerians to construct their identity on the basis of their ethnic affiliations more than any other category of identity (Osaghae and Suberu, 2005, Okpanachi, 2009). However, this has negatively impacted on many aspects of life in the country including employment. Kamoche (1992 in Nyamgbera, 2002) noted that in many African countries, ethnicity is demonstrated in various ways including outright favouritism in the recruitment and promotion of staff of a particular ethnic group. The ethnic diversity inherent in African organisations has been instrumental in the exclusion of

capable and talented individuals (Obi, 2001). Nyambegera (2002) notes that it is fairly common to see organizations in Africa with most employees mainly comprised of one ethnic group and discrimination based on ethnicity can lead to a colossal waste of talent as a number organisations may decide not to recruit an individual due to their unfavourable views of their ethnic group.

However, there is some support for ethnic homogeneity in organisations with Blunt (1980 in Nyambegera, 2002) suggesting that it could be a solution to workplace alienation as people are united by a common language and culture. Nyambegera (2002) disagrees, pointing out that this was not only unethical and discriminatory, it would also be disastrous, leading to greater conflict. In Nigeria, the economics of ethnicity created ethnic identities that became more crucial for survival and a strategy for accessing power and resources power in the face of rising scarcities (Obi, 2001).

Thus, the implications of ethnicity within the workplace are clear. As Nyamgbera (2002) points out, a review of the interactions between organisational practices and the various ethnic groups in Africa reveals wide-ranging ramifications for organizations. For example, an organization whose recruitment and selection practices are based on ethnic affiliations could end up with the minority staff feeling undervalued as well resentful towards the ethnic majority staff. Furthermore, the organization could experience low retention, lack of motivation and high absenteeism among employees. Nyamgbera (2002) also notes that favouring particular ethnic groups in matters of promotion and reward could lead to low morale in employees who feel excluded due to their ethnicity. It is evidently an advantage for organizations to be aware of the impact of ethnicity on employment relations in order to make the right decisions.

Therefore, in order for universities to create more women friendly work environments, human resources department have to pay particular attention to the disadvantages presented by the entrenched organisational practices and even their own ethnic prejudice in order to ensure a level playing for women from all ethnic groups to be equitably recruited and promoted without any form of favouritism. Thus, in addition to dealing with gender discrimination, women also deal with discrimination based on their ethnic affiliations. The next section addresses the impact of religious and cultural issues women's employment and attaining of leadership positions through career progression.

3.7 Religious Identity and Women's Employment

Religious identity is also highly critical in the social, political and economic institutions of Nigeria. Religious groups in Nigeria mainly identify as Christian, Muslim and Traditional (Osaghae and Suberu, 2005). They also tell us that in some parts of Northern Nigeria, particularly in states such as Zamfara, which have adopted Sharia law, religious identity is regarded as more important than ethnic identity. Thus, for example, Lewis and Bratton (2000) suggest that the Yoruba (Southern Nigeria) were much more likely to define themselves by their ethnicity, while the Hausa-Fulani, in the north preferred a religious identity (Muslim). These religious identities are no less visible in the public domain including the labour market. Also, there appears to be a relationship between religion or religious identity and gender equality within the society.

Brym et al. (2005) carried out a study of 143 countries, trying to gauge the relationship between culture/religion and gender parity using an additive index of gender equality. According to their findings, the relationship between Muslim nations and gender equality was significantly

negative, with a variation of 10.6 percent in gender equality. This indicates the significance of culture and religion in determining gender issues. In a study using World Values Survey data to investigate the effect of 'religiosity' on perspectives toward gender equality, Seguino (2011) points out that there are several explanations as to why religious institutions instill norms that foster gender inequality. Firstly, religiosity could be a coping mechanism in dealing with economic insecurity and secondly, there is the role of hierarchy in organized institutions.

With regards to the first point, Norris & Inglehart (2004) argue that the degree to which individuals were intense in their religious beliefs could be a reaction to economic instability and the level of economic development of a particular country. As for the latter, Seguino (2011) argues that the organisational structures that make up many major religions potentially have a strong influence. These major religions wield power and strive to create norms that will perpetuate their control of such powers. This leads to the religious institutions recreating the inequalities already existing in the economic environment. As Sen (2007); Norris and Inglehart (2004) and Kardam (2005), have argued, women are disadvantaged due to the reflection of patriarchal values by religious institutions which encourage the social, political and economic power of men to the detriment of women.

Furthermore, Forsythe et al. (2000) find that in countries with strong patriarchal institutions, there is little likelihood that gender inequalities will decline over time. This therefore means that religion affects not only social norms, but also the economic environment. According to Seguino (2011), religiosity can surreptitiously affect everyday interactions within labour markets, in allocating resources for households, as well as impacting on government spending and resource allocation including enacting and implementing anti-discrimination legislation in employment. This implies that religion could have far reaching effects on women's

employment and ability to achieve leadership positions as it is very influential in determining attitudes to gender equality in Nigeria, a highly religious and patriarchal society. Seguino (2011) further explains that the religious denomination of individual may impact gender attitudes and effects thereby implying that some religions could demonstrate a higher level of patriarchy than others. This then leads to the question of which religion is more patriarchal than others.

Psacharopoulos and Tzannatos (1989 in Seguino,2011) find that there is lower level of participation of females within the labour force amongst Muslims, Hindus, and Catholics than in other religions and people who do not practice any religions. In Nigeria, Islam and Christianity dominate religious beliefs, with about 45 percent reporting Islam as their religion, 11.5 percent and 42 percent presenting as Catholic and Other Christian (either Protestant or another Christian denomination) respectively in 2008. This percentage of Catholics and other Christians slightly declined between 2003 and 2008, while the percentage of Muslims increased from 37.4 to 44.7% (NPC and ICF Macro 2009). Muslims make up the majority of the population in the North East and North-West part of Nigeria, with the Catholics and Other Christians are predominantly in the South.

Togunde (1999) found that a significantly higher number of Igbo and Yoruba women (also predominantly Christian) are more likely to be employed than Hausa women. It also found that Muslim women are a lot less likely to be employed than their Christian counterparts. Baliamoune-Lutz (2007) tells us that Islam has been pinpointed as being considerably more patriarchal than other major religions, especially regarding education and life expectancy. For example, Williams (2001) points out the Muslim religious practice of Purdah has impacted significantly on the education of women in northern Nigeria as the practice involves women

being confined indoors, which leaves them with no access to education or training. Opposition from Northern People's Congress (NPC), a political party dominated by Muslims, meant that Northern Nigerian women were disenfranchised, and only Southern women were able to vote in the federal elections of 1959. While a few women from the South ran as candidates, no one was elected Chuku (2009, p.94)

In countries such as Nigeria, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, where the issue of women's rights are at the forefront of a seemingly unending struggle between religious extremists and the more moderate minded, development has been hindered by patriarchal and conservative practices which are often supported by religious values (Coleman 2004 in Temesgen, 2008). However, Noland (2005) argues that Islamic practices vary widely so that grouping together across all of the countries in which Islam is a major religion, may be too vague to be useful in any analysis. Interestingly, Seguino's (2011) study found that no particular religion stands out as continually having a more gender discriminatory impact than the other religions. Instead they note that the intensity of individual's religious beliefs and how frequently they participate in religious activities, regardless of the religion, has a constant negative correlation with gender attitudes and outcomes.

3.7.1 Religion and Perceptions of Female Leadership in the Formal Labour Market

There are fundamentalist groups who adhere to the traditional forms of Islam, and refuse to accept, the leadership of Muslim women in favour of Islamic doctrines which emphasize separation and reciprocity of gendered roles (Mojab, 2001). Similarly, within some Christian groups women are excluded from leadership due to the doctrines of their parent churches and family structures which foster patriarchy. However, Crumbley (2003) suggests that their

following of such doctrine differs as research has revealed that contemporary gender practices in the churches are more diverse, influenced by intersections of Western and African gender practices that are empowering and disempowering to women at the same time (Crumbley, 2003, p.584). These religious attitudes have a direct impact on women's employment and progression to leadership positions in the labour market.

H'madoun (2010 in Fadayomi and Ogunrinola 2014) found that religious women participated less in labour market activities than the women who were not religious, after controlling for other factors including social and economic variables. However, Fadayomi and Ogunrinola (2014) argued that a major drawback of the study, which was based on the World Value Survey 2005, is the fact that in the analysis all the 48 countries were grouped together without being separated in order to clearly identify any peculiarities specific to the individual countries.

Religion, gender and class are some of the most under-researched intersections (Healy et al, 2018). There seem to be compelling interactions between religion and gender inequality as well as ethnicity and gender, which adversely affects the position of women in the labour market. This has been largely fostered by colonial legacies such as the policy of uneven development in which Christian missionary activities and education were excluded from the predominantly Muslim north, thus, causing a disparity in westernization between north and south, which till this day, continues to haunt the country (Osaghae and Suberu, 2005). This encouraged ethnic rivalry across institutions and the weak policies by subsequent postcolonial administration have failed to improve the situation. This means that in addition to gender inequality, women have to navigate ethnic tensions and religious attitudes to work and female leadership in order to reach their potential in different organisations including the higher education sector.

This is even more pertinent given the volatility of religious relations across regions. The upsurge of religious crises (Sulaiman, 2015) in Nigeria has led to discrimination particularly in private companies and in governmental organisations. Therefore, those involved in the management of these organizations need to ensure that there is no employment discrimination on the basis of religion as the constitution is against religious discrimination. (Odeku and Animashaun, 2012). This discussion of religion is relevant to this thesis as it attempts to investigate how religion or religious identity impacts on participants in the labour market, particularly women, their employment and progression within the formal economy in Nigeria.

This chapter has looked at the how gender, ethnicity and religion influence women's participation in the Nigerian labour market. It has shown that ethnicity and religion are highly influential in postcolonial Nigeria. Therefore, any examination of women's workplace experiences necessitates an understanding of how these factors in the socio-economic sphere. The next chapter will discuss some of the concepts and approaches employed within feminist enquiry and attempt to construct a conceptual framework for analyzing the interactions between gender, ethnicity and religion and their impact on academic women's recruitment, selection and promotion in the Nigerian Higher education sector.

CHAPTER 4: FEMINIST CONCEPTS AND APPROACHES

This chapter aims to discuss the theoretical underpinning of the thesis. The rationale behind this thesis is to explore women's work in the Nigerian formal labour market, examine women's relationships with organisations within the context of Nigerian society, analyse current theoretical debates and highlight gaps to which the researcher can make a contribution(s) on feminist organisational studies in Africa. This theoretical chapter explores postcolonial feminist theory, constructions of African feminisms and the theorizing of feminism in non-western locations and discusses the conceptualisation of postcolonial and African feminisms and intersectionality. Firstly, the chapter reviews feminist concepts and approaches and critiques of western feminism. It discusses intersectionality extensively, including the approaches to conceptualising it and criticisms of it. Postcolonial and African feminisms are discussed, demonstrating their significance in explaining women's experiences and realities in postcolonial African locations. Furthermore, the concept of inequality regimes as an intersectional approach is explained. It concludes by identifying the current gaps in the literature.

Additionally, below is the analytical framework for the study. The figure is a visualization of the all the diversity categories, labour market themes and feminist theories and concepts that make up the study. It draws from this chapter, previous chapters, and subsequent chapters to show how gender, ethnicity and religion relate to employment particularly within higher education in Nigeria highlighting colonial and postcolonial influences. In the previous chapter, an effort was made to explain the impact of colonisation on the Nigerian society which has influenced present day labour practices. It also touched on recruitment and selection processes as well as career progression within academia whilst discussing the organisational practices influencing these activities. The relationship between organisational practices/structures and

agency is explained in chapter 5 while the conceptualisation of postcolonial feminism, African feminism and intersectionality has been discussed and evaluated in this chapter and subsequent chapters for relevance to the study.

Figure 5: Analytical Framework
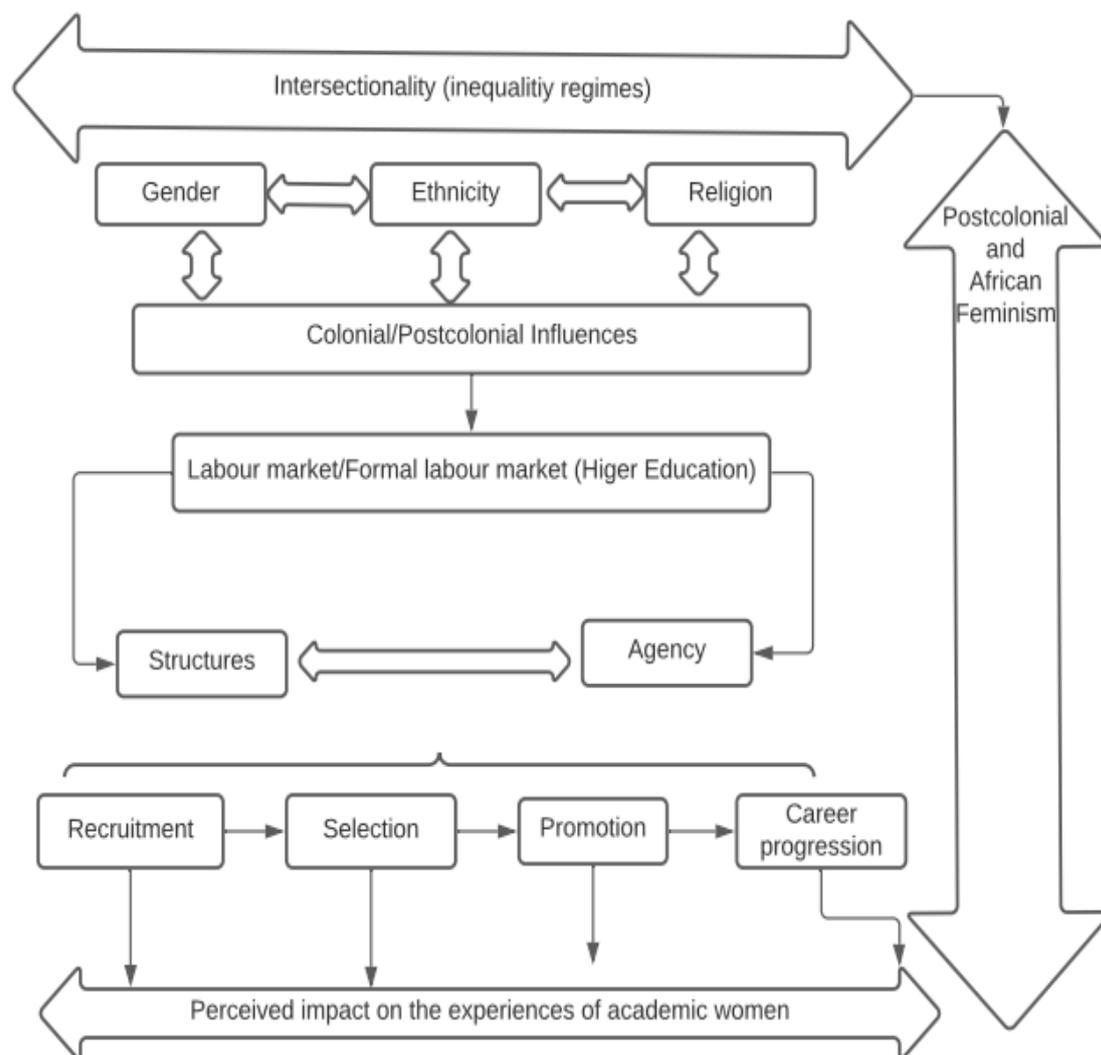
4.1 Feminist debates

The debates on what constitutes feminism, how to develop standard feminist concepts, identify ideological pitfalls, and construct new strategies are ongoing (Verloo, 2005). These debates have existed all along the history of feminism, as feminism is made up of contesting views on the issues concerning gender (Arneil,1999). Dietz (2003) argue that there are three different perspectives—difference feminism, diversity feminism, and deconstruction feminism. While difference feminists are more focused on the construction of a 'female subject' and the notion of 'woman' in order to positively affirm the female aspect of sexual difference, diversity feminists challenge the sole focus on the concept of 'woman' and the female subject. Rather they argue for the consideration of race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, and other identity categories. Deconstructionist feminists are in favour of dismissing the sexual difference and the notion of 'woman' as the basis for feminist politics (Dietz, 2003). These debates have led to several criticisms which include the perceived essentialist nature of feminism especially with regards to the construction of the notion of 'woman'. Briefly, essentialism is the belief that there are attributes essential to women and shared by women everywhere (Stone, 2004). Sturgeon (1997) points out the earliest critiques of feminist 'essentialism' were against the white, middle-class and heterosexual feminism which dominated the start of "second wave" US feminism.

4.1.1 Criticisms of Western Feminism

According to Harding et al (2013) Second-wave feminists were accused of having, since the 1960s, developed a feminism that privileged white, middle-class, heterosexual women. Essentially, they were criticized for ignoring diverse female identities. Scholars like Spelman

(1989) argue that, contemporary feminist theory did not pay adequate attention to ethnicity, class, and race and were plagued by assumptions of the dominance of heterosexuality. By assuming that the lives of white, middle-class, heterosexual women were typical of all women, Spelman (1989) argues, the dominant feminist theories fail to appreciate how the socially constructed notions of race, class, and sexuality deeply change the meaning of "women" with regards to gender and identity. White middleclass feminism was accused by black feminists of using the oppression experienced by white women as a standard for feminist politics in a way that excluded the reality faced by other women, including black women (Lutz et al, 2011).

While some feminists have attempted to respond to this critique, Breines (2002) suggests that there has been an overall failure by the white feminist movement to address it strongly. This failure meant that little attention was paid to the intersections of race, class and gender within organisational theory and research, even with the use of feminist analyses, as most of these analyses were obtained from theorizing articulated by white feminism (Holvino, 2008). On the other hand, Wo¨hrer (2016) points out that the critique of western dominance in women and gender studies appears to have successfully led to the changing of theories and concepts in the field. An example could be the concept of intersectionality and how different scholars have conceptualized it to shape interdisciplinary discourse (Davis, 2008; Misra, 2012).

The above criticisms were led by a group of feminists known as third wave feminists. There was an important shift in the strategic consciousness of feminist ideology which led to the third-wave feminism (Garrison, 2004, p. 33). Mann and Huffman (2005) suggest that third wave feminism is a phenomenon which could be considered an ideal paradigm for the construction and interpretation of gender relations that emerged from the flaws for which the second wave was criticized. Alice (1995) suggests that it represents a challenge to the dominance of Anglo-

American feminism. Third-wave feminism is post structural, and positioned within the context of an increasingly globalised, transnational world (Harding et al, 2013). In an effort to examine the emergence of third wave feminism, Mann and Huffman (2005) suggest that the main contributors to third wave feminism include: the development of intersectionality theory by women of color and ethnicity; postmodern and post structural feminism; feminist postcolonial theory; and the agenda of the new generation feminists. However, these movements do not align with gender activism outside the West as the wave model may not be a sufficient means of analysing the issues faced by women in non-Western locations (Caughie) 2010.

Furthermore, Metcalfe and Woodhams (2012) have argued that organisation and management theorising is mostly based on Western epistemologies. This then leads them to ask how to produce an analytic approach with a broader outlook, incorporating pertinent social theory and perspectives for community development that have ramifications for theorising management and organisation studies and various populations in multiple territories, thereby providing a more comprehensive understanding of the field. It is with this question of a broader analytic approach in mind that this thesis looks at intersectionality, postcolonial and African feminisms for theorising. First, the research will look at Intersectionality, Postcolonial feminism and then African feminism, all of which form the conceptual framework for this study.

4.2 Intersectionality:

More recently, gender theorists are shifting focus from feminism and towards diversity; this is revealed by the presence of diversity policies in so many organisations (Zanoni, 2011). However, the same cannot be said for many Nigerian organizations as there is a lack of research in this area. Owoyemi et al (2011) suggest that diversity studies in Nigeria is still emerging and requires a lot of academic research. Harding et al (2013) are of the opinion that intersectionality

is one of the areas that show how feminism can further debates on organisation studies, enabling the generation of new questions or ways of thinking. They maintain that theorization of intersections of multiple inequalities is a central issue in gender theory enabling a far-reaching understanding of organisations.

The concept of intersectionality was introduced by Crenshaw (1989), to show the different interactions of race and gender and how they shape the multiple aspects of experiences of Black women with regards to employment. Debate continues amongst feminist researchers as to what constitutes intersectionality. Davis (2008) found that different scholars have referred to intersectionality as a theory, concept or even a strategy for feminist analysis. Yuval-Davis (2006) suggested that research based on intersectionality theory investigates how social divisions, identifications and power relations affect the manner in which people's live are structured, especially those deemed to be marginalized. Similarly, Cho, (2013), views intersectionality as an essential analytical tool in the social sciences for studying the ways in which structures of power interact to produce distinct social inequalities that affect groups and individuals differently. The intersectional perspective on gender and race can be attributed to the work of scholars, also known as multiracial feminists, studying women of colour.

McBride et al (2015) have argued that intersectionality means more than adding the individual effects of sexism, but has a multiplicative effect within these intersections. Thus, the discrimination experienced by black women in America may differ from that of white women and also, black men. However, McBride et al (2015) remind us that the concept of intersectionality has been re-interpreted since Crenshaw's original usage in 1989 and have emphasized its potential to refer to the intersection of a wider range of inequalities produced by discrimination based on age, class or social groupings such as age, sexuality and disability.

In the same vein, Tatli and Özbilgin (2012) reported that intersectionality indicates the interaction between different categories, such as gender, ethnicity and class and offers new and interesting ways of researching diversity. This indicates that there is potential for even more interpretations based on categories that might emerge in the course of investigation. However, in the field of work and organizations, for example, despite the recognition of the workplace as a critical site where intersectional inequalities are reproduced (Acker, 2006, 2012), intersectionality has not been fully utilized to explore structures of discrimination and systems of power and inequality and remains at the margins of dominant work and organization narratives of equality and inclusion (McBride et al., 2015; Mulinari and Selberg, 2013; Zander et al., 2010 as cited in Rodriguez, 2016). The next section explores how best to conceptualize intersectionality.

4.2.1 Approaches to Conceptualising Intersectionality

So far, the literature on intersectionality reveal that it is fundamental to diversity studies, however there is not a consensus as to which approach or method will yield the most valid results, given the complexities involved. This implies the need for further research on how best to conceptualize it. Intersectionality can be conceptualized in different ways and examined empirically with different methodologies (Choo and Ferree, 2010 as cited in Acker, 2012). McBride et al (2015) suggest that there are some methodological challenges of taking an explicitly intersectional approach to research. According to them, such an approach has not only to problematize the relationships within categories of difference but also the relationship between categories of difference. i.e. the intra-categorical and inter-categorical approach(McCall, 2005).

Tatli and Özbilgin (2012) investigated different approaches to intersectionality analyses of diversity. They identified that organizational performance and social equality studies were based on either single category (Gender: Brammer et al. 2009) or multi-categories (Gender, race/ethnicity: Carter et al. 2010) of diversity. Tatli and Özbilgin (2012) found that multi-category studies are much more common in social equality-focused workforce diversity research, compared with organizational performance studies. Interestingly, many multi-category social equality studies limit their scope to addressing race and ethnicity, and gender diversity (e.g. Bamberger et al. 2008; Hearn et al, 2016). Bartels et al (2019) suggest that in recent years, intersectional analyses have focused on a wider range of analytical categories, which go beyond gender, race and class (Holvino, 2008; Collins, 2010; Healy et al, 2011; Lutz et al, 2011; Tatli and Özbilgin 2012). Ruiz Castro and Holvino (2016) takes a more systemic view, arguing that the majority of empirical studies of intersectionality have mainly focused on the construction of identities as well as the interaction between work and social identities citing authors such as Atewologun and Sealy (2014), Bell and Nkomo (2003) and Kelan, (2014).

Finally, another approach is Acker's (2006) concept of inequality regimes. Rodriguez et al (2016) suggest that Acker's concept of 'inequality regimes' is an analytical approach that moved from focusing on gender to highlighting the complex, fluid, processes that mutually reinforce and contradict themselves, thereby producing and reproducing multiple, intersecting dimensions of social difference, such as class, gender and race differentiations in organizations. Healy et al.'s (2011) study of Caribbean, Bangladeshi and Pakistani women uses Acker's (2006) conceptual framework of inequality regimes to examine inequalities in the public sector. Acker's work, alongside that of other scholars (e.g. Glenn, 2012) who focus on the dynamics of work, labour and organizations offer a more systemic view of intersectionality (Choo et al. 2010). As mentioned earlier, this study will employ inequality regimes as an analytical

approach to conceptualizing intersectionality. This is because it would explore the inequalities due to identity at work as intersecting with those produced by societal attitudes in Nigeria. However, despite its importance in the literature, there is a lack of intersectional studies within the Nigerian higher education context. There are several challenges and criticisms to intersectionality which I will discuss below.

4.2.2 Criticisms of Intersectionality

In debates on intersectionality, close to everything is disputed. "its histories and origins, its methodologies, its efficacy, its politics, its relationship to identity and identity politics, its central metaphor, its juridical orientations, its relationship to "black woman" and to black feminism" (Nash, 2017, p.118). While it has expanded theoretically, methodologically and empirically beyond it its original conceptualisation by black feminists from the margins to the centre of feminist discourse (Kerner, 2017) there has been "a deep anxiety traceable in the reception of, and debates about, intersectionality that have arisen as it has travelled from the feminism that black women and other women of colour have fashioned in the United States, via the feminism forged by black women and other women of colour in Europe, and into the wider community of feminist scholarship" (Lewis 2013, p. 873). Lewis suggests that this anxiety centres on the notion that the debates on intersectionality have become too distant from the lived experiences of 'women of colour' in Europe. Additionally, there have been criticisms of the 'silencing' of the knowledge production of LGBTQ people of colour in Europe (Erel et al, 2011 p.56) and a 'whitening of intersectionality' (Bilge, 2013, p.412) which has become a colonised by neoliberal regimes instead of focusing on producing counter-hegemonic knowledge, undermining its credibility, through what Bilge (2011, p.3) terms an "ornamental intersectionality" .

While many of these studies above refer to women of colour and other marginalised minorities in the West, it is pertinent to question how much insight intersectionality can provide when researching issues of African women outside of the West, particularly with issues of accurate representation? Intersectionality does an important job in its centering of complexities and differences. However, while intersectionality has been successful, intersectional analyses continue to be focused on the West ignoring cross-border local processes 'over there' and so intersectionality has not achieved its potential (Patil, 2013).

Furthermore, in intersectional analyses, there needs to be a delineation of the constructs of 'women of colour' and their relevance in different locations. Collins's (1990) work further expanded beyond the original idea of power structures being organized through intersections of race/class/gender, to her more recent idea of the "intersecting power relations of race, class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, age, ability, nation" (Collins 2010, p.8). However, Purkayastha (2012) argues that with Collins focus on the West, these axes may not work in the way suggested by the concept of "women of colour" as they are more relevant to minorities within United States and Western Europe. Thus, intersectionality needs to include marginalisation structures that are critical to other locations.

Therefore, intersectional analysis of diversity could potentially be enriching if it is sensitive to the particularities of the specific place, time and people under study (Lutz et al, 2011). Thus, there is a need to for more sensitivity in an intersectional study to the issues faced by academic women within Nigerian context in order to gain deeper insights into the lives of the women in that location. The focus on location indicates the importance of context, the situated nature of claims and attributions and how they are produced in complex and fluid locations (Anthias, 2002). Can intersectionality in Nigeria, provide enough insight into other structures of

marginalisation, relational boundaries of location (ethnicity and religion) impacted by colonialism and other socio-cultural gendered realities within the Nigerian context which signify difference between groups of women?

Davis (2008) has suggested that intersectionality has created a theoretical and methodological link between the critical feminist theorists of gender/race/class and the deconstructionist ideas of poststructuralism. She claims that the acknowledgement of the differences between women, which is a major theoretical and normative issue in feminist research, has been addressed by intersectionality. However, Kerner (2017) suggests that intersectionality does not proffer sufficient insight into the power relations between women in the global north and south and notes that current studies on intersectionality mainly centre on the multiple inequalities experienced by various groups of women and not on the unequal power relations between Western feminists and Postcolonial feminists, given the hegemony of Western feminist methodologies. While much has been written about the concept and methodologies involved in the scholarship and practice of intersectionality, a major issue is concern that its full potential has not yet been realized. Hence, it could be argued that it does not do enough to address global power relations and interactions between feminists. Postcolonial theories, on the other hand, have not only focused on the relations of power among women, but have also considered the interactions among feminists. These theories argue against the Western hegemony in feminism and have suggested new ways of interactions and cooperation amongst feminists across the globe.

Many feminists have sought to enlarge the scope of intersectionality through an affiliation with other conceptual frameworks such as transnational feminism, migration and mobility studies, and development studies (Anthias, 2012; Dhamoon, 2011; Mirza, 2013; Purkayastha, 2012).

This indicates that intersectionality has the potential to explore inequalities for women in Nigerian academia adequately if it works with relevant feminisms. Postcolonial feminisms motivate intersectionality towards being more historically focused and making power relations a focal point. At the same time, more studies are using intersectionality and could be a source of empirical support for postcolonial feminist in their efforts to transcend boundaries of difference (Kerner, 2017). This collaboration suggested by (Kerner (2017) and Bartels et al (2019) falls within the purview of postcolonial feminists. Rajan and Park (2005) suggest that postcolonial feminists are able to anchor Western theories in the realities of specific places and have had success in substantially altering them in some cases.

Therefore, this study argues for the conceptualisation of intersectionality with post-colonial feminist theory, African feminism. This is because intersectionality while framed by black and third wave feminists, is still underpinned by western feminist epistemologies and cannot adequately analyse the experiences of women in Nigeria. As earlier mentioned, Purkayastha (2012) notes that the constructs of 'women of colour' relevant in the West may not be applicable to other marginalised women elsewhere. The previous sections on gender, ethnicity and religion have made it clear that colonial legacies have shaped the Nigerian postcolonial society including its formal labour market. Lived realities and socio-cultural attitudes to gender relations in Nigeria further complicate issues. While Dietz (2003) surmises that in its efforts to make sense of complex socio-cultural practices and how it affects women in the world, contemporary feminist theory is becoming more global, more comparative, and more democratic, this study argues for more visible discursive representation of women in Africa and contends for a conceptualisation of intersectionality with Postcolonial and African feminisms. These feminisms will be explored in the coming sections.

4.3 Postcolonialism

As Reimer and Anderson(2002) have stated postcolonialism refers to empirical and theoretical research and work that focuses on issues originating from the legacies of colonial rule. Tepeciklioğlu (2012) suggests that 'post-colonial' connotes the effects of colonisation and the various, oftentimes invisible responses to it. Ashcroft et al (2002 p.194) draws, our attention to Ashcroft et al (1989, p.2) who defined the term 'post-colonial' as referring to "all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonisation to the present day". However, some have argued that post-colonial enquiry should only cover certain periods, such as the period after independence, while others have argued that some societies are not yet free of colonisation and are therefore not post-colonial. For example, people who are indigenous to societies occupied by settlers, such as the aboriginal inhabitants in Australia.

With regards to this thesis, Ngugi (1986) notes that there have been debates about the purpose of post-colonial studies with some arguing that it is to enable the unequivocal political and psychological decolonization of societies through the recovery of the pre-colonial cultures. On the other hand, Ashcroft et al (2002. p.194) note that there are also arguments that no society can be truly free of the impact of colonisation, pointing to the contemporary phenomenon of globalization as proof of persistent Western dominance over the rest of the world. Furthermore, Ashcroft et al (2002) suggest that the justification of the term post-colonial may depend on its effectiveness as an analytical tool, a theory of cultural relations or a historical context.

As Bhabha (1994) notes since the 1970s, the term "post-colonial" does not only denote a historical period. It also signifies difference, uncertainty, crossing boundaries and cultural exchange- all features of postcolonial societies. Mishra and Hodge (1994, p.284) stress that

Postcolonialism is not a homogeneous category either within a postcolonial society or across all postcolonial societies. Rather, it never remains consistent and is always undergoing change. There is continuing resistance and reconstruction located within postcolonialism and postcolonial theory focuses on various experiences including representation, suppression, emigration, resistance, cultural and racial discrimination, gender and difference. Thus, the literature suggests that postcolonialism is not only concerned with a certain period but is continuous, focusing on everyday issues influenced by colonialism.

A criticism of Postcolonial theory is that it is an intellectual project developed by scholars from the global south who are based in the West (Williams, 1997). Leela Gandhi (1998) notes that postcolonial theory mostly tackles the needs of Western academia and rarely involves the theoretical self-sufficiency of other knowledge systems. However, Spivak (2001, pp. 2193-2208) disagrees, arguing that postcolonial studies are a novel opportunity to allow the "other" or "subaltern" to freely experience as well as communicate those parts of itself found beyond what is considered as subordinate by the hegemonic debate. Despite the criticism, post-colonial studies could be said to give voice to scholars from colonised locations researching issues outside the dominant Western theorising.

Different post-colonial scholars in various fields centre their critique on the Western focused perception of the colonial world and seek to produce alternatives to this way of thinking (Tepeciklioğlu, 2012). In view of the ever-growing range of political and cultural issues considered by post-colonial scholars, Ashcroft et al (2002, p.201) asks, how post-colonial theory may be most effectively utilized? According to them, one of the ways that post-colonial studies have come to be utilized is concerned with the relationships of power within issues of racial, ethnic and cultural difference and diversity, due to a deeper awareness of the elements

of neo-colonial domination. Due to this perception of domination or oppression, Mishra and Hodge (1994, p.284) suggest that it is then logical for theories such as feminism which are also based on elements of oppression would connect with postcolonialism. Thus, it is possible that postcolonialism and feminism could forge an alliance in challenging dominance, oppression or discrimination. This is relevant to the thesis in that it could provide a powerful analytical tool to examine the inequalities in the workplace for women within Nigeria, a country still dealing with legacies of its colonial past.

4.3.1 Postcolonial feminism

In asking how a link between postcolonialism and feminism can be created, Hamam (2015, pp.10-12) suggests that that it is useful to bring "postcolonialism" and "feminism" together in an intersectional debate within an analytic framework rather than regarding them as separate constructs. This linkage develops a discourse which can investigate pre–colonial, neo–colonial, and post–colonial cultures and relations from a nuanced postcolonial feminist perspective. As such, this link emphasises women's difference and specificities, thereby dismissing oversimplified theories which focus on the homogeneity of women in non– Western societies (Hamam 2014, p. 15).

Postcolonial feminism takes into consideration, the contextual realities of women's lives whilst exploring the intersection of colonialism and neocolonialism with gender, nation, class, race, and sexualities (Rajan and Park, 2005). Mishra (2013) tells us that the emergence of postcolonial feminism can mostly be attributed to the dominance of Western mainstream feminism. Feminist postcolonial criticism had its beginnings as far back as the 1980s, when Chandra Mohanty's "Under Western Eyes" (1986) and Gayatri Spivak's essay "Can the

Subaltern Speak?" (1988) questioned the authority of Western researchers and their research practices. Many postcolonial feminist critics have challenged earlier feminist approaches which viewed all women as sharing a common identity based on experiences of oppression. arguing that the concerns of white middle-class women do not represent the norm for all women, contending that women of different social positions have different problems and respond differently to them even when considered in relation to similar broad issues (Shital and Shivaji, 2012).

Thus, Postcolonial feminist theory mainly focuses on women's representation in formerly colonised countries and in western locations. Tyagi (2014) argues that women in these locations suffer from "double colonisation" experiencing the oppression of colonialism and patriarchy at the same time. Chambers (2015) on the other hand notes that these emphasize only two forms of oppression, suggesting that there are multiple oppressions which intersect in the lives of women. As Gunjate and Shivaji (2012, pp. 285-287) tell us, a principal argument of feminist analysis is that 'women' do not constitute a homogenous coherent group, based solely on the notion of gender. Their experiences differ according to intricate relations between factors, such as ethnicity, culture, class, and religion. For example, Nigerian women in the workplace not only experience inequality, which has its roots in colonial educational and labour market policies, favouring men over women and in the patriarchy of the Nigerian society. They also experience challenges due to ethnicity and religion, both sources of conflict in postcolonial Nigeria. These are inequalities upon which this thesis is based, as it investigates their impact on academic women's recruitment and promotion in Nigerian Higher education institutions. According to Lewis and Mills (2003), postcolonial feminist theory sought to view mainstream feminism within a racial context and allow for the consideration of feminist issues while conceptualizing colonialism and post colonialism. Focusing on inequalities based on gender

alone as Anglo-American/western feminism is wont to do, is inadequate to understand the racial, class and other oppressions experienced by black and so-called third world women.

Post-colonialism and feminism have been seen as effective allies (Rajan and Park, 2005; Tickner and Darby, 2016; Parashar, 2016). Ghandi (1998) argued that post-colonialism and feminism have a symbiotic relationship, where the former encourages the latter to look critically inwards and give a highly analytical account of nationalism of the postcolonial temporalities and geographies, while the latter provides the former with the conceptual mechanisms to perceive diverse oppressions and not accept universal views on the gendered experiences of both sexes. However, Parashar (2016) also points out that there is still an uneasy relationship between the two theoretical approaches.

Postcolonialism, she says, while celebrating nationalistic resistance to colonialism, does not acknowledge the injustices, marginalisation and silences occurring within postcolonial spaces. On other hand, there is not a clear acknowledgment by mainstream feminism of the gendered differences in global oppressions experienced by so called 'third world women'. Parashar (2016) concedes however, that it is now becoming clearer that this 'difference' is not just between the global North and South but within the postcolonial geographies. Ling (2016) suggests that reconstructions by postcolonial feminism breaks down boundaries and predetermined categories of analysis. She also suggests that post-colonialism and feminism together, have revolutionary possibilities in the fight against injustices.

Postcolonial feminism is relevant to the study as it would form part of the conceptual framework to explore gendered employment practices as well as the challenges posed by religion and ethnicity (all of which have been influenced in various degrees by legacies of the

colonial past) for academic women in the Higher education system in Nigeria. There constitutes an injustice as there are not equal opportunities to access jobs and promotion to leadership positions. Spurlin (2010) insists that Postcolonial feminisms must continually shed light on the impact of colonisation (still in effect during the first wave of Western feminism) and at the same time, focus on the effects of other forms of colonisation e.g. economic, on the daily lives of indigenous women both in Africa and beyond.

4.3.2 Constructing Postcolonial and African Feminisms

This study argues that in an investigation of Nigerian women's relationship with organisational structures and how they are impacted by intersections of gender, ethnicity and religion, it is crucial not only to explore from a postcolonial standpoint but from a perspective which takes into account the realities and subjectivities of their lives within the African context. There is no simple generalisation of the experiences of 'Third World' women (Mohanty, 2003). Thus, while there are a considerable number of Postcolonial feminisms from different nationalities, it is imperative that any study of gender relations in Africa needs to be representative of the specific context. In the case of marginalised groups of women, it is sometimes difficult to decide how to untangle the shared history of oppression. In her paper on 'Black feminism in the academy' Arya (2012), an Asian feminist in UK academia, refers to herself as a Black feminist where she employs the term as a "politically and culturally constructed category" (Hall 1992, p. 254) which was more geared towards reflecting the collective experiences of non-white ethnic minorities rather than focusing on the differences among them. However, Bakare-Yusuf (1997) argues that an emphasis on these shared experience of 'blacks' overlooks the intra-racial differences, such as ethnic, cultural and religious which contribute to the complexities of postcolonial existence. Thus in keeping with the argument that all women are not the same, there needs to be a Postcolonial feminism constructed within the context of

African realities. This is because it could be argued that Postcolonial feminists may assume that their own localised experiences are the norm and view the experiences of women in other postcolonial locations as the 'other', which would impact on the authenticity of the subject of analysis.

For McFadden (2007), the most pressing issues for African feminists is the reconceptualisation of citizenship as being socially and nationally inclusive, cutting across race, sexuality, class, gendered and geographical inequalities and differences. Furthermore, achieving this is the crucial responsibility of post-colonial policies. She has argued that it is necessary to critically expand the notion of post-coloniality as a tool to successfully navigate the transition presently taking place in Africa. This can be achieved by looking beyond a painful past and recognizing feminism as an ideology that can positively impact the individual and collective lives of African women and which has at its crux the agency of African women. Rajan and Park (2005) note that a salient and ongoing site of investigation for post-colonial feminism is how to explore the compatibility or lack thereof of the demands of feminism and nationalism. Nigerian women played an active role in anti-colonisation struggles. For example, the Aba Women's Riot or Women's War of 1929 in Eastern Nigeria, where they revolted against the taxation and structures put in place by the colonial administration which caused women to lose their hitherto active economic and political roles in the society in the precolonial era (Uchendu, 1995).

However, they were still marginalised in the newly decolonised states. Rajan and Park (2005) suggest that this was because decolonisation merely transferred power to the elite nationals who carried on with the judicial, economic and legislative structures already put in place by the colonial administrators. Within these nascent postcolonial states, women's movements considered the state as both an ally- as a means of achieving legal changes - and antagonist, as

a result of the discriminatory actions against women and other minorities. Thus, in Nigeria, the legacy of colonial rule is still very present, impacting all aspects of society in the postcolonial era including governance and economy as women remain marginalised. This thesis argues that one cannot study gender relations at work in a postcolonial African location such as Nigeria without simultaneously theorising Postcolonial feminism and African feminism. In order to avoid misrepresentations and introduce greater clarity in the understanding of gender relations, African feminism(s) evaluates the accounts and experiences of men and women thereby creating more holistic studies of Africans, by Africans, and for Africans (Rajan and Park, 2005). Thus, it is clear that in Nigeria, post-colonialism feminism and African Feminism need to be in alliance in order to achieve a depth of analysis based on the understanding of colonial/neocolonial legacies and the cultural realities of Africa, thereby creating a framework for exploring women's work in postcolonial locations. However, there is a lack of literature on the conceptualisation of both these feminisms. Thus, this study will involve the construction of African feminism as a form of postcolonial feminism, a Postcolonial and African feminism, in order to fully understand women's experiences in the Nigerian higher education context. This research will address that gap in knowledge.

Mikell (2010) notes that the origins of African feminism, are different from that of Western feminism as African feminism arose mostly due to resistance to perceived dominance of feminism from the West and is rooted within African culture. In African culture, men and women are viewed as being complementary, with each sex having equally important functions to fulfill within the society. African women's experiences extend the philosophical structures of U.S. black feminism through stimulating an understanding of the unique beliefs and context guiding their Pan-African transnationalist construction of feminist thought (Martin, 2016). Consistent amongst these unique beliefs was the notion of men and women having equally

important roles to play in the society. This gendered notion of collective responsibility was revealed in Nigerian women's activism during the nationalist movement in Africa. Based on evidence from interviews, Martin suggests that they worked across class, ethnic, and political lines, thereby building relationships among women's organizations that helped to mobilize them around a common agenda.

As Rajan and Park (2005) have noted, post-colonial feminists have focused on historical research within colonialism to understand the role of women in nationalistic struggles, as well as how women's social roles, femininity and sexuality were allocated under the colonial state. This has led to the realisation that, while participating in the struggle against colonialism increased women's influence, this did not carry forward into the era of decolonisation except for a tiny fraction of women from the elite class who received an education and proceeded into various professions.

Even so, in the case of Nigeria, the few women who were educated were unable to attract government or private sector jobs which brought with them higher pay and improved social status (Uchendu, 1995). This is a legacy of colonialism that remains to this day in the Nigerian labour market. This also means that no feminist theorizing of women in the Nigerian labour market would be complete without considering the country's colonial past. This then leads to the question of the most appropriate theoretical concept in this context. Therefore, these interactions suggest that understanding the construction of African/Pan-African feminism as a form of Post-colonial feminism, is key to setting the stage for advanced non-Western feminist theorising and research.

4.3.3 African Feminism(s)

While Western feminism has made great contributions to the advancement of women's participation in the formal labour market, African feminists have argued against examining women's experiences from that perspective as it has the tendency to universalize 'women' (Nnaemeka, 1998 p.5). African feminism is far from homogenous. "We recognize that we do not have a homogenous identity as feminists – we acknowledge and celebrate our diversities and our shared commitment to a transformatory agenda for African societies and African women in particular. This is what gives us our common feminist identity" (African Feminist Charter, 2006). Nnaemeka (1998 p.5) argues that that any discourse on feminism in Africa must be viewed as a pluralistic concept African feminism(s) with the ability to capture the histories, cultural factors and local realities that influence gender activism and women's rights, ranging from the indigenous level up to government sponsored structures in the postcolonial period. Similarly, Ahikire (2014) suggests that the feminist movement in Africa constitutes multiple layers which continuously challenge any attempts at homogenous definitions. Many African scholars including Ogundipe-Leslie (1994) and Nnaemeka (1998) suggest that in defining African feminism, there are possibilities for the existence of several African feminism(s) rather than just one singular overriding conceptualisation (Blay, 2008).

For Steady (2005), African feminism(s) posits that gender studies in Africa must take an approach centred on the understanding of African feminist traditions and socio-cultural realities, with the aim of developing analytical frameworks capable of pinpointing t women's diverse social locations and also sustaining their priorities and identities. Steady (2005) suggests that female agency and interdependence, family relationships, multiple mothering, and feminist literature from Africa are the primary concerns of African feminism. Furthermore, in conducting feminist discourse, it examines different aspects of the African culture without

vilifying it. For Nnaemeka (2004, 2005), African feminisms should be framed as a feminism of negotiation, which she branded nego-feminism and a no-ego feminism. Negotiation, balance, compromise, give and take are all crucial to the values shared by many African cultures. She argues that feminism, as she has seen it practised in Africa, addresses the imbalance through negotiating and compromising. African feminism, according to her, is more proactive than reactive. This feminism understands how, when and where to engage with patriarchy, either by negotiating with or around it. Instead of possessing the reification and stability of a framework or a construct, feminism for African women is a fluid and dynamic process. Many African feminists like Steady (2005) have increasingly been focused on the question of men's involvement in gender issues. Furthermore, Steady argues that for African feminism to succeed, men must be involved as there cannot be any separatism from the opposite sex. This inclusion according to Mekgwe (2008) has become one important aspect of African feminism that serves to differentiate it from the manner in which feminism is conceptualised in the west.

In addition it has been argued by Mikell (1997, p.4) that issues regarding "bread and butter" i.e. survival are the primary concern for African feminism while cultural injustices based on gender are considered secondary. In the same vein, Mekgwe (2008) points out that author and gender activist Buchi Emecheta's reluctance to label herself a feminist encapsulates the difficulties faced by feminists in Africa or who are from Africa, in the definition of gender activism that is contextually relevant . Her own brand of feminism lays emphasis on achieving change for African women who still lack access to socio-economic tools for survival rather than perceived gender imbalance. However, Ahikire (2014) terms Mikell's (1997) view an outsider's opinion on African feminism, arguing that such a perspective on feminism in Africa is not only conservative, but is dismissive of the sustained efforts of generations of women who

have pursued more radical feminist agendas, particularly with regards to sexuality, cultural and religious values.

Finally, African women have not only critiqued prevalent feminist theories based on how relevant, adequate or appropriate these are. They have also posed important questions about representation and sharing of tasks (Nnaemeka, 2005). Nnaemeka provides an example of the international volumes on gender and human rights reviewed by J. Oloka-Onyango and Sylvia Tamale (1995) in which they argued that the voices of women in the third world were excluded from the theory section or were only included to add analytical weight to abstract theoretical perspectives. She notes that African researchers/scholars and the researched are the tools for the collection of raw data and the tools through which knowledge is produced respectively. Frequently, in collaborative work, Western researchers represent their African collaborators as informants rather than co-authors. Therefore, it could be said that there are always intellectual, political and ethical tensions to consider when theorising within a cross-cultural context. These usually involve questions of the origin of the theory (provenance); its subjectivity; its positionality-does it legitimize certain locations and societal standing either socio-political or intellectual? Nnaemeka (2005).

4.3.4 Theorising Feminism in Post-colonial African Locations

Across national borders, feminist theory and movements have grown since the early 1980s, with women's transnational movements and struggles gaining greater visibility. This is partly due to conferences organized by the United Nations world focusing on women's issues, over the last two decades (Mohanty, 2003). However, Mohanty goes on to explain that building

feminist cohesion across the divisions based on place, class, identity, amongst others, is vital for the development of transnational feminist practice.

Global capitalism both destroys the possibilities of building these solidarities and also offers up new ones. This can be put down to increasing migration. Anthias and Yuval Davies (1989), in exploring the links between gender and nation, point to the intersections of gender and ethnicity and the different roles often played by men and women in the reproduction and transmission of ethnic culture especially in migration. According to them, women transmit their ethnic culture in their roles as child-rearers and in migration, reproducing cultural traditions, family and religious structures and ideologies. Tyagi (2014) tells us, a major feature of postcolonial feminist theory is that it criticizes Western feminists as being complicit in the oppression of so called 'Third World' women by ignoring social, cultural and historical contexts and failing to consider race, sex, class while voicing the concerns of colonised women.

For example, Spurlin (2010) observes that in southern Africa, the area in which he works, the feminist endeavours of indigenous women go beyond merely demanding equal opportunities on the basis of gender alone. Therefore, care is needed when analysing the gender and cultural implications of theorizing by indigenous women that do not easily conform to conventional theoretical models and time periods that frame the development of Western feminist thinking and practices. This is particularly pertinent for researchers within non-Western locations such as Nigeria.

Spurlin (2010) suggests that, in the context of theorising the three waves of feminism globally, questions need to be asked about who is involved in the production of knowledge about colonized people and what they stand to gain politically from that production. Caughie's (2010)

article, 'Introduction: Theorizing the first Wave', discusses Nancy Fraser's (1997) work Justice Interuptus which details the history of second wave feminism. According to Fraser (1997), three distinct periods mark the second wave: a period from the late sixties to the mid-eighties focused on gender difference was dominated by debates between difference feminism and equality feminism; the second wave, which was concerned with differences among women and lasted until the early 1990s; and a third, which focused on 'multiple intersecting differences'.

In order to carefully examine these intersections of gender, ethnicity and religion and how they shape women's experience in the Nigerian labour market both at the recruitment and selection stage and promotion -career progression, the study will utilise the concept of intersectionality, which is a sociological theory employed by Third wave feminists, and which relies on the intersections of points of identity (Arya, 2012). However, in Caughie (2010)'s opinion, the classification of the movement of Western feminism is somewhat contrary to non-western gender activism and she wondered how convenient the wave model might be for feminist scholars as a means of analyzing the changing issues articulated by women in countries outside the West. Therefore, when researching gender issues in Nigeria, could such a model or framework be useful for understanding non-Western feminist thought and experiences?

In order to answer this question, it is imperative to understand the key issues at stake. In their article, Metcalfe and Woodhams (2012) have stated that a key issue will be to question western feminist ideologies so as to give voice to researchers from the Global South, in order to make way for new approaches to gender, diversity and organization research. This is not an assumption of the superiority of values from the Global South, but rather to appreciate different cultural identities as well as their international and intranational movements (Castells 2009).

Thus, this has involved breaking with prevalent methods or approaches to understanding broader feminist issues.

A central issue is how communication processes across the globe, guide our understanding of culture and identity (Walby 2000; Yuval-Davis 2009). This is particularly important for feminist researchers. As Lips (2016) has stated, it is not automatic for women to understand each other just because they are women as there are barriers created by race, class and culture that can be hard to overcome. Lips goes on to say that, if women understand more of the similarities and differences they share with other women in different parts of the world, there is a greater likelihood that women would not engage in or will have less tolerance for practices that oppress other women.

Thus, in the face of globalisation, another key issue is the appropriate approach to theorise on feminist research while taking into account the experiences of women everywhere, including those in postcolonial and transnational spaces. This brings to attention another issue of specific locations within postcolonial feminist theorising. There are many contexts in which colonisation existed, such as Asian, African, Middle-Eastern locations. This indicates the importance of using a specific postcolonial/African feminist model to understand women's experiences in Nigeria, thereby giving more voice to the post-colonial feminist scholars and the women in this location as well as promoting understanding between western and non-western feminism. In her study of Turkish entrepreneurs based in the United States and framed by post-colonial feminist enquiry, Ozkazanc-Pan (2012) asks the question of how feminist researchers can and if they should investigate and theorise on relations between the Global North and South considering the complex relationship between globalisation and feminisms (Desai, 2007).

With the different feminist theories and demands for action coming from these analytically diverse positions (Ackerly and True, 2010), what possibilities are available for postulating and "writing differently"? (Grey and Sinclair, 2006) in the context of globalisation. In feminist research, Harding (1995) suggests that the researcher herself is never separated from the research subjects in order to carry out an objective observation. According to Ozkazanc-Pan (2012), studying representation (i.e. identity formation) from a post-colonial perspective requires a clear-cut focus on language and text. Furthermore, post-colonial feminist positions consider the problem of how the researcher, the research audience and the writing process are involved in the research activity itself (Khan, 2005). Thus, for the post-colonial and African feminist researcher, there is this need for the ability to adapt when theorizing and examining gender issues as there are very few models that are not based on Western epistemologies. One has to deal with the tendency for subjectivity as a feminist researcher, whilst also finding the right theoretical balance when examining gender issues in post-colonial locations.

4.3.5 Conceptualizing Postcolonial Feminist theory, African Feminisms and Intersectionality in Higher Education

There is a need for a theory that considers multiple oppressions, as single issue feminism or postcolonialism grows into multiple issues (Chambers 2015, p.5). The literature reveals a wide consensus among feminists, in which they agree that it is crucial to tackle multiple intersecting differences. Kerner (2017) suggest that they achieve this by engaging in research from different perspectives which have differing methodological and conceptual approaches. In view of this, postcolonial feminist theory and intersectionality are the two approaches on which many feminists have focused.

Dhamoon (2011) suggests that after several years of scholarship and activism by black feminists and other feminists of colour, intersectionality studies have expanded beyond gender and moved into mainstream social sciences; evidence of this includes the vigorous efforts at 'mainstreaming intersectionality'. On the other hand, Postcolonial feminist theories are more critical and attempt to correct the conventional ways of conceptualizing differences within feminism, in order for the field to focus more on power relations and become more transnational. Thus, intersectionality studies mainly lays emphasis on how multiple differences currently intersect simultaneously, while Postcolonial feminist theory approaches relations of difference from a historical perspective, which is inherent to the field of postcolonial studies (Kerner, 2017).

These comparisons clearly indicate that conceptualising these two approaches in a framework will enable a more holistic and deeper analysis of women's experiences within postcolonial societies. However, the literature conceptualising these theories in the Nigerian context is lacking. Thus, with regards to this thesis investigation into the inequalities experienced by academic women due to interactions of gender, ethnicity and religion, the question of how to conceptualise a postcolonial African feminism and intersectionality in higher education in Nigeria then arises. The results from this research will address that gap in knowledge.

Writing on 'post-colonialism and feminism in academia, Asher (2010) considers gender, race, and nation in investigating the conventional, masculine concept of leadership. She explores the tensions and the intersections of difference, culture and context that immigrant women and other minority women in academia encounter as they get involved in leadership roles as well as the complexities of researching and teaching whilst carrying out their leadership roles. Also, what is the impact of re-evaluating academic leadership from the perspective of

postcolonialism and feminism? While Asher is investigating women in the Western institutions, these questions are also pertinent for women in Nigerian academia. However, in this case, the thesis considers gender, ethnicity and religion particularly in a patriarchal society such as Nigeria, an African state, and takes care to delineate the relational difference between these groups of women.

As discussed earlier, African feminism advocates for the consideration of African women's gender issues within the context of African history, culture and realities (Steady, 2005, Nnaemeka, 1998, 2005). African feminists have argued that patriarchal attitudes remain systemic at the organisational level in African universities as women remain outnumbered and marginalised (Mama, 2005; Mama and Barnes, 2007). Furthermore, Aina et al. (2015) have pointed out the continuing influence of gendered attitudes towards girls education on gaps in gender equality in top positions in African universities. These inequalities indicate the importance of an African feminist perspective in a study of Nigeria academic women framed by intersectionality and postcolonial feminist theory.

Although women make up a major part of the student population in tertiary education, their roles as shapers of the academy have been largely ignored in higher education (Bensimon and Marshall 2000, p. 134). Similarly, Asher (2010) notes that little value is attached to the leadership roles of academic women due to the influences of institutional racism and masculinist culture. Furthermore, the organisational structure of academia points it towards patriarchy which then fosters gender inequalities. At the organizational level (Tierney and Rhoads (1993, pp.70–71) higher education need to build institutions that celebrates difference, in which all organisational members learn and respect cultural differences. Chesler et al. (2005, p.73) agree, as they suggest that as institutions, tackle racism, they should simultaneously

address discrimination based on gender, sexual orientation, religion, class, ability and nationality amongst others.

Having discussed how colonial legacies has impacted different aspects of the Nigerian society, this section has made it clear that an intersectional approach, together with postcolonial and African feminisms, is the most appropriate approach to theorise gender inequality issues for women in Nigeria postcolonial location. This can be best carried out within a framework that focuses on multiple differences occuring simultaneously and producing inequality. As earlier stated, there is a lack of literature on that conceptualisation of postcolonial and African feminism and intersectionality in Nigeria, particularly in higher education. The multiple differences being considered in this thesis include gender, ethnicity and religion. The next section will examine how this can be operationalised by utilising the inequality regimes approach of intersectionality.

4.3.6 Gender, Ethnicity and Religion within Higher Education in Nigeria drawing on Inequality Regimes Approach of Intersectionality

Inequality regimes can be used to understand intersectionality in organisations. The link between organisational processes and inequality was explained by Acker (2006) in her concept of 'inequality regimes'. Acker defines inequality regimes as "interrelated practices, processes, actions and meanings that result in and maintain class, gender and racial inequalities" (2006, p. 443). These inherent work practices foster deep-seated divisions and inequalities between men and women, often in insidious and subtle ways. As Acker (2012) reminds us, these inequality regimes have remained consistent, despite efforts to implement organizational changes, thereby increasing the need for further theorizing on gender processes. This is particularly relevant to the thesis as it could enable the pinpointing of any inequalities within

organisational processes concerning recruitment and selection as well as promotion or career progression for academic women in the Nigerian higher education sector. While Acker concedes that there are other bases of inequality in organisations, she says that gender, race and class tend to be the more ubiquitous elements. However, due to the context of the research, the bases of inequality includes ethnicity and religion in addition to gender.

4.3.6.1 Gender and Inequality Regimes

Organisational structures and procedures, such as job definitions, formal hierarchies, and work rules, define much of what goes on in the workplace and affect the freedom that people at work have to act on cultural biases implicitly introduced into the way they perceive things (Ridgeway, 2011). However, with regards to gender discrimination in organizations, a cursory look at some of the organisational structures and procedures or processes at work, shows that many of them embody stereotypical assumptions about the gendered nature of the people who will carry them out (Acker, 2006). For example, Acker states that the very structure of the traditional 40-hour, Monday-to-Friday work week reveals deeply held assumptions about the gendered nature of ideal workers. The rigid structure of working time that the traditional work week involves, implicitly assumes that ideal workers will not be directly responsible for the daily care of dependent children.

This then implies that stereotypically, the ideal workers will look more like men than like women who are expected to be directly responsible for children (Acker, 2006). However, while this example is also relevant in the Nigerian workplace, it is noteworthy to point out that Acker was reporting within the context of the USA and that there are other contextual factors which could also influence stereotypical assumptions when considering organisational processes in Nigeria. Ely and Meyerson (2000) studied a group of women in senior management (higher

education, public and private sectors) in Australia in an effort to find out of why the efforts of many organisations to recruit and advance women have failed to result in substantial gains for women and why women remain relatively powerless at work? They argue that the answers to these questions lie in organisations' failure to question and change prevailing notions about what constitutes the most appropriate and effective ways to define and accomplish work, recognize and reward competence, understand and interpret behaviour.

Additionally, Acker (2012) has argued that there are processes which are often invisible in the ordinary lives of organisations in which gendered assumptions about women and men are deeply rooted and gender inequalities perpetuated, which she termed "gendered substructure". Examples of the most common inequalities are the wage gap between women and men and the sex segregation of jobs, occupations, and hierarchical positions. Acker whilst conceding that these inequalities have been reduced, has maintained that they are still widespread.

Huge variations exists between organisations and across time and national contexts. Schwartz (1992) has outlined several costs paid by organizations for not developing the talents of women to reach their highest potential. These include dissatisfaction at work and considerably lowered job performance due to this dissatisfaction, loss of investment in training due to female employee turnover, failure to have the best talent represented at more senior levels of management and the opportunity costs as a consequence of unfulfilled potential. These arguments are relevant to the thesis as recruitment and selection processes will remain discriminatory towards women if any gendered assumptions about what work is suitable for whom are not recognized and tackled within universities in Nigeria. Also, institutions of higher learning could be losing potentially high achieving women if their talents are not developed through training and more leadership opportunities.

4.3.6.2 Ethnicity, Religion and Inequality Regimes

As has been made clear earlier in the text, ethnic and religious affiliations are sources of inequalities in the work place. Some intersectionality scholars have found Acker's 'inequality regimes' useful for conceptualizing the simultaneity of multiple inequalities as well as pinpointing of impediments to equality at work (Atewelogun et al, 2016). While Acker acknowledged that there were other important differences or bases of inequality, she suggested that they were not currently as deeply embedded in organizing processes as are gender, race, and class. However, with regards to this thesis, ethnicity and religion are considered important categories of difference which can create multiple inequalities at work for Nigerian women. These inequalities are fostered by ethnic and religious affiliations which have been greatly influenced by the colonial policies which impacted negatively on women's equal participation within the education and the formal labour market. However, a search of the literature has a revealed a lack in the knowledge base of analysing the impact of the interactions between ethnicity and religion within higher education in Nigeria from a postcolonial perspective. There is a need for research into this area as ethnicity is the most important identity in Nigeria, with religion coming in a close second. In fact, as earlier noted in the text, Osaghae and Suberu (2005) pointed out that in some parts of Nigeria, namely the core Islamic North, religious identity is more important that ethnic identity. Thus, it can be seen that these two factors are very important in the Nigerian society including the workplace. Fajana et al (2011) suggest that there is an over reliance on culture, language, religion and gender in employment processes in Nigeria. Therefore, it makes sense that ethnicity and religion be considered in a conceptualisation of intersecting multiple inequalities faced by academic women during recruitment, selection and promotion to leadership positions in Nigerian universities.

In summary, an intersectional study together with Postcolonial and African feminist discourse, could be utilized simultaneously to analyse multiple inequalities for Nigerian women at work, as well as give a voice to silenced 'others' within the globalised feminist discourse. By surveying and interviewing women in Nigerian higher education institutions, the thesis aims to shed more light on how crucial it is to give voice to women on issues that affect them by focusing on the experiences of the participants within their socio-cultural and economic context. This will contribute to the debate on Western dominance of feminist scholarship by conducting the research from a postcolonial and African feminist standpoint, arguing that it not only gives voice to the postcolonial African researcher, but also gives more voice to the 'other'- these women in a postcolonial location. Feminist scholars argue that research should aim to highlight the voices of those who have been marginalized, including the oppression of certain groups (hooks, 2000).

In order to investigate the different ways in which women face discrimination, postcolonial and African feminisms has been conceptualised with intersectionality. Intersectionality is particularly valuable in examining the multiple inequalities occurring simultaneously due to gender, ethnicity and religion in the lives of these academic women within the workplace. The study will employ inequality regimes as an analytical approach to conceptualising intersectionality. This framework will explore the inequalities experienced by women in a post-colonial space such as Nigeria due to identity at work, as intersecting with those produced by societal influences brought about by gender attitudes, ethnicity and religion, on the one hand, and organisational structures, including HR practices such as recruitment/selection, promotion and organisational culture, on the other. Conceptualising postcolonial and African feminism with intersectionality will contribute to tackling the hegemony of western feminist thought, addressing the relational difference between feminists as all women's experiences are not the

same. This will then help to address the research questions. Preliminary analysis of the field work revealed that there were structures in place at both organisational and societal levels influencing women's employment and experiences and that how women perceived these structures contributed to their level of agency. Thus, these are the internal organisational and external societal structures influencing women's employment and career progression. A deeper empirical analysis has been conducted in chapter 8 which has yielded even more insight. Overall the research aim is to assess the influence of gendered practices, ethnicity and religion on employment practices in Nigerian universities and how these foster inequalities for women within a post-colonial space.

In the area of Higher education, there is a lack of literature on conceptualisation of postcolonial and African feminisms and intersectionality in Nigeria. Having identified these gaps in the literature and the associated limitations, my research will go even further and contribute based on the conceptual framework which will be fleshed out in the data reporting and analysis chapters to investigate the research questions. In the subsequent chapters, the researcher will begin to show how the framework is being applied to the case study universities and how the research questions are addressed. Before engaging in that, the methodology will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5 METHODOLOGY

5.0 Introduction

This research is a case study on higher education in Nigeria, looking at the impact of gendered practices, ethnicity and religion on the recruitment, selection and promotion to leadership positions of academic women. The study involves four universities which have been selected on a regional basis to emphasize the country's regional variations in gendered practices, ethnic and religious attitudes and how they affect women's employment and career progression in higher education. This chapter gives an overview and justification of the approach that has been chosen to carry out the study. The first section focuses on the philosophy underlying the research. It discusses Giddens' structuration theory which examines the dynamic relationship between agency and social structures as the epistemological approach to the study. The second section outlines the research strategy in which a mixed methods approach has been selected. The third section covers the research design and methods which have been employed and an overview of the data collected.

5.1 Research philosophy

A framework developed by Burrell and Morgan (1979, p.29) examined the philosophies underpinning the various approaches available for a researcher to carry out research. This framework recognizes that researchers may have different views and reality can be perceived in a unique manner from different philosophical points of view in terms of epistemology, ontology, human nature and methodology.

5.1.1 Epistemology

Epistemological issues relate to what is considered as knowledge within a discipline (Bryman and Bell,2015). Epistemological perspectives run a gamut of philosophical assumptions

ranging from positivism to constructivism or social constructivism. For positivists, reality can be viewed as being made up of distinct events, observable by human senses (Blaikie, 2010). According to social constructivists, people invariably seek to understand the world, building complex, subjective meanings to their life experiences which then leads a researcher to flesh out these complexities (Cresswell, 2014). As Blumer (1969 p.132) has suggested, human group life must be considered mainly as an interpretative process where individuals and groups find their way by defining the objects, events or situations they might experience.

Therefore, it is a highly subjective process. Many scholars of intersectionality studies in work and organization take a social constructivist approach employing qualitative methodologies due to the priority placed on identity and subjectivity (Bell and Nkomo, 2001; Atewologun and Singh, 2010). However, due to the research's aim of understanding how social factors of gender, ethnicity and religion affect the recruitment and career progression of academic women- all of which constitute part of their experiences in higher education- the research will employ the structuration approach. This is because the thesis aims to look at women's relationship with organisational structures in higher education and the socio-cultural practices in the wider society that affect the employment and career progression experiences of academic women in Nigeria.

Giddens (1984) argues that social structure scholars have not provided sufficient explanation of agency while agency scholars have not adequately considered recursive structural arrangements. Structuration theory allows for alternate ways of considering oppression and consciousness raising. The theory sees society as being constantly created through the social practices of its members, and oppression as a part of these practices (Wheeler-Brooks, 2009). Whittington (2010 pp.109-126) tell us that Giddens defines social practices as "ongoing series

of practical activities". These ongoing activities bring different individuals together in 'social systems' which exist at various levels such as a team, particular organization or industry. Indeed, most individuals take part in many kinds of social systems maybe as employees, part of a family or citizen, which sometimes contradict, coincide or intersect with each other. The following sections will discuss agency, institutional structures, the structuration theory and their implications for research within organization studies.

5.1.1.1 Agency

It is the above-mentioned participation in multiple systems that expresses the potential for agency in humans. Agency in this case being the capacity to choose one particular system of social practices over another. As Wheeler-Brooks (2009) suggests, recognizing the oppressiveness of particular social practice and making efforts towards changing this oppression occurs when consciousness is raised. This is achieved by changing one's social performance in order to bring disruption to the continuous process that fosters the practice. Thus, critical consciousness, involves being aware of one's agency and role in reproducing social practices. Social actors have the capacity to impact their own lives and societal structures by having 'critical consciousness' and perceiving themselves to be capable of effectuating change.

This is relevant to the thesis as academic women's agency is beyond their skills, qualifications or ambition to succeed but fundamentally impacted by the social structures. Therefore, in raising their consciousness and recognising their own agency in the overall recruitment and selection practices and promotion processes, all the social actors in higher education including

the women and the university authorities may then try to change any practices that foster oppression.

Emirbayer & Mische (1998) point to the elusiveness and vagueness of the concept of agency within social sciences. In some cases, the social actors are assumed to be institutional superheroes capable of creating, altering, and destroying institutions (Bitektine & Haack, 2015, p.50). Abdelnour et al (2017) suggest that it is crucial to differentiate between agency as a reflective capacity and individuals. They state that tackling the manner in which individuals relate to and work within organizations is critical to understanding agency and institutions.

Human agency is both facilitated and limited within three institutional contexts (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998). Firstly, there is a cultural context in which cultural narratives or discourses reinforce or constrain the way actors understand the world and all the possibilities available to them. The second context is a social-structural one, which involves social ties and networks encompassing interpersonal, interorganizational, or transnational settings of positions and actions. Thirdly, is the social psychological context, in which actions are reinforced or constrained by complex psychical structures. Similarly, Abdelnour et al. (2017) note that culture and social structures are critical to framing and defining various forms of agency. The next section briefly discusses institutions/structures. According to Hodgson (2006 p.2) "Institutions are the kind of structures that matter most in the social realm: they make up the stuff of social life". For the purposes of this thesis, institutions and structures will be used interchangeably.

5.1.1.2 Institutions/Structures

Institutions comprise of mutual rules and standards identifying the various categories of social actors and their activities. By determining the various actors and their regular patterns of interaction within the relevant context, institutions establish a connection to everyday actions (Barley and Tolbert, 1997). According to them, agency is unequivocally framed by and applied within the limits of context and structure. Abdelnour et al (2017) suggest that this approach is rather actor-centric as the regular patterns of social interaction are the primary focus when undertaking organizational analysis. Therefore, agency is partly established by institutions and determined by the interaction of actors within their set roles and their institutional environments.

A different approach to agency and institutions is that individuals are viewed as a conglomeration of roles performed within different contexts to handle the complexities of modern daily life, and as such, groups and organizations are made up of roles (Hirst & Humphreys, 2015; Kallinikos, 2003). Thus, roles allow individual to tackle the different and unpredictable demands of everyday life, while organizations encompass various roles, usually connected in a formal hierarchy, where different roles have different specifications. Abdelnour et al (2017) refers to these individuals as 'modular individuals'. They argue that studying agency and institutions is incomplete without tackling the various ways individuals become social actors. This is because different forms of conflicting and overlapping agency may be demonstrated by individuals and organizations. In acknowledging this conflict, actors and individuals are viewed as distinct elements. This is analytically important as it lays the foundation for grasping how individuals become social actors in the context of institutions.

Analytically, role modularity embodies the critical aspects of the essential conditions for implementing agency at work. These forms of modular and flexible agency enable analysis of the interaction between individuals and organizations and their work by grouping individuals into elements of stipulated practices, behaviours and competencies that are critical to the establishment of institutions (Abdelnour, 2017). Thus, the agency of female academics in the Nigeria could be analysed based on the various practices, behaviours, competencies and roles as social actors as well as the rights and obligations assigned to these roles within their organizations. It is therefore appropriate to question if agency is framed by structures or by the roles of the individuals? Are actors enabled or constrained by their institutional contexts or are the actors not dependent on institutions, enabling them to construct strategies to deal with institutional effects? (Abdelnour, 2017). It's in an attempt to examine the relationship between agency and institutions/structures that we discuss the structuration theory in the next section.

5.1.1.3 Structuration Theory

Whittington (2015) describes the concept of structuration as representing an interdependence of structure and agency. Structuration occurs as agents base their actions on the rules of their structural systems during which they either reproduce or change the rules that originally guided their actions. Thus, the theory supports a structural continuity and making room for wilful change and innovation. The implication here is that structures are fluid. Thus, within a work context, social actors within an organization can draw on previously established rules and social practices whilst simultaneously challenging the status quo in order to be innovative. Social practices are described by Giddens (1976, p.81) as "ongoing series of practical activities" organise people into social systems which are then replicated through continuous interaction over a period of time.

These systems can be found at societal, industrial or organisational levels. With regards to Nigerian higher education, the external (societal practices) and internal structures (organisational practices) guiding the actions of university officials and academics provide the structural context with these actors gaining a critical awareness of their agency and ability to effect change situations which they deem unsatisfactory. Whittington (2015) argues that the ability to belong to multiple social systems supports the human potential for agency, with agency in this case being the ability to follow a particular system of practices whilst refusing another; the capacity of gaining more employment and leadership opportunities as well as challenging entrenched inequality whilst being constrained by gendered practices, ethnic or religious differences in a patriarchal country with diverse ethnic groups and religious beliefs such as Nigeria. Such agency, Whittington state, contributes to the replication or repudiation of social systems and can impact the world various ways.

Some advantages of structuration theory according to Whittington (2015) include paying more attention to micro-sociological aspects of everyday life; being more sensitive to institutional context as well as the willingness and capacity to change. According to Giddens' (1984), this micro-sociological detail provides the rich data required to analyse strategic actions. However, while Giddens (1984) refers to Irving Goffman's work in micro-sociology as revealing the importance of every day social encounters which are usually taken for granted, he is criticizes Goffman's neglect of history, institutions and structural transformation.

Structuration theory's connection of the micro (actions) and the macro (institutions), reveals a sensitivity to institutional structure. During the process of creating organizational strategy, daily decisions regarding the exclusion or inclusion of various employees either perpetuates or

changes long held organizational or social hierarchies. In order to completely understand micro examples of practice, there needs to be an awareness of the structural principles that facilitate and restrict such practice, Whittington (2015). Thus, in order to understand the actions or practices of social actors within Nigerian higher education, one needs to understand structural or institutional rules, beliefs, culture that enable or discourage such actions or practices. For example, in order to answer the question of how gendered practices influence recruitment, selection and promotion of academic women in the Nigerian Higher Education Sector, one must first understand the structural principle influencing the individuals and the organisations (universities) both within-organizational culture and without-societal beliefs and practices.

The ability to change and innovate increases the attractiveness of structuration. By constantly asking how an event was made possible, what prevented an event from happening; and how does that reinforce or negate a future possibility, structuration theory allows for innovation and change. Structural principles are fluid, subject to change brought on by the challenges of daily life (Whittington, 2015).

However, there are critics of this structural fluidity (Reed 2005; O' Boyle 2013). For many of these scholars, there are other more relevant theoretical approaches, such as Bourdieu's practice theory or the realist theory of Bhaskar (1989) and Archer (2000). For instance, while the realist argument concedes that structures have their origin from human actions, it claims that structures 'harder' in critical realism because they reach deeper and further into the past (Whittington, 2015). According to him, this structural depth is seen to play a foundational role for action. For example, an individual's career success could be based on their skills/qualifications, but also depend on deeper structures such as patriarchy, class, etc that are

less visible to scrutiny; In various societies, these structures are revealed by the number of successful managers who are male and belong to the elite.

Thus, to analyse careers, this research has to dig deeper than the skills of individuals to the structures enabling or restraining their actions. However, Whittington argues that structuration theory is relevant in modern organizations as most of them are constantly undergoing change, with empowerment at the forefront, though for some more in words than in action. Structuration theory is highly relevant in multi-dimensional and unpredictable circumstances. In recent times, some of the larger universities in Nigeria such as University of Ibadan and Obafemi Awolowo university (OAU), have introduced gender policies to empower women and promote equity (UI 2012, OAU 2009), but these are few and far between and are not adequately implemented with many staff unaware of their existence. There is a lack of awareness of gender issues among staff and limited gender responsiveness in teaching and research culture within institutions (OAU,2009). Even with their gender policy, women made up only 4.3% of the 206 professors at OAU in 2002 and as at the 2012/2013 academic year, there wasn't any considerable growth in female academic staff numbers at OAU, Odeyinka et al (2015). This is mainly due to the organisational culture of the higher education system in Nigeria.

5.1.1.4 Implications for Empirical Research

Well aware of the practicalities involved in empirical research, Giddens (1984, pp. 281–354) provides a realistic and concise discussion of the theory's implications for research. Giddens (1976, 1979; 1984) proposed distinguishing between the analysis of strategic conduct, the means by which social actors rely on their structural rules in their activities, and institutional analysis, which is more interested in understanding institutional or structural context across

space and time. This is evidenced by his concept of 'methodological bracketing', whereby he proposes that a scholar can focus on one theme while setting the rest aside. Therefore, rather than risk being overwhelmed, researchers can choose to focus on one theme for the sake of practicality. However, it is important that the researcher is aware of this bracketing and recognize the theme that has been set aside Whittington, (2015). Thus, in the interest of practicality, analysis of this project has attempted to focus more on the actions of the actors, an analysis of strategic conduct. Several empirical studies have drawn on Giddens and have employed methods suitable for the analysis of strategic conduct (Giddens, 1984) in an effort to understand actors' activities. They include Kaplan's (2008) observation, interviews and documents, Fauré and Rouleau's (2011) case study/interviews and ethnographic observation, Paroutis and Heracleous (2013), using case study/interviews.

Utilising this approach in organisational studies requires careful consideration. Pozzebon and Pinsonneault (2005) note that structuration theory is quite complex, operating at a very abstract level. Also, it is not easily utilized in combination with any particular methodology and is quite challenging to apply empirically. However, they argue that structuration theory is an important framework for a deeper understanding of organization and management studies.

5.1.1.5 Epistemology and Methodology

On epistemology and methodology, as Ozkazanc-Pan (2012) reiterates, proponents of postcolonial feminisms have constantly critiqued how "Third World" subjects are represented. Thus, from a postcolonial feminist point of view, she suggests the need to carefully consider both the epistemology of critique and the methodology, when examining how subjects are represented during a research project. As the context of her project is Turkey and how entrepreneurial women there are represented, Ozkazanc-Pan (2012) further suggests that

identifying an epistemological critique focusing on how to give voice to subjects in the so called third world is important.

This pinpointing of a location or field for epistemological critique will be necessary to develop the research conceptually. Thus, in order to examine how women working in Nigeria are represented, some of the ideal locations for critique were within diversity, organisational studies and human resources management. A further location for critique is within sociology literature. However, it is from a postcolonial and African perspective rather than theorizing or research by Western scholars. Postcolonial research has shed light on the lack of debate over the theoretical frameworks employed by international management scholars and their assumptions of how non-Western organisational practices, cultures, and people are represented (Jack et al., 2008; Prasad, 2003). Therefore, there is a need for more postcolonial feminist research across various fields of knowledge. The limitations of mainstream Western feminism with regards to inclusiveness of women mean that this research will be mostly conceptually framed by postcolonial and African feminist thought as it will be more relevant in light of the research context which is in Nigeria. Furthermore, literature has been reviewed in order to understand the recruitment and promotion processes within higher education in order to develop the research questions and shape the strategy.

The study involved constructing a postcolonial, African feminist and intersectionality theoretical framework which clearly identifies how gender, ethnicity and religion interact to produce inequality for academic women in Nigerian higher education and allows for the complex experiences involved. Due to the subject of this research, it is heavily underpinned by feminist philosophy. Blaikie (2010) tells us that the feminist standpoint dismisses the validity of traditional scientific practices, arguing that research results are hugely influenced by a

researcher's location and background. As Easterby-Smith et al (2012) suggest, feminism is important to management research as it not only sheds light on the past and current inequalities experienced by women in the workplace, but also in other areas of organisational discrimination caused by race, age and other factors. While mainstream Western feminism forms a part of this study's theoretical framework, its limitations with regards to inclusiveness of women mean that this research is also conceptually framed by postcolonial and African feminist thought as this is more relevant in light of the research context which is in Nigeria. Furthermore, literature has been reviewed in order to understand the recruitment, selection and promotion processes within higher education in order to develop the research questions and shape the strategy.

5.1.2 Ontology

Ontology concerns itself with how social entities can be regarded as having an external reality to social actors or can instead be seen as social constructions developed from the actions of social actors and how they perceive reality (Bryman and Bell, 2015). The four main ontologies are: realism which believes in a single truth; internal realism which believes in the existence of truth but also argues that it is obscure; relativism and nominalism, which argue that there are many truths and no truth respectively (Easterby-Smith et al (2012, p.19). Due to the research aim to understand the influence of gender, ethnicity and religion on recruitment and career progression of academic women within the socio-cultural structures of the Nigerian formal labour market, this study is based on the form of realism known as critical realism.

Thorpe and Holt (2008) note that in management research, the debate about its methodology constantly revolves around the epistemological perspectives of positivism- understanding the world based on observing actual events- and constructivism- understanding the world through

the meanings ascribed to it and produced within it. However, Sayer (1999) suggests that critical realism offers a third option outside positivism or constructivism. Bryman and Bell (2015) describe critical realism as recognizing both the reality of the natural world as well as the events and debates of the social world. Furthermore, Bhaskar (1989) states that the understanding of and subsequent change in the social world will only occur if the structures that produce these events and debates are identified, especially through practical and theoretical research within the social sciences.

This is removed from the positivists view of reality which is based on what is observed by the human senses and Bhaskar (1978) suggests that this is just one realm of reality. Indeed, Blaikie (2010) explains that reality involves not just the events experienced but also those that take place regardless of whether they are experienced or not, in addition to the mechanisms and structures that create such events. The overall aim here is to identify inequality by understanding the impact of gender, ethnicity and religion on women's recruitment and promotion in the Nigerian higher education sector, employing intersectional analysis from a postcolonial and African feminist standpoint.

Thus, it takes into account, not just the actual experiences of the women in this sector but also the complex subjectivities as well as the mechanisms of the culture that allow these events or experiences to take place. The critical realist philosophy underpinning this research is one of the two categories of the research paradigm, the constructionist and structuralist (Blaikie, 2007:145). Nightingale and Cromby (2002) present a very strong case for a 'critical realist' constructionism as more valid, practical and closer to the notion of 'truth' than other alternatives.

5.2 Research Focus

This research is focused on the recruitment and selection of academic women and promotion to senior roles within the higher education sector in Nigeria. The overall aim of the study is to identify and analyse the effects of gender, ethnicity and religion and ascertain whether the employment of academic women and their promotion to leadership roles are influenced by the interactions between these variables within the Nigerian socio-cultural context. The main concern is to explore how the interactions of factors such as gender, ethnicity and religion impact on academic women's recruitment and career progression to leadership roles and how the simultaneous interaction between these factors develop and reinforce inequality in organizations such as universities in Nigeria. Onokala and Onah (1998) point out that any strategy to foster long-term growth in Nigerian universities must include an equality of opportunities along gender lines. Thus, universities need to develop a culture of tackling existing gender inequities. According to them, the institutional culture of any organisation includes procedures and rules (formal) as well as informal practices. Therefore, the culture within Nigerian universities consists of the culture of those at the helm of affairs and the respective formal and informal procedures and practices. Gender, ethnicity and religion play a big part in employment and organisational culture and structure in Nigeria, hence the need to evaluate their effects on employment and promotion and how women can overcome any institutional barriers.

5.2.1 Research Questions

1. How do gendered practices influence recruitment, selection and promotion of academic women in the Nigerian Higher Education Sector?

2. To what extent do ethnicity and religion affect academic women's recruitment, selection and promotion of academic women in the Nigerian Higher Education Sector?

3. How do academic women perceive and manage the influence of socio-cultural attitudes in organisational structures and their career progression within a postcolonial African space?

5.2.2 Objectives:

i. To evaluate the interaction of gender, ethnicity and religion and their effect on the recruitment, selection and promotion of academic women in the Nigerian higher education sector using intersectionality theory.

ii. To identify women's perception of any challenges within organisational structures and how they can achieve career progression from a post-colonial and African feminist standpoint.

iii. To assess the relationship between socio-cultural influences, organisational structures and the career progression of academic women in Nigeria, from a post-colonial and African feminist standpoint.

5.3 Research Strategy

This section describes the strategy employed by the researcher to answer the research questions and achieve its objectives. Robson (2011) points out that the strategies chosen by a researcher, to carry out research depends on the questions that the study is trying to answer. He outlines three research design strategies namely: fixed/quantitative, flexible/qualitative and multi-strategy/mixed methods. Examples include experiments which are quantitative, case studies, ethnography and grounded theory. The study employed a multi-strategy approach (Robson, 2011) also described as mixed methods. A research design with a mixed methods approach is one which employs both quantitative and qualitative data collection and methods of data analysis.

Quantitative or Qualitative?

The mixed methods approach uses quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques and analysis procedures either simultaneously (parallel) or one coming after the other (sequential). Various data collection techniques may be employed and will usually be used together. Examples of these techniques include, questionnaires, observation, documentary analysis, interviews and (Saunders et al, 2009). "Qualitative and quantitative approaches to research are not dichotomous and discrete. Every component or aspect of a study is on a continuum of qualitative-quantitative approaches… studies differ in their degree of inductive-deductive logic, subjectivity, cultural relativity, value-addedness, and emic-etic" (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2009 p.284).

While Saunders et al (2009) argue that research strategies can be based on deductive or inductive approach, they do warn that it would be oversimplifying matters by allocating a strategy to a particular approach or another as the most important issue was for a strategy to

enable the answering of the research questions and meet research objectives. Each strategy can be used for descriptive, exploratory, and explanatory research (Yin, 2003). Soiferman (2010) states that deductive and inductive are the two major types of analysis employed in research. While many researchers appear to disagree as to the most appropriate method to use in carrying out research and data gathering, Soiferman (2010) argues that these methods are not mutually exclusive and usually tackle the same research questions using different techniques.

Therefore, in analysing the survey for each case study in this research, the specific phenomena concerning the effect of gender, ethnicity and religion on the recruitment, selection and promotion of academic was deduced from the general premise that these factors are creating inequality for these women in higher education. Furthermore, in each case study, the interviews allowed the views from the academic women and other participants to be identified and helped to build the recurring themes to enable generalization. This indicates that the two methods of reasoning can be compatible with the case study approach.

With regard to utilising these two methods along with the structuration approach taken by this research, in each case study, there is a general premise that gender, ethnicity and religion posed challenges to women in both the society and organisations from which it can be inferred that societal/organisational structures were highly influential on their lives, while the rich descriptions of interviews revealed how the women viewed and asserted their agency which allows for generalization thereby contributing to theory. Thus, in conducting this research, it can be said that the two approaches are not mutually exclusive. The next section discusses the thinking behind employing a mixed approach.

5.3.1 Rationale for Using Mixed Methods

Curran and Blackburn (2001) tell us that mixed methods have gained popularity within business research, in cases where a research study may employ a combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques and processes while using primary and secondary data. This is often done sequentially. This sequential method is to allow a researcher to use one method to build on the findings of another method (Cresswell,2009). Cresswell (2014) suggests that an exploratory sequential approach commences with qualitative research, exploring the view of participants, analyzing the data, and utilizing any information gathered in constructing the next phase which is the quantitative phase. On the other hand, the sequential explanatory design, is one in which quantitative data is first collected and analysed in a study, before doing the same with qualitative data consecutively (Ivankova et al 2006). This study employed the explanatory method and this allowed for the qualitative themes which were not adequately explored or explained in the quantitative survey to be evaluated in greater detail. Also, it allowed for some notable participants in the survey to be selected for the interview in order to expound on their observations. In fact, many interviewees were selected based on their indication during the survey, of their willingness to be interviewed.

Therefore, the quantitative analysis from the survey instrument, aided in the development and carrying out of in-depth interviews. This was more practical for the study as it was conducted by a single researcher. Cresswell (2014) suggests that the sequential mode of the explanatory or exploratory sequential methods allows the single researcher to break the research into two tasks instead of multiple data collection and analysis which could become unmanageable procedures.

Easterby-Smith et al (2012) suggest that the advantages of mixed methods include the ability to look at research questions from different points of view, provide greater validity and generalizability to the results as well as enable the synthesis and integration of theories which could potentially contribute to theory to mention but a few. This is especially important with regards to intersectionality theory as well as postcolonial and African feminist theories which form the conceptual framework of this study. On the other hand, they point out that it can make replication difficult, lead to paradigmatic contradictions with regards to the different methods and take up more resources than studies employing single methods.

In her paper on 'Methodological dilemmas and feminist research strategies', Deem (2002) notes that several feminist researchers agree on the importance of using both methods and data (Maynard and Purvis, 1994; Brannen, 1992; Devine and Heath, 1999). Notwithstanding, she suggests that the assessment that qualitative research and feminist research go hand in hand has persisted. However, Oakley (2000) argues that a dismissal of quantitative techniques by feminist scholars could result in lost opportunities to carry out studies using a mixed methods approach that could help the formulation and development of ideas within social science to influence public policy.

On the other hand, Deem (2002) points out that Skeggs' work in 2001 argues that the importance of qualitative research strategies lies in their ability to conform to certain feminist principles which are consistent with contemporary feminist theories. The main features of qualitative research include the ability to see through the eyes of people and interpret events from their perspectives; considering the relationship between theory and research in the conventional qualitative form and knowing to what extent the qualitative research from case studies can be generalized (Bryman, 2006). Some qualitative designs include ethnography, case

study, narrative research and grounded theory (Cresswell, 2014). This research is based on a mixed method approach and both quantitative and qualitative methods have been employed.

The decision to employ a mixed method approach for this thesis is further strengthened by Crenshaw (2011)'s suggestion that the methodology offered by intersectionality theory is not universal. Instead, there is a need for multiple approaches to the study of intersectionality (McCall, 2005, p. 1795), which are based on the inequality issue they aim to contend with. In the case of Ruiz Castro and Holvino (2016) even though the main category of analysis in the study was gender, the experiences of employees called attention to the intersections of gender with race/ethnicity, class and culture related to career progression.

Some of the methodologies which have been suggested for intersectionality studies were used to carry out secondary analysis, including in-depth interviews, organizational case study, and micro-analytic readings of daily practices (Simien, 2007; Phoenix and Pattynama, 2006). Contextual information was used, which included transcriptions of interviews, specifics of the selection and interviewing of participants, as well as information about interactions between the researcher and interviewees, noted in the researcher's fieldwork diary (van den Berg, 2008).

In feminist research practice, research aims and epistemological positions determine the methods chosen to conduct research (Haraway, 1988). This is achieved through theorizing which methods would effectively execute the research project in terms of theoretical engagements, feminist practices, and research goals (Hesse-Biber, 2007). As Creswell (2013) explains, social constructivism/ interpretivism contends that individuals, in trying to make sense of the world in which they live and work, develop multiple subjective meanings of their experiences.

However, many scholars have employed several methods in theorizing and examining postcolonial feminist research. These include quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods research design. Research on female and male senior managers in five high technology multi-national companies by Wajcman (1998) indicates that she employed both methods to conduct her study. A questionnaire survey was sent to 439 people, using a sampling strategy that matched men and women in similar positions. In addition to this, in-depth interviews were held with a few of the male and female managers selected from one of the companies.

Consequently, Wajcman was able to develop theories of gender and management to a greater degree than previous researchers, due to the combination of these methodologies. Yin (2014) points out that while carrying out research using mixed methods can have a higher degree of difficulty compared to single method studies, using a mixed methods approach will allow the research to deal with more complex research questions. Therefore, in order to answer the research questions, the researcher sent out questionnaires as well as conducted interviews with academic women from the case study universities.

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5.4 Research Methods

This research is based on a case study method, evaluating the impact of gender, ethnicity and religion on the employment and promotion to leadership positions for women and will employ mixed methods using a survey and interviews. A case study is an in-depth exploration of present and past issues as they affect individuals or organizations. They mainly ask 'How?' and 'Why?' and the research questions could potentially develop as the course of the research.

Case studies do not test hypotheses, rather, they generate them, with the possibility of these hypotheses being tested by other scholars (Adams et al, 2007). Similarly, Saunders (2009) suggests that the case study strategy also has significant ability to provide answers to the question 'why?' 'what?' and 'how?', although 'what?' and 'how?' questions tend to be covered by the survey strategy. Thus, the case study strategy is usually used in exploratory and explanatory research.

5.4.1 Case Study

Robson (2002, p.178) defines case study as "a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context. using multiple sources of evidence". The importance of context is highlighted by Yin (2003), who explains that in a case study, the boundaries between the case being studied and its context are not clear-cut. The Case study method is very useful for an in depth look at one or more organizations, events or individuals, over a certain period of time (Easterby-Smith et al, 2012). Employing a case study strategy is particularly important in order to gain a greater understanding of the context and the processes being implemented (Morris and Wood 1991). Adams et al (2007) suggest that the use of case studies is very common and is especially useful for organizational analysis.

However, generalizing from a case study can be quite difficult as its scope can be narrow. It is sometimes used to establish the feasibility of a particular approach within a specified setting. Yin (2014) points out that a major concern with case studies particularly with single cases, is that they could be difficult to generalize. However, he argues that like experiments, case studies do not represent samples and can be used to build and generalize theories. Yin describes this as analytical generalization as it provides an opportunity to shed more light on theoretical

concepts, with the results applied giving new meaning to results of previous studies of other cases or outline fresh research centered on new cases. Thus, the results of this research derived from utilizing a case study method can be used to interpret or advance the intersectionality and postcolonial and African feminist theories to be explored in this study. Adams et al. (2007) agree, stating that the case study can be a very powerful method in terms of questioning conventional theory.

Another criticism of this method as Yin (2014) says, is that it can be time consuming, producing large quantities of documents which are difficult to read. Yin, however, goes on to suggest that case studies do not need to be lengthy and that this concern, mistakenly confuses the case study method with other data collection methods such as participant-observation or ethnography. This method assumes that an examination of the context and other issues related to the subject of study is very important in order for that case to be understood (Yin, 2014). Furthermore, Yin (2003) has argued that case studies gives a researcher, the opportunity to examine an issue in its real-life context particularly where the focus of study is not clearly separated from its context. Thus, the use of a case study method has enabled this research to understand the experiences of women in the higher education sector by investigating within a real-life context of universities located in different parts of Nigeria and dominated by particular ethnic groups and religion.

Case studies can be designed as either single or multiple-cases. Yin (2014) notes that while a multiple-case study is more difficult to execute than a single case one, the data produced has the advantage of strengthening confidence in one's research. According to him, there are considerable analytic benefits to be gained from having two or more cases. This is because direct replication is feasible and conclusions drawn from multiple cases are more potent than

from a single case. This supports my decision to look at four universities from different parts of Nigeria in order to get a more holistic understanding of the context. Acker (2012) believes that studies that answer questions about how intersectionality actually works to produce inequalities are most revealing when done with an ethnographic or case study methodology.

5.4.1.1 Basis for selection of the Case Studies

For the purposes of this research, it is important that cases chosen reflect different ethnic groups and the concomitant religious affiliations. Cases selected include the University of Nigeria, located in the Southern part of Nigeria. This area is dominated by the Igbos, with most of them being Christians. The second university is the University of Lagos, dominated by Yorubas, who are predominantly Christians and is located in Western Nigeria. The third and fourth case studies are the Bayero University Kano (BUK) and the University of Abuja(UNIABUJA), the capital, located in Northern part of Nigeria which is dominated by the Hausa/Fulani ethnic group, who are predominantly Muslims. The researcher originally proposed to look at three universities. However, due to continued low response rate from UNIABUJA, the researcher decided to extend the project to Bayero university, Kano, another institution with highly similar characteristics to UNIABUJA with regards to proximity, ethnic and religious affiliations shared by the population. They are both located in the Northern part of Nigeria which is dominated by the Hausa/Fulani ethnic group, who are mostly Muslims.Therefore, this study explored the issues of gender, ethnic and religion and the impact on academic women in Nigeria on a regional basis through case study research. Details of the universities and their structures have been outlined in the Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Figure 6: Map of Nigeria

Source: United Nations, 2014

The map above shows the different states in Nigeria. Lagos state in which University of Lagos (UNILAG) is located is in the south-west, Enugu state in which University of Nigeria(UNN) is located lies in the south-eastern region, Abuja, the federal capital lies in the Northern region

and has the University of Abuja(UNIABUJA) located within it. Finally, Bayero University Kano (BUK), is also in the Northern region of Nigeria.

Plowright (2011) suggests that the higher the number of cases involved in the data collection, the more limited a researcher will be in terms of ability to collect more detailed in-depth information. Furthermore, fewer cases and locations will allow participants to be contacted more easily. This study focused on a specific number case studies in order to make data collection less expensive and difficult. Thus, in order to maximize resources and collect in-depth information as well as strengthening the research findings, the number of universities forming the case studies are four.

5.4.1 Rationale for Comparative Approach

Comparative research methods are used within cross-cultural studies for the purpose of identifying and analysing similarities shared by societies as well the differences across them. This could be a cross national or within-nation comparison (Hantrais, 1995). Comparative case study research is a useful tool for territorial cohesion research as it is capable of delivering an in-depth look at the how various processes and outcomes are related (Krehl and Weck, 2019). As successive Nigerian postcolonial governments have struggled to promote greater unity in a country divided by various factors including ethnicity, religion, language and culture, a comparative approach would provide a platform from which to view varying attitudes to women's work across the country as well as women's challenges within the workplace. Findings from the research can contribute to decision-making by government and other relevant institutions. The rationale for selecting cases have to be based on a conceptual framework that justifies the research design (Esser and Vliegenthart, 2017). The researcher selected the cases with the research's conceptual framework as a guide. In a country as

culturally diverse as Nigeria, the four universities were selected in order to bring to the fore, the regional differences which heavily influence the gender attitudes, ethnic and religious affiliations in the society, which were all impacted by colonization in varying degrees. Also, as mentioned in the literature review, the colonial administration brought a sense of rivalry amongst regions which still resonate till today, affecting many aspects of the postcolonial Nigerian society including the labour market. Thus, the cases were compared to explore any regional variations of socio-cultural attitudes to gender, ethnicity, religion and women in the workplace.

5.5 Data collection Method and Results

Adams et al (2007) tell us that data collection is an essential aspect of research design and the effectiveness of data collection is crucial to achieving the research aims and answering the research questions. They further state that data collection methods could be primary or secondary, suggesting that the collection primary data is a time-consuming, expensive and difficult process, while secondary data tends to be more reliable, comprehensive, and easier to use than data collected by the researcher themselves. The study sought published information in the form of journal articles and books as part of the research process. However, the use of secondary data by itself may not completely answer the research questions. As Easterby-Smith et al. (2012) point out, proponents of utilizing different methods within a study argue that this contributes to theory building and improves the generalizability and validity of the results produced by such research. Saunders at al (2009) suggest that researchers can use one or more than one technique for collecting data to tackle research questions also known as mixed methods. Easterby-Smith et al. (2012) suggest that within the data collection design for a study that uses both qualitative and quantitative methods, there are two main issues to be considered.

The first being sequencing in which one method is used before the other and the second is dominance, where more time and resources are spent on one method over the other. This study has adopted a sequential approach where firstly data collection was carried out by a survey-based questionnaire (quantitative) and interviews (qualitative). This data collection was to identify and explore women's participation within the Nigerian higher education sector. Furthermore, empirical data attempted to flesh out the actual experiences and opinions of women who are working in academia and their access to top positions within the higher education sector within the socio-cultural context constructed by gender inequality, ethnicity and religion. This was collected using primary data collection techniques, such as a survey-based questionnaire and then interviews.

5.5.1 Survey (Self-administered questionnaire)

In keeping with the sequential mixed methods design for this study, a self-administered questionnaire, which is a quantitative data collection technique, has been employed. It is an online survey designed to generalize from the opinions gathered from the academic women working within the four selected universities. This method increased ease of research as the target population has access to the internet. Surveys conducted over the internet can be effectively utilized in surveying specific populations with access to the Internet. For example, in studying members of an organisation, a researcher needs to put into consideration, the percentage of that organisation or population with a greater likelihood of having internet access (Best and Harrison, 2009 in Bickman and Rog, eds.). They suggest that a high percentage with internet access will warrant development of a suitable sampling strategy. If the percentage is exceedingly large, then an appropriate scientific sampling strategy might be developed.

By contrast, if a high percentage of the population has no access to the internet, this would limit the capacity to generalize everyone in the population. An example is that conducting an

online survey would be potentially suitable for the survey of a university faculty, within a higher institution with universal access to the Internet access. Bryman (2004) notes that the self-administered questionnaires are inclusive and have the advantage of access to a larger sample. Robson (2011) notes that some advantages to using questionnaire-based surveys include that they provide a straightforward approach to attitudes and beliefs, easily generalizable and the data can be highly standardized.

5.5.2 Sampling strategy

A sample is drawn from a population which is a larger group and there are two broad types of sampling include a probability sample and a non-probability sample (Plowright 2011). Bryman and Bell (2015) explain a probability sample as being selected at random such that each unit within the population has a chance of being selected. The aim of this method is to minimize sampling error. Plowright notes that this random selection is to produce a representative sample of the population in order to generalize findings from that sample to the population. The population for this research includes all the female academic employees of the selected universities with at least, a master's degree and internet access. The University of Nigeria has 638 female academic staff while the University of Lagos has 548, University of Abuja has 166 and Bayero University has 278 female academic staff.

In the sampling of specific groups or populations, researchers usually employ some type of database or directory as a sample frame. For researchers, the target populations can be limited to those with access to the internet and those with a comprehensive list of e-mail addresses. These include private and public organisations, including schools that typically produce complete e-mail directories of any individuals officially connected to them (Best and Harrison, 2009 in Bickman and Rog, eds.)**.** Best and Harrison argue that the database or directory can be very useful as a sample frame if it contains a list of valid email addresses for most or all

individuals within the target population. The email addresses can also be added to such a database from other secondary sources. Therefore, the sampling frames for the case studies were identified based on information obtained from the university authorities for the respective case studies, who when contacted, advised the researcher to collect data on staff from the universities' staff directory on their websites. The researcher has used the staff directories of the Universities of Nigeria and Lagos as a sample frame. The directories comprised both academic and non-academic staff within all the faculties and departments. However, due to the nature of the study, the researcher focused on the academic staff of each university and selected the female academic staff to participate in the survey.

Sample Characteristics of Survey Participants: UNN, UNILAG, UNIABUJA, BUK

Table 5.1 Position of Survey participants

Position	UNN	UNILAG	UNIABUJA	BUK
Professor	8	8	n/a	3
Associate Professor	N/A	4	1	1
Senior Lecturer	8	12	3	3
Lecturer 1&11	50	23	10	10
Assistant Lecturer	8	1	2	1
Other	6	2	n/a	5
Total	80	50	16	23

Table 5.2 Ethnicity of Survey participants

Ethnic group	UNN	UNILAG	UNIABUJA	BUK
Igbo	76	14	n/a	n/a
Hausa	n/a	1	16	20
Yoruba	2	28	n/a	1
Other	2	7	n/a	2
Total	**80**	**50**	**16**	**23**

Table 5.3 Religion of Survey participants

Religion	UNN	UNILAG	UNIABUJA	BUK
Christian	80	48	n/a	1
Muslim	n/a	2	16	22
Total	**80**	**50**	**16**	**23**

Table 5.4 Marital Status of Survey participants

Marital Status	UNN	UNILAG	UNIABUJA	BUK
Single	9	3	2	1
Married or living with a partner	63	44	10	21
Widow	8	3	2	1
Divorced or separated	n/a	n/a	2	n/a
Total	**80**	**50**	**16**	**23**

Table 5.5 Survey participants with or without Children

Children	UNN	UNILAG	UNIABUJA	BUK
Participants with children	66	43	13	21
Participants without children	14	7	3	2
Total	**80**	**50**	**16**	**23**

With regards to the University of Abuja, the researcher compiled a database of staff details including emails from the university website and secondary sources such as LinkedIn and ResearchGate. Thus, the probabilistic sampling on the internet was used as the researcher has a fairly comprehensive list of the universities' academic staff from which she selected her sample of female academics with at least a master's degree. To ensure that this minimum level of academic qualification was met, respondents were asked within the questionnaire, to indicate their highest qualification. Within the sampling frame, the researcher identified and sent out questionnaires to female academics at the University of Nigeria, University of Lagos and University of Abuja respectively. This sampling method was employed with the aim of receiving up to 100 respondents in each university.

However, it is a methodological risk that the research might not get equal information from all the cases. Easterby-Smith et al (2012) stresses the importance of high response rates as it increases the likelihood of the sample being representative of the population. Drawing on suggestions outlined by Easterby-Smith et al, the researcher took steps towards improving

response rates for this questionnaire which involved explaining its purpose, assuring respondents of confidentiality and anonymity, impressing upon them their importance to the research and sending reminders. These steps led to a higher response rate particularly from the Universities of Nigeria and Lagos. However, there was a low response from University of Abuja.

In comparison with the female academic staff at the University of Nigeria, the University of Lagos, the number of female academic staff at the University of Abuja is significantly lower at (22%) of the total population of the academic staff of the three universities in this study. Thus, an adjustment was made to meet a target of 40 respondents from the University of Abuja instead of 100. However, due to a continued a low response rate, the researcher decided to extend the survey to another university, also in the North as explained earlier. The researcher also supplemented the survey data with interviews.

As explained earlier, the survey is an online one, with the self-administered questionnaires sent out through the internet. Easterby-Smith et al (2012) reminds us that research carried out by students at all levels needs to come to a compromise in sampling decisions due to limited resources. They suggest that a sample which is truly representative of the population is more desirable even if this entails a lower precision due to a small sample. The researcher chose this method to enable costs to be kept down and maximize resources. It was sent to the email addresses of the individuals within the sample. A letter explaining the research also accompanied the questionnaire, with the researcher providing instructions on the administration and completion of the questionnaires. Follow-up email reminders were made to non-respondents after the two weeks provided for completion of the questionnaires. Presently,

the researcher has received a total 169 responses from the University of Nigeria (UNN), Universities of Lagos (UNILAG) and Abuja (UNIABUJA) and Bayero University (BUK).

5.5.3 Questionnaire design

A survey design involves studying a sample of a population and its results produces a quantitative description of the attitudes, trends and opinions of that sample (Cresswell, 2014). A questionnaire has been developed to carry out a quantitative study to measure the experiences and attitudes covering the period spent during their careers at the university. This has been employed to carry out a survey of female academic staff of all levels, with at least a masters' degree, with the aim of receiving at least 100 respondents each from the University of Lagos and University of Nigeria, while the number was adjusted to 40 for the University of Abuja as explained in the sampling strategy above. The researcher also undertook documentary research and organised a higher number of interviews in order to supplement the quantitative data. 24 interviews have been conducted instead of the 18 originally proposed.

The techniques were employed in order to provide a more complete picture of the situation, thereby increasing the reliability of the research. In keeping with the sequential mixed method approach selected for this study, themes emerging from the questionnaire analysis influenced the development of the interviews. The survey commenced in July and billed to end in September. However, the researcher extended this mid-October in order to achieve the targeted response rate. It aimed at teasing out participants' recruitment, selection and promotion experiences and if these have been impacted by their gender, ethnic and religious affiliations within their employment positions at the university.

Thus, the questionnaire is divided into 10 sections. The first nine sections are developed from the hypotheses and are based on a five-point Likert scale in which respondents are asked to either agree or disagree (5 = Strongly Agree; 4 = Agree; 3 = Neutral; 2 = Disagree; and 1 = Strongly Disagree). Other items on the questionnaire include statements intended to measure gender and recruitment, selection and promotion to leadership roles, the degree to which ethnicity and religion recruitment/selection, promotion opportunities and perception of women as leaders and the effect of organizational culture on recruitment/selection and equality in training and promotion opportunities. These items are developed based on literature reviewed. The last section requires bio-demographical data from the respondents such as gender, age, marital status, religion, ethnicity and educational qualifications. **Below is a link to the online survey:**

http://bit.ly/2Ny4mjE

Overview of Survey

The sample included female academic staff of the four universities with at least a master's degree, as men were not included in the survey. Based on ethnicity, Igbo women, the dominant ethnic group situated in Eastern Nigeria, where UNN is located, were the highest responders consisting of 56.2 percent of the participants in the survey. Women from Yorubaland, an ethnic group which can be found in the Western part of Nigeria, where UNILAG is located, were the next highest responders at 21.9 percent. Women from the Hausa/Fulani Ethnic group, the majority of whom dominate the Northern part of Nigeria, where UNIABUJA and BUK are located, made up 14.8% of the respondents. This low number from the North could be driven

by societal factors including religion, which has been a challenge to getting more women into education and the formal labour market in that region.

Women who described themselves as Christian were the highest respondents while women who said they were Muslim participated the least. This indicates that the highest respondents came from UNN and UNILAG, universities situated in Eastern and Western Nigeria respectively. Women within the Lecturer 1 and 2 cadre were among the highest participants at 55.0 percent followed by Senior lecturers and Professor at 15.4 and 11.2 percent respectively. Assistant lecturers and Associate Professors were the least number of participants at 7.1 and 3.6 percent. The percentage of participants with a doctorate were the highest at 65.7 percent and 26.0 percent have a master's degree.

5.5.4 Interviewing

In keeping with the sequential explanatory method of data collection, the researcher conducted 22 interviews in order to evaluate in greater detail the qualitative themes which could not be adequately explained in the survey. Interviews are usually considered to be a technique to enable researchers to acquire a deeper understanding of interviewees' point of view with regards to specified issues (King, 2004). They are usually fully structured, semi-structured or unstructured. Structured interviews have fixed questions with pre-determined wording and order, where interviewees have to respond based on a list of alternatives (Robson, 2011). However, Kelemen and Rumens (2008) note that feminist researchers have argued against this method of carrying out interviews in which the interviewer stays detached from the interviewee. The feminist theorists have criticized the hierarchical relationship through the use of structured interviewing techniques, arguing that the interviewee constitutes an object.

Therefore, qualitative interviewing technique of semi-structured interviews has been used within the mixed methods strategy of this study. As Bryman and Bell (2015) have noted, unstructured and semi-structured interviewing have increasingly become important tools of data collection within a feminist framework. There is the unstructured interview in which the interviewee responds freely to questions, while the interviewer responds to points that they deem worthy of pursuing. The semi-structured technique involves the researcher having an interview guide which lists relatively specific questions but with the interviewees having a great deal of freedom on how to reply. The researcher used an interview topic guide to provide some structure to the interview. However, questions not in the guide were also asked by the interviewer in order to obtain rich data and provide clarity.

Thus, the interviews were semi-structured so as to give priority to the interviewees as well maintain a bit of structure. This was necessary in order to answer the 'what' and 'how' research questions regarding women's experiences in the formal labour market and specifically their recruitment, selection and promotion processes and any impact from their gender, ethnicity and religion, while providing the flexibility to explore the individual perspectives of the women involved.

Furthermore, the relatively pre-established interest of the study as well as the need for some structure to allow for cross-case comparison made unstructured interviews unsuitable for this research (Bryman, 2004). Indeed, Bryman and Bell (2015) suggest that semi-structured interviews work best when using the multiple case study strategy as it helps to ensure comparability. Also, in keeping with the structural approach which has been extensively discussed in the research strategy, the questions attempted to flesh out the interviewees'

perception of their work experiences, dynamic relationship between the institutional structures and the interviewees roles in the creations of the practices that form these structures.

5.5.5 Selection Strategy for the interviews

Cresswell (2014, p.189) suggests that the idea behind qualitative research is for the researcher to 'purposefully select' individual participants or sites best suited to understanding the research problem as well as answer the questions. Cresswell adds that a large number of participants do not need to be selected as this is typically related to quantitative research. Contrary to the general sampling logic upon which most quantitative data is based, which concerns itself with generalizing research results from a sample to a large population, the general agreement is that sampling within qualitative data should be purposeful (Cresswell, 2009). As Bryman (2004) notes, the people interviewed within a qualitative research are not meant to be representative of a population.

The interviews involved women in various academic roles in each of the three selected universities. Selecting women across all academic levels has provided rich data for the study. In order to achieve this, the researcher identified women in these roles in the three selected universities and established communication with them in order to pinpoint potential interviewees for the research. Also, many survey respondents indicated their willingness to be interviewed. The researcher noted that the younger academics in particular who took part in the survey, seemed very keen to be interviewed.

The reason for interviewing just women was to flesh out their experiences within the Nigerian socio-cultural context. Interviewing men would make the study more complex and change the nature of the study which is more interested in women's experiences. Some of them indicated

their interested in being interviewed whilst participating in the survey. These interviews were commenced by mid-October as it was the researcher's aim to complete the first data collection phase before embarking on interviewing which constitutes the second phase. Also, officials of the HR department of these universities as well as one director the National Universities Commission (NUC), were interviewed for the purposes of triangulation. These are key players who have provided rich data with regards to the challenges faced by women in gaining access to high ranking positions in academia enabling themes crucial to the exploration of intersections of gender, ethnicity and religion in their workplace to be constructed.

Due to the distance involved, the interviews were conducted over the phone. The researcher recognizes the criticisms of using telephone interviews. Gillham (2005) has suggested that telephone interviews do not allow for adequate visual contact between interviewer and interviewee. There have been concerns that the richness of the data would be affected due to lack of visual cues and the possibility of losing contextual data such as observing the interviewee within their home or work environment (Novick, 2008)

However, some qualitative researchers who have employed telephone interviews or done comparisons between telephone and face-to-face interview have criticised these arguments (Vogl, 2013; Irvine et al, 2013). Furthermore, several methodological studies have pointed out several practical advantages of conducting telephone interviews, such as improved access to participants who might be dispersed geographically, enhanced safety for interviewers, increased flexibility in interview scheduling and lower costs (Cachia and Millward, 2011, Musselwhite et al., 2007, Sturges and Hanrahan, 2004).

Additionally, Lechuga (2012) and Cachia and Millward (2011) also point to the added benefits of telephone interviews as they provide a perception of anonymity as well as more privacy for interviewees during the interview. This they argue, adds to the methodological robustness of the telephone interview for qualitative research. Indeed, Drabble et al (2016) and Trier-Bieniek (2012) have suggested that in qualitative interviews, the use of the telephone is highly viable and valuable as a method for collecting rich data on topics which might be sensitive subjects. This is particularly relevant to the study due to the nature of topics as they have to do with religion and ethnicity, which are sensitive topics in Nigeria.

Majority of the interviews lasted 1 hour each, while a few of them went beyond. Robson (2011) notes that while telephone interviewing may be disadvantaged by its relative brevity vis a vis face-to-face interviewing, a lack of visual cues which can provide additional information, it can be much cheaper and quicker, especially if face-to-face interviewing would involve a considerable amount of travelling, not to mention the reduction of bias the researcher may experience due to their individual characteristics. The researcher has conducted 22 interviews. Prior to each interview, the researcher sent a participant information sheet and consent form clearly explaining the nature of the study. The researcher ensured that the consent forms were read, understood and signed. In addition to any themes emerging from the survey, an interview topic guide set the parameters for the interview (see appendix).

Sample Characteristics of Interview Participants: UNN, UNILAG, UNIABUJA, BUK Administrative Staff

1. HR Officer (UNN)

2. HR Officer (UNILAG)

3. Director (National Universities Commission-NUC)

Table 5.6 Position of Interview participants (Academic Staff)

Interviews	UNN	UNILAG	UNIABUJA/BUK
1	Lecturer 1	Associate Professor	Senior Lecturer
2	Professor/Dean	Professor	Lecturer 1
3	Senior Lecturer/HOD	Associate Professor	Lecturer 1
4	Senior Lecturer	Lecturer 1	Senior Lecturer
5	Lecturer 2	Lecturer 2	Senior Lecturer
6	Lecturer 1	Lecturer 2	
7	Professor	Assistant Lecturer	

Table 5.7 Ethnicity/Religion of Interview participants

Interviews	UNN	UNILAG	UNIABUJA/BUK
1	Igbo/Christian	Yoruba/Christian	Hausa/Muslim
2	Igbo/Christian	Igbo/Christian	Igbo/Christian
3	Igbo/Christian	Yoruba/Christian	Hausa/Muslim
4	Igbo/Christian	Yoruba/Christian	Hausa/Muslim
5	Igbo/Christian	Yoruba/Christian	Hausa/Muslim
6	Other/Christian	Igbo/Christian	
7	Igbo/Christian	Yoruba/Christian	

The tables above depict the sample characteristics of the interviewees. All the interviewees (academic staff) were married with children at the time of interview.

How the interviews apply to the research questions:

The first four questions were designed to provide a general insight into the background, experiences in education, views on equality in attaining an education and family support. Questions 5 and 6 were designed to find out what motivated them to pursue a career in academia and to get a sense of their experience in the formal labour market. The following six questions 7-12, were an attempt to build a picture of the recruitment, selection and promotion process, enabling the researcher to begin to answer the first research question of how gendered practices influence academic women during the process of these employment practices. The subsequent questions 13-18 are relevant to answering the third research question as it fleshes out women's view on their experiences with career progression within their various organizations as well as their perception of societal influence on their work life. The questions 19-23 were geared towards determining their perception of organizational attitudes to gender and contributes to the first and second research questions. Data which would contribute to answering the second research question is to be fleshed out by questions 24 and 25, to gauge the importance of ethnicity and religion in employment practices within academia. These questions led to discussions on policies which have been developed to provide a measure of equity in employment in postcolonial Nigeria.

5.5.6 Recording of Interview data

Easterby-Smith et al (2012) tell us that the main advantages of recording an interview are that it facilitates the listening process, providing an unbiased record of the discussion. They are also invaluable for the production of accurate transcripts and also allow the researcher to listen over and over again, thereby picking up any missing or previously overlooked information. Similarly, Robson (2002) suggests that there is a substantial advantage to be gained in recording an interview as it produces a permanent record as well as allows the researcher to focus on carrying out the interview. The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed in English, which is the language in which the interviews were conducted. These recordings also provide evidence related to fieldwork and data analysis processes. Informed consent was obtained in advance before commencing the interview. The researcher also took notes during the interview.

5.5.7 Pilot study

A pilot study before conducting a survey helps to ensure that the survey instrument functions properly (Bryman and Bell, 2015). Therefore, the pilot study is to ascertain that the respondents for whom the survey is intended, understand the questions as well as instructions on how to complete the questionnaire. The pilot study was conducted in June 2018, involving 8 women academic employees from Ritman University, located in Akwa Ibom State, a different university from the selected cases. This was to avoid affecting the representativeness of the sample. The sampling strategy was the same as that of the main survey, selected based on female academics with at least a masters' degree. However, instead of using the internet, hard copies of the questionnaires were provided to the participants. The overriding response was

that they would have preferred to fill it online as it would be more streamlined. This influenced the researcher's decision to carry out an online survey.

5.6 Data Analysis

Due to the sequential method of data collection, data analysis from the survey instrument has contributed to the interview phase. The SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) was used to run frequencies and run cross tabulation analyses. This is because the software is supported by the university and the researcher is familiar with this tool. The levels of measurement (Robson, 2011) or scales used in analysing the questionnaire are nominal, which would cover, for instance, the question of the position of the respondents.

The two databases were analysed separately, and the findings interpreted within a discussion section of the study. Having transcribed the interviews, the researcher has conducted analysis of qualitative data with the aid of coding and thematic analysis using any recurring themes found within the interview data to enable an understanding of the data. Coding aids the thematic analysis of data, enabling an understanding and conceptualization of the data. Additionally, it can bring more transparency and continuity to the process of data analysis due to the ability to re-code data and connect themes to developing ideas (Easterby-Smith et al, 2012, p.171). The analysis of the qualitative data proceeded alongside the data collection and was modified by further data collection when necessary (Dey, 1993). NVivo, a software package was used in analysing the qualitative data. NVivo software is supported by the University and this was the most practical as the researcher has had some training on it. The researcher transcribed the interviews and read through the transcripts thoroughly. The interviews were uploaded to NVivo where the researcher coded them according to themes emerging from the data. The researcher then reviewed the codes in order to see where and how they fit together, refining them based

on any new emerging elements. The themes were mostly centred on the interviewees' experience of the recruitment and selection process, their experience of the promotion process, and any experiences of societal attitudes, gendered practices, ethnicity and religion influencing these processes. The interviews produced a substantial quantity of rich data for the analysis.

The researcher then structured the emergent themes loosely around components from Acker's inequality regimes which is an integral part of the project's analytical framework, to enable analysis. On that basis, the data was presented to show the participants' experiences of organisational processes such as recruitment, selection and promotion and how gender, ethnicity and religion could have influenced these. The themes also reflected other factors including visibility of inequalities (extent to which inequalities were visible) and the legitimacy of inequalities, both components of inequality regimes. Furthermore, the emerging themes revealed the relationship between the women's agency and the structures such as family and organisation and how this impacted on the experiences in the workplace.

Overall, the analysis adopted an intersectional approach, with a focus on visible and invisible impact of gender, ethnicity and religious on recruitment, selection and promotion within the participants responses. The data was laid out in case study chapters, with empirical analysis done using inequality regimes approach to intersectionality through a Postcolonial and African feminist lens.

5.6.1 Time Horizon

According to Adams et al (2007), longitudinal research involves the study of a sample on several occasions. Longitudinal studies are conducted over a long period of time, even spanning several decades, and follow the sample repeatedly. This type of study is unique in the sense that it is able to provide answers to questions about causes and consequences, thereby providing a basis for proven explanatory theory. On the other hand, cross-sectional studies cover the various features of social life such as characteristics of the attitudes, values beliefs and behaviour of individuals, social interaction, as well as the different facets of social groups, institutions, organizations and structures (Blaikie, 2010).

With part of the data collection methods involving questionnaires, a quantitative tool, this study adopted a cross-sectional design. Easterby-Smith et al (2012) remind us that cross-sectional designs are often positivist and economical in the sense that they able to report the characteristics of large groups of individuals or organizations. Cross-sectional studies often employ the survey strategy (Robson 2002; Easterby-Smith et al. 2008).

However, Saunders et al (2009) suggest that cross-sectional designs could also employ qualitative methods. Several case studies are based on interviews carried out within a short period of time. This is the format that has been employed for this research.

5.6.2 Validity of data

One way to ensure validity of the data is by triangulation. Bryman and Bell (2015) describe triangulation as a technique which employs more than one method of data collection in the course of studying social phenomena. Triangulation is gaining importance in mixed methods.

Deacon, Bryman, and Fenton (1998) referred to triangulation as a system of substantiating results produced from both qualitative and quantitative research. Quantitative and qualitative methods were employed in this research and the use of these two approaches, referred to by Salkind (2010, p.1539) as between-methods triangulation ''offers the possibility that the biases inherent in one approach will be mitigated by the inclusion of other methods''. The researcher compared results from the survey with recurrent themes from the interviews and observed that there was a convergence of data from the two methods which indicated that gendered practices, ethnicity and religion influenced women in the work place and produced inequalities. However, while a comparison of the survey and interviews showed converging data , the interviews provided an opportunity to gain greater insight into the participants' experiences and revealed that many women did not view themselves as victims but as agentic in the relationship with organisational structures. Therefore, the triangulation allowed the researcher to explore multiple realities and viewpoints (Salkind, 2010). This ultimately increased the validity of the results and enabled the researcher to integrate theory and research to provide a coherent explanation of the findings.

5.6.3 Ethical Consideration

In the course of doing research, data is gathered from people about other people and researchers need to expect and manage the ethical issues that could arise in the course of the study (Punch, 2005). Robson (2011) points out that when in the course of conducting real world research, participants could potentially be exposed to stress, anxiety and harm, along with a host of other negative issues. Cresswell (2014) stresses that as more attention is being paid to ethics in research, an extensive number of ethical issues concerning qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods research need to be considered. Some of these issues include the use of deception, possibility of harm to research participants and the participants' right to withdraw (Robson,

2011). No personal harm came to the participants or the researcher. Robson goes on to suggest that providing anonymity to participants of a study is good practice. The online questionnaires added a layer of anonymity. Thomson et al (2005), acknowledges that there are ethical issues in secondary analysis relating to anonymity and confidentiality. In addition to ensuring participant safety, respondents in this study have given informed consent, they have also been told that they have the right to withdraw without penalty and be provided confidentiality and anonymity as suggested by Plowright (2011). The researcher received ethics approval for this study. In this study, the participants were asked for consent and great consideration has gone into maintaining privacy and protecting data by maintaining anonymity at all times.

5.6.4 Reflection on the position of the researcher in relation to the data collection

While data collection had its challenges, those who participated were eager to engage with me. This was particularly highlighted by the interviews. Being aware of the hierarchical relationship which can be engendered by structured interviews, the semi-structured interviews I employed allowed for a greater level of interaction. In my position as a doctoral student interviewing individuals (many of whom were established academics and professionals), I did not feel like there was an unequal power balance as there was a connection between us. They were eager to contribute to the study of someone with whom they shared similar experiences as Nigerian women in general and as an aspiring academic.

My position as a woman with children in academia also provided an opportunity to bond with the participants. In order to accommodate the needs of the interviewees I had to be flexible with the interview arrangements. Sometimes, we ended up having the interviews in the evenings when my children were home. Despite my best efforts, my children managed to interrupt on more than one occasion. Rather than being annoyed, this provided the opportunity

to discuss how having children and taking care of family responsibilities had impacted their experiences as academic women.

Given the diverse nature of the country, matters of ethnicity and religion can be extremely sensitive. However, there were no tensions when I asked questions such as if religion had an impact on how their organisations were run. The participants were keen to express their perspectives of ethnicity and religion in both their organisations and the country. Interestingly, the fact that my surname identified me as being associated with a minority ethnic group in Nigeria could have also been a factor which allowed them to express themselves more freely. It occurred to me that my change in name (my maiden name would have indicated that I was from a majority ethnic group) had made me less visible and not seen as a threat, an astute representation of the tensions in the country that continue to this day.

5.6.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has provided details on the methodology utilised in order to coduct this study and to achieve its aims and objectives. Using case studies and collecting both quantitative and qualtitative data through a self-administered online survey and interviews to examine women's experiences within organisations, it draws on the concepts of agency and structures to determine their actions and relationships with(in) the organisational structures. The study is framed by intersectionality, postcolonial and African feminisms to adequately analyse women's perception of impact of gender, ethnicity and religion on recruitment, selection and promotion in Nigerian academia. The next chapters present the findings, an empirical analysis, discussion and conclusion.

CHAPTER 6. CASE STUDY 1: UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will report the findings from the survey data and interviews from the University of Nigeria (UNN). The data collection was done based on a sequential explanatory design, in which the survey was carried out first, in order to collect quantitative data. There were 80 respondents to the survey. Thereafter, interviews with 7 academic women ranging from Lecturer 2 to Professor and other stakeholders including 1 university's HR staff and 1 staff from the National universities commission (NUC) were conducted to allow for any qualitative themes raised within the survey to be fleshed out in greater detail using semi-structured interviews (please see tables 5.1-5.7 in previous chapter for sample characteristics of survey and interview participants). For the survey data, the researcher employed cross-tabulations using factors including job title, ethnicity and religion as an independent variable to determine if there were equal opportunities for everyone in the recruitment, selection, promotion process. The interview data are presented to reveal rich data on the women's experiences of these organisational employment processes and. the societal practices of the Nigerian society. Furthermore, interview data from HR staff of the University of Nigeria as well as staff from the NUC (regulatory body for Nigerian Universities) provide another point of view thereby allowing for a more holistic appraisal of the organisational practices. This has allowed the researcher to approach the research questions from different points of view. In addition to an evaluation and analysis of the survey data using SPSS, the interviews have been coded in thematically and will be presented in this chapter.

The first section provides background information including the university's historical and socio-cultural context and organisational structure and staff profile (gender structure). For the rest of the chapter, the findings in this case study as well in the next two case studies, have been presented as themes from the data related to gender, ethnicity and religion and are underpinned by Acker's (2006) concept of inequality regimes, an analytical tool which would aid in the analysis of these findings. Based on this approach, the findings have been presented with a focus on the *organising processes* of UNN that may produce and reproduce inequalities. They also reveal other aspects of inequality regimes - *visibility of inequalities* (the degree to which individuals in an organisation, including employees, are aware of inequalities) and *legitimacy of inequalities* (Ch.6 and 7). Finally, data relating to socio-cultural influences on women's agency in organisational structures are. presented. The findings have highlighted issues relevant to the theoretical framework including Intersectionality, Postcolonial feminist theory and African Feminism. These will be analysed and discussed in detail in the analysis and discussion chapters.

6.1.1 History and Socio-Cultural Context

The University of Nigeria (UNN) is a federally-controlled public university located in southeastern Nigeria. The university has three campuses: Nsukka (the main campus), Enugu, and Ituku-Ozalla. It was the first university opened by newly independent Nigeria. Dr.Nnamdi Azikiwe the first President of Nigeria, was one of the university's pioneer supporters. It was established by legislation passed by the Colonial Assembly in 1955 (Egu, 2011 in Black Past, 2019).

UNN is located in south-eastern Nigeria and as such, is dominated by people of the Igbo ethnic group. Igbo, also called Ibo, people living chiefly in southeastern Nigeria who speak Igbo, a

language of the Benue-Congo branch of the Niger-Congo language family Before European colonization, the Igbo were not united as a single people but lived in autonomous local communities Encyclopaedia Britannica (2019). This unfortunately did not go well with the system of indirect rule whereby colonial administrators ruled through existing indigenous authorities. This policy was introduced on the ultimately false assumption that governing systems within Nigeria were hierarchical and centralized. Thus, attempts at indirect rule by the British fuelled confusion and bred divisions. The Igbo Women's War of 1929 -a rebellion of women who took actions into their own hands due to their belief that England was expanding its colonial role by issuing a new tax (American Historical association, 2019) draws attention to the consequences of establishing indirect rule in communities with no kings and a decentralized political organization (Achebe, 2006). As Achebe notes, Nigeria, like many colonies was created by 'imperial draftsmen' and these actions brought together more than 512 ethnic nations with virtually no national consciousness.

This led to ethnic tensions breaking out in the country six years after independence in 1960, with Igbo people attempting to secede from Nigeria. This violent civil war ended in 1970 with over 3 million lives lost from fighting and famine, and Biafra reabsorbed into Nigeria. Ethnocentrism and mistrust, the causes of the conflict are still present realities in Nigeria. Chuku (2009) tells us that in the precolonial Igbo society, men and women wielded political power and authority albeit in varying degrees, gender equality was measured in comparative worth and social roles and responsibilities were the avenues for the dispensation of power. Rites of initiation, age, marital status, and ability determined hierarchical relationships in the traditional Igbo society. Individuals achieved authority, and respect based on leadership skills, business acumen and high intellect which are not solely attributed to one gender.

The women were major players in economic activities (Chukwu, 2015) trading in various kinds of agricultural products, including yam, cocoyam and palm produce. This allowed the Igbo women to provide for themselves and the ability to be independent (Nwanesi 2006). However, in a study of Ngwa people (an Igbo tribe), Martins,1984 (cited in Falola and Njoku eds. 2016) argues that colonialism transferred economic powers to the colonizers and then to men in postcolonial Nigeria, thereby inducing poverty on Igbo women. Okonkwo (2009) notes that the Igbos are considered culturally homogenous as a nation. Therefore, in order to gain a critical understanding of gender relations in Nigeria, there needs to be an understanding of gender discourse from the perspective of the south east as it is an area which is home to Igbos, who are among the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria. This contributed to the researcher's reason for choosing a university in the south-east.

6.1.2 Organisational Structure

As of 2019, the University of Nigeria ranked number 3 in the country (Ranking Web of Universities 2019). Currently, it has 16 Faculties, 11 institutes, 17 Centres. The main campus of the University of Nigeria is located in the heart of Nsukka town. It is a co-educational community that hosts students undertaking varieties of programmes ranging from the fine arts to the animal sciences. The main campus is home to the faculties of agriculture, arts, biological sciences, engineering, social sciences, education, pharmaceutical sciences, physical sciences, and veterinary medicine, school of post graduate studies and institutes and research centres. Enugu Campus is located inside Enugu Town, and has the faculties of Business Administration, Environmental Sciences, Law, Medical Sciences, Basic Sciences, Dentistry and Health Sciences as a smaller campus, compared with Nsukka campus, which is the main campus of University of Nigeria. The university has 2,074 academic staff. The university has 102 departments based in 15 faculties and offers 82 programmes at the undergraduate level as well

as 211 programmes at the postgraduate level. Along with Centres established for research on space science, climate change and energy, research is conducted in African studies, education, developmental studies, herbal medicine and drug research and development. (Time Higher Education 2019).

6.2 Gender Structure of Staff

Table 6. 1: Management of UNN (Male and Female)

Position	Gender
Vice-chancellor	Male
Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Academic)	Male (Academic)
Deputy Vice-Chancellor	Male (Administration) (Nsukka Campus)
Deputy Vice-Chancellor	Male (Administration) (Enugu Campus)
Registrar	Male
Bursar	Male
Librarian	Female

Director- Information and Communication Technology (ICT)	Male

Culled from UNN website (2018)

The table above shows that, with the exception of one female, all the principal officers at the University of Nigeria are men. Furthermore, a quick look at the university's website reveals that out of 17 Deans of Faculties, only 4 were women (UNN, 2018). This lack of diversity appears to be a similar trend across the Nigerian tertiary sector. According to Taiwo (2014), there were a total of 2,442 professors in the Nigerian University system with women making up only 6.9% of the professorial college. She further notes that the general trend in African academia is that women continue to be under-represented particularly in the most rewarding and high status roles.

With regards to ethnicity and religion, all the principal officers at UNN are Igbos and Christian. This information is available on the university's website which listed the names of the principal officers (names are all of Igbo origin). Thus, the situation analysis indicates the low participation of females in decision making organizational structures within this university and a lack of ethnic and religious diversity.

Table 6.2: Academic Staff Strength of UNN (Male and Female)

Gender	Academic Staff	% of Academic Staff
Male	1436	69.24%
Female	638	30.76%
Total	2074	100%

NUC Statistical Digest (2017)

This table indicates that there is a great disparity between the male and female academic staff of the case studies. UNN has the highest number of staff out of which only 30.76% are females.

Table 6. 3: Number of Full Professors at UNN (Male and Female)

Gender	No. of Full Professors	% of Full Professors
Male	291	80.39%
Female	71	19.61%
Total	362	100%

NUC Statistical Digest (2017)

This table shows the disparity between males and females at the professorial level. As can be seen here, only 19.61% of professors at UNN are females, which further supports the lack of gender equality at such levels as Taiwo (2014) has already noted above.

6.3 Organisational Processes and Inequalities

This section reports findings on the organising processes including recruitment, selection and promotion established by organisations in order to achieve their goals, which may create inequalities including those based on gender, ethnicity and religion. Interestingly, the researcher observed that the women's experiences reveal some satisfaction with the organising processes or recruitment, selection and promotion. Themes in the data have shown how women perceived these organising processes revealing ambiguities in the responses of participants.

6.3.1 Perception of Gendered Practices in Women's Experiences in Recruitment and Selection at UNN

Recruitment and selection practices in organisations are crucial in determining the formation of inequality regimes (Acker, 2006). This section highlights recruitment and selection as one of the organisational processes that could create inequality based on gender, ethnicity and religion. It reveals mixed feelings of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the recruitment practices with a distinct lack of criticism for any perceived gendered practices which included more men being employed and a lack of gender balance in the interview panels. For UNN, the numbers here (see table[1] 6.4 in Appendix 1) indicate that the majority of the women who participated in the survey thought that the process was fair (47.5 agree and 12.5 strongly agree). This was particularly noticeable within the Lecturer 1 and 2 cadres followed by Senior lecturers.

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[1] Tables referred to in this chapter and subsequent chapters are Crosstabulations and can be found in the appendix.

Overall, a lower number of women disagreed and strongly disagreed that the job process was fair and non-discriminatory. As we will see in the coming chapters, this is a similar situation amongst the other universities. However, this university had one of the highest levels of satisfaction in recruitment compared with BUK which had the lowest satisfaction during recruitment. Similar to the survey, some of the interviews reveal that during recruitment, there appeared to be a generally moderate to high level of satisfaction reported by the respondents in UNN:

"There was an opening, there was a recruitment going on, and I applied just like every other person, and I was considered based on my CV and all that." (Lecturer 2, UNN)

One had been recruited internally after her PhD:

"This is my first job as a university lecturer. It was an internal recruitment, people were leaving and so they had an opening for new lecturers in my department and some other departments at the university. We applied and got the positions after being interviewed."

However, the interviews also revealed a perception that more men were employed. This could explain why Aina (2016) pointed out that gender inequalities still exist in higher education institutions in Nigeria particularly in the recruitment and promotion of staff as well as in administrative programmes and policies. Women noted that gender was highly influential in employment within the labour market and higher education. Thus, there was a disparity in the employment of academic staff by gender within this university:

"The males are more but there is a conscious effort now to employ more females, at a point we were actually about 4 or 5 women, but now we are up to 9. However, generally across the university, the males are more". (Professor , UNN)

When further questioned as to the reason why she thought this was, she said:

"Well, you know it's all the normal reasons, it is believed that women are not supposed to be in certain positions, they are supposed to be stay at home women or stay at home wives, not many women were educated then but now things have changed and that is why more women are now appearing in academics. Let me just say right now, it is about two thirds of men to one

third of women in the university. More women are coming in now even in non-academic positions".

This indicates some gendered organisational practices influenced by societal values during recruitment and selection within the university. The obligations women have outside of the workplace reveals the important contribution made by this gendered manner of organising work to the creation and reproduction of inequality within organisations, which then promotes the inequitable distribution of men and women in organisational class hierarchies. Gender, race, and class inequalities are thus, simultaneously created in the construction of what work entails(Acker, 2006).The gendered practices during selection of potential employees can be further seen in the ambivalent responses about the lack of diversity in the interview panels in the survey. Out of the 80 women surveyed at UNN, 28 (35%) agreed that the interview panels were gender balanced while 13(16.3%) disagreed (table 6.5). Despite this ambivalence, some of the participants helped to make it clear that there was some inequality in the interview panels:

"Wow that one I can't really remember but I can't remember seeing any woman at that time. it's been a long time, it was a long time ago, and I can't remember seeing any woman on the interview panel. All the people who were commenting on my performance during the interview were men. I can't say there was no woman, but I don't remember seeing any. " (Professor, UNN)

Another one agreed that there were more males involved in selection:

"...well the panel, I wouldn't say it was gender balanced. I mean there were more males than females during the interview." (Lecturer 1, UNN)

The above analysis indicates the continuing pattern of ambivalent responses from the participants who, while noting that there were fewer women than men being employed and less women present at interview panels, still felt satisfied with the process. This could be due to a

general societal acceptance that more men worked in academia. A respondent tells of pressure on her to get married as it was not deemed 'normal' for her to want to get into academia:

At the time, there weren't too many women in academia and people thought I was crazy. And everybody kept asking me, "don't you think you should get married"? I said what has that got to do with the job I am doing? They said well, you know, they are mostly men and you are a young lady, you want to take up this job, don't you think you will scare off men who want to marry you? I said well, since marriage is not my priority now, let me get on with this job and I will cross that bridge when I get there.(Professor/Dean, UNN)

Thus, these women were an exception and felt successful and satisfied.

In recruitment, this seeming lack of criticism of the gendered practices draws attention to Mikell (1997 p.4)'s assertion that African feminism is more concerned with survival than fighting issues of discrimination based on gender. This will be explored in detail in the discussion chapter.

6.3.1.1 Perceived Gendered practices in Promotion

The respondents from UNN agreed (31.3%) and strongly agreed (55%), that women and men have equal opportunities in promotion. In the job categories, Senior lecturers (75.0%) followed by Assistant Lecturers (50.0%) and Lecturer 1 and 2 (52.0%) (table 6.6). As will be seen in chapter 7 in these numbers indicate a higher level of equal opportunities for both genders at UNN and UNILAG. However, the interviews provided another perspective to the situation with a respondent complaining that the greater burden of family responsibilities lay with women. According to her:

"Men have responsibilities, but you know, our own is all round responsibility. For example, as a woman, you are responsible for the home, the children, there is nothing in your house you will not know about, then you will come to school and you also have the responsibilities at school to carry." (Lecturer 2, UNN)

All these extra duties may impact on women's ability to publish which could potentially interfere with their promotion. That could be why the researcher observed that many respondents saw themselves as successful and felt very lucky to have progressed to a senior position given the circumstances:

"In any case, I got my PhD, then I rose through the ranks to senior lecturer, Associate Professor which is also Reader, and now a Professor since 2006. I am not going to say it was that easy for a woman with children, and as wife for that matter, a Nigerian wife, when you are expected to do certain things as woman, as a married woman and all that. It was not very easy but luckily, my husband who is also in academics, was very supportive… I would say that I was very lucky" (Professor , UNN).

Thus, similar to the previous section, more women expressed satisfaction with the promotional process and viewed themselves as successful academics even when they also point out that the family responsibilities borne by women impact on their progression. This gives the impression that any perceived inequalities in their careers experienced due to their roles as mothers did not attract a lot of criticism, which could be due to an acceptance of their cultural roles in the family. This could explain why Blay (2008) argues that African feminisms suggest that any feminist discourse in Africa must take on an Africa-centred approach with an understanding of the socio-cultural realities and traditions.

6.3.2 Perception of Ethnic and Religious Influences in Recruitment and Selection

There was a visible lack of diversity at UNN reflecting the situation across the country which may have implications for equality in the workplace. Some of the respondents have provided examples of the ethnic tensions in the country which drive home the salience of ethnicity which has not been mitigated by the Federal character principle, as discussed in Chapter 3 given the

fact that potential applicants stay away on the basis of ethnic differences. The views of the respondents below support this argument as people simply did not apply in areas outside their states, preferring to remain in their home state or leave the country rather than work in a different part of the country:

"One thing I know is that many of them don't come over here. I mean you've lived in this country and you know that Westerners[2] would rather go out of the country than come over here. Northerners find it easier where they are, because the requirements over there are not as high as the requirements here in the East, so they are easily employed in their area. So, they don't have a need to come over here. But I suppose, there are some people that are from there, from the North and the West, here in the university (Senior Lecturer and HOD, UNN).

Another participant noted the ethnic divisions and suggested that feelings of insecurity discouraged mobility in the country:

"Well, Nigeria is socially divided along ethnic lines, for instance my university is in Igboland and 99 percent of the staff are Igbos, others, when you see others, in fact they hardly come. Well, I guess it is because of the security situation in Nigeria. People want to remain in their own part of the country. So, ethnicity plays a major role." (Professor/Dean, UNN)

The result is that very few people of different ethnicity would be willing to go and work in order to avoid perceived discrimination, ironically leaving them even more vulnerable to discrimination due to their being a minority. Controversies over indigeneship[3] have further complicated issues. As the HR staff interviewed informed, the university did not discriminate, quickly pointing to the Federal Character Commission which helped to ensure this:

"The thing is that the university counts more on your skillset, your professionalism, your qualifications, not minding where you come from and there is a commission called the Federal Character Commission. They ensure that recruitment across federal government parastatals are done evenly. So, employment is open to any person, even, there are people from outside the country such as from Cameroon, Niger, I personally know some of them working here and there are also those who are recruited as visiting professors. There are people who come from various countries of the world. "

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[2] Western Nigeria
[3] See Chapter 3, section 3.6.4

However, he was quick to add that requests for information about one's indigeneship should be discouraged:

"...the thing there is that the country should discountenance specifications in applications such as asking for state of origin, local government area, and so on. Those are behind the times in terms of recruitment. The language that everybody hears and understands is skill." (HR staff)

This highlights the need for postcolonial feminist theory to determine how ethnicity, shaped by colonial and postcolonial policies that fostered tensions in Nigeria, could affect women's work as it could have critical implications for discrimination or the perception of it in organisations. As the respondent below put it succinctly:

"It is not that these other people applied and were not taken or employed. It is just that they have their own universities in their own States or areas and so they prefer to go to their own areas. For example, the Yoruba man may prefer to go to Yorubaland and be employed and so they will not have problems with people saying, I am not Igbo, I'm Yoruba and all that, so people prefer to go to their own states. (Professor, UNN)

This seemed to be supported by the HR staff interviewed, who claimed that while ethnicity does not influence anything, people could be afraid of going to other places due to cultural differences:

"It's just that because the university of Nigeria is located in Igboland, by default of location, it is expected that more Igbo people would be here. So somebody from Yorubaland may not feel comfortable to come and work here due to the cultural differences and the lack of proximity to his homeland. So somebody that is from Lagos state and you get employed in Enugu state which is like 12 hours journey by road, one may just be discouraged by that, not necessarily that there is any social or cultural factor against the person'.(HR staff, UNN)

The discrimination can also occur with people of the same ethnic group but different states. According to a respondent's account, even though she is Igbo, she lost her job at a secondary school due to the creation of more states as she was teaching in a state (Enugu) which was not her state of birth (Anambra), both of which were predominantly Igbo states.

"I first started teaching in a secondary school, mm, yes so while I was there, I began postgraduate study, while teaching in a secondary school... At a point in that period, the Nigerian government decided to create more states. That was in 1995 or thereabouts. There was creation of states so the state where I found myself where the university was (Enugu), did not belong to my state of birth so they decided that we should leave. They decided that non-indigenous staff should leave and go back to their own states... until they decided to call back the federal staff, those whose husbands were in federal employment. The university was one of such and so we had to come back to start teaching all over again in the secondary school... So, by then I had obtained my master's degree I have to move into the university to avoid embarrassment of you know, somebody waking up one day and sending you back to your state".(Lecturer 1, UNN)

This practice could demonstrate an intersection of inequality produced by both gender and ethnicity and further complicated by indigeneship in Nigeria. For example, Muoghalu and Eboiyehi (2018) note that men were the major workforce of OAU (a Nigerian federal university), with Afonja et al (2002) suggesting that wives were recruited at junior administrative staff in order to ensure the stability and retention of male members of staff. This respondent was able to work as her husband was a federal employee at the university and also able to circumvent the requirement to return to her state of origin (thus an indigene in that state) due to her marital status.

However, recruitment was less influenced by religion in UNN due to certain perceived characteristics of the dominant religion in the region:

"In the East, generally, the majority of them are Christians. And Christians generally, are more welcoming to other religions, they are more welcoming, so I don't think that's an issue too. So, I don't think anybody will stop you from being employed because you are a Muslim or are not in his or her church. Yes, Christians generally have an open attitude to life and that's how I see it. That's my belief too. Personally, I don't think that's an issue at the university where I work. I don't know about other universities. (Senior Lecturer / HOD, UNN)

Also, many of the UNN women did not believe that their religious identity helped them in their career at the university as 36.3% disagreed, and 26.3% strongly disagreed while just 6.3% and 2.5% agreed and disagreed respectively (table 6.7).

Thus, this section reveals the varying degrees to which that gender, ethnicity and religion are influential in recruitment and selection with the participants experiences influenced by individual, organisational and societal factors. While some of them were satisfied, others were not, and this was reflected in ambivalent responses. Finally, there was an absence of criticism of the perceived inequalities created by these organising processes. The next section discusses the influences ethnicity and religion may have on promotion as an organising process which could produce inequality.

6.3.2.1 Perception of Ethnic and Religious Influences in Promotion Practices

The findings show that ethnicity was important in promotion within the universities, supporting the position of the literature e.g. (Odeku and Animashaun, 2012; George et al, 2017), on the relevance of ethnicity within the Nigerian labour market. While the participant below said that it is not important, she provides an analogy that indicates otherwise.

"Not really, it doesn't. It's just people on their own make these choices. We had this young Hausa boy who was very hardworking. He just kept working and working. The day he was made a full professor, he just packed up and left. According to him, he felt that that was the highest he could ever go at the University of Nigeria. That he can never be a VC, never be a dean, so that's it."(Professor, UNN)

The Hausa 'boy' in this scenario might have felt that since he was not Igbo, the dominant ethnic group at UNN, he had no chance of going any higher than what he had already achieved.

This indicates that in UNN ethnicity plays an important role the organisational practices during regarding promotion. It is imperative for management to ensure that all groups are fairly represented in senior roles. Kamenou and Fearfull (2006) argue that it is the responsibility of organisations to tackle any lack of ethnic diversity in senior positions in order to provide a reliable evaluation of equality policies and effective equality initiatives.

Some women maintained that religion had no influence on promotion and maintained that as long as one was suitably qualified or had seniority in rank, then religion did not have any effect:

"No, I don't think so, because Muslims are here going about their business, going to the mosque on Fridays, Christians doing their thing. So, the religion thing has nothing to do with how things work here. Since I joined the academy, I found out that everything is done based on seniority. It doesn't matter your state or religion." (Lecturer 2, UNN)

Another participant agreed that religion had no influence and suggested that Muslims were respected even though they were a minority at UNN:

"It is not really important. You know we are mostly in a Christian area. The few Muslims we have, we respect them. There is even a mosque on campus. So, it doesn't" (Professor/Dean, UNN).

However these women are Christians and may not have perceived any discrimination as they are in the majority. The response below indicate the dominance of Christianity at UNN:

"There is no influence because we are basically Christians. So religion doesn't play any role in how things are done in my university" (Lecturer 1, UNN).

It is possible that she, being of the majority religious group, may not have perceived any discrimination based on religion and assumed that every other individual had the same experiences.

In summary, the interactions between the three social categories of gender, ethnicity and religion and organizing processes of recruitment, selection and promotion produced and reproduce perceived inequalities including more men being employed and in senior positions. However, there remains, an unwillingness to criticise which could be due to culture, the 'fleeting' nature of these inequalities particularly those based on gender. In addition, ethnicity and religion also seemed to play a critical role as fear of discrimination discourages people from ethnic groups in other parts of the country from applying at the university, especially with the focus placed on indigenes and non-indigenes. The next section will focus on themes emerging from data on women's leadership and awareness of inequalities within the organisational structure.

6.4. Visible Inequalities: Awareness of Gender Inequalities and attitudes to women in Leadership within the organisational structure

The researcher observed a trend of ambivalent views about inequality experienced by the women in the organisational structure. While some of the responses indicated a lack of awareness of any inequality, there was some degree of awareness of gender inequalities on the part of the respondents indicating that this had some visibility. The majority of the respondents agreed that gender and gender roles in Nigeria affect career progression and conceded that family responsibilities did indeed influence a woman's chances of promotion. The participant below suggests that her career was hampered by family responsibilities with her male colleagues overtaking her:

"When I was doing my PhD, I started with some men, but they overtook me, they finished before I did. It took me some more years than the men because, they didn't have any problems so to say. When I say problems, all those problems women have you have to go to the market, you cook, you do this, take care of the children, if they are sick, you have to take them to the hospital.

So, I spent some extra years to do my PhD, after those men who I had started with, had graduated." (Professor, UNN)

As discussed in the literature review in Chapter 4, inequality regimes as an approach to intersectionality are practices and processes which foster inequalities at work and one aspect involve the degree to which individuals are aware or unaware of inequalities. This above visibility of inequality can also be seen within the survey as there was also a recognition that men were at the top within the organizational structure which could produce gender inequalities. The UNN academic women including those in higher positions including Senior Lecturers (87.5%) and Professors(50.0%) disagreed with the statement that there is an equal number of men and women in senior academic positions with that majority agreeing that there were more men in senior positions (table 6.8).

Thus, this inequality within the organisational structure was visible to the respondents. Furthermore, more women at UNN agreed (23.8%) and 13.8% strongly agreed with the statement that there is an underlying belief within their university that men make better leaders, while 20% disagreed and 7.5% strongly disagreed with this. However, this awareness of inequality particularly within the context of female leadership, appears to be limited. The lack of a gender policy in UNN (which will be discussed later in the coming sections), the responses of the participants and the personnel staff interviewed all point to this invisibility of gender issues. For example, even while acknowledging the need for a policy targeting diversity and more gender sensitivity, the HR staff interviewed insisted that gender issues did not affect women's career:

"No, it does not. If you are qualified to go to the next level, you will go. There are female professors at the University of Nigeria, female registrars, currently, the university librarian is a woman."

This invisibility underlines the importance of research on African women's experiences within organisations. "While Western feminism has played a critical role in projecting Western views and culture, the fact remains that in these contemporary (neo-colonial) times, issues of gender inequality, gender discrimination, and gender oppression are realities in Africa" (Blay, 2008 p.67). Despite this, the participants at UNN seemed to experience more equality within the organisational context. The survey indicates that more women disagreed when asked if women were seen as lacking the required decision-making abilities, while a slightly lesser percentage of them agreed at 25.0% (table 6.9). Thus, it appears that among the women, their opinion was divided as to how women were perceived with regards to leadership. This indicates that some inequalities were visible to female employees but varied amongst them in some aspects, which could have been overlooked. There are variable degrees of awareness amongst different organisations and this lack of awareness within an organisation may be deliberate or unintentional (Acker, 2006).

This can be seen in the responses from the survey in which more women did not perceive any unfairness in the organisational structure, even when more of them had admitted that there were more men in senior positions. Thus, even though many women disagreed that there is an equal number of men and women in senior positions (31.3% disagreed while 13.8% strongly disagreed), some of them do not view the situation with any negativity, which is surprising as only 13.8% agreed and 3.8% strongly agreed) (table 6.10). Interestingly, a high percentage of women remained neutral (37.5%) indicating that this question might be a sensitive issue for them. The lack of negative perception of this imbalance in women and men in senior positions can be seen in this instance as 32.5% of UNN women disagreed and 15% strongly disagreed that men were seen as more suitable for senior academic positions, while only 17.5% agreed and 20% strongly agreed (table 6.11 in Appendix 1). The trend of ambivalence seen throughout

this case study, suggest that the women may not be very critical of their situation and this could be due to them not recognising their disadvantage.

This ambivalence is also reflected in the interviews, where the interviewee acknowledges that women have a lot of responsibilities that could hinder them in their career, but still insists that gender does not affect career progression:

"To me, it (gender) doesn't affect anything ....So, the only area, that it affects women is when we talk about responsibilities. Men have responsibilities, but you know, our own is all round responsibility. For example, as a woman, you are responsible for the home, the children, there is nothing in your house you will not know about, then you will come to school and you also have the responsibilities at school to carry.(Lecturer 2, UNN)

For another participant, it was hard work that would help in progression:

"The critical factors for getting to senior positions as far as I'm concerned, is that you work hard. You work hard and you don't expect things to be given to you on a platter of gold because you are a woman. You don't expect that because you're a woman, the rules will be bent, no. You must work hard like the men. Remember that I said that it is not easy for a married woman with children, there are limitations, but in spite of that, you have to try your best. "(Professor, UNN)

Thus, even while acknowledging that greater burden of family responsibilities, the respondents above perceive no inequality in their situation, insisting that they needed to work hard. This notion appears to be systemic as the NUC director, a woman herself, declared that there was progress, while stressing at the same time that women needed to work extra hard to keep up:

"Yes, it has been improving progressively. When Professor Grace Alele Williams became the VC at the University of Benin, there was an uproar and so much infighting and they didn't allow her to work. It is the nature of men in Africa to feel that women would lord over them. It is a culture thing. So, when you have a woman at the head of a place, she would have to work twice as hard to keep that position, that is the way it is. If you are strong, then you can do it. Women are surviving in Nigeria and there is progress."

This participant at UNN agreed that things are looking up for women:

"Women are really progressing... This is because, I grew in this environment, so, there was a time female indigenes, here in Nsukka, you could just count few of them in the classes, they prefer just finishing primary 6, getting married, next thing you see the person selling bananas, oranges, seasonal fruits and all that, carrying things around. However, today, honestly, the explosion of.., I am just giving an example of the women here… more than 70% of their young girls now going to the university. There are many lecturers amongst them too. I am just saying based on where I am which is the University of Nigeria.(Lecturer 2, UNN)

From the responses of the participants, it was difficult to detect gender inequality. The researcher observed that many respondents in both the survey and interviews do not seem to have observed gendered organisational processes or even when these have been observed, have insisted that there is not any inequality. They maintained that gender had no effect on women's career progression within the organisational structure on the university. Some participants were of the opinion that women should not expect special treatment and needed to work hard in order to progress, when asked if gender had any influence on their careers:

"No, I don't think it(gender) does, Even though some people hide under that. I think that if you don't want to work, you don't want to work. It doesn't matter whether you are male or female. Because when they are assessing you, nobody looks at your gender, they just look at your productivity. So, it doesn't. Apart from the usual domestic factors that hold women down, but if you are able to get through it, if you are able to work around them and you have supportive people around you. "(Professor/Dean, UNN)

Rather than acknowledge gender inequality, some participants were swift to point out that the university was an inclusive organisation and one only needed to be qualified to progress:

"I don't think we have any kind of gender imbalance or problem in the university where I lecture...the present DVC. that's the Deputy Vice Chancellor, is a woman... Many women that are deans, directors, HODs... If you are qualified for it, nobody will deny you of that because you are a woman. At least this is my perception, this what I have seen so far. However, if you are not qualified for it, that's it. For example, in the campus where I work (UNN has two main campuses), the last election for the post of DVC for the campus, the DVC candidates were a man and a woman, right? ...the man got very few votes. The lady got almost all the votes.

Because, she is a very sociable person, she attended so many functions...in fact she is somebody who can perform, and people voted for her." (Senior Lecturer, UNN)

It did not seem to occur to the above participant to question why a woman needed to be sociable as in the statement above, in order to win votes. This points to the idea that women need to adopt certain acceptable behaviours in order to get into certain positions.

Surprisingly, the respondents seemed to be more reflexively aware of gender inequality when it was a product of their interactions with members of other ethnic groups. As this participant put it:

"Maybe I am talking about where I am, I don't know how it is in some other places. Because you know in Igboland, we are freer than others. Like up, up, there (meaning in the North), women are not allowed to talk. …… The Hausas…. For them, you know that women cannot come out to talk anyhow, even though, now, they are improving, but the thing is still there...in fact there is a job we are doing together, with somebody from there, a man and then another man from Yorubaland. There are three of us working together. Do you know that since we started that project, the Hausa man has never called me for one day, but the other man from Yorubaland calls me. Maybe because I am a woman. He can send something to me, but he will not call me. So, it could be how they relate with women over there, but in our own case it's not like that… women are not allowed to talk, they are not allowed to associate with men, you know, something like that. For here, it's less of a problem for us.".(Senior Lecturer/ HOD, UNN)

This indicates an intersection between gender, ethnicity and religion as will be discussed in chapter 9.

There were also experiences which could be said to legitimise gender inequality such as benevolent sexism, in which concern for women's wellbeing may mask underlying sexism:

"So, the only thing I can say is when I was doing my PhD...because I was reading and having my babies, yes, I was pregnant and along the line it turned out that I was going to have twins…I presented a proposal about how I was going into the field to collect my data and everything, I finished the proposal and was given the go ahead. So this my supervisor, a man, just came with a bag and started packing my things. I said, "sir, what is that supposed to mean"? He said "you are going on break"…..Yes, he had written a letter to the graduate school and said to me " append your signature here because I don't think you can cope". Well, it turned out to be a blessing actually because, I formally suspended my programme. So after, I had my babies, I got back to it. After a one year delay." (Professor, UNN)

This section has discussed the extent to which individuals are aware, either deliberately or unintentionally, of any inequalities that might occur in the course of working and has revealed that many inequalities that occur as a result of gender tend to be difficult to observe. The next section looks at how aware of ethnic or religious inequalities people are within the university.

6.4.1 Awareness of ethnic and religious inequalities within the Organisational Structure

The researcher further observed that ethnic and religious discrimination appear to have a higher level of visibility to the respondents. An interviewee's response indicated that there was an awareness of possible discrimination based on ethnic and religious grounds within the organizational structure of UNN and even beyond:

"There is nowhere that ethnicity is not practised in Nigeria. It is everywhere. Ok, I will say it in English(the interviewee had spoken in Igbo a few minutes earlier on). This is a very sensitive question. Well, I want to say that it is our problem in Nigeria. It is our identity anyway. It is not peculiar to UNN. If people say I am for Paul, and others say I am for Apollos (meaning choosing sides), just like in the bible, if people say that, then it is not a strange thing. It is the same all over Nigeria. Ethnicity runs in our blood in Nigeria, so it is not UNN's problem, it is a Nigerian problem. The community reflects the society. People look for birds of the same feather" (Senior Lecturer, UNN).

The following participants also revealed an awareness of a divide in which members of one religion might prefer one of their own at the helm of affairs at the university:

"You know for that, I can't really answer, because I have not really occupied any administrative post but if I am to speak generally, there is a divide between the Muslims and the Christians. Christians would prefer their own, while the Muslims would prefer their own. In fact, I have not seen any staff member who is a Muslim, but there may be some because there is a mosque at the university. So, I don't really know much, but generally speaking I know that there are differences between them, the Christians would prefer a Christian to lead them while the Muslims prefer their own." Lecturer 1, UNN)

Additionally, employees at UNN are dominated by a particular ethnic group and religion which suggests a lack diversity and also raises the question of equality amongst women. As discussed in the literature, intersectionality also focuses on power relations among groups. Therefore, even as one of the interviewees response alluded to the higher visibility of gender than ethnicity and religion in the process of gaining employment :

"I think gender will take the upper hand, ethnicity and religion are just at the bottom of the ladder, gender is the major thing you must be a woman or seen as a woman before you are considered to be a Yoruba or Efik or Hausa or Christian or Muslim. They look at the fact that you're a woman and that covers everything. Whether you are a Yoruba woman or a Christian woman, it comes after your gender. That is what is mostly considered for women, at least that is my own opinion" (Professor, UNN).

Another interviewee's response indicates a highly visible lack of ethnic diversity within the university as she mentions that there were tensions even within sub-groups within the same ethnic group, highlighting the indigeneship issue. This could be explained by the ethnic tensions as discussed earlier in chapter 3.

"Well I am a Nigerian, even though I was born a Cameroonian so I can speak on this. I have to be blunt here. Ethnicity has a lot of influence in everything in Nigeria. Yes, it does, even within the ethnic groups, there are sub-groups, for example, the Igbos in the South-East, they have 5 states, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, Imo and Abia, but when things happen in the University of Nigeria, people from Nsukka would prefer that it's people from Nsukka, Enugu. (Lecturer 1, UNN)"

Despite these ethnic and religious influences, the majority of the women disagreed and strongly disagreed that their ethnic/religious identity had a positive effect during the selection process.

Also, as earlier stated, the patterns of visibility occur differently across various organisations. It is interesting to note that a high percentage of the UNN women, who are mostly Igbo, chose to remain neutral (39.5%), when asked if their ethnic identity had a positive effect during the

selection process. The majority though disagreed (35.0%) and strongly disagreed (27.5%) that their ethnic identity helped them in their career at the university, while only 8.8% and 1.3% agreed and strongly agreed respectively. The minority ethnic women (Yoruba), just two of them, remained neutral (table 6.12). In view of this, it is important to evaluate awareness of policies to encourage equality and diversity (if any), which will be discussed in the next section.

6.4.2 Awareness of policies to improve equality and diversity in the Organisation

There was to an extent a lack of awareness of any policy encouraging gender equality or greater diversity at UNN:

"I am not aware that there is a conscious effort regarding getting a gender policy here, I mean I am not aware that any such thing exists." (Professor, UNN)

An interview with a director at the National Universities Commission (NUC) pointed to this general lack of clearly defined policies promoting equality and diversity in universities:

"There is no clear cut policy like that as it is embedded in the regulation. Like I said, everything is contained in the academic brief, that there would be no discrimination based on gender or religion".

The researcher noted that there were documented organisational policies contained within what the respondents referred to as a 'yellow book', which should be a strong tool for tackling inequalities as it served as a guideline for organisational processes. According to Healy et al (2011), the value of equality and diversity policies is invariably linked to the level of awareness that individuals have of them. Policy documents outline the organisation's goals with regards to policy issues and provide legitimacy for any actions which may be taken to challenge inequality regimes:

"In terms of career progression, well you just have to follow the Yellow Book, do what you should do for you to rise from one level to the other. There are guidelines, so you need to stick to them, and they will help you progress." (Professor, UNN)

The women were also clear about the criteria required for promotion which included experience and publications :

"It is normally after 3 years then you will be promoted, but it is not automatic. You have to be in a position for 3 years before you can apply for promotion to the next level, but you also have to have the required number of publications for that particular position." (Professor, UNN)

Despite this, there was an also awareness of a lack of implementation of some of the ethnic and diversity policies in place with a respondent pointing out that the Federal character policy (though this policy is at the national level), which has been discussed earlier is not being implemented resulting in a lack of ethnic diversity:

"My university being a federal University is supposed to operate on a Federal Character policy which means other ethnic groups, should be represented during employment. That's because we have universities in all the states of the country, in this university where I am, more than 60% are Igbo and that's just putting it mildly, I think it's more than that. The rest are from other places. There are few Yorubas, there are very few Hausas here, there are few people from Ijaw or the Delta area. In fact, let me just say that 70% are Igbos" (Professor UNN).

The narratives above support the argument that along with an inconsistent awareness of the equality and diversity policies, there still exists a gap between policy and practice (Walsh, 2007). More importantly there seemed to be an absence of dedicated policies aimed at tackling gender, ethnic and religious diversity as well as their intersections. While the university had the yellow book which contained guidelines for things like promotion or going on maternity leave, it did not provide any specific policies for dealing with everyday discrimination. When asked if there was a diversity policy at UNN, the participating HR staff replied in the negative:

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"No, no. You know, having such a policy could mean that in any employment, they may say there has to be a ratio of either 70:30 or 60:40 of men to women, So, no, there is nothing like that. It's just based on the judgement of the department, faculty and the management. I have not seen any policy about recruitment or any employment in line with gender. No." (HR staff member, UNN)

However, when asked if he saw the need for such a policy, the HR staff was sympathetic, stating that not only was there a need for gender policy but there needed to be one targeting inclusion of disabled individuals:

"Yes, yes. You know, the thing is that, in my opinion, it's not just about policies being gender sensitive. They should also consider the handicapped, the socially vulnerable groups should also be considered. The way things are done in this part of the world, we say things that we don't do. Even though there are some areas of activity within the university that demands a particular gender to be part of the workforce, the thing is that for me, anyone that has the required skilled set should be employed not minding the gender. Also, we should consider that the recruitment process has to be gender sensitive and also accommodate the handicapped. Recruitment is not done in a gender sensitive way"

Thus, there seem to be a need for system wide diversity policies. The lack of ethnic and religious diversity, which is a function of the Nigerian society within which the university carries out its activities, also indicate that gendered practices, ethnicity, religion all have important roles to play in the creation of inequalities.

This section has made it clear that there was a lack of criticism by the women regarding their situation and this could be due to the low visibility of gender equality, which, in turn could be the reason why the women did not perceive any inequality having an impact on their lives based on gender. The following section will discuss the structures that influence organisational culture and processes as well as the women's agency in the at the intersections of their work and societal identities.

6.5 Perception of Structural Inequalities

In order to understand the lived workplace experience of women at the University of Nigeria (UNN), it is critical to draw attention to the socio-cultural practices and processes that influence organisational culture and relations. This section is structured in such a way as to reflect the participant's perception of the existing organisational structures and their agencies with regard to their careers. Subsequently, findings relevant to their agency in relation to gender inequalities will be presented. Due to the lack of ethnic/religious diversity the researcher observed that there was no noticeable ethnic and religious agency amongst the UNN participants in order to cope with careers and achieve progression.

6.5.1 Structural Perception of Gender inequality

The section will discuss the agency of participants with regard to their perception of gender inequality and any strategies they may have adopted to progress in their careers. Many of the respondents seemed to accept the gendered practices within the organisational structure arguing that there was no discrimination and that one only had to work harder to succeed like the men. Some of the gendered practices are underpinned by societal attitudes. An example of this can be seen in the decisions by many families in Nigeria to educate their sons rather than their daughters because sons would carry on the family name and legacy (Okpukpara et al, 2006).

"Traditionally, my father was more interested in training the boys. In fact, my uncle and other relatives were telling him why waste your money on girls who will eventually get married and leave you, forgetting about the family name. So, my father unfortunately, listened to them. But my mother said no way, she said that all her children must be educated. It was my mother who took it upon herself to make sure that we were all educated. We were in the North then, but

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when the war started, we all came down to the East and we stayed in Onitsha. My mother said over her dead body would her daughters not be educated. " (Professor, UNN)

However, another respondent argued that things were changing based economic ability and on the region of the country:

"But it is different in this age that we're in now, I know probably in the last four to five decades, because I remember my mother in law's sister always saying that their father preferred to train the male children instead of the girl children saying that the females would eventually go to other people's houses as wives, that it is better to invest in the male child, but not anymore, not any longer. In my opinion I think the girls and boys have equal opportunities now. The only thing is... especially with regards to culture, for example in some places in the Northern part of the country, they still operate based on such culture, but where I come from, they have equal opportunities, unless the family does not have enough money to send their children to school." (Professor, UNN)

On the other hand, some respondents had a different experience with supportive families:

"My family was very supportive. I come from a family where my dad believes in education. It doesn't matter if it is a boy or girl child. Whichever level you want to get to, in fact there was a stage he said before you get married, you have to have at least a master's. So, my family was very supportive. In fact it was very fantastic, very easy for me to graduate because it was like what do you want to study. My family was not interested in what I studied, they were interested in how well you studied." (Lecturer 1, UNN)

The family support experienced by the women is further demonstrated by this participant's comment:

"My husband supports me 100%. In fact he wanted me to do an MBA, because when I finished my first degree, I wanted to look for a job, but he said no, that we are going to stay together….In fact, there was a time I started having a little challenge in this lecturing job, he said you can pull out now and do your professional qualification and then we will know the next thing, but I decided to stay on, I got the tenure and I am still here." (Senior lecturer/HOD, UNN)

It is clear that family plays a great deal in the lives of these women and is interwoven with their working lives. They noted the societal expectations to have children, take care of those children, spouses and other family members and how they affected their work life:

"You find out that in Nigeria, women have more responsibilities than men. Yes, women have more responsibilities than men. They take care of children, they take care of parents, they take care of husbands...you know. So all these responsibilities will deter them from publications, and it's publications that will promote you apart from all these other obstacles that I mentioned." (Lecturer 1, UNN)

The influence of societal demands and family responsibilities is further noted in the comment

below:

"I started as an Assistant Lecturer, with a master's degree, then I did my PhD, it took me some time because I was having children at the same time and that, in Nigeria is not really very easy, with problems in families, at the village and all that, you are expected to come home from time to time for burial or something." (Professor, UNN)

However, the researcher noted they seemed to have internalised their gender roles in the family

and society and tended not to question any gendered practices within the organisation as these

practices reflect the societal practices which the academic women in this study may view as

normal. For example, when asked if gender could be a basis for inequality in their workplace,

some of the respondents grudgingly agreed but had very little criticism, which seemed quite

surprising:

"To some extent , yes. But it shouldn't be a drawback, because some women believe that the rules should be bent for them because they are women, and should be given some sort of soft landing, but I don't believe in that. They should work hard so that if you are called a professor, you will know that you are a professor, not because she's a woman, then she's giving a professorship, no. In any case that doesn't happen because it is based on what you have published".(Professor, UNN)

Even more surprising was the fact that the participant below insisted that gender did not have

any influence, while simultaneously outlining the very things that could create inequality for

women at work:

"I think with the way things are structured, it(gender) doesn't affect anything, but there are some other things that make women lag behind like when it comes to family matters, you, know, a woman, sometimes you get pregnant, nine months is gone, you go for maternity leave, before

you know it, you are taking in again. You find out that the first 5-6 years after marriage are spent on childbearing, so it is difficult for a woman to progress. However, I don't think the structure is such that men are being favoured over women. That is my opinion."(Lecture 1, UNN)

According to the participant below, there were ways of solving the problems seemingly posed by the burden of family responsibilities on women:

"There are problems married women face, but these days, there are also ways of surmounting those problems. You get house helps, you get gadgets to help you reduce the domestic workload in the family. That doesn't stop all the problems, but at least will reduce the workload for the woman. As far as I'm concerned it was not easy for myself or any woman, it cannot be handed to you on a platter of gold, you just need to work harder." (Professor, UNN).

However, there appears to be a changing mindset amongst the respondents. The same respondent who had insisted that women need to work hard when asked if there should be a conscious effort to improve equality replied in the affirmative:

"Yes, it should, since more women are being educated. Why would you educate them if they are just going to stay at home due to some challenges. They should be given the opportunity to put into practice what they have been educated for. I don't believe that we shouldn't have equality, even if it is not 50/50, we should have it at least up to 40 or 45, there should be equality"(Professor, UNN).

6.5.2 Agency and strategies to achieve career progression within the organisational structure.

The researcher observed that the participants did not consider themselves as victims and appeared to have agency. Some activism was geared more towards survival rather than fighting cultural injustices based on gender. As pointed out in chapter 4, Mikell (1997. p.4) argues that African feminism is more concerned with the survival and livelihood of women than gender injustices. The response from one of the participants provides a glimpse into mindsets of the local populace which gender activism in Africa must consider:

"People in the villages[4] are not aware of anything like gender equality, they just believe that God created us, or tradition has made it that women must be subservient or obedient to their husbands. So, all that people in the villages want, in fact they are more concerned with how to keep body and soul together instead of equality. They are thinking of how they can get money to feed themselves and their children or their families and then you come and start talking to them about gender equality they won't answer you, because it doesn't put food on their table. They can't be bothered because they just want to survive, live and take care of their families and their daily needs and so they are not that concerned with gender equality." (Professor, UNN)

The women in this case study developed strategies to survive and progress in their careers. The academic women demonstrated awareness of organisational structures that can either facilitate or restrict organisational practice and their own actions at work:

"So if you are applying now for any training or conference outside Nigeria, you have to go through the TETFUND, sometimes you write your proposal and it wouldn't be granted. The university does support but sometimes, you have to pay for yourself, for example for ICAN conferences, I paid for myself over so many years before the school started paying for me. So it's survival of the fittest, you have to struggle on your own, make efforts, if you have to depend on school, you may not go anywhere. So you have to be prepared to help yourself. You do get support from the university, but you don't depend on that" (Senior Lecturer/HOD, UNN).

The interview data revealed that within organisational environments of the university, with no particular gender policy and influenced by the multi-ethnic and religious landscape, academic women remained ambitious and had well laid out career strategies indicating that they had agency where their careers were involved. They sought out employment opportunities and set out to understand university guidelines as that was key to progressing at university. The ambition and well laid out career strategies demonstrated by the women in this case study university indicated that they had agency when their careers were involved:

"Even now, the bar has been raised. If you don't have a PhD, you can't go beyond lecturer 1. So, once you find yourself in the system, you must try to get a PhD. So, I thought, since I am already in the system and I am not planning to quit, I might as well do all it takes. From the time I got my first job. I knew I wanted to become a full professor. So, that's what I did." (Professor/Dean, UNN)

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[4] Rural communities.

Within the structural context of a deeply patriarchal Nigeria where men and women have strict gender roles, the women appeared to strive hard to maintain a balance between work and family life and developing an awareness of stipulated guidelines in order to succeed within their organisation. As discussed in the methodology chapter, structuration theory reveals the importance of sensitivity to micro-sociological aspects of daily living (Whittington, 2015).The participants mentioned a Yellow book (book containing university regulations guiding organisational practices).

"In terms of career progression, well you just have to follow the Yellow Book, do what you should do for you to rise from one level to the other. There are guidelines, so you need to stick to them, and they will help you progress." (Professor, UNN)

Generally, the women at UNN were aware that providing services other than teaching and research such as in administration and the community were key to getting senior positions:

"They also look at your administrative experiences. You can't just teach without serving on some committee or doing some other jobs, and it is such that you are supposed to be assessed every year." (Professor/Dean, UNN)

The numbers from UNN indicate that across all levels, the majority of women, including those without and with children, strongly agreed, at 85.7% and 71.2% respectively that they were interested in promotion to a more senior position (table 6.13). This reveals women's ambition to achieve progression, despite other responsibilities they may have.This also demonstrates a high level of ambition and the women's agency in deciding their future career activities.

Thus, we can begin to see answers to the third research question, which explores how academic women perceive and manage the influence of socio-cultural factors on organisational culture and their career progression within a postcolonial space. The women possessed agency to negotiate their survival and growth within the existing organisational and societal structures.

While many of them did not have any criticism of the system in which they essentially have to work twice as hard to keep up with men, they viewed themselves as successful and growing in their careers.

6.5.3 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has looked at the themes found in the data in order to present findings related to women's perception of organising processes, visible equalities or inequalities within their organisational structure and the women's agency within organisational and societal structures. This has been carried out within the context of the study's theoretical framework and will be further examined in the analysis chapter. As this study involves evaluating women's experiences in Nigerian academia, the researcher has also looked at other universities (UNILAG, UNIABUJA and BUK) as we will see in the coming chapters.

CHAPTER 7. CASE STUDY 2: UNIVERSITY OF LAGOS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will report the findings from the survey data and interviews from the University of Lagos (UNILAG). In addition to the online self-administered survey which had 50 respondents, 7 semi-structured interviews were conducted with academic women ranging from Assistant lecturer to Professor to allow for any qualitative themes raised within the survey to be fleshed out in greater detail. A member of HR staff was also interviewed (please see tables 5.1-5.7 in chapter 5 for sample characteristics of survey and interview participants).. The first section provides some historical and organisational information on the University including its staff profile (gender structure of staff) and geographical and demographical characteristics. The rest of the chapter is broken down into themes highlighting gendered practices, ethnicity, religion in organisations and a look at relations between structures and agency based on the survey data and interviews.

 As with the previous chapter, the findings have been reported according to themes which were developed based on Acker (2006)'s concept of inequality regimes in order to understand the process which foster the production of inequalities within organisations. It reports findings associated with the processes of recruitment, selection and promotion at the university. In addition to the experiences of individual employees, the opinion of other stakeholders have also been reported in order to get a sense of the organisation's rationale for their practices and their perception of the influence of their decisions on equality within the organisation. In-depth empirical analysis will be carried out in the chapter 8, the analysis chapter.

7.1.1 Historical and Socio-cultural Context

Founded in 1962, UNILAG is located in Lagos state, which is dominated by the Yoruba ethnic group. The Yoruba make up one of the three largest ethnic groups of Nigeria and are can be mainly found in the southwestern region of the country (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019). In the precolonial period, Yoruba women played significant roles in religion, politics, the economy and family life. They actively participated in roles within their families and communities by organising cottage industries, operating the market system as well as establishing trade routes over long distances, activities which were considered pivotal to the economy (Denzer, 1994). Amoah (2009)'s review of Mckintosh's (2009) study of precolonial and postcolonial Yoruba women revealed that Yorubaland lacked gender distinctions as men and women shared labour roles outside the home in production, trade and services. For example, around 1860, the wife of Bishop Samuel Ajayi Crowther, an early Yoruba missionary, ignored the expectation (largely based on Victorian values) that good Christian women should not be involved in economic activities and carried on with her trading despite protestations and complaints to the Church Missionary Society by the European missionaries(Amoah, 2009).

Politically, women established communities and kingdoms and wielded political authority as rulers, regents, members of the king's councils, and holders of political offices. They were also involved in palace intrigue and politics, undertook diplomatic relations, and provided safety for their towns whenever their men waged war in other lands. There was a hierarchy of female chiefs in every Yoruba kingdom with the *iyalode* at the head of these hierarchies (Denzer, 1994). However, McIntosh (2009) also notes that, the Yoruba distinguished between male and female roles at home even though they did not have an ideological conception of two genders. Under this separation of gender roles, women's responsibilities included child rearing and

preparing meal for the family while men were responsible for obtaining land for farming and maintaining the compound (Amoah, 2009).

Mckintosh (2009) argues that the nature and extent of female agency in Yorubaland and its changes over time require further consideration. This is because over time, women's ability to wield authority in the public sphere diminished. Women's individual choices were unable to wield any influence in policies of the colonial administration, which would ensure the implementation of their recommendations by existing political authorities. In the 1940s and 1950s, Yoruba women were unable to gain top leadership positions in the country's political parties despite their socio-economic independence (Amoah, 2009). Martins (1984 cited in Falola and Njoku, 2016) argues that colonialism transferred economics powers to the colonizers and then to men in postcolonial Nigeria. Gaining a critical understanding of gender relations in Nigeria, requires an understanding of gender discourse from the perspective of the Yoruba ethnic groups in Nigeria. This informed the selection of UNILAG for this study.

7.1.2 Organisational structure

The University has 1,627 Academic Staff (NUC Statistical Digest, 2017) and ranks as the 5th best university in the country and 27th in Africa (Ranking Web of Universities, 2019). Currently, it has three Campuses in Lagos State including the College of Medicine. The university has over 40,000 students having grown from 131 students in 1962. UNILAG currently has twelve Faculties, including Arts, Basic Medical Sciences, Business Administration, Clinical Sciences, Dental Sciences, Education, Engineering, Environmental Sciences, Law, Pharmacy, Science, and Social Sciences offering master's and Doctorate degrees in most of the courses (University of Lagos, 2017). UNILAG is driving creativity through training and capacity building. It has 10 research centres, of which some are Centres

of Excellence. These research centres include African Regional Integration & Borderland Studies, Human and Zoonotic Virology, Autism & Neuro Development Disorders, Centres for Drug Research & Herbal Medicine amongst others. (Times Higher Education, 2019).

7.1.3 Gender Structure of Staff

Table 7. 1: Management of UNILAG (Male and Female)

	UNILAG
Position	Gender
Vice-chancellor	Male
Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Academic)	Male (Academics and research
Deputy Vice-Chancellor	Male (Management services)
Deputy Vice-Chancellor	Female (Development services)
Registrar	Male
Bursar	Male
Librarian	Female

Director- Information and Communication Technology (ICT)	

Culled from UNILAG Website(2018)

The table above shows that UNILAG has only one female principal officer who is the Librarian and all the top officers except for one, the deputy vice- chancellor, who is from a minority ethnic group in Delta state, are Yoruba. Also, they are all Christian with the exception of two individuals. The university's top management represents the dominant ethnic group in the region within they were located, reflecting a lack of diversity in appointment to senior positions within academia.

Table 7. 2: Academic Staff Strength of UNILAG (Male and Female)

Gender	Academic Staff	% of Academic Staff
Male	1079	66.32%
Female	548	33.68%
Total	1627	100%

NUC Statistical Digest (2017)

This table indicates that UNILAG female academic staff constitute 33.68% of the total number of academic staff.

Table 7. 3: Number of Full Professors at UNILAG (Male and Female)

Gender	Full Professors	% of Full Professors
Male	178	73.86%
Female	63	26.14%
Total	241	100%

NUC Statistical Digest (2017)

This table indicates that out of a total of 178, female professors constitute only 26.14% of professors at UNILAG.

7.3 Organisational processes and Inequalities (recruitment, selection and promotion)

As explained in the previous chapter, this section highlights the organising processes established by organisations in order to achieve their goals, which may create inequalities including those based on gender, ethnicity and religion.

7.3.1 Perception of Gendered Practices in Women's Experiences in Recruitment and Selection at UNILAG

The emerging themes in this section reveal that the women thought the recruitment and selection was fair regardless of gender. However, these organizing processes appeared to be heavily influenced by informal processes such as word of mouth. In addition there also seemed to be a perception that some females in senior positions were unsupportive of other females.

Remarkably, the overall response was positive as there was a sense of fairness amongst the respondents. As the survey indicated, of the 50 respondents, a total of 43 (table 7.4 in Appendix 2) reported that they felt positive about the recruitment experience as they agreed and strongly agreed that everyone had equal opportunities during the process. Only 8% (4) disagreed and 2% (1) strongly disagreed. A common view amongst the respondents was that the recruitment seemed to be quite well publicized. As some interviewees put it:

"I saw it in the dailies, actually, it was my husband that saw it in the dailies and he encouraged me to apply. Then, I wasn't married yet, we were still dating and he encouraged me to apply. He was in Lagos and I was still working as a research assistant in Ibadan. We were planning on how to live together after marriage and this was a motivating factor because I wanted to move closer and for us to stay together in Lagos state. (Lecturer 2, UNILAG)

However, recruitment at UNILAG could be said to also involve an informal process highly dependent on word of mouth and internal contacts, unlike UNN in the preceding chapter. Of the 50 women surveyed, more than half (32) revealed that they had heard of their jobs from internal sources or employee referrals at their university. In contrast, only 18 indicated that they had heard about the job from newspaper or online adverts. This view was echoed amongst the interviewees. As one of them put it:

"... At the time, my father-in-law was living with us and he said that he knew someone at the Ministry of Education and the person said that he would help me secure a job at the Ministry. He asked if I wanted to work in Lagos, I said yes but not in the Ministry, that I wanted to work at the University if possible. He then introduced me to Professor Alele Williams, the first female vice-chancellor in Nigeria. She employed me on a part-time basis until my appointment was regularised at the University of Lagos."(Professor, UNILAG)

 As discussed in chapter 10, this could result in ethnic and gender inequalities as individuals have the tendency to associate with other individuals with similar characteristics (McPherson et al, 2001) which could mean that existing employees could favour potential candidates of

similar gender or ethnicity as themselves in terms of providing information about jobs. When asked if she had any idea about the gender composition of the faculties, the participant below responded:

"Well, for example, in my department of petroleum engineering, we hardly have women, they are mostly men, I would say in my faculty most of the top positions are occupied by men because there are more men in sciences and engineering." (Lecturer 1, UNILAG)

Another participant added:

"I would say in the faculty of Arts, faculty of law, you would find more of females there, unlike the Sciences and Engineering where you would find more of males…. I would say that humanities, management and maybe law accommodate females more than the Sciences, where it is seen as more masculine disciplines." (Assistant Lecturer, UNILAG)

As discussed in chapter 4, intersectionality theory, a key concept of this study's theoretical framework, could potentially explain the implications of gender, ethnicity and religion within UNILAG's recruitment and selection processes. This concept has been described as a methodological tool to identify differences and multiple perspectives Arya (2012). This will be fully discussed in the analysis chapter.

A recurrent theme was that very few women or none at all in some cases were likely to be on interview panels. This is similar to the situation at UNN in the previous chapter. A participant pointed out that less women applied for jobs than men and even when employed, were not actively participating in university administrative affairs, hence less likely to be on interview panels. As she put it:

"Actually, there were no women on the panel. I think it was because they're not too many women in the Sciences. A lot of younger women do not want to participate, they don't want the challenge or to be seen. So, we are encouraging them to go into more administrative work not to be content with where they are, we say to them "you need to be there, you need to be part of the policy-making or whatever it is that they are doing so that the womenfolk can have representation in the management. In my University, we try as much as possible to be gender sensitive.(Associate professor, UNILAG)

The near absence of women on interview panels was further revealed by this participant:

"There was one woman and seven or eight men on the panel. We were all called in at the same time and asked a question which we had to answer one after the other. The gender of the applicants was evenly balanced." (Lecturer 2 (1), UNILAG)

However, another participant argued the university did not consider gender, but only focused expertise in such matters. Even though she acknowledged that key officials such as the Registrar are usually men, there did not seem to be any criticism in this respect:

"...the university does not put gender at the forefront. What the university considers, it the expertise of the panel. If by chance members of the panel are all men, irrespective of whether a female is there, it does not matter. Also the management of the university matters. In my own case, the registrar of the university happened to be a female, but most of the time, the Registrars of our university have always been men. Only twice, have females become registrars".(Professor, UNILAG)

An interesting point during the interviews highlighted an issue of hostility from fellow female academics during the selection process as influencing recruitment and selection of women. As one interviewee put it:

"On the surface, the recruitment process appeared to be very transparent, but I think there were some issues. As a matter of fact, the males on the panels were more positive towards the female candidates than the female members of the interview panel. Those three women were more like strong rocks than the men on the panel...The females on the panel were more into our personal lives than the men. The men were more professional than the females. In fact, to be candid with you, one of the females made sure that one of us lost that appointment. They kept asking her questions that were going to floor her and make her appear to the other panel members as not being fit for the position...So I can tell you that most of the problems we have, are not from the men. They are not our problem actually. We women are our own problem." (Assistant Lecturer, UNILAG)

Therefore it appears, that while there was a sense of fairness regarding the recruitment process, having internal contacts and connections within the universities were important for recruitment in UNILAG. There was also not criticism from some participants for the unequal representation

of women on interview panels. This highlights the need for intersectionality research as discussed in chapter 4. This could explain why there are more males than females in employment (as can be seen in the tables 7.1; 7.2; 7.3) as the probability of men including those in some male dominated faculties such as the sciences, informing other men of vacancies were higher. The next section presents themes relevant to ethnicity and religion within organising processes.

7.3.1.1 Perceived gendered promotion practices

In this section, the researcher observed an ambivalence and a lack of criticism for any perceived inequalities in UNILAG, similar to the one displayed by women at UNN with regards to promotion practices at the university. Many of the respondents agreed that women and men have equal promotion opportunities, with 40% agreeing and 36% strongly agreeing (see table 7.6 in appendix). However, there were contrasting opinion on gender inequality in promotion and progression as demonstrated by some of the other participants. A striking observation was that some participants insisted that they were treated equally whilst simultaneously pointing out that they were affected by issues such as family responsibilities which were major drawbacks for them. As the interviewees below put it:

"When it comes to academic promotion, we are all treated equally. If you go for grants, you will be sponsored, but I will tell you what is affecting most of our academic career progression has always been the family issue. Most of us are having babies that we cannot leave to travel for postdocs. I am also a victim because I could not leave my baby to go for postdoc because the man will not take good care of your baby for you. So, you have to look at that. There also so many other distractions like maternity leave. When you go for the maternity leave, this also affects career progression, but apart from these things, there are equal opportunities at the University of Lagos. I don't know about other universities." (Associate Prof, UNILAG)

The response above indicate that the issue of family responsibilities seem critical to promotion. However, these responses suggest a lack of criticism of the unfair advantage that men have as

women bear the burden of caring for the family, thereby losing opportunities for work that could lead to promotion.

This lack of criticism is further demonstrated as another respondent argued that family responsibilities did not have a negative impact on women's career. As this participant commented:

"It can affect but that depends on what kind of effect, positive or negative... I don't believe it's because of my family, it might be because of some other influences, because there are also some other women who have families, whose husbands are also lecturers or bankers or something. It doesn't affect their productivity some of them are professors, publishing, doing very well. What I'm trying to say is that for women, I don't think their family responsibilities can negatively affect their progress. The brain of a woman is wired to multitask. I am also a woman, I have three children and I am working on my PhD and it is not affecting anything. Fine it might be stressful or tedious but you still have to move ahead.(Assistant Lecturer, UNILAG)

This pattern of not being critical of their experiences is again evident in this participant's comment. While acknowledging the difficulty of the situation, she insisted that there was no influence of gender on promotion so long as you had the right qualifications:

"It is a bit tough, you don't get promoted unless you publish. I think that was the reason I was interested in your project. If you don't publish, you don't go anywhere. And it has to be quality contents. That is a major criteria for progression, you have to publish. If you don't do that, then you will remain in the same position for a very long time. You have to publish in both international and local journals as well as international and local conferences. As long as you know what you are doing, and you have enough papers, gender is not a barrier. Anybody can be a professor, nobody stops a woman from being a professor, a senior lecturer or HOD, once you have the qualifications you are good to go." (Lecturer 2(1), UNILAG)

An interesting suggestion by a participant about the lack of criticism of the situation and why the women felt that gender was not an issue at the university was that some women had found a way to cope:

"The women just do the minimum of what is required of them to get promoted. They feel they were only employed to teach and not even teach, to lecture the students. So it is just to prepare lecture notes, go to class, deliver the lecture, set exams, mark the scripts and go home. They only go to the office when they have lectures otherwise, they go home and take care of their children. Maybe that is why some women are telling you they don't need any help or special considerations because they feel that they have been able to balance it….So, they have been able to find a balance and they are not concerned about the students' welfare. I think that is the thick skin that women have developed to survive based on the policies on ground. Essentially the feeling is if you cannot help me, I will help myself."(Assistant Lecturer, UNILAG)

As has been noted in the previous chapter, based on these narratives, a possible explanation for lack of criticism for practices that fuel gender inequality could be that women focus on surviving challenges within and outside organisational structures, which potentially supports Mikell (1997 p.4)'s suggestion that, African feminism is more concerned with many "bread and butter, culture and power issues" i.e. survival. This will be discussed in detail in the discussion and analysis chapters.

Another participant echoed that gender was not an issue at the university. However, in an interesting twist, she argued that the issue of hostility amongst female academics already noted earlier on in the recruitment and selection section, was hampering women's chances at promotion:

"At least in my faculty that I know of, no your gender does not matter. Once you have the required number of publications, you are good to go. Except for some women who want to look into the affairs of other women. If we continue to have men in places of authority then there will be no problems. I foresee you that if we begin to have female Deans, some females not all of them, there will be problems." (Assistant Lecturer, UNILAG)

It is also interesting to note a comment by a participant that promotion processes were not as clear cut and transparent as has been portrayed by some participants, particularly in cases of senior positions:

"I would say that the university is trying its best within the rules. To the best of my knowledge, there is no victimisation or witch-hunting or anything like that at least to the level of Senior lecturer, but when it comes to higher positions like Associate professors or higher, where if there is no vacancy, no promotion, there is discrimination, but I think the university is trying its best." (Lecturer 1, UNILAG)

This 'no vacancy, no promotion' situation with regards to higher positions as she said, could potentially cause glass ceilings for the women at the university.

Thus, it can be seen in this section that some women felt satisfied with the organising processes of recruitment, selection and promotion, while some felt that family responsibilities affected their progress. On the whole, due to a number of reasons, they were not overly critical of these challenges which have the potential to place them in a disadvantageous position in comparison with male colleagues. The next sections looks at women's experiences and any perceived influence of ethnicity and religion in recruitment, selection and promotion.

7.3.2 Perception of Ethnic and Religious Influences in Recruitment and Selection

The researcher observed that ethnicity and religion seemed to be influential in organisational processes at UNILAG. Some of the comments indicated a similarity with the views of the participants at UNN as they pointed out that individuals of a different ethnicity applying to a different state could face various challenges due to the underlying ethnic tensions in the country. These ethnic tensions, as previously discussed in literature and theoretical chapters, are legacies of a colonial and postcolonial administrative practices in Nigeria. It was also established in the literature review that these further complicates women's experiences in the Nigerian labour market. This finding will shed further light on the discussion of the postcolonial feminist theory, a key theoretical concept of this study, within the discussion and analysis chapter. As evidenced by the staff directory, the majority of UNILAG employees are

Yoruba, a fact not unrelated to the location of the university within a state in Yorubaland.

Commenting on this issue, an interviewee said:

"Well considering ethnicity, I think that a barrier is going to be there whether we like it or not because the university is in Lagos state and is localized in a Yoruba speaking area. People do come in from all over Nigeria and some might not get the position due to ethnicity. I have not seen but I have heard of this happening. In my department we have a mix. Though we don't have anyone from the Northern part of Nigeria, we have someone from the East, Middle-Belt and then the West. And I have seen people from other ethnic groups being HOD and other positions, but whether we like it or not, that barrier is still there. Even if you go to the North, you hardly see anybody from the West taking up leadership positions over there. Also, in the East, you hardly see anyone from the West taking up leadership positions.(Lecturer 2 (1), UNILAG)

Other participants further commented:

"It is possible, it is very possible that a person from another ethnic group would be affected negatively if they were applying in a different state, unless you have a 'godfather' or 'godmother' or if the person is exceptionally good and they really need the person's services especially in a Federal Government institution. In the private sector, no problem, but in a federal university, it may be problematic unless the person has someone up there as a godfather or the person is exceptional and is really needed in that particular institution." (Lecturer 2, UNILAG)

A HR official insisted that the university was more 'liberal' than some others and recruited from everywhere. According to him:

"Well, indirectly. University of Lagos is a bit liberal, some other universities are not. We employ everybody. Once you are intellectually sound and qualified, University of Lagos will hire you. Also, there is this government policy that forces federal establishments to take people from other ethnic groups, the Federal character policy. In fact, once we advertise, we have to invite them (representatives of the Federal Character Commission), we have to show them a list of all the people that applied from different parts of the country to assure them that we followed the due process in that employment…."

Similarly, another participant argued that ethnicity is not an issue at UNILAG due to the

Federal character principle, which, as was discussed in chapter 3, was introduced to ensure

fair distribution of the nation's resources. She conceded however that there was an undertone

of ethnic bias within UNILAG or as she put it:

"You know the University of Lagos is a federal university and as such, it is governed by the Federal Character policy. So there is nothing like ethnicity at the University of Lagos. However, there is an undertone, like some people have complained that there is ethnic bias. I have not really experienced it but people have complained. We have different ethnic groups that are in the hierarchy of our administration. We have the Igbos, Yorubas, people from the Middle Belt. Our VC is a Yoruba man, the three deputies are a Yoruba man, a Yoruba woman and an Edo. man The director of Quality assurance is Igbo, so we have a lot of them mixed together." (Assoc. Prof, UNILAG)

Similar to UNN, the majority of the survey participants claimed that religion had no influence on their selection. A total of 48 women out 50 who responded in UNILAG identified as Christians and a majority (34.0% disagreed and 40.0% strongly disagreed, (see table 7.5) that their religious identity had a positive effect during the selection process; only 4.0% agreed.

However, some of the comments by the participants clearly indicate that religion was influential in the employment practices and the general administration of the universities, pointing out that people generally preferred people of their own religion to be appointed and also be at the helm of affairs. As one of the interviewees commented:

"Religion has its own influence on management, particularly if management is headed by a Christian, you can be sure that most of the key positions would be occupied by Christians, it is just natural, if it's headed by a Muslim, the same thing happens. It's just like what is happening in the Nigerian society, most of the positions in directorates, appointments are headed in the direction of whomever is in control. If it is a contestable position, like Deanship, it may or may not. In some faculties you can see it playing out, it could be subdued in some faculties. It depends on the central management of the university. Sometimes, you see it coming up, you see religiosity, ethnicity, politics coming up. Most of the time it is politics. Of course, politics have a tribal and religious undertone, they are together really." (Professor, UNILAG)

On the other hand, in a manner similar to UNN, some of the participants maintained that religion had no influence as long as one was suitably qualified or had seniority in rank. They did concede that it was not totally absent from university affairs:

"It is not very important, not a barrier as long as you are qualified. However, in some places, if you have a person from a particular religion ruling for some time, people from the other religion would demand that someone from their own religion take over after the incumbent's tenure is over, for example the position of the VC. This is a big factor in Nigeria." (Lecturer 2(1), UNILAG)

Thus, while there some negative comments from the participants in which they revealed that individuals of another ethnic group may encounter difficulties when applying due to ethnic tensions, a smaller group argued that ethnicity had no influence on organising processes within the university. Furthermore, a majority of the participants claimed that religion had no influence on their selection, a minority argued that religion was quite influential in the general administration of the university. This indicates the mixed reactions to these issues by the participants. The next section presents themes observed which focus on the promotion process with the organisation.

7.3.2.1 Perception of Ethnic and Religious Influences in Promotion Practices

The researcher observed that there seemed to be the silent influence of ethnicity in the organising processes of the University of Lagos. As has been noted, discrimination based on ethnic group is a legacy of colonial/postcolonial administrations, which highlights the conceptual relevance of postcolonial feminist theory, discussed in chapter 4, within this study. In an intersectional study, a Postcolonial feminist perspective could aid in the analysis of this silent influence, as it recognizes the complex legacies of colonial interactions with the resulting ethnic tensions in Nigeria.

A participant (a non-Yoruba woman and therefore a minority) was of the opinion that ethnicity was a very big influence:

"...I can tell you that in the University of Lagos, which is in the South West, the Easterners (Igbo) are kind of disadvantaged, there is this tribal thing, it is silent, it is underground, but it is there. Sometimes people deny it, but the truth is that it is there. It is my opinion that my supervisor was a victim of that, in fact we have another person, an Easterner, who is supposed to be a Professor by now, in fact he has been so frustrated that he went into depression and now he is out of the system. Presently, he is at the Anambra State University (in the East) where they are setting up a faculty of Pharmacy and so he is the substantive Dean there. So ethnicity is a very big issue at the University of Lagos, I don't know about other universities, but I am very sure of the University of Lagos." (Lecturer 2, UNILAG)

This supports the concept of spatial segregation shaped by ethnic tensions and influences in organisations, as one of the individuals in this participant's example had to go back to his state in order to be promoted.

On the other hand, another participant argued that there is very little influence of ethnicity within her organisation. To drive home her assertion, this participants points out an Igbo individual has been a DVC (deputy vice chancellor), however, she does acknowledge that there has never been one as the VC (vice chancellor). It could be that ethnicity is a limiting factor in this case and she does acknowledge that it is everywhere, despite having pointed out how 'low' it is. This just emphasises the silent influence of ethnicity. Additionally, the spatial segregation discussed earlier in the section seems to particularly affect people from the North, as the participants stress how few they are at the university:

"In my opinion and to the best of my knowledge, the influences of ethnicity is very low at the University of Lagos, though it exists because it is everywhere. Here you can see an Igbo person as a DVC, though we have not had one as the VC, Igbos are also Deans, principal officers, directors of programmes and so on. We don't have many Hausas here because most of them are in the North, very few are here, I only know of one Fulani man in one programme. But really ethnicity does not affect promotion." (Assistant Lecturer)

Overall, the themes in this section reveal mixed reactions from the participants with regards to their experiences of recruitment, selection and promotion at the University of Lagos. While a majority expressed satisfaction, these organising processes appeared to be heavily influenced by informal processes such as word of mouth. Additionally, there was also a perception that some females in senior positions were unsupportive of other females at selection and promotion. Furthermore, ethnicity and religion were influential in recruitment, selection and promotion processes at UNILAG. Also, there was a striking lack of criticism for any perceived inequalities experienced by the participants within these processes.

The next section will focus on themes emerging from data on women's leadership and awareness of inequalities within the organisational structure.

7.4. Visible Inequalities: Awareness of Gender Inequalities and Attitudes to Women in leadership within the organisational culture and structures

This section reveals that while women were aware of inequalities, there was a distinct lack of criticism from a majority of the respondents, similar to those detailed in the previous sections. This highlights the need for critical enquiry into African centred feminism as discussed in Chapter 4 which points out women's unwillingness to be viewed as feminists. The relevance of these findings to the theory will be discussed in detail in the discussion and analysis chapter.

There was a similarity between the responses from UNILAG and UNN as there seemed to be a degree of ambivalence amongst the women regarding any perceived inequalities with regards to senior positions.

Very few of the respondents were positive about the number of women in senior positions. Based on the survey, the women appear to be aware of inequality due to gender as only a few (20% agreed and 8% strongly agreed), (see table 7.7 in Appendix) with the statement that there is an equal number of men and women in senior academic positions, while a larger number, at 34% and 22% disagreed and strongly disagreed respectively out of all the respondents. So just like UNN, more UNILAG women disagreed that there was an equal number of men and women as there are more men.

This is also held true at the faculty and departmental levels:

"Well, for example, in my department of petroleum engineering, we hardly have women, they are mostly men, I would say in my faculty most of the top positions are occupied by men because there are more men in sciences and engineering." (Lecturer (1) UNILAG)

They were also aware that family and child caring responsibilities sometimes prevented women from taking advantage of opportunities such as the grants provided by the university. As one respondent puts it:

"Childbearing and tending children does not really affect men. It does not affect them in any way. He would just leave the house for you and tell you to continue working hard. This is Africa, my dear, not the Western world. In the Western world, they share responsibilities but here, they put all the responsibilities on the women. And when you try to protest, they will report you to their family and accuse you of becoming too pompous or arrogant for them. So, here, it is a man's world. It does not really affect men. They get grants, nothing ties them down and so they move, that is why many of them get promoted faster than women. This is because when there are periods of two-three years for promotion, a man could do it in one year. For a woman, that would take longer because she might take time off to have a baby, nursing the child. Well, we are trying. Where there are 10 men, you will see at least 2 or 3 women." (Associate Professor, 2), UNILAG)

Thus these inequalities were visible as this respondents acknowledges that men are able to be promoted faster as the family responsibilities are largely left to women. One of them expressed their dissatisfaction with the situation:

"I am a woman and when I see men getting promoted ahead of myself and I am not being promoted, it has physiological effects such as depression. So, I work double twice as hard, just to be recognized to prove myself. You have to be good at multi-tasking as a woman, to meet up with the expectations." (Assoc. Prof, UNILAG)

Another participant admitted that they needed to work harder while men did not have to do that:

"Even as my kids are becoming independent, I still have to work extra hard, I still stay up late at night to study. The man does not have to do that, he does not have to go to the market, he does not have to cook. I asked you to call me by 10pm tonight because I had to go to a program at church and I knew that I will have to cook this night and so I knew there would be no time because I have to go to church again early in the morning and I knew there would be no other time to cook other than earlier this evening. My husband does not have to do that." (Lecturer 2, UNILAG)

However, there appeared to be a lack of criticism from the respondents below, given the fact that women are mostly given the role of 'deputy director' and not 'director' or possibly discriminated against when it came to attaining positions at a certain level, insisting that the university was 'trying'. This lack of criticism or reluctance to confront could potentially be explained by part of this study's conceptual framework. As discussed in chapter 4, Nnaemeka (2005) tells us that African feminism is one of negotiation rather than confrontation. The respondents below insisted that the university was trying its best to be inclusive:

"Well, in the university system, they have different levels of involvement. The deputy VC for Academics and Research always brings grants for females, most of the grants from UNESCO, WHO are usually for women in science, to sponsor for programmes. So most of the women are enjoying. Also most of the time, women are made deputy director so that at least they can get close to a higher level of authority. Most women are encouraged to come and get grants for research. But you know, most women are constrained because of their children, and you know Africans, they are very sensitive to family matters. So that has been a major setback, but the university Is trying, encouraging women" (Associate Prof (2)UNILAG).

Rather, in a very similar manner to UNN, some respondents at UNILAG insisted that gender did not have any influence on progression of female academic at the university and would be deemed inferior if they demanded help:

"I don't think it does at this university, because incidentally, many females are in academics. Even if the university considers gender in career progression of females, it is not very clear, it is not very noticeable because, already, women are all over the place here, there is equity really. There are males and there are females of comparable numbers, so, I wouldn't say so because it is not apparent. Women are pulling their weight as much as the men and they are not asking for sympathy or any extra consideration. "If we demand that extra consideration, that would show that we are inferior, that we need to be helped. We don't need to be helped. Women are equal to the task." (Professor, UNILAG)

Furthermore, the survey revealed that a higher percentage of the total number of UNILAG respondents did not think that women were seen as lacking decision-making skills within their organisation, at 42% disagree and 6%strongly disagree (see table 7.8 in Appendix). Those who remained neutral were at 26%, while only 16% agreed and 10% strongly agreed. This was similar to the situation with the survey of UNN academic women.

The survey also revealed that similar to the views of UNN participants, more UNILAG women agreed that women received equal respect with men, at 38% agree and 16% strongly agree, compared to a lower number (20%) who disagreed and 8% who strongly disagreed. (see table 7.9 in Appendix)

These findings are quite surprising as it appears that, while the women are aware of some inequalities with respect to senior positions and that family responsibilities had an influence on women's careers, this awareness, just like in UNN, appears to be limited either deliberately or

unintentionally. Despite expressing their dissatisfaction with the number of women in senior positions and with women's promotion prospects, they still felt that they were seen as good decision makers and received equal respect as men. It did not seem like they were overly critical of it and were of the opinion that they needed to work hard.

Similar to some of the participants at UNN, albeit in the context of the wider society outside the university, the women seemed more aware of gender inequality when it was a product of their perception of members of other ethnic groups:

"Certain cultures does not see the girl child as being equal as the male child particularly in certain parts of the country. But in the part of the country, where I come from, I'm from the South Eastern part of Nigeria, girls and boys have equal opportunities, unless the family is not well to do, unless they are not wealthy enough to send the children to school, then the boys are given priority over girls. In my opinion I think the girls and boys have equal opportunities now. The only thing is.. especially with regards to culture, for example in some places in the Northern part of the country, they still operate based on such culture, but where I come from they have equal opportunities, unless the family does not have enough money to send their children to school". (Lecturer 2, UNN)

This sentiment was echoed by the HR staff who participated in the interviews. He appeared to more aware of gender inequality, due to what he perceived in the culture of other ethnic and religious groups:

"Someone can be afraid of what obtains in other cultural areas and may not want to go there. For example, as it is, I may not want to go to the north because of the volatile nature of the area. As a woman you may not stand the security risk. Another thing is the cultural issues associated with Islam, as a woman, you may not put up with that. even at the level of the National youth service scheme which is a programme for every fresh graduate, you see some female corpers not being comfortable to stay in some places because of the social risk. So, one may out of personal fear, not want to go to an area, not actually that there is a policy or practice against female workers in the place" (HR staff, UNILAG)

Again, the issue of lack of support from women to other women at the university was highlighted. This participant below was of the opinion that some women in higher positions were responsible for some issues experienced by their fellow female academics. As she put it:

"At least in my faculty that I know of, no your gender does not matter. Once you have the required number of publications, you are good to go. Except for some women who want to look into the affairs of other women. If we continue to have men in places of authority then there will be no problems. I foresee that if we begin to have female Deans, some females not all of them, there will be problems. There are some professors in my faculty who don't care about your personal life, they only care about the official duties. But there are some who feel like your personal life influences your academic life, how you manage your affairs your career, that is when gender might come into play. They may say this woman does not have a husband who will instruct her or give her orders, then she can't be responsible, So she can't have certain appointments."(Assistant lecturer, UNILAG)

It is interesting that this participant considers having women in places of authority would be problematic for other women. In this instance, the gendered attitudes are displayed by fellow women, as they think that a woman without a husband to 'instruct' or 'give her orders' is an irresponsible woman. This could be who (Smith and Self 1981) consider 'traditionalist' women who have different notions of men and domestic roles than feminists. This could be as a result of societal or cultural influences.

This section indicates a similar trend of ambivalence as noted in the previous chapter with many UNILAG and UNN academic women sharing similar views about gender inequalities at work. It has discussed the extent to which women are aware deliberately or intentionally of the inequalities at UNILAG indicating the difficulties involved in highlighting gender inequalities as they tend to be overlooked or fleeting. While some women perceived inequalities, there appeared to be no criticism, only acceptance as duties to family was paramount. Other women were of the opinion that there was no inequality, pointing to women in high positions and many women also did not want to be perceived as weak. Hostilities among females were also blamed as a factor that kept some women from achieving their goals.

7.4.1 Awareness of ethnic and religious inequalities- 'a silent influence of ethnicity' and a 'subtle impact of religion'

There was an awareness of inequality due to ethnicity and religion despite the claims to the contrary by many of the participants who have insisted that their ethnicity or religion does not have any influence:

"There is a silent influence of ethnicity in the university. I say silent because it is not apparent but you see it manifesting one way or the other. For example, the university is in the south-west of Nigeria which is dominated by Yorubas, the south-east is an Igbo dominated area. You may have an Igbo lecturer trying to go for one position or the other, then you will find people saying 'he is Igbo, why would you vote for him?' The same would happen in another part of the country, it is not spelt out but you will see it manifesting in some actions. "(Lecturer 1, UNILAG)

There also appeared to be an awareness of religious bias even though the participant noted that it was subtle:

"There is a subtle impact. Why I said subtle is that, you know just like I said, it is a federal university and there shouldn't be any bias, but you know we have realised that in the administration, when a Muslim is there at the helm of affairs, it favours the Muslims with management or appointments, when a Christian is there, it favours the Christians and what I have seen is that people work well with people of like minds. With research, there is no distinction or religious bias. Once you are qualified, you will get it. There is no religious bias in promotions or getting research grants or any other thing that is available. There is also bias for student admissions." (Associate Professor, UNILAG)

However, another participant suggested that there is very little inequality due to ethnicity at UNILAG, arguing that it was more likely to happen in other parts of the country than in Yorubaland, where the university is situated:

"So when you talk about ethnicity, I think it happens more in the east and the north. In fact in the north, even if you are Yoruba, you must understand Hausa, you must become one of them. But down here, there is nothing like that. In UNILAG, there is Igbo student society, even Igbo lecturers society and nobody says anything or stands in their way. But in their own, it is different. No Yoruba man will just go to an Igbo university to start doing all these things, even in Nsukka (University of Nigeria). You can't go to those places and begin to act like you are their kinsman, it does not happen. So ethnicity down here is different than in the east or north." (Assistant Lecturer, UNILAG)

In a manner similar to the women at UNN, when asked if their ethnic identity helped their career at the university, a significant number of the Yoruba women at UNILAG mostly disagreed (28.6%) and strongly disagreed (32.1%), and another 32.1% remained neutral, while 7.1% agreed even though they were the dominant ethnic group; (see table 7.10). The fact that a third of them remained neutral points to the sensitive nature of this issue, hence their decision not to provide any response.

Their response also suggests that the women did not feel that their ethnicity was advantageous to them even though they were of the dominant ethnic group within the university. This is reflected in religion as well. More Christian women at UNILAG (which is located in a predominantly Christian location) disagree (41.7%) and strongly disagree (27.1%) with the statement that their religious identity helps them in their career at the university, while only 4.2% agreed. Only one Muslim woman (50%) agreed and the other remained neutral. (see table 7.11)

The relevance of intersectionality research, a key part of this study's conceptual framework, is demonstrated by the interaction between religion and ethnicity. The comments from some women revealed that religion was considered less important than ethnicity in producing inequality at work. This will be analysed within the discussion and analysis chapter. As a participant commented:

"Religion does not really play a part. Religion is silent. It is ethnicity that is the main thing. it does not matter if you're a Christian or a Muslim, everyone is carried along. For example, during our induction into the pharmacy profession they usually have opening prayers or closing prayers, so it's either a Christian who prays or a Muslim does the prayer, so religion does not really matter. It is ethnicity that matters." (Lecturer 2, UNILAG)

However, while stating that religion was not an issue particularly in the South-west where the university is located, they were aware of it on a national level:

"The effect of religion is not so much in the South-west of Nigeria, but you see it manifesting so much in the Northern part of Nigeria. We cannot say religion does not have any influence in our education system, tertiary institutions particularly in the North. For example when I was studying at the University of Maiduguri in the North, I saw these things happening with the academic staff and in Kwara State, someone very close to me was denied a position simply because he is a Christian even though that was in Federal University."(Lecturer 1, UNILAG)

7.4.2 Awareness of policies to improve equality and diversity

The participants were unanimous in their view that there were no clear cut policies to improve equality. The comments below demonstrate this:

"The only thing I know is probably when the woman gives birth, there is this maternity leave of 3 or 4 months, and when they come back to work the woman is entitled to go home early I think at about 2 p.m. for the next 3 or 4 months. But aside from that, if the woman is granted any other favours or exemption that would be an internal thing probably within the department because they will have an understanding, but in terms of policy I don't know if that is going to happen but it would be nice if the woman would be given a softer landing because they have more work on their hands, they have to be wives, they have to be mothers to both their husbands and the kids, and at the same time they have to be career women." (Lecturer 2, UNILAG)

Interestingly, when asked whether the university had family-friendly policies, a high percentage remained neutral, at 46.5%. Of the 43 UNILAG respondents who said they had children, a total of 34.9% were in agreement (18.6% agree and 16.3% strongly agreed) that the university had family-friendly policies, while 28.7% were in disagreement (14% disagreed

and 4.7% strongly disagreed; see table 7.12). Thus, one can see that there was not a significant difference between those who agreed and disagreed.

One participant remarked on the challenges presented by going on maternity leave and how it impacted on women's productivity as academics:

"The university gives 6 months of maternity leave for women and most women just disappear, they don't do anything concerning research during those 6 months, they just relax. This hampers research because it is an ongoing process. Unfortunately, by the time you finish tending to your children, our ages are too old for a postdoc position. By that time you are getting to 40-45 and most of the postdoc positions available are usually for 35-year-olds. And those are the ages where you can be productive and active. Once you are over 35, your productivity reduces as a woman." (Associate Prof, UNILAG)

However, with its 6 months maternity leave UNILAG seem to be more progressive than other case studies in this respect, as its maternity leave is higher than the national average:

"Women in federal parastatals get 3 months. Lagos state has extended its maternity leave to 6 months. It is not really fair on women, even though it is paid, but it is not much and something should be added to it, maybe for the first 2 or 3 births because it discourages women a lot. Once they get married and start bearing children, they tend to relax in the workplace, they are not progressing on their research, so I believe that government should look into it to encourage women in their academic careers."(Lecturer 2 (1)UNILAG)

When asked if the university had a diversity policy, the HR staff responded:

"You mean written down? I am not sure, I have not heard of any but we are not discriminating. We don't discriminate." (HR Staff)

Comments from the participants suggest that having a dedicated gender/diversity policy would be beneficial. As some of the participating argued:

"It would be nice if they introduce any policy like that, that probably the women should have a shorter promotion time, for example if it takes three years for men, it should take two years for women, But I don't know if that is ever going to happen, I don't think that is ever going to happen. it is just that it is a lot more hard work, a lot more work on our part as women…. If they can be given a softer landing if you know what I mean for example the rules should not be so stringent for them, that would be very nice, it would be nice but not in such a way as to promote laxity." (Lecturer 2, UNILAG)

The data focusing on influences of ethnicity and religion with the organisational structure indicate that there was a silent undertone of ethnicity, despite some protests to the contrary. There was agreement across the board, that there were no policies dedicated to tackling gender inequality or improving diversity. The data suggested that having such policies would contribute to alleviating some inequities due to gender within the university. It could be argued that the lack of gender policy mentioned earlier serves to legitimise gender inequality to which we will now turn in the next section.

7.4.3 Legitimacy of Inequalities

There is a certain legitimacy to some of the inequalities produced by gender. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Nigerian socio-cultural space is highly gendered with social roles defined by gender. Certain roles within the university seemed to be highly gendered as they appear to be only suitable for a certain aspect of their job. As this participant put it:

"… in Marine Sciences, field trips on the water are usually dangerous due to the depths and other factors. So it is mostly men that go for impact assessment studies, they don't allow the women to go, because right on the seas, you could meet pirates or other bad boys and you don't want the women to be raped and man-handled, so we don't go to the field as regularly as we should or as our male counterparts do. So, there is also the problem of insecurity and danger affecting women in my department." (Assoc. Prof, UNILAG)

This can be said to have served to legitimise some inequalities under the guise of benevolence or looking out for women. According to Glick and Fiske (1997), this benevolent sexism only serves to reinforce and justify traditional gender roles and patriarchy. The same respondent continues:

"We are discouraged from going, but if you insist, they will tell you to put it down in writing, that if anything happens, nobody will be queried for it because you insisted. If a woman eventually goes, they try as much as they can to protect her by hiding her and not opening her up to problems."

An example of this legitimising of inequality involve the inability to pass the Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill in 2016, as mentioned in the Literature review, following vociferous opposition by the male dominated Senate and religious groups. The patriarchal nature of the society fuelled by colonial and postcolonial legacies, which favoured men socio-economically more than women, highlights the relevance of postcolonial feminist theory, which will be discussed in the discussion and analysis chapter.

Asked her opinion on why the Gender quality bill did not pass in Nigeria, the NUC director had this to say:

"It is still due to the men's attitude towards women. If the northerners were as enlightened as the south, I am sure that the bill would have been passed because they are the majority in the House. The way the political structure is set up, it is skewed in their favour so that at any given time, there is more of them than people from the south so that if anything comes to a vote, they will always win. In their culture, it is like why would any woman for God's sake be equal to a man? Even in the south, men's attitudes are almost the same, none of them would want women to rub shoulders with them. It is just that we have to keep struggling and in that struggle, you should not make it look like you are challenging his authority, otherwise, you will be in trouble. For married women, if you want to keep your marriage, you have to find a way of challenging in a subtle way."

This section has looked at data on women's experiences within the organisational structure and attitudes to their leadership; the next section will be presented to show how women perceive structural inequalities in both organisational and societal contexts.

7.5 Perception Of Structural Inequalities

As has been explained the previous chapter, an important key to understanding women's workplace experiences is to draw attention to organisational culture and relations, as well as the practices and processes that influence them. This section focuses on the ways in which women perceive their roles and manage gender, ethnic and religious politics, as well their strategies for coping with the various aspects of their organisation in order to achieve career progression. Thus, closely exploring the agency of the respondents as subject to the intersections of their gender, ethnicity and religion is critical to understanding how women interact with the structures which shape their work and organisations. As mentioned in chapter 5, the relationship between structure and agency has been conceptualized in various ways and will be further discussed in the analysis chapter. Similar to the previous chapter, this section denotes the participants' perception of the existing organisational structures and their agencies with regards to their careers. Their agency in relation to gender and ethnic inequalities, is subsequently discussed. The researcher observed that, unlike the findings on UNN, there was some ethnic agency by very few non-Yoruba participants. However, there was no religious agency developed by the UNILAG participants in order to cope with careers and achieve progression. This is due to the lack of religious diversity, as the majority of the participants are Christians..

7.5.1 Structural Perception of Gender Inequalities

In assessing the academic women's perceptions of gender inequality due to existing organisational and societal structures, the researcher observed some similarities between UNILAG and UNN. Similar to the UNN women in the previous chapter, many of the UNILAG participants noted the gendered nature of the society itself in which the positions of men and women were clearly defined within the Nigerian socio-cultural context. The importance of gender within the Nigerian socio-economic context and as a source of disadvantage has been discussed in Chapter 2:

"I mean the man, any time he gets home, his food should be waiting for him, you know our culture is completely different from that of the westerners. You know, so when I was in the US, my supervisor's husband would come home, go into the kitchen, cook and do the dishes, I was just looking at him in awe, asking myself "what is going on here?" You know, he would do the laundry, oh my God. As for us, you have to go to the market, you do the laundry, you come back, you cook, you clean, I mean you could go out to an event with your husband and when you come back you're going to the kitchen to make some food, while he sits in the living room in front of the TV watching his favourite TV programme and harassing you, asking if the food is not ready, I mean both of you just came into the house. Anyway, that is our culture, I am proud of our culture, but it is quite different for us. So the woman has to struggle with all this, which the man does not have to struggle with." (Lecturer 2, UNILAG)

However, in a manner also similar to UNN participants, the UNILAG women were still of the opinion that there was no influence of gender. For example the participant below said that it was only in situations where family commitment was involved that gender had any influence:

"No, I don't think so. The only way I can see gender affecting career progression is on the home front if you are a married woman and you have to juggle between work and home, especially if you have a young family, that would be a major distraction if you are family oriented and if you don't have support at home. It is either the work suffers or your family suffers. Then the fact that we don't have adequate resources, though there is some social support in Nigeria but that is not everything. For example I went away for 4 years due to family commitments. A man would not do that, because he would not want to leave his work, but a woman is expected to do that."(Associate Professor 2, UNILAG)

They also felt lucky as they had the support of family. As this participant put it::

"Also my husband is just my superhero. He believes in me, he, believes in everything in me, he kept encouraging me even when I kept writing the entrance exam he didn't relent and he kept on encouraging me. He persuaded me not to give up because at a point I almost decided to give up but he kept encouraging me....even at the point of me going for masters, PhD, he has been very supportive" (Lecturer 2, UNILAG)

However, it seems the support is not always guaranteed:

"There is the issue of in-laws, for a female in academics, it is one thing for the husband to support but it is a whole other thing for in-laws to support. For example, if the husband supports the wife to continue with her academics , the in-laws will protest and tell the man that he wants his wife to be above him. I have seen it happen with my postgraduate students. If you ask them why they are no longer coming for the programme, they will tell you their mother-in-law who is visiting has complained, and so each time they go to school, she must not know that they did, because then they would complain that the woman is reading too much and wants to read more than the husband. And you know in this country, you cannot do without extended family." (Lecturer 1, UNILAG)

The respondent's comment that one might be accused of wanting to read more than the husband has its roots in attitudes towards girls' education mentioned in the literature, where less girls are encouraged to study than boys. While she alluded to the fact that the situation was much better now but was still more prevalent in some parts of the country than in others, it can be seen in her comment that equal educational opportunities for girls depends on the resources available to the family:

"In my opinion I think the girls and boys have equal opportunities now. The only thing is.. especially with regards to culture, for example in some places in the Northern part of the country, they still operate based on such culture, but where I come from they have equal opportunities, unless the family does not have enough money to send their children to school". (Lecturer 2, UNILAG)

This just reinforces the gendered attitude towards women in Nigerian society as has been outlined by the literature. Similar to the women at UNN, the participants at UNILAG made it

clear that family plays a great role in the lives of these women and is interwoven with their

working lives. They noted the societal expectations to have children, take care of those

children, spouses and other family members, and how they affected their work life. :

"So, here, it is a man's world. So, it does not really affect men. They get grants, nothing ties them down and so they move, that is why many of them get promoted faster than women. This is because when there are periods of two-three years for promotion, a man could do it in one year. For a woman, that would take longer because she might take time off to have a baby, nursing the child. Well, we are trying. Where there are 10, you will see at least 2 or 3 women."
(Associate Professor, UNILAG)

The NUC director while not academic, experienced the same in her own career, noting that you can only progress depending on how strong you are. This indicates the systemic nature of this issue:

"It depends on how strong you are. You know Nigeria is a very difficult country, things are not done the way they should be done. You are there in the UK and you have seen the way things are done and when you come here, you see the difference. You need to struggle for everything. I want to give you an example using myself. When I finished school cert and I got married, I went to school up to my master's level, even though I withdrew from my PhD because the stress was too much. If I was not having children, maybe I would have finished my PhD by now"

7.5.2 Agency and strategies to achieve career progression within the organisational structure.

The researcher observed that women demonstrated a high level of agency within the

organisational structures. As discussed in the theoretical chapter, a critique of

mainstream/western feminism is that it views all women as the same. This is problematic to

postcolonial and African feminism scholars, particularly as this assumes that women are

universally united based on the notion of their oppression, thereby analytically limiting them

to their gender identity and overlooking their ethnic and social class identities. (Mohanty,

2003).

This difference in women can be demonstrated in the various forms of agency observed in this study. Unlike to UNN and UNIABUJA/BUK, the women developed strategies which could be said to confront the system rather than negotiate with it, demonstrating high levels of agency. Strategies developed by the participants at UNILAG, similar to women at UNN, included adopting certain behaviours deemed acceptable to men in order to get into top positions:

"Well, like in most organizations, I would say hard work, visibility, commitment and integrity. If you have these even as a woman, and you add hospitality, you gain the men's heart and they vote for you. They nominate you for top positions. If not, they will say "no, a woman's place should be in the kitchen, she should go and tend to her family or her husband". However, once they see you being hardworking, visible and available, they will definitely vote for you". (Assoc. Prof, UNILAG)

Surprisingly, a strategy distinguishing the participants at UNILAG from those at UNN is the adoption of masculine behaviour to combat perceived gender inequalities within the organisation.

"Though some women don't do it, some women act like men so that they can progress. I know of a woman like that, she doesn't care, she only comes to school when she has lectures, any day she doesn't have lectures, she is at home writing papers. Although, people in her department expected more from her because she is a woman, so now they are using it against her, saying that how can she expect to become the Dean when she is not a mother-figure. Do we mention father-figure when we are talking about men in the department? But women have to play a mother-figure. The moment I saw your research, I said this is worth it, it is really worth it. So because she is not a mother-figure, her chances of getting to that position is low. "(Assistant lecturer, UNILAG)

This agency is demonstrated in this participant comment below, as she noted that women are pushing forward despite the challenges:

"It is not so written that there should be equal gender representation but by our activities, we make it known. There are a lot of women agitating that the females must be represented. If you go to the university's website, you will see that we have a female as one of the university's deputy VCs, we also have a female Registrar and a female Librarian and across the hierarchy of our administration. The Dean of Law is female." (Associate Prof, UNILAG)

Some suggested they were fighting the suppression. For this next participant, the key lies in

encouraging women to take on more traditionally male-dominated courses as there is a

generational gap:

"The situation is changing because we the new generation women are coming up, so in the
next 5-10 years we would also get to those positions, but for now, the ones we have are the old-
generation women who did not even know how to go about getting to those higher positions.
Most of them were scared of studying engineering. There is a generational gap. For instance,
this lady in my department, she told me she was the only female graduating student in her class
in the 1970's. She studied chemical engineering. So, we are still few, and that is why we are
encouraging more women in engineering." (Lecturer 1, UNILAG)

Similar to the women at UNN, the academic women at UNILAG demonstrated an awareness

of organisational structures that can either facilitate or restrict organizational practice and their

own actions at work. Their comments demonstrated ambition and career strategies indicating

that they had agency when their careers were involved. In order to have a productive work life

and achieve career progression in the face of structural challenges, the women's perception

was that one needed to have knowledge of and follow university guidelines. Similar to the

women at the UNN, the participants at UNILAG mentioned a Yellow book (book containing

university regulations guiding organizational practices):

"We call it the Yellow Book because the cover is yellow in colour so it is like our Bible at the
University of Lagos, providing guidance on University regulations. If anybody harasses you
for example if you want to take a leave you can just go to the Yellow Book and find out what
the regulations say about it and then boldly say to the person that this is what the University
regulations say about this situation and so we don't joke with it." (Lecturer 2, UNILAG)

However, it also appeared that knowledge of guidelines was not enough as there seemed to be

other factors at play particularly in UNILAG:

"Normally, how it should be is that when you meet the criteria for the next position, then you
should move up. But I have seen situations where people seem to meet the criteria, yet they are

not moving for whatever reasons…… Currently in my department we have just one professor and two associate professors, but I know that we have provisions for 3 professors and I'm sure that by the time we have those 3 and when other people are coming up to be professors, those ones should be retiring, unless they are not telling us their real age. (Lecturer 2)

Thus, it could be argued that the mechanisms of promotion could potentially cause inequalities for women in the form of glass ceilings, as the promotion process in this case does not seem to go as smoothly as have been portrayed by the other participants. This section reveals the level of the women's agency in taking charge of their career and work experiences within the context of organisational and societal structures. In the next section, the researcher presents findings on the ethnic agency of minorities within UNILAG

7.5.3 Structural Perception of Ethnic/Religious inequalities

While noting the existence of ethnic inequalities at UNILAG, one of the very few minority (non-Yoruba) participants had developed a strategy to enable her to thrive within the organisation. According to her, she had learned 'how to play their politics':

"In the University of Lagos, in the South West, you cannot do away with ethnicity. Those of them that are from this part of the country are kind of more favoured or have more advantages. Sometimes or ordinarily, things that they do not struggle to get, you, who is from the Eastern part of the country, would struggle to get it, unless for some people who carry the extra grace of God like me (laughs). Because somehow I know how to play their politics, you give them what they want, tell them what they want to hear and have your way." (Lecturer 2, UNILAG)

7.5.4 Conclusion

In summary, these results from UNILAG show the complexities of women's experiences in academia. While they appear to be aware of certain inequalities based on gender, there is a surprising positivity, particularly with regards to recruitment and selection processes. Also,

there appear to be a reluctance to criticise their organisation or the society whilst acknowledging that the structures are not generally designed to favour women particularly in terms of greater family responsibilities, which may potentially be a drawback to their career progression. Taken together, the findings suggest that there is an association between gender, ethnicity and religion in the perpetuation of inequalities at work. They also demonstrate that the participants have agency within their careers and provide important insights into the Nigerian labour market with a focus on higher education. The next chapter (8) will discuss the findings from University of Abuja and Bayero University, comparing them with results already discussed here and in the previous chapter, after which an empirical analysis will be embarked upon in chapter 9.

CHAPTER 8. CASE STUDY 3: UNIVERSITY OF ABUJA/BAYERO UNIVERSITY KANO

8.1 Introduction

This chapter will report the findings from the survey data and interviews from the University of Abuja (UNIABUJA) and Bayero University Kano (BUK). As a result of a low survey response rate in the third case study, UNIABUJA, the researcher had to add a fourth case study, BUK. The survey had 16 and 23 respondents from each the universities respectively. Due to the similar characteristics shared by the two universities, such as geographical proximity, regional ethnic and religious influences, the researcher has presented them within a single case study. Additionally, five semi-structured interviews were conducted with academic women ranging from Lecturer 1 to Senior Lecturer to allow for any qualitative themes raised within the survey to be fleshed out in greater detail, so allowing for a holistic approach to the research questions (please see tables 5.1-5.7 in chapter 5 for sample characteristics of survey and interview participants). In addition to an evaluation and analysis of the survey data using SPSS, thematic analysis was found useful for the interviews and the findings will be presented in this chapter. The first section provides some background information on the two universities, including their history, organisational structure, gender structure of staff, geographical and demographical characteristics. The rest of the chapter is broken down into themes derived from the participants' experiences with regards to gender, ethnicity, religion in organisational structures and a look at relations between structures, and agency based on the survey data and interviews.

8.1.1 Historical and Socio-cultural Context

University of Abuja (UNIABUJA)

Established in 1990, the University of Abuja is relatively young compared with the two other universities in this study. The University is located in Abuja and has 10 faculties including Engineering, Law, Agriculture, Arts, Health Sciences, Education, Social Sciences, Management Sciences, Veterinary Medicine and Science. The university has 654 academic staff (NUC Statistical Digest, 2017).

Bayero University Kano (BUK)

Bayero University Kano was formerly known as the Ahmadu Bello College which was established in 1960 in Kano. After the Ahmadu Bello University (ABU), Zaria, was established in 1962, it became known as Abdullahi Bayero College. The college became a University College in 1975, with a governing council, awarding degrees on behalf of ABU. In 1977, the federal government elevated all university colleges in Nigeria to university status and Abdullahi Bayero University College became Bayero University, Kano. As of 2017, it had 29,777 students (with undergraduates making up 21,682, 5,344 postgraduates, and 2,751 other students) (Bayero University, 2017). The university has 1630 academic staff (NUC Statistical digest, 2017).

These two universities are located in Hausaland. Hausa people are mainly found in North-western Nigeria and in Southern Niger. They make up the largest ethnic group in Northern Nigeria and also count amongst them the Fulani, many of whom have adopted the Hausa culture and speak the language (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2017). The Hausa has a lengthy history of Islamic caliphates and city states, with complex cultural traditions and economies, which have

attracted many historians, anthropologists, linguists and political economists (Coles and Beverley, 1991). Similar to other parts of the world, colonisers from Europe imposed new structures and borders which have had a huge impact on the Hausas over time. This holds true in the evaluation of Hausa women's experiences.

Indeed, the legacies of Islam and colonialism bear witness to the regional complexities which make it difficult to generalise the experience of Hausa women. (Bergstrom, 2002). Having carried out research on the history of Kano palace, circa 1500, Heidi Nast (1996) found that women occupied positions of power as market administrators, tax collectors and religious leaders of the bori spirit cult. By the beginning of the 19th century, Islam had become firmly established in all the major parts of the Hausa states (Encyclopaedia Britannica) and, when the jihads ended, less women participated in agricultural work, as this type of labour was deemed to be more suited to slaves. (Callaway and Creevey 1994, p.191).

 Coles and Beverley (1991) tell us that the body of work on Hausa society has mostly assumed the subordination of women. In Northern Nigeria, women are subjected to both physical and socio-cultural factors that are discriminatory. Girls are mostly regarded as future wives and mothers, hence the designated caregivers of the family (Kolziel, 2014). The social and cultural impact of the seclusion of Hausa women (*kulle*) has had a great cultural and social impact, with it limits on women's movements within public or private spaces,   restricting women's economic activities as well as limiting access to public healthcare (Reynolds 1998, p.67). It is critical to note that, while women in Southern Nigeria have been able to vote since 1960, Muslim women were only allowed to participate in politics from 1979. For the vast majority of Hausa women, exploitation of women and inequality continue to pervade their daily lives (Kolziel, 2014). However, Kolziel has argued that Hausa women are active social actors with

the potential for mass activism and the ability to enforce outcomes that may contribute to improvement of their status. A look at women's experiences at work in this region will greatly contribute to gender discourse in postcolonial Nigeria.

The next section looks at the gender structure of the two universities to provide a brief situation analysis of the organisational structure.

8.1.2 Gender Structure of Staff

Table 8. 1: Management of UNIABUJA and BUK (Male and Female)

	UNIABUJA	BAYERO
Position	**Gender**	**Gender**
Vice-chancellor	Male	Male
Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Academic)	Male	Male
Deputy Vice-Chancellor	Male	Male
Deputy Vice-Chancellor	Female	Female
Registrar	Male	Male
Bursar	Female	Male
Librarian		
Director- Information and Communication Technology (ICT)		

Culled from Universities of Abuja and Bayero websites

The table above shows that out of all the principal officers, UNIABUJA has two females while Bayero has one female. This indicates the lack of diversity in the top management positions within these universities.

Information from the websites of both universities reveals that, while the top appointments favour staff of the Hausa ethnic group and who are Muslim, the principal officers at the University of Abuja indicate some level of ethnic and religious diversity compared with the other case study universities, with the Vice-chancellor being an Idoma man, a minority ethnic group in Benue state, the deputy vice-chancellor (academic) is an Igbo man and a Christian from Anambra State. The rest are all Hausa Muslims, including the deputy vice-chancellor (administration) from Niger State, the registrar from Kaduna state and the bursar from Adamawa state. This diversity could be due to Abuja's position as the capital of Nigeria, with the pressure to reflect the federal character of the country. This Federal Character Policy is a product of postcolonial Nigeria's attempt to maintain equity amongst all the states and ethnic groups particularly in employment, education and sharing of national resources. The situation at BUK which is further north of Abuja slightly varies as all the principal officers are Hausas and Muslims. The similarities between the two universities are demonstrated in the number of female principal officers, of which there are only one and two at BUK and UNIABUJA respectively.

Table 8. 2: Academic Staff Strength of UNIABUJA and BUK (Male and Female)

Gender	Academic Staff (University of Abuja)	% of Academic Staff	Academic Staff(Bayero University Kano)	% of Academic Staff
Male	488	74.62%	1352	82.94%
Female	166	25.38%	278	17.06%
Total	654	100%	1630	100%

NUC Statistical Digest (2017)

The female academic staff at UNIABUJA constitutes 25.38% of the total number of academic staff while BUK has the second lowest number of female academics at 17.06%.

Table 8. 3: Number of Full Professors at UNIABUJA and BUK (Male and Female)

Gender	Full Professors (University of Abuja)	% of Full Professors	Full Professors(Bayero University Kano)	% of Full Professors
Male	123	83.67%	207	92.41%
Female	24	16.33%	17	7.59%
Total	147	100%	224	100%

NUC Statistical Digest (2017)

Out of a total of 207, female professors constitute only 7.59% of professors at Bayero University, which is located in Northern Nigeria, a predominantly Muslim area. As the literature suggests, the likelihood for women in Northern Nigeria to be educated or employed is much lower, compared with women in other parts of the country and so this could be a contributing factor to the low number of women employed at the university and subsequently getting to the position of Professor. The situation is similar, though on a slightly lower scale, at UNIABUJA, with only 16.33% of females among the total population of professors.

8.3 Organisational processes and Inequalities

Similar to the previous case study chapters, this section highlights the organisational processes namely: recruitment, selection and promotion, established by organisations in order to achieve their goals, which may create inequalities including those based on gender, ethnicity and religion.

8.3.1 Perception of Gendered Practices in Women's Experiences in Recruitment and Selection

Similar to UNN and UNILAG, many of the participants at BUK and UNIABUJA felt positively about the recruitment processes. Of all the BUK women surveyed, more than half (26.1% and 30.4% respectively agreed and strongly agreed (see table 8.4 in Appendix 3) that everyone has equal opportunities in the recruitment process, while only 30.4% and 4.3% disagreed and strongly disagreed. Similarly, a high percentage of the total number of UNIABUJA respondents (56.3%) agreed that everyone has equal opportunities in the process, while 18%

disagreed (see Table 8.5). Thus, more of the women at the two universities were positive about the process. This position was supported by this interviewee's comment:

"I do believe it was a fair process. They asked a variety of questions and I think it was balanced. They asked surprising questions to test general knowledge because you know sometimes, when you are fresh from Law school, although I had been working somewhere when you are told that you were going to be interviewed by an academic institution, you never know what areas you would be quizzed on. I was asked questions pertaining to international law and I believe it went well." (Lecturer 1, BUK)

Another participant agreed but with some reservations. As she put it:

"Everything went well but the only thing I noticed is that there were fewer women, a lot fewer women than men were employed, most of the roles were taken by men of course. In fact, at the time I was employed there were only three female lecturers in the Law Faculty, yes, so when I was employed along with another female colleague and so we became five. There were about 30 male lecturers in the faculty." (Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA)

Not surprisingly, the above participant blamed the low number of women on the lack of educational opportunities open to women in the Northern part of Nigeria:

"For some of us in the North, we are not talking about North-West where at least female education is a little bit advanced, you know, compared to the rest of the North. I mean female education and employment generally. You know it's a bit low, no it's not a bit...it's drastically low in the North, especially in the North-East where I come from, we hardly have people going to school enough to even to get employment like this you know. I really did not even see myself doing this, from the beginning. I just felt if I get the chance to study, that would be great." (Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA)

This lack of access to education and consequently, the labour market for women in Northern Nigeria highlights the relevance of postcolonial feminist theory and African feminism, key concepts of this study's theoretical framework, which will be discussed in detail within the analysis and discussion chapters.

Similar to UNILAG, the women interviewed in both UNIABUJA and BUK had internal contacts which led to their recruitment. Thus, it appears that just as in UNILAG, this could perpetuate inequalities as some of the UNIABUJA and BUK participants women reported that they had contacts inside prior to be being hired:

"I did my first degree in Law in Nigeria after which I proceeded to do a master's degree at the University of Kent in Canterbury. When I came back in 2011, I went to work at a private law firm but I didn't get any pleasure from it. I spoke to one of my former tutors, who had become the deputy VC, about joining the faculty at the University of Abuja and, when the opportunity came, he added my name to the list." (Lecturer 1, UNIABUJA)

Another participant was approached by her tutors:

"I was doing my master's at the Faculty of Law, and I was taking classes that the HOD and the Dean of the faculty were teaching. The Dean was teaching research methodology and the HOD was teaching Women and the Law, so after classes, they told me that there was going to be an interview and if I was interested, I could go pick up a form, that was how I got to know about it". (Lecturer 1, BUK)

The last two quotes indicate that some of the academics were attracted to their respective universities based on the recommendations of existing employees with whom they already had relationships. As Van Hoye et al (2016) found, positive recommendations increased the organisation's attractiveness based on the strength of the relationship between the prospective candidate and the internal source.

There was a lack of criticism, even in the face of inequality in the selection process as many participants felt positive about the process, even though many of them also reported that there were very few women on interview panels, which constituted an integral part of the process. Surprisingly, a majority of the UNIABUJA respondents (87.5% agreeing 6.3% strongly agreeing (see table 8.6 in Appendix) as well as a majority of the BUK respondents (56.5% agreeing and 21.7% strongly agreeing, see table 8.7), all agreed that they were satisfied with

the selection process. However, over half of respondents in UNIABUJA disagreed with the statement that the interview panel was gender balanced (50% disagreed and 12.5% strongly disagreed, see table 8.8). Similarly, more than half of the BUK respondents (47.8% agreed and 13.0% strongly disagreed, see table 8.9), were not happy with the gender balance on the interview panels, which, based on the interviews, are a key feature of the selection process. It is therefore striking that they should be satisfied with the selection process.

Comments from the interviewee participants support this perceived imbalance, as they reported that there were fewer women on interview panels. Talking about this issue, some participants from both universities said:

"Of course, the interview panel had a majority of males. Very few females as I can recall, but they were mostly males because what they did then, the VC and the DVC and the HOD of your department and the Dean of faculty are the ones who interview you for each faculty. For example, if the interview is for a candidate coming into the faculty of Law, then it would be conducted by the Dean of Law and the HOD, two HODs in Law, the VC and DVC. They were all males who interviewed me and no woman." Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA)

Another one agreed, stating that there was a lone woman on her interview panel:

Well, at the time of my interview, there was just one lady who was a part of the faculty, this was in 2008. So, there was just one lady and she was the only lady who was a part of the Department of Public Law. There were seven members of the department and she was the only lady on the interview panel. (Lecturer 1, BUK)

There was a participant's insistence that the process was fair. As one participants commented:

"I believe it was a fair process, because I did not have any reason to feel or think that they were biased towards anyone. I just feel that they work based on the calibre of people who applied. Assuming that they had a 50/50 gender balance of applicants, I think you would see more females. But those that applied more were mostly males. (Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA)

Another participant also echoed this sentiment, claiming that the interviews went well:

"I do believe it was a fair process. They asked a variety of questions and I think it was balanced. They asked surprising questions to test general knowledge, because you know sometimes, when you are fresh from Law school, although I had been working somewhere when you are told that you were going to be interviewed by an academic institution, you never know what areas you would be quizzed on. I was asked questions pertaining to international law and I believe it went well." (Lecturer 1, BUK)

8.3.1.1 Perceived Gendered practices in Promotion

The promotion process appeared to be clearly set out. Commenting on this, a participant said:

"I have applied for promotion from assistant lecturer to lecturer 2 and then lecturer 1. The applications were successful, and the rules were clear cut and wherever one is eligible, one is promoted. I was once a secretary for the assessment and promotion committee for my department and people's application which were rejected were strictly done based on the rules. I know that for every annual promotion exercise that we have had, we have stuck to the rules." (Lecturer 1, BUK)

Similar to the other case studies, the participants at UNIABUJA identified family responsibilities as having an impact on women's ability to progress:

"In Nigeria, you are the homemaker, no matter the support you get from anywhere, you have to take care of your home. For example my colleague, we were employed together but today she is still at the level of Lecturer 1. She had a baby and there were a lot of complications and for a while, she could not continue with her studies. She started her master's before me, I came, I finished before her, started my PhD and she was still struggling with her master's, do you get my point? So those are some of the issues that affect women in their careers particularly in academia because you need that concentration to read….You don't go to students when you don't know the right things to say."(Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA)

There was also a lack of criticism for the impact of the burden of family responsibilities placed on women.

Based on recurrent themes in the data, this section has revealed that there are inequalities within the organising processes of recruitment, selection and promotion. However, despite the systematic disparities (Acker, 2006, p.443), there is an ambivalence with women who are hesitant to appear critical of their organisations.

This trend of ambivalence in which women feel positive about the recruitment, selection and promotion process, while simultaneously pointing out perceived inequalities due to gender, as well as a reluctance to be critical of their organisations, is a recurrent across all the case studies, including UNIABUJA AND BUK, and will be discussed within the context of African feminism. The lack of criticism could be explained by Nnaemeka's (2005) view of African feminism which according to her, should be framed as a feminism of negotiation, balance and compromise, which are all important to African values. This will be discussed in greater depth in the analysis chapter. The next section looks at findings, highlighting any influences of ethnicity and religion on recruitment and selection.

8.3.2 Perception of Ethnic and Religious Influences in Recruitment and Selection

Many of the respondents said that their ethnicity did not provide them with any advantages during selection. Out of the 23 Bayero women who responded, 20 said they were of the Hausa/Fulani ethnic group. A majority (45.0% and 20.0%) disagreed and strongly disagreed respectively, with the statement that their ethnic identity had a positive effect during selection (8.17). Only 15.0% agreed, while 20.0% remained neutral. The other ethnic group represented (Yoruba), strongly disagreed in entirety.

However, an interview participant argued that ethnicity was important in employment and promotion within UNIABUJA, supporting the position of the literature on the relevance of ethnicity within the Nigerian labour market. Interestingly, this participant was of an ethnic group different from the mainly Hausa staff who dominated the university. As she put it:

"Ethnicity is very important. From the VC down to the least staff. It plays a massive role. In fact, from the Pro-Chancellor. I think it is because of this federal character policy. The major ethnic group is Hausa, however, somehow, in recent times, it also depends on where the VC is from. If it is a Yoruba person, mostly Yoruba people would be hired, even students. If it is a Benue man, as it presently is, there will be Benue people everywhere. It all boils down to the federal character policy. " Lecturer 1, UNIABUJA)

Glassmeier and Farrigan (2007, eds.) tell us that the literature suggests that ethnic networks, amongst other factors, help to explain ethnic employment concentrations and their spatial locations. Another explanation focuses on the differences between residential locations and work locations. However, they argue that this disregards the spatial segregation already in existence and reinforcing the patterns of spatial inequality framing individuals' locations and their access to work.

Similar to UNN and UNILAG, the survey participants at BUK AND UNIABUJA denied that their religion had any positive effect on their selection. Of the 23 women who responded at BUK, 22 were Muslims and more than half disagreed that their religion has had a positive effect during the selection process (27.3% disagreed and 36.4% strongly disagreed respectively) see table 8.10. The lone Christian strongly disagreed. All the respondents at UNIABUJA were Muslims and a total of 68.8% strongly disagreed and 25% disagreed. Only 6.3% remained neutral (table 8.11).

Interestingly, one of the participants makes no distinction between the two categories. However, this participant was of the view that there was no discrimination, explaining that there were a number of non-indigenes of Kano employed in her faculty:

"You know the university is situated in Kano, which as you know is a mostly Muslim state, so, there have been professors from other parts that are non-Muslim, that are Christians, so the way they are respected and treated, I have not from my own side seen or heard of any form of discrimination. When you talk about ethnicity, the composition in my faculty, I think the majority of them are not actually Kano indigenes, they are from other states across Nigeria, over sixty percent of them." (Lecturer 1, BUK)

However, it did appear that religion had some influence on organizational processes as another participant pointed out that it was influential and that it was difficult to find any differences between religion and ethnicity in how they influenced the university. Commenting on the issue, the participant said:

"Yes, religion influences things, just the way that ethnicity does. Religion and ethnicity sometimes, you can't even find the dividing line. Yes, they do. They affect things at the university in the same way." (Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA)

Thus, it can be seen in this section, that while many participants do not agree that their ethnicity or religion accords them any privileges, other staff particularly those not of the Hausa/Fulani ethnic group think otherwise. This will be analysed within the contexts of the colonial/ postcolonial ethnic tensions noted in the literature and postcolonial feminist theory in the analysis chapter. The next section focuses on the women's experiences within the organisational structure, revealing the extent to which they are aware of inequalities and policies tackling these inequalities (if any) within their universities.

8.4 Visible Inequalities: Awareness of Gender Inequalities and attitudes to women in Leadership within the organisational structure

This section reveals that, similar to UNN and UNILAG, there were inequalities in matters concerning senior positions within the organisation. The picture painted by these interviewees reveals the gender imbalance in leadership within their department. As this participant reveals:

"I can't give you very specific figures, but the gender representation is very poor. We have not had a lot of women, When I was offered employment, there were very few women. Presently, there are two females and 4 males. In my former department, there were also two women and 6 males. The faculty is pretty much like the departments, with few women. I have been on study leave for some time and will be resuming next year Insha'Allah, and I have heard that a few more women have been hired, so I am sure it is a bit better now." (Lecturer 1, BUK)

Another participant reveals further imbalance as she stated gender imbalance amongst staff:

"Presently, the two HODs are men, the Dean is a man but the deputy Dean is a woman. We have five leaders and one which is junior. There are seven female Lecturers and three out of those are Senior Lecturers. We have never had a full female Professor in the faculty of Law. There are five full male professors, fifteen male Associate Professors and Senior Lecturers. We also have those who have not attained the senior lecturer cadre. We will have the first female Associate Professor because she has been due for promotion since October and will be confirmed soon. There was one lady who would have gone far, but she left the university. She left as a Senior Lecturer, she would have been a Professor by now. She left academics and joined the bench." (Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA)

The participants were aware of the effect of gender on career progression in both universities, as demonstrated by the accounts of the participants below:

"I know at least one colleague who has been affected because she is a woman. I am not saying that somebody went all out to deny her something because she is a woman. But because, as women in our society, there are many things we have to do at the same time. It is difficult to cope with your work and the role you have to play culturally as a Nigerian woman." (Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA)

The survey also supports these accounts that the women agreed that there was a gender imbalance when it came to senior positions. Similar to UNN and UNILAG, a majority of the BUK women disagreed and strongly disagreed respectively, at 39.1% and 34.8% (table 8.12), with the statement that there is an equal number of men and women in senior positions. The majority of all the UNIABUJA respondents (68.8%) strongly disagreed and 25% agreed that there is an equal number of men and women in senior academic positions (table 8.13).

Additionally, a majority of the BUK women agreed (52.2%) and strongly agreed (13.0%) that women were seen as lacking decision-making skills, with 13.0% and 8.7% disagreeing and strong disagreeing respectively (table 8.14). Similarly, the UNIABUJA women expressed agreement with the statement that women are seen as lacking the decision-making abilities required by leadership positions, as 68.8% agreed and 12.5% strongly agreed (table 8.15). However, on this point, they differ from UNN and UNILAG where more women disagreed with the statement that women are seen as lacking decision-making skills. There was less ambiguity in the women's responses with regards to any influence of gender on women's perceived leadership skills, a situation in stark contrast with UNN and UNILAG where the women provided mixed responses. As has been discussed in chapter 2, culture and religion play a large role in determining the way women are viewed and this is very significant amongst women in the largely Muslim northern region of Nigeria where BUK and UNIABUJA are located.

There were also inequalities associated with maternity leave:

"Sometimes, even the kind of leave to help you cope, you don't get it. Like maternity leave, you are entitled to four months leave, and they will tell you no, you can't take the four months, you have to take one month before you have the baby and then after one month, they start to call

you to come back to work. It happened to me. I didn't get up to two months leave from the university after I had my baby. When it comes to some appointments, they will be like no, this is not appropriate for a woman, this is better for a man to do." (Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA)

Participants from both UNIABUJA and BUK agreed that there were challenges in having their voices heard in their universities:

"On a personal level, during meetings and stuff like that, my voice is heard. On the other hand, on a level of achieving change, when one is in an institution without a lot of women representing us at various levels like administrative levels, there are times in which we feel that our needs are not represented, but I can assure that on a personal level, when I talk at meetings, my voice is heard and I am taken seriously." (Lecturer 1, BUK)

This participant commented that the men always win, even when they try to be democratic, such as taking a vote, as they are in the majority:

"No, our voices are not heard, our voices are drowned because it is a man's world. For example, if we have a meeting, you will keep hearing the men's voices. If a woman tries to make a point, it would be 10 men against that woman. They will suggest a vote and then say the majority has said this, but the majority are men." (Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA)

The next section focuses on findings that highlight women's awareness of ethnic and religious inequalities, if any, within the organisational structure.

8.4.1 Awareness of ethnic and religious inequalities within the Organisational Structure

The majority of women in BUK and UNIABUJA are Hausa and Muslim did not think that their ethnicity or religion gave them an edge or created any inequality. In fact, Similar to UNN and UNILAG, BUK survey indicates a higher percentage of the Muslim women in BUK disagreed

and strongly disagreed that their religious identity helps them in their career, at 40.9% and 27.3% respectively, while only 13.6% agreed and 4.5% strongly agreed (table 8.16).

It doesn't affect anything, at least for academic staff, because we have staff members from all over the country, from different states in Nigeria. Like in my department we have one Igbo lady, and Yoruba, I am from Niger state, there are people from Kano, Jigawa, Bauchi, Kogi, from different states all over. I don't know about administrative staff but for academic staff, it doesn't. All they are after is your capability. Religion does not have any bearing at all either. (Senior Lecturer, BUK).

Interestingly, all the states she mentioned are all dominated by the Hausa ethnic group and have a majority of Muslims. This highlights the relevance of intersectionality research to this study, as Collins (1990) and Crenshaw (1991) argue that gender equality cannot be fully achieved when only the dominant group of women are equal to their male colleagues. Therefore, in this case, gender equality cannot be said to be at a high level when only the dominant ethnic majority women are enjoying a measure of equality.

However, this view did not seem to be shared by everyone. As this participant put it:

"I think ethnicity has an influence on the way things are done. Sometimes, the head of the school, the VC may appoint people from his place or town. Other times, people from other ethnic groups are appointed so that there would be a semblance of equality in the faculty or department. You remember I told you that the Dean wanted me to be HOD. Well, one of the reasons he did that was because he is Yoruba and one of the HODs was Yoruba too, he didn't want the second HOD to be Yoruba too and I am Hausa. Do you get my point? So, ethnicity is a factor there. The other aspect is that there are some people who would only appoint people who are from their own ethnic group. Yes, it does happen. However, in my faculty, I think they have tried to improve interaction amongst staff and all that." (Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA)

On a more positive note, a participant (a Christian) revealed that, despite the difference in religion, along with perceived gender bias she was given a chance by her former tutor at the university:

"Well, you know how it works here (in the north). I am a Christian female and he is a Muslim. We all believe they have their biases about women and how far a woman can go with her career or ...in fact it is as if they relegate women, that women should not be at the forefront. So, it was interesting to me that it was not the same experience for me. I remember the first time I approached him about it and he just laughed and told me to go home and take care of my baby and I told I needed a job and I wanted to go into academia. So, it is important to highlight it. He later gave me a chance." (Lecturer 1, UNIABUJA)

This could potentially reveal that an intersection of gender and religion could potentially produce privilege. The importance of intersectionality, a concept critical to this study, has already been noted and will be discussed in coming chapters.

8.4.2 Awareness of policies to improve equality and diversity in the Organisation

The researcher observed that similar to UNN and UNILAG, there were no policies dedicated to improving diversity at BUK. No such information was available for UNIABUJA.

"No I am not aware of any comprehensive policy. The only policy I'm aware of in terms of responsibilities is the 40 to 60 percent of responsibilities rule, 60% for men and 40% for women. Mostly administrative responsibilities. So far, Bayero university has been trying to give women equal opportunities, to balance this gender issue because in everything, they involve women." (Senior Lecturer BUK)

When asked if an inclusive policy was necessary:

"Yes I think there is a need for it because you hear women complaining in universities and other places of being marginalised in their place of work and so on. So I think there is need for gender policies to be setup and implemented in various places. Because not many places are liberal when it comes to gender issues and don't try to give that kind of gender balance between the two genders in terms of either opportunities or positions. Sometimes, a woman will be qualified for a certain position but simply because she's a woman, you will hear people saying that the woman cannot be the head or a woman cannot be allowed to lead and so on.

There are people who still have these notions. So if a woman finds herself in this kind of place, she will not find it easy and she could be frustrated out of the job." (Senior Lecturer, BUK)

It appeared that they were unsatisfied with the maternity leave, which was 12 weeks in total. This was short compared with UNILAG which allowed for 6 months. One of the participants commented on this, comparing the situation with the UK:

"They give maternity leave, 6 weeks before and 6 weeks after. We also have a creche, where toddlers and babies can be kept from 8 am to 6 pm. It is open to both staff and students for a very low fee of about 7,000 naira per month…I learnt that in the UK for instance, they say they give them up to 6 months maternity leave. Even if they don't introduce paternity leave, if they can extend it to 6 months, I think that would be great."(Senior Lecturer, BUK)

8.4.3 Legitimacy of Inequalities

In a similar manner to UNN and UNILAG, some of the participants, insisted that gender was not an issue, despite the fact that they agreed that there was poor gender representation in senior positions, gendered attitudes, gender imbalance in the number of employees. For some women, being in a male dominated space was advantageous at work. According to a participant:

"But for myself, I will tell you this, being a woman in a primarily male-dominated terrain within my academic environment, I have found it to be an advantage every step of the way. This is because there aren't as many female lecturers as there are male lecturers, so as a female lecturer, when you apply for something, such as opportunities for female lecturers getting sponsorship for example, funding, appointments for things, there are more of those, for women than for men." (Lecturer 1, BUK)

This situation could potentially be explained by tokenism, an effort by the university to appear conscious of diversity issues. This participant's comment further supports the notion of receiving support from the university simply because she is a woman:

"I would say the university has supported me because there is not as much competition with respect to women applying for things, such as conference funding. In particular, for my PhD, a lot of people, all male, applied for sponsorship ahead of myself. When I applied for mine I was actually given administrative approval directly from the VC because I am a woman and no woman had ever applied for that in my faculty and I was able to go immediately. So, that is just one of the examples, other times if I want to take students on field trips to attend moot court trials, I would get support because the application came from me, rather than maybe other lecturers. I think I get the support because as a woman, I am willing to go that far." (Lecturer 1, BUK)

While it appears advantageous for this participant, this tokenism could legitimise discrimination as there is very little systemic focus on inclusion and increasing the number of female academics.

In summary, the findings above have been presented according to themes in the data to reveal the impact of gender, ethnicity and religion on the organising processes, the visibility and legitimacy of inequalities. The following section will discuss the structures that influence organisational culture and processes, as well as women's agency at the intersections of their work and societal identities.

8.5 Perception of Structural Inequalities

This purpose of this section is similar to sections 6.5 and 7.5 in the two preceding chapters (Please see them for further explanation).

8.5.1 Structural Perception of Gender inequality

Many women pointed out that society itself was gendered, with clearly defined positions of men versus women in the Nigerian socio-cultural context. Similar to UNN and UNILAG, family responsibilities were seen as a challenge to women working in academia.

Again there seemed to be no criticism of the gender imbalance in terms of family responsibilities, which is relevant as the university does not exist in vacuum and has done nothing to counter the gendered nature of a society that places an undue burden on women. As one participants put it:

"I would like to point out how difficult it is for women in Nigeria to handle the career and their responsibilities. It's even more difficult for women from Nigeria. I know someone whose marriage had to end because the husband was just not happy because she was always studying and going to work. Even if you have a supportive family, you still have to pay attention to your family, your children. Nobody can run your home for you, you keep thinking about balancing your career against the needs of your kids." (Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA)

This participant noted that her work/family life became harder as she had more children, something she has tried hard to reconcile:

"when I did my masters I had only one child and my husband was working out of town only came home fortnightly and so I had all the time to myself and within a minimum period of time I was able to finish my master's degree. But when I started the PhD I had three children and my husband was back to Kano. So we were living together, before I finished the PhD I had the fourth child. I was working but when I did my masters I had only one child and it was a lot easier. During the PhD I was also working, teaching 2 to 3 courses per semester... It is not easy to be a career woman, to be a wife, to be a mother, all at the same time. So you find yourself trying to reconcile this conflict." (Senior Lecturer, BUK)

Another participant made a distinction between her professional environment and cultural environment, stating that the issues lay mostly with the latter:

"I think it does, very much so. I think gender, I would say has influence, from the societal expectations. For example now when a person has family responsibilities, especially for women in our society, on top of your professional responsibilities, you have to divide your time, trying

to balance your concentration on one without neglecting the other, it becomes a real challenge and may stall your progress. However, the way I see it, based on my own experiences, gender has not been an issue for me within my professional environment, but it has been an issue for me within my cultural environment, because I have to divide my time, attention and concentration between two tasking activities and then I also have to think about not neglecting either. Lecturer 1, BUK)

Similar to UNN and UNILAG, there was evidence of family support. Some of the participants commented on this:

"When you talk about family for me, I am talking about my parents, then my husband and then his family. I have told you already about the support my family gave. My husband also wants me to be the best. For example, when I am studying, he does not come anywhere near me, he does not want to disturb me. If I am stressed, he would suggest a change of environment until I feel better. In fact, he has been my greatest support since I left my parents. I feel lucky to have met someone so supportive" (Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA).

This pattern is further demonstrated by this participant's comment as she felt lucky to have her family's support.

"Yes, that was something, I was lucky to have, my immediate family, my mother, father, siblings, they were very supportive. My father had an education but my mother did not, she always felt like she was lacking something because she did not get the chance to go to school and so she wanted me to have everything that she did not have." (Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA)

For the participant below, having family support to alleviate certain burdens was critical to avoiding delay in career progression:

"For me, I have experienced nuclear family support, that is from my parents and other family members as well as from my husband. When I first started working, I wasn't married and I had a lot of time on my hands. The support I got from my family was huge, I had ample support, financially, the courses I wanted to take, giving me time for some social commitments which are things that I think in Nigeria are real issues that can delay your progress professionally and stuff like that." (Lecturer 1, BUK)

However, just like in UNILAG, this support appeared to be limited to nuclear family members. This indicates the highly gendered nature of the society.

"However, when it came to the extended family like grandparents, cousins, uncles, they kept asking my parents "why does she just keep going to school, why don't you get her married? Is she going to spend the rest of her life going to school? Is she not going to get married?" Then, I had friends who had three or four children and I was still not married. My grandmother especially was not happy and kept asking if anything was wrong with me. It was not easy having to explain to people that I had to go to school." (Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA)

Gender also seemed to intersect with class. The participant below describes a situation where the economic situation of families determines girls' ability to access education. This would be interesting for further research as it is beyond the scope of this study.

"Normally if one comes from a family background where the parents are educated, you find out that there is no difference between male and female educational opportunities. It is only in situations where the parents are not literate that they tend to think that education for the boys is more important than for the girls but in my own family we had equal opportunities so there was no disparity between the males and the females. We got equal opportunities and support from our parents." (Senior Lecturer, BUK)

According to the participant below, she has the support of her husband but found other family members not to be so understanding. As she put it:

"...My mother-in-law, on the other hand, does not understand why I am reading all the time. She comes around and she is not happy, she just wants me to sit and talk and talk and take her out and then I have to go to work, come back and bury my head in my computer. I find it difficult to manage her."(Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA)

The participant below commented on the effect of lack of marital support on one's career which could potentially discourage women from pursuing certain academic goals:

"After I got married, I got huge support as well from my husband because you know, especially in our context, it is not always the case for the husband to allow you take yourself away for months on end, for example there have been times when I would travel to South Africa, where I am doing my PhD, I would be there for about 8 months at a time and come and stay a few months at home and then go back, so, it takes someone that is understanding and someone that values your professional development and the value of furthering your education, that would actually support that without in some way, discriminating. " (Lecturer 1, BUK)

It also appeared that the influence of connections does not end at recruitment but influences other spheres of organisational structures:

"There are no clear-cut rules as to who becomes HOD or who does not. It depends on how popular you are with the university administration. For example, the Dean of the Law faculty will suggest to the VC that he wants a particular individual for his HOD and the VC will just approve it. It does not matter who is the most qualified or who has the greatest ability to do the job. It depends on who is closest to or how well connected you are. There have been instances of where two people were appointed and the experience was very bad for us in the department. They were not the best people for the job but because they were connected up there, they were appointed." (Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA)

8.5.2 Agency and strategies to achieve career progression within the organisational structure.

The UNIABUJA and BUK participants demonstrated ambition and well laid out career strategies, indicating that they had agency where their careers were involved:

"I have a lot of things that I want to do and I am not sure which one I would end up doing? I would love to stay on in academics and become a professor, that is for sure, and I want to keep teaching for the rest of my life. At the same time, I want to explore life outside the university. That is why I am taking a course strictly outside Law at Harvard, it's a master's in Development Practice. It is very different from my academic career. I want to explore things like project management, development, starting a business. I want to see how far I can go in the future. I hope to continue teaching." (Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA)

In their quest for survival within the challenging terrain of Nigerian academia, they developed strategies:

"I know that there are available opportunities, you can apply for training funds, or paid study leave and things like that, but the procedure is so cumbersome and so difficult that you don't even want to keep killing yourself because, at the end of the day, the money you are going to get will not take you anywhere…. Last year when I was applying for a short leave to go to Harvard for my course, I applied for seven weeks because I needed to attend my classes at Harvard, they replied to me that I was free to go but that the approval did not mean that they were going to give me any funding. They stated it clearly in the letter. I only applied for leave, I wasn't expecting anything." (Senior lecturer, UNIABUJA)

The comments below reveal that they were proactive in seeking out employment and were

confident in that regard:

"I really became interested in academic life and, coincidentally, the HOD of the Law department there, was my level coordinator when I was an undergraduate student, so I applied and I submitted a letter asking that I would love to come to the university if there were any vacancies." (Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA)

For this next participant, publishing more will help her achieve her goals:

"Well, I think the goal is to reach the peak of my career, to see my students progress, and make an impact on my students and my country. I am due for promotion to associate professor later this year, but I don't think I will apply. I have been a senior lecturer for three years. There are some publications that will not be ready before application for promotion and I don't want to apply with the minimum number of publications and so I will hold on till next year. If anything goes wrong, they will view it negatively, so that is why I don't want to apply now. (Senior Lecturer, BUK)

This indicates that the women were able to strategize when it came to their careers. It was also

clear that the women had knowledge of university policies, particularly for promotion:

"There is also an opportunity for one to be promoted to the next level if you have exceptional performance. They call it accelerated promotion, from say lecturer 1 to Senior lecturer after 2 years instead of 3. But you need to have double the requirements for promotion to Senior Lecturer. Assuming what I needed were 5 articles, for example, published in academic journals, if I wanted my promotion to be accelerated, I would have to produce a minimum of ten. I needed five to move to Senior Lecturer so by the time I was due to be promoted, I already had 12 articles and so I presented that and I was promoted to Senior Lecturer after 2 years and not 3 years." (Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA)

For another, it was important to have a PhD:

"One of the most important ones is that you have your PhD. Even if you have other requirements, you have been teaching for two decades, if you don't have your PhD, you cannot get there. You also need to have a number of publications and seminar papers. I have not been on ground because I have been on study leave for some time now, but I believe the policy has been reviewed. I am not sure what numbers of articles you need now. I think you need about 6 articles and at least 4 seminar presentations".(Lecturer 1, BUK)

Furthermore, they were aware that providing services other than teaching and research, such as in administration and the community, were key to getting senior positions:

"When it gets to Senior Lecturer, Associate Professor, Professor, that is by promotion. Your work speaks for you, whether or not you apply for promotion or not. Most of the time, it's very important to have some of these experiences because when it comes to these cadres, the assessment is sent out. It's not just within the university, It's sent out to independent reviewers. They will look at what you have done apart from just teaching and writing articles. So, those things are important. (Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA)

But these participants comments also reveals their agency in deciding how to manage their careers and the extent to which they want to be involved in leadership:

"One good thing in academics is you don't need any administrative appointment to excel academically and, at the rate, I am going, I think I am good with or without any appointments. In fact I avoided appointments, I know that at a point two years ago, if I had been interested, I would have been appointed. The Dean at that time, wanted me to be HOD, but I wanted to concentrate on my job because I knew the two would clash and I don't like doing anything haphazardly. I am not even concerned or bothered by appointments. If they come, it would be a good experience, if they don't, that's ok too."(Senior Lecturer, UNIABUJA)

While there were no formal mentoring arrangements in their universities, the women make arrangements for themselves:

"There is no formal mentoring programme, it is informal and very subtle. For example my supervisor also mentors me, but only because I asked and not because the school requires her

to do so. I have to call them, visit them and practically run after them. However, they have guided me well and I think it has paid off for me." (Lecturer 1, UNIABUJA)

Finally, there were some positive thought s regarding women's progress in academia:

"...One thing I am sure of this, in most cases, men for a very long time have the ones at the forefront, getting all the opportunities, getting all the degrees. When I attend the Association of Academic Staff meetings I see that most of them are just men. Actually now it's getting better, but we have not gotten there yet." (Lecture , UNIABUJA)

8.5.3 Structural Perceptions of Ethnic inequalities

There were structural inequalities based on ethnicity and these seemed to be noticed by participating minority women (non-indigenes) in a similar way to UNILAG. According to this participant:

"Apart from that, the university is like a microcosm of the larger society. In the university community you have the Chaplaincy for Christians, mosques for the Muslims and even people who do not practice any religion can choose to be whatever they like. So, you have the VC who is running the university and everything trickles down from his office down to the least offices. You have the security, administrative and academic units and the all make up the university system. So you notice that the general nature of Nigeria is influenced by ethnicity or tribalism. The university cannot operate outside the outer society. It is just a smaller version, sincerely speaking, ethnicity is very influential in the university, particularly in terms of employment." (Lecturer 1, UNIABUJA)

8.5.4 Conclusion:

Similar to the previous case study chapters, the themes in the data have provided a look at the women's perception of organising processes of recruitment, selection and promotion, their awareness of inequalities within the organisational structure and their agency within organisational and societal structures. The findings of this chapter, including the preceding findings chapters, will be discussed and analysed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 9: CROSS-CUTTING EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

9.1: Introduction

This chapter examines women's perception of organisational processes and the societal factors that shape their experiences in the workplace. In doing so, it compares and contrasts case studies, focusing on the respondents' perception of their experiences of recruitment, selection, promotion and their actions within their organisations' structures. Crucially, it is concerned with the ambiguities and contradictions in the responses of the participants which indicates that women are not homogenous, pointing to a need for employing an appropriate analytical approach. An outline of the case studies have been covered in chapters 6,7 and 8, which show general information including the history, location, age, gender structure and how they rank in the country.

Following the themes in the data presented in the findings chapters, this chapter starts by discussing the socio-cultural influences on the participants' relationships and agency with(in) organisational structures. It goes on to examine how they constructed their identities as academic women in spite of family responsibilities and cultural demands. Furthermore, the chapter also examines the women's perception of gendered organisational processes. Additionally, the influences of ethnicity and religion on organising processes, particularly with regards to minority women are examined. Finally, the chapter focuses on how women perceive their ability to access senior positions and leadership, revealing the impact of the ethno-religious values of the different regions of the country.

In order to answer the research questions of how gendered practices are and to what extent ethnicity and religion may influence the recruitment, selection and promotion of academic of women in the Nigerian higher education sector, this analysis focuses on the respondents' perception of their experiences of these organisational practices within their universities and their actions within the structures. This will be done by examining any perceived effects of gender, ethnicity and religion on their lived experiences within the workplace drawing on Acker's inequality regimes as an approach to intersectionality. Walby et al (2012) and Acker (2006) have demonstrated that not only can intersectional analysis focus on interaction between categories of difference, it can be employed to better understand the dynamics of power relations within organisational structures.

However, the analysis is also framed by Postcolonial and African feminisms. This study argues that for an adequate investigation into Nigerian women's experiences, which have been impacted by the legacies of colonialism and the cultural realities of Africa due to the boundaries of difference, it is critical to conceptualise intersectionality with Postcolonial and African feminisms (see chapter 4). This framework will not only promote a deeper understanding of women's complex experiences in postcolonial African locations, but also give voice to women who have been 'othered', constructing a feminism which has at its core, the agency of African women (McFadden, 2007) .

Inequality regimes are interconnected organisational practices that result in inequalities based on gender, race and class (Acker, 2006). This means that inequality can be found across all areas of an organisation. Acker argues that inequality regimes have a tendency to be highly fluid and constantly changing. Furthermore, they are not only linked to organisational inequality but also the history, culture and politics of the society particularly with the inclusion

of visibility and legitimacy of inequalities (Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2012; Tatli et al, 2017; Healy et al, 2019). This could lead to the development of particular practices and processes within various organisations.

The various components of inequality regimes as articulated by Acker (2006) include the *bases of inequality, the shape and degree of inequality*, the '*organising processes*' that produce inequality, the '*visibility of inequalities*', the '*legitimacy of inequalities*' and '*control and compliance*'. It is important to point out that the themes within the findings did not require analysis based on all components of the inequality regimes, as some components may not be relevant depending on the situation (Healy et al, 2011). As indicated in chapter 6, the findings were reported with a focus on three components, including the organising processes, visibility of inequalities and legitimacy of inequalities. Thus this analysis will firstly, highlight these components and how they might influence equality within the relevant case studies.

The relevance of this approach to this study can be seen in the argument by Healy et al (2011) that inequality regimes are particularly useful for understanding inequalities in public sector organisations. The concept not only addresses the conceptualisation of intersectionality but also identifies the factors challenging equality at work (Acker, 2006). In organisational inequality regimes, Acker suggests that gender, race and class are the most commonly occurring identities that produces multiple inequalities in organisations. However, an intersectional analysis can focus on various categories of difference like gender, race, class, caste, ethnicity, sexuality, or age (Davis, 2008; Holvino, 2010; Bartels, 2019). Due to the participants involved, the study considers ethnicity and religion critical categories of difference in organisations.

Organisations are the socio-structural level at which inequalities are created, as demonstrated by Acker (2006, p. 443). However, the data in this study show that socio-cultural norms have a strong influence on how the women view themselves and their positioning in organisational structures. It is evident that socio-cultural norms and practices are highly influential on individual actions and organisations in this context. The socio-cultural context of the data points to a need not only to approach the analysis from an individual and organisational level, but also to acknowledge the societal norms and practices that influence these two levels. This is particularly critical in answering the third research question which asks, "How do academic women perceive and manage the influence of socio-cultural attitudes on organisational structures and their career progression within a postcolonial space?"

The data suggest that differences occur not only at the structural levels (macro), but at the sites of individual identity construction (micro), as well as social norms and that inequalities found at the micro and macro levels are deeply rooted in cultural processes (Lamont et al, 2014; Massey et al, 2014). These levels are not mutually exclusive (Winker and Degele, 2011). This involves a simultaneous construction of the women's identities and their complex interactions with organisational and societal processes and practices (Holvino, 2003, 2010; Bowleg, 2012). It is evident from the data that the socio-cultural processes(meso) serve as the link between women's constructed identities (micro) and organisational structures and processes (macro) which interact, to produce inequalities within the society. In analysing these simultaneous interactions, the theme of cultural influences throughout the data suggests that cultural processes are the base where inequalities are shaped, thereby serving as a link between the identity construction and the organisational structures

The multiple identities experienced simultaneously reveal the value of examining this intersectional study through a Postcolonial and Feminist lens. Such a lens enables an understanding of women's lived experiences in Nigerian academia, as a construction of their gender, ethnic and religious identities shaped by colonial legacies and postcolonial policies, with inequalities evident at the individual, organisational and societal levels, framed by deeply ingrained socio-cultural attitudes. This in turn enabled the development of five key points, the first three of which are similar across the case studies.

Firstly, there is evidence that strong family values framed by socio-cultural expectations influence women's careers. Secondly, women constructed their identities as successful professionals in spite of socio-cultural norms and have developed strategies to cope with structural inequalities, revealing their agency. Thirdly, there is an ambivalence in women's perception of inequalities, evidenced by an absence of criticism despite gendered organisational structures in recruitment, selection and promotion, as well as a lack of gender policies producing inequalities due to socio-cultural influences which have normalised a devaluation of women. A fourth theme reveals inequalities for minority women as ethnic and religious tensions influence diversity and are reflected in the experiences of minorities within the case studies in various ways. The final theme reflects regional differences in the perception of leadership amongst the participants in the case studies, with experiences of women at UNIABUJA/BUK (in Northern Nigeria) a contrast to that of other academic women in the other two universities situated in the East (UNN) and the West (UNILAG) due to influences of ethnic and religious values in the various regions of Nigeria.

9.2 Socio-Cultural Influences on women's relationships with organising processes and structures.

Family and societal roles within the Nigerian context have a huge influence on women's actions and on organisational structures. These roles are fostered by culture which is broadly framed by influences from societal attitudes, ethnic and religious norms as well as practices fostered by colonial and postcolonial legacies. Anthias and Yuval Davies (1992) suggest that ethnicity and religion are categories of belonging associated with the constructions of family. Collins (1998 p. 64) argues that the politicisation of ethnicity and religion involves the manipulation of how a group understands loyalty, framed by their perception of family. This societal culture then influences women's relationships with organisational culture and structures. All the women interviewees mentioned that they were married with children. This is relevant to the findings as this has provided greater insight into the extent of family responsibilities assigned to women and what the society expects of them. The fact that they have children highlights the balancing act that these women undertake and how these reflects on the relationships with organisations framed by societal demands. Across all the case studies, the participants' responses depicted the gendered nature of the family and society in which the positions of men and women were clearly defined within the Nigerian socio-cultural context. As indicated in the chapters 6,7 and 8, many women expressed that they had received support from their families but noted the gendered attitudes which demanded that they fulfil certain roles in the family expected of women in the society. However, these family responsibilities were seen as a challenge to women working in academia. This supports the literature, as cultural traditions bolstered by patriarchy and rigid gender norms are severely constraining for women (Makama 2013; Anyanwu, 2016; Oyediran, 2016). These cultural processes link the individual level cognition to macro-level injustices such as gender inequality or other discrimination (Lamont et al, 2014, Massey et al 2014). Viewed within the context of the

literature and theoretical framework, this remains a crucial discussion for African feminists on how to tackle these inequalities or even raise awareness of the issues, with (Nnaemeka,1998, 2005) noting the fluidity of the African history and culture and advocating for negotiation with the patriarchy. One cannot help but wonder to what extent the patriarchy must be negotiated with rather than confronted in the face of the situations described by the respondents.

These inequalities were visible as the respondents acknowledged that men are promoted faster as they were not constrained by family responsibilities, which are largely the preserve of women. This finding is consistent with that of Blair-Loy (2001, p. 687 who argues that "despite progress in dismantling barriers to gender equality, gendered cultural models of work and family continue to constrain women's workplace achievement". This could affect women's careers in negative ways, which might include being given tasks deemed simple or less complex, very little management or leadership opportunities and slower career growth (Williams et al, 2013), leading to inequality regimes within the organisation. Gender is also implicated in the cultures of organisations, and culture is also a part of organisational climates (Britton, 2017).

The participants clearly grasped the influence that socio-cultural roles have on their careers. For example, a participant from UNN acknowledged that women had more responsibilities than men including taking care of children, parents and husbands, which are deterrents to publication and hence, promotion (Ch.5 p.176)[5]. Another participant from UNILAG agreed, explaining that child rearing does not affect men. She mentioned that this was Africa, where family responsibilities are put on women and that any woman who complained would be seen

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[5] Please note that these page numbers vary slightly from soft copy version of thesis due to changes from formatting for printing.

by the in-laws as becoming too arrogant (Ch. 6, p.198). One participant from UNIABUJA/BUK mentioned that she personally knew someone who was affected, as it was difficult to juggle all that was culturally expected of women in Nigeria (Ch.7, p.229). However, it was interesting to hear participants try to draw a distinction between their professional and socio-cultural environment, claiming that gender roles do not affect their professional lives. A participant from UNIABUJA/BUK suggested that gender was not a problem in her professional context, rather it was a greater issue in her cultural environment as she had to find a balance in performing her tasks (Ch.7, p.236). This indicates that it is not immediately obvious to everyone just how much the societal culture interlaps and influences their actions and organisational structure. Another participant from UNILAG insisted that her gender was not a barrier as long as you knew what you were doing and published enough papers (Ch.6, p.190). Similarly, a participant from UNN also did not see gender as causing her any challenges at work. However, it was interesting that she simultaneously listed the various responsibilities that were expected of women:

"To me, it (gender) doesn't affect anything…So, the only area, that it affects women is when we talk about responsibilities. Men have responsibilities, but you know, our own is all round responsibility. For example, as a woman, you are responsible for the home, the children, there is nothing in your house you will not know about, then you will come to school and you also have the responsibilities at school to carry."(Lecturer 2, UNN)

Thus their narratives do not indicate an expectation for society or organisations to change. Instead the women have the notion that it is they who have to do the balancing act in order to fit the mould, with the general expectation that they need to work harder to surmount their challenges. The society's cultural beliefs and norms seem highly influential in the relationship between women's identities, experiences, organisational structures and any inequalities. It is possible then, that the cultural processes discussed above are critical in linking the actions of the women within organisational structures.

The next sections will show how these cultural norms influence the women's view of themselves and their actions and how these influence their positioning within organisational structures which could potentially create inequalities. First we discuss how the women construct their identities.

9.3 Identity construction, Agency, Organisational Structures and Visible Inequalities, "the brain of a woman is wired to multitask".

An interesting finding in the data reveals that most have constructed an identity as successful professional women and mothers at the same time, in a society where this is difficult to achieve. While most of the participants self-identified as being of Igbo, Hausa or Yoruba ethnic groups and either Christian or Muslim, all categories by which they construct their identities, an assessment of the data reveals that they also simultaneously identify as successful professional women and mothers who have worked hard in a male-dominated terrain. The construction of identities is very important as it is critical to the creation and fostering of difference and inequality in society (Taylor, 2015).

Whilst maintaining a group identity, these women have constructed their individual identities, and the process of individualisation (Winker and Degele, 2011) does not allow for limiting the socially defined categories to only gender, class and race in order to carry out an intersectional analysis at this level. Furthermore, as pointed out in the literature review, Tatli and Ozbilgin (2012) have cautioned against predetermined categories of difference which could result in research which does not relate to the context within which it is conducted.

Compared to their male peers, the parameters against which the women across the universities involved in this study measured their success were more demanding. To them, they had worked hard to get to their position, in the face of socio-cultural norms and challenges. While their comments depict growing challenges in the face of developing their careers as academics, the data reveal that there was a mixture of underlying awareness of inequalities due to socio-cultural attitudes and some pride in the fact that they had worked hard to achieve, with many even stating that there were no inequalities (as we will see in subsequent sections).

Based on the data, their construction was that they mostly seemed to consider themselves successful, and in control of their careers in spite of the odds. A participant from UNN stated that she got her PhD and rose through the ranks to become a professor despite having children (Ch.6, p.177). Another, from UNILAG pointed out that her family did not have any negative impact on her work as the "brain of a woman is wired to multitask". For her, there were other women with families, in some cases professors who were successfully publishing and growing their careers (Ch 7, p.211), while a participant from UNIABUJA/BUK said that she was teaching, completed her PhD and had 4 kids in the process (Ch.8, p.259). They do not really reveal any weaknesses and are well aware of their strength and effectiveness as academics. This may help us to further understand women's agency within organisations framed by colonial and postcolonial socio-economic structures and practices. This self-perception of success even in the face of what would be considered unequal relations due to family roles can be viewed within the context of postcolonial and African feminists' assertions in the earlier theoretical chapters that all women are not homogenous, a crucial reason for their challenge to the hegemony of Western feminism, further discussed in the next chapter.

9.3.1 Positioning within multiple identities and visible inequalities in organisational structures

However, despite their perceived positions as successful professional women who have worked hard to get to their positions, the data reveal that their positioning within these multiple identities suggests inequalities within the organisational structures. Cultural processes, once more, are at the centre of this imbalance. As can be seen from the narrative, despite their view that they have worked hard to achieve their success, the disproportionate burden of family responsibilities borne by them within the Nigerian socio-cultural context, indicate they are still disadvantaged, suggesting a contextual element to privilege or disadvantage due to an individual's socio-demographic location (Atewelogun and Sealy, 2014). The women were aware of their various identities and demands placed upon them by the societal culture. The study assumes that the women's experiences reflect their gender, ethnic and religious identities, combined with their position within the organisational hierarchy. Their experience of being academics interrelates with the intersection between gender, ethnic and religious identities.

Furthermore, an evaluation of these women's experiences in comparison with their perception of men's privilege, somewhat casts a shadow on their identity as successful academics. The comments in section 9.3 above reveal an intersection between their academic position and their positioning within the gendered cultural practices which places a greater burden of child rearing on women, thus potentially producing challenges in their experiences of organisational processes such as recruitment or promotion, as they seek to balance work and raising children.

9.3.2 Agency in unequal organisational structures

It is evident from the data that there is an influence of socio-cultural norms on the relationship between the women's agency and the organisational structures, which could potentially create

unequal gender power relations, resulting in inequality regimes. This has caused the women to develop certain strategies revealing their agency within their organisations.

As seen in the findings chapters, women have adopted certain behaviours deemed acceptable to men in order to get into top positions. For example, even though a participant declared that no one would be denied anything provided they were qualified, all that it took for the woman (mentioned within the UNN respondents' comment) to win an election for the post of DVC (Deputy vice-chancellor) was that she was sociable and attended all the functions (Ch.6, p.187). There was no mention of her qualifications. For the UNILAG respondent, in addition to being hardworking and committed, a woman needed to be hospitable to win men's hearts, otherwise she would be asked to go back to her kitchen, family and husband (Ch.7, p.234). This implies that having certain qualities as a woman is needed to gain the men's support. They include the expectations that women are expected to carry out womanly duties and that organisations only need women for the sole reason of supporting the work of real men (Rodriguez, 2013). This supports Burkinshaw & White, (2017), who argue that in order to succeed in academia, women need to conform to the normative vision of what a leader should look and act like. The respondent from UNIABUJA/BUK was rather blunt about the situation, stating that it did not matter who was qualified or not as long as the individual was popular and connected (Ch.8, p.262). This signifies that across the country there are socio-cultural influences on women's agency as there is pressure on women to conform in order to improve their professional goals, supporting Nnaemeka (2005)'s claim that, her perspective of feminism in Africa is that it addresses imbalance through negotiating and compromising. African feminism, according to her, is more proactive than reactive. This could have implications for how women particularly in top positions or those aspiring to senior positions pursue their career goals and will be discussed in the next section.

Another strategy observed in UNILAG which differentiated it from UNN and UNIABUJA/BUK, was that women adopted of masculine behaviour as a defence mechanism to perceived gender inequalities. This strategy by the UNILAG women where "…some women act like men so that they can progress"(Ch.7, p.234*)* implies that toughness is a masculine trait that influences organisational survival and that women were aware of the need to masculinise themselves in order to be achieve respect at work (Rodriguez, 2013). However, this could potentially be used against them due to the standards by which individuals, groups and the society construct their practices and beliefs (Massey et, al, 2014). For example, the UNILAG participant provided an instance of a female colleague who has drawn the ire of her department as she "was not a mother-figure" and therefore should not expect to become the Dean.

There was also criticism of women in senior positions in UNILAG, whereby they were labelled too tough and unsupportive of other females. One of the participants described the men in her interview as having a positive attitude while the women were "…more like strong rocks than the men on the panel"*,* with one of the women causing a female candidate to lose her appointment. She concluded that women are their own problem (Ch.7, p.209)*.* Thus, she was of the opinion that some women in higher positions were responsible for some issues experienced by their fellow female academics. Some gender scholars have argued that solidarity between women at work could contribute to tackling gender inequality (Harris and Giuffre, 2015).

However, would a man be accused of not being a father-figure (as in the case of the woman who was deemed not to be 'motherly enough') or too tough (as in the case of the women in the interview panel) ? It could be argued that these women were trying to emulate the

characteristics and/or toughness of men in order to be seen as deserving of their positions. Thus, as mentioned in chapter 4, they were sensitive to micro-sociological aspects of daily life (Whittington, 2015) at the organisational and societal level, with these micro-sociological details providing data (Giddens, 1984) enabling them to construct strategies (Abdelnour, 2017) and analyse their actions.

Other instances of agency across the case studies demonstrate that the women took advantage of networking, mentoring and funding opportunities and also demonstrated an ability to balance work and family life. In order to have a productive work life and achieve career progression in the face of structural challenges, the participant's perception was that one needed to have knowledge of and follow university guidelines. For example, the UNN and UNILAG participants had a Yellow book (book containing university regulations guiding organisational practices), with the UNIABUJA/BUK participants mentioning that there were rules set up to guide organisational processes including promotion. Overall, the data show that the women are guided by university regulations and social practices (Giddens 1976, p.81) whilst also attempting to be innovative in order to achieve career progression. The next section will look at the participant's positioning within organisational structures to analyse how the multiple identities intersect at the socio-structural level.

9.4 Gendered organisational practices and ambiguous perception of equality in organising processes: "The males are more but we are equal"

There is evidence within the data that reveals the ambivalent nature of women's perception of their experiences, as evidenced by the absence of criticism and normalisation of gendered practices fueled by the absence of comprehensive gender policies at the organisational level, as will be seen in the following sections. This ambivalence could be due to the invisibility of

gender inequalities in organisations (Acker, 2006). While the participants seemed aware of inequalities, the significant absence of criticism by the women and of gender policies on the part of the universities indicate that either some of the inequalities were invisible or they were willfully blind to them.

As shown in chapters 6, 7 and 8, many women were satisfied with the organising practices of recruitment, selection and promotion. However, they were also dissatisfied with the results, in particular the number of women recruited in comparison to men particularly in the case of UNN. The narrative indicates that they recognize the inequality in the structural processes. The participant from UNN commented that, even though the university was making an effort to hire more women, there were still more male academics (Ch.6, p.174). Similarly, another participant from UNILAG said that most top positions in her faculty were occupied by men and that there were hardly any women within her faculty (Ch.7, p.208). Also, a participant from UNIABUJA/BUK said that, at the time she was employed, there only three women as opposed to the thirty men in her faculty (Ch 8, p.245). Thus, there were similar views across all case study universities, that more men are recruited and very few women involved in the selection process implying the existence of inequality regimes within the universities.

There is also agreement in varying degrees across all case studies that there are very few women on interview panels. A recurrent theme across all the case studies was that very few women, or none at all in some cases, were likely to be on interview panels, as can be seen in the narratives. A UNN participant commented that she could not remember seeing any women during her interview (Ch.6, p.175); this was the same experience for a UNILAG participant who explained that it be could because there are very few women in science (Ch.7, p.208). Interestingly, a participant from UNIABUJA/BUK said "Of course, the interview panel had majority males"

which implies that it was expected that there would be more men on the interview panel (Ch.8, p.247). The participant at UNILAG pointed out that less women applied for jobs than men and, even when employed, were not actively participating in university administrative affairs, hence they were less likely to be on interview panels. One wonders why there is this ubiquitous low participation of women. While the UNILAG respondent above claims that young women are encouraged to be more visible in university policy making, there is no official mentoring programme to greatly enhance the process, leading to an absence of women in crucial areas such as selection. It could also be that the women's identity as successful academics is in conflict with the gendered nature of selection processes at the organisational level. The complex interactions between female academics and organisational structures is due to the socio-cultural influences on gender roles, as already explained earlier on in this chapter, which could have normalised gendered attitudes, thereby bringing about an absence of criticism. This will be further discussed in the next section.

9.4.1 Absence of criticism, normalisation of gendered organisational practices and visible inequalities: "You must work hard like the men"

Based on the findings, the women need to work hard to succeed, despite being impacted by culturally assigned gender roles as prescribed by the patriarchal nature of the society, thereby normalizing their perception of gendered organisational processes. The data indicate that the normalisation of these cultural standards makes any perceived inequality less visible, particularly at the intersection of gender and culture, which could then result in a lack of criticism of organisational structures which could foster inequality regimes (Acker, 2006). For the women in UNN and UNILAG, this seeming normalisation could have influenced many of the women's view of situations in which they perceive their societal roles as normal, even if these have impacted on their careers and that asking for extra support would make women look

weak. There is a lack of criticism, even in the face of inequality in the recruitment and selection process, as many participants also reported that there were more men hired and very few women on interview panels, which constituted an integral part of the process. Thus, there is a measure of ambivalence whereby women are unwilling to acknowledge perceived gender inequalities as well as reluctant to criticise their organisations.

This indicates the invisibility of gender-based inequality contributing to inequality regimes (Acker, 2006) in organisational processes. It also raises the question of why this ambiguity exists; does it mean that women have been conditioned to believe that their socially assigned roles take precedence over their careers and so do not think they can criticise? This may be so given the responses of some of the respondents. However, this is in contrast to Ogundipe-Leslie (1994)'s argument, which contends that African women have always resisted gender injustices without needing support from Western feminists, a key critique of postcolonial feminists (Mohanty 1986; Spivak, 1988; Mishra, 2013) who have criticized Western hegemony in feminist discourse. Indeed, the feeling that they only need to work hard and do not require help - as stated by the UNN participant for whom success was only guaranteed by working hard despite all limitations brought about by having children and not expecting things to be handed to you simply because you are a woman (Ch. 6, p.186), by UNILAG participants who insist that women are able to cope and asking for help "…would show that we are inferior, that we need to be helped" (Ch.7, p.221) and by the UNIABUJA/BUK respondent who commented on the advantages of being a woman in a male-dominated field (Ch.8, p.257) - could be argued to reveal a perception of success rather than disadvantage at an individual level not accessible to all women. This also explains their unwillingness to criticise the organisational status quo.

While some of the women across the case study universities agreed that there are gendered practices and processes that lead to bias, some women denied the existence of inequalities. This could be why Britton (2017) argues that women are likely to downplay or deny the importance of gender in organisational structures. Despite the evidence in the findings, that fewer women were recruited or involved in selection processes and that there is an absence of comprehensive gender policies in all the universities in this study, the view of academic women in this study that hard work would improve their careers cut across the universities, as can be seen in the comments above. This implies that, despite the inequalities created by the intersection of organisational structures and their gender and position, i.e. identities as academic women with roles as wives and mother, these women still insist that hard work is the way and do not see any inequalities, despite gendered practices and societal expectations influenced by the cultural processes (Lamont et al, 2014).

Another reason for this lack of criticism can be seen at the intersection between their positions and gender i.e. being an academic and a woman, could be perceived to yield advantages, as can be seen in the same comment by the UNIABUJA/BUK participant (p.233). Ironically, the participant states that this privilege is accrued due to the low number of female academics. This perceived advantage indicates the shifting nature of discrimination and privilege that could occur at intersections of identities at the individual and organisational level. It is important to consider that this could potentially be a tokenistic effort for their university to be more inclusive. Thus the women received more opportunities within their professional network even though they were a minority.

The tokenism revealed by this participant's narrative supports Schoen et al, (2018)'s argument that gender-related differences within a professional network are due to differences in the

number of women compared with the number of men within the work environment. Indeed Yoder (1991) states that previous studies have found that women are more likely than men to be negatively affected by token positions, just as in this case. The implications is that universities could be prevented from taking crucial steps towards developing and implementing comprehensive diversity policies that would address the issues and rather put a band-aid over them in the form of token appointments and opportunities for women. Simply including women because they are few in number does not equate to creating a space where they are valued on a par with men.

9.4.2 Absence of comprehensive gender policies and legitimacy of inequalities

This ambivalence, which ultimately results in a lack of criticism by many of the women, could also be due to an absence of gender and diversity policies in all of the case study universities, as revealed by the data in interviews with academic women and HR staff. One of the participants from UNN said that she was not aware of any "conscious effort" to develop such a policy (Ch.6, p.191). A UNILAG participant noted that she was only aware of maternity leave policy and that "any other favours or exemption" would have to be arranged within the department (Ch.7, p.226). Similarly, a participant from UNIABUJA/BUK mentioned that she did not know of any such policies (Ch.8, p.256).

At the organisational level, the HR member of staff at UNN responded that the university did not have a diversity policy, rather it hired people "just based on the judgement of the department, faculty and the management"(Ch.6, p.193), while the UNILAG HR staff said he was not aware of a similar policy "but we are not discriminating" (Ch.7, p.227). Why did the universities not have comprehensive gender/diversity policies? Could it be that women's issues are not viewed as critical and valuable? As Lamont (2012) argues , there is a need to understand

the processes that foster hierarchies, such as valuation and evaluation, as they are important for understanding organisational or cultural processes of stratification and connect micro level experiences of injustice to macro level inequalities. From the data, it appears that the valuation placed on women has influenced a lack of gender policies in all the case studies, which have legitimised inequalities.

Also, at the national level, this influence is apparent within the legal structures leading to glaring inequalities. For example, when asked why the gender equality bill did not pass, one of the participants (a director at the National Universities Commission) replied that it was due to gendered attitudes towards women particularly as the northerners (Muslim majority) were more politically powerful than southerners (Christian majority) and "in their culture, it is like why would any woman for God's sake be equal to a man?" However, she also added that there wasn't much difference in southern men's attitude to women as "none of them would want women to rub shoulders with them" (Ch.7, p.229).

This participant's comment alludes to the tensions fueled by ethnic differences which she believes is discriminatory against southerners which pervades the country's political and legal atmosphere, in this case negatively affecting a bill which was set to improve women's rights in Nigeria. These tensions are legacies of colonisation, with women experiencing oppressions of patriarchy and colonialism (Tyagi, 2014). The gendered cultural attitudes can also be elicited from this woman's narrative, in which she claims that men from the North do not think that women are their equal, even though she goes on to add that it is the same in the south, which is perceived to be more liberal in terms of gender equality issues. This indicates how socio-cultural influences could contribute to a lack of value placed on women in Nigeria; hence their

issues and will be discussed further in section 8.6, which looks at regional differences in how women perceive leadership.

While UNN and UNILAG had an organisational policy document known as the 'Yellow book', it did not contain any policy targeting gender equality. Some policies focused on general administrative guidelines but not comprehensive diversity policies. Interestingly, a woman from UNIABUJA/BUK mentioned that, instead of comprehensive gender policies, she was only aware of rationing of jobs (Ch.8, p.256), where a higher percentage of the responsibilities go to men, presumably in a bid to lower workloads for women which could have a negative effect on women's career whereby they might not be regarded as capable of performing their duties effectively.

Thus, the notion of trying to make women's work easier or protect women from danger, which could occur in the course of performing their jobs, has fostered benevolent sexism. For example, a participant at UNILAG informed the researcher that in her department women were discouraged from going out to the field (high seas) as they did not want them to come to any harm due to pirates or other criminal elements on the seas and so they did not go as regularly as their male colleagues (Ch.7, p.228-229). Another participant from UNN was unceremoniously sent home by her male supervisor who had written a letter to the graduate school without her knowledge, ostensibly because she was deemed unable to cope due to pregnancy (Ch.6, p.188).

This indicates that cultural views of gender roles appear to have legitimised discrimination as this benevolent sexism only provides justification for the gendered practices (Glick and Fiske, 1997) in the organisation. The implication is that trying to protect women from any perceived

dangers could result in gendered practices depriving them of the ability to gain experience and advance in their careers.

From an intersectional point, one can see from the analysis above, the intersections of their gender and organisational structures. As has been stated, these are influenced by cultural processes (Lamont et al, 2014) that influence the creation of inequalities. Thus, at the structural level, there are inequalities as the women's identities as professional academic women intersect with gendered organisational processes, including recruitment, selection and even the ubiquitous absence of gender policies across the case studies influenced by cultural processes.

In summary, there is an influence of cultural processes on the interactions between the participant's identities (including gender and all the societal expectations or roles tied to them) and organisational structures to produce and reproduce inequalities. Cultural processes have been found to be the link between the micro-level cognition and macro-level injustices and they need to be viewed through the lenses of Postcolonial and African feminism in order to fully understand the nuances in the data. As such, there was little criticism from the women regarding gendered organisational processes, absence of gender policies and lack of criticism due to culture. These themes in the data will contribute to discussion of African feminisms in the next chapter, contributing to a need for greater theorising in that respect.

The next section will examine how these cultural processes at the meso level influence interactions between women's ethnic and religious identities and organisational structures and processes to create inequalities.

9.5: Ethnic and religious tensions: Distrust and Discrimination

The findings show that ethnic differences have influenced decisions to avoid certain regions of the country when considering employment. There was a higher visibility of inequality based on intersections of ethnicity/religion and organisational processes amongst the participants. As made evident by the data, the women across the case studies share similar views on the importance of the categories of ethnicity and religion in social, economic and cultural processes in Nigeria. As indicated in the preceding chapters, the responses reveal that both female academic staff and those from HR perceive that ethnic tensions across the country actively discourage geographical mobility for employment. For example, a UNN participant commented that the country is divided along ethnic lines and that, given the fact that the university was located in Igboland, most of the staff were Igbo and that other ethnic groups simply would not come as they preferred to remain in their own communities (Ch.6, p.178). For a UNILAG participant, the fact that the university was located in Yorubaland was a major factor for the high number of staff of Yoruba extraction, stating that some individuals may be denied jobs due to their ethnic group and that one was unlikely to see anyone from the West taking up senior positions in the North, nor see any one from the West in taking up such positions in the East (Ch.7, p.214). The respondent from UNIABUJA/BUK noted that it was difficult to separate religion and ethnicity as they were both influential in university life (Ch.8. p.250). Thus, it can be seen that respondents consider the influence of ethnicity and religion in organisational processes as very important.

This is mostly due to the visible lack of diversity within all of the case studies, a fact attributed to the ethnic and religious tensions which discourage individuals from taking up employment in states or regions of Nigeria different from their own. Thus, the lack of ethnic and religious

diversity amongst the staff was not so much that people from other ethnic groups were being refused employment at these universities, but rather that they themselves were refusing to consider being employed outside their region of the country. This shows that at the structural level, there is an intersection between their ethnic or religious identities and organisational structures, which has produced a lack of diversity.

In particular, the comments from UNN and UNILAG indicate that individuals of a different ethnicity applying to a different state could face various challenges due to the underlying ethnic tensions in the country. This could be based in part, on security fears or on a fear of discrimination due to their ethnicity. This situation is magnified by the concept of being an indigene (See Chapter 3). It is possible to be born in a particular state in Nigeria and still not be considered an indigene as birth, conferment or naturalisation only offer a guarantee of Nigerian citizenship but do not actually confer the status of an indigene (Nwanegbo et al. 2014). Adesoji and Alao (2009) argue that this creates a problematic situation where individuals experience discrimination and exclusion based on their ethnicity, religion and gender.

This may have important implications for the perception of discrimination in organisations as the comments above do not indicate that diversity issues were regarded as critical by the universities. This perception of discrimination and a lack of focus on diversity issues by the universities could be why the majority of UNN employees are Igbo, UNILAG employees are Yoruba, while the majority in UNIABUJA and BUK are Hausa/Fulani. This is not surprising, particularly with ethnic and religious identities taking precedence over national identity for the vast majority of Nigerians (Okpanachi, 2009) and the attendant ethno-religious conflicts (Sulaiman, 2015). These ethnic tensions as previously discussed in literature and theoretical chapters, are legacies of a colonial and postcolonial administrative practices in Nigeria.

However, while acknowledging the influence of cultural differences, some of the staff insisted that ethnicity did not have any influence on organisational processes, particularly given the federal character policies in place.

While the HR staff of UNN and UNILAG narratives (see p.178 and p.214) have pointed out that their universities focus on qualifications rather than on an individual's ethnicity or religion and implement the Federal Character policy. This does not seem to have had very substantial effects, particularly for minority women, as we will see in the next section. The UNIABUJA/BUK participant also commented that ethnicity had no influence on academic staff and mentioned that the university had staff from across various states in the country (Ch.8, p.251). Interestingly, most of the states (Kano, Jigawa, Bauchi and Kogi) mentioned by this respondent in her attempt to demonstrate her university's diversity are all Hausa/Muslim majority states, meaning that they have similar characteristics, including language, religion and norms. This reveals a deeper lack of awareness by this respondent of how very little diversity there is in her organisation, indicating a crucial need for more discourse in this area.

From the data it could be concluded that the postcolonial policy of Federal Character Policy may not have entirely achieved its purpose. Asaju and Egberi, (2015) argue that there remains a lack of the desired national integration in different aspects, including employment, due to a high emphasis on ethnic differences. This emphasis on ethnicity and inevitably religion (in the case of Nigeria) can be seen in the experiences if minority academic women in this study in the next section, with Postcolonial and African feminisms providing greater clarity on discussing the findings.

9.6 Inequalities for minority women: "It is silent, it is underground, but it is there"

Following this observation that the federal character policy is not mitigating the effects of the existing religious and ethnic tensions within the country, one aspect that stands out in the data is that the societal influence of ethnicity and religion is disadvantageous in the universities, particularly for minority women. While the conflict between the women's ethnic and religious identities at the structural level has produced very little diversity in the staff population, as explained in the previous section, it has also produced disadvantages for the minority ethnic and religious women working in the universities. It is pertinent to highlight that, despite the strenuous objections of many of the participants, ethnic and religious identities appear to be more visible within the organisational structures of all the case studies based on the experiences of women who were in the minority. This is can be seen in their comments.

One of the UNN participants, herself a minority academic, commented that ethnicity has a lot influence and that there were tensions even within same the ethnic groups (Ch.6, p.190). A minority ethnic participant from UNILAG noted that Easterners (Igbos) were disadvantaged, noting that, even though people would deny it, there was "…this tribal thing, it is silent, it is underground, but it is there" (Ch.7, p.217). A UNIABUJA/BUK respondent, an ethnic and religious minority woman, emphasized that ethnicity was very important and influenced everyone within the university from the Vice-Chancellor (VC) down to the least paid staff and that, if the VC was from a particular ethnic group, then more individuals from that group would be hired (Ch.8, p.250). This reveals similarities in the perception of minority women of how ethnic identity might influence one's position within the organisational structures. At the intersectional location of gender, ethnicity and religion, in the case of minority academic women, there is a perception of undue influence of ethnicity/religion and the underlying stigma which sometimes accompanies these categories. Despite their construction at the individual

level as professional academic women, gendered processes at the organisational and societal level intersect with ethnicized differences to produce inequalities in organisational processes. From an intersectional point of view, their identities as women in the minority ethnic and religious groups within the context of their organisational structures create inequalities based on cultural processes of identification - cultural processes by which identities of groups and individuals are constructed and which bestows meaning upon these identities. (Massey et al, 2014) .

The intricacies of how these identities are constructed and intersect at organisational and societal levels are revealed in the respondents' comments. For the women in the case studies, there is a perception of being or observing others being 'Othered' by ethnic or sub-ethnic origins. This can be seen in the respondent's comment (UNN) who pointed out that, although she is originally from a neighbouring country, she had observed that even individuals who belonged to the same ethnic groups had preferences for sub-groups within those ethnic groups, as in the case of UNN. This almost insular nature questions the statement of many other respondents who claimed there was no discrimination. The comments of the UNILAG respondent above indicate the tensions that the respondent perceives as 'silent' but 'are there', which has positioned the Easterners (Igbos) as 'other' by virtue of their ethnicity. In an effort to adapt to the situation, this UNILAG participant informed the researcher that, while there were more advantages for Yoruba people, she (a minority ethnic woman) also knew "…how to play their politics (sic), you give them what they want, tell them what they want to hear and have your way" (Ch.7, p.236). It is interesting that the respondent only mentioned Easterners as being disadvantaged at UNILAG, although this could have been based on her individual experience. The UNIABUJA/BUK respondent's comment shows that not only does the majority ethnic group influence decisions but the ethnic group of the vice-chancellor affects

recruitment processes, favouring individuals of the same ethnic group. These differences are constructed by attributing several characteristics, usually negative, to individuals who are ethnically 'other'. For example, in Nigeria, it is common to associate certain ethnic groups with negative stereotypes, thereby fuelling distrust. As discussed in the literature chapters, these differences have historically been fostered by colonial legacies, which have traditionally pitched ethnic groups against each other, as well as postcolonial policies, which have done little to mitigate the situation. A discussion in the next chapter of postcolonial theory in view of the data from this study will contribute to the theorising.

In addition to ethnicity, the responses from some participants depict a situation where being of a particular religion could be very influential on organisational processes, such as recruitment. At UNN, a participant commented that Christians and Muslims generally preferred their own people within the university, as there was a divide between them, adding that, while she had not yet met any Muslim member of staff, there were probably some of them as there was a mosque at the university (Ch.6, p.189). Similarly, a UNILAG participant mentioned that, if a Christian was at the helm of affairs, then other Christians would hold key roles, just as Muslims would if a Muslim was in charge (Ch.7, p.215). Interestingly, the participant from UNIABUJA/BUK (a minority ethnic individual), while pointing out the inequalities produced by perceived discrimination based on religion, commented that she had a positive experience, which she felt obliged to highlight as she was a Christian female within a Muslim majority. She already had her assumptions as to how women were perceived in that location and she found it interesting that her experience was different (Ch.8, p.256). This is possibly because the advantage she experienced was the exception and not the rule. Her perception of the social norm that "women are relegated and should not be at the forefront" explains her surprise that she was able to secure a job in that context. Also, she had indicated earlier in the interview that

the deputy Vice Chancellor of the university was her former tutor, which could have contributed to her being offered the job.

This slippery slope of advantage and disadvantage is made clearer as the data show that having internal contacts is important and the experience of this minority woman indicates that intersections of multiple identities (gender, ethnicity and religion) at the organisational level could influence experiences of privilege (Harkins et al, 2010) and disadvantage. Having discussed the perception of ethnic and religious influences on minority women's experiences, the next section discusses the differing perspectives of majority ethnic and religious women as patterns in the data have emerged, which reveal that they do not view themselves as experiencing more advantages.

9.6.1 Majority women and organisational structures: Invisible Advantages?

Many majority ethnic women claimed that interactions between ethnic or religious identity and structures did not have any influence on organisational structures. In organising processes of recruitment and selection, there is a feeling by the women within the dominant ethnic groups across all the case studies that their ethnicity or religion did not accord them any privileges. It is important to bear in mind the possible bias in these responses. As Acker (2006) explains, individuals in dominant groups often tend to view inequality as something that exists elsewhere and is distant from them. It could be that these women were intentionally or unintentionally unaware of their privilege as members of the dominant ethnic group. Thus, while the lack of ethnic diversity is highly visible, there appears to be a deliberate lack of awareness of advantages enjoyed by the ethnic and religious majority.

Table 9. 1: Has ethnic identity helped their careers at the university?

	UNN(76 out of 80 are Igbo	UNILAG (28 out of 50 are Yoruba	UNIABUJA (all 16 are Hausa/Fulani	BUK (20 out of 23 Hausa/Fulani
Agreed	9.2%	7.1%	n/a	10.0%
Strongly Agreed	1.3%	n/a	n/a	5.0%
Neutral	26.3%	32.1%	n/a	20.0%
Disagree	36.8%	28.6%	56.3%	40.0%
Strongly Disagreed	26.3%	32.1%	43.8%	25.0%
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: Cross-tabulations of survey data by researcher (Data obtained from tables 8.1.1 for UNN, 7.10 for UNILAG, 9.1.2 for UNIABUJA, 9.1.3 for BUK all in Appendix).

As can be seen in this table above, a higher percentage of the majority ethnic women across the universities disagreed with the statement that their ethnicity has helped their careers. The patterns of visibility of ethnic or religious influences on equality ran in a similar manner in all of the case studies, with many women in the dominant ethnic or religious groups (see also Table 9.2) claiming that there was little to no discrimination. As pointed out in the findings chapters, the women in majority ethnic groups in all case studies failed to see their privilege, and most disagreed that being an ethnic or religious majority conferred any advantages on them. This is seen across all the case study universities and could be why Celis et al (2014)

have argued that gender equality cannot be fully achieved when it is restricted to ethnic majority men and women.

Table 9. 2: Religion has a positive effect during selection.

	UNN (80 identified as Christians	UNILAG (48 out of 50 identified as Christians)	UNIABUJA (16 identified as Muslim	BUK (22 Identified as Muslim)
Agreed	7.5%	4.2%	n/a	18.2%
Strongly Agreed	1.3%	n/a	n/a	4.5%
Neutral	31.3%	18.8%	6.3%	13.6
Disagree	33.8%	35.4%	25.0%	27.3%
Strongly Disagreed	26.3%	41.7%	68.8%	36.4%
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: Cross-tabulations of survey data by researcher (Data obtained from tables 7.5 for UNILAG, 8.10 for BUK , table 8.11 for UNIABUJA and 9.2.1 for UNN all in Appendix).

The tables above show that a large percentage of the majority ethnic and religious women surveyed in UNN, UNILAG and UNIABUJA did not perceive any privilege on their part. The invisibility of gendered ethnic privilege is the normative position, yet to be problematised in many organisational studies (Rossing, 2012). Thus ethnicity and religion could be a critical reason behind the lack of diversity amongst the university's staff as people did not want to move to other parts of the country for fear of discrimination, as evidenced by the perception of disadvantage by minority women. The implications are that universities across the country are not doing enough to include those with different ethnic and religious identities. It could then be argued that ethnicity and religion are influential across all case studies in recruitment, selection and promotion processes.

9.6.2 Internal contacts/word of mouth and fluidity of equalities

While the construction of ethnic differences and how they produce inequalities at various levels has been discussed particularly for minorities, the data reveal that having internal contacts could potentially produce advantage. One respondent at UNIABUJA/BUK was able to secure a job despite being an Igbo, Christian woman in a predominantly Hausa, Muslim university, with a higher number of male academics, due to her contacts. This indicates that internal contacts could potentially provide privilege at the intersections of minority ethnicity, religion, gender as this has the ability to influence organisational hiring processes. However, there remains a lot to learn about minority ethnic experiences of privilege, specifically, the fluidity of privilege associated with intersecting identities in organisational structures (Atewelogun and Sealy, 2014).

Only one of the women interviewed at UNN mentioned that she had got her position via internal contacts/word of mouth. The respondent told me she was recruited internally as there were openings for new lecturers in her department (p.174) By contrast, many women at UNILAG and UNIABUJA/BUK were quick to tell me that they had contacts at their universities. One of the UNILAG participants mentioned that her father-in-law knew someone at the Ministry of Education who introduced her to a renowned professor who employed her in a part time position (p.207). After completing a master's degree abroad, a participant from UNIABUJA/BUK informed the researcher that she contacted her former tutor at the university who had become the deputy VC (Vice-Chancellor) for a job and she was able to secure one (p.246). As indicated in chapter 7, more than half of the women surveyed at UNILAG agreed that they had internal contacts.

Does this then mean that in UNILAG and UNIABUJA/BUK there are greater challenges to being hired without having a contact within the organisation? Interestingly, those participants who got recruited through word of mouth were minority ethnic and religious women. This has implications for fairness at the organisational level and fostering inequalities as they may not have been hired without these internal contacts, which could explain the lack of ethnic and religious diversity amongst the participants and staff populations in these case studies. Furthermore, this could also part of the reason why there are more men in academia as studies have shown that people tend to recruit individuals who share similarities with them (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). In this situation not having someone similar or familiar with prospective academic women could pose challenges to being employed, thus increasing the lack of diversity in Nigerian academia.

Despite their self- perception as professional women, there are complex intersections evident based on the data, with markers of difference such as ethnicity and religion producing inequalities which plays out at the individual level, where having internal contacts can influence recruitment, and at the organisational level where individuals of a certain ethnic group are recruited fueled by socio-cultural processes of identification. The influence of cultural processes found in ethnicity and religion on gendered organisational processes varies from one region to another, as will be seen in the next section.

9.7 Regional Differences in gendered organisational structures: "In our own case, it's not like that"

The data show that there is a variation in women's experiences of organisational structures across geographical locations. As has been noted in the study, the universities are located in different regions across the country, which are dominated by a particular major ethnic group and religion. At the intersection between gender, ethnicity and religion, despite a general reluctance to admit to inequalities indicated by the data and to criticise the structures that enable these inequalities, one can see regional disparities, fueled by differences in these categories. For example, survey participants in UNN (East), all Christians, agreed (45% and strongly agreed (13.8%). that men and women receive equal respect, an opinion similar to responses from Lagos (West) , and very different from the views in UNIABUJA and BUK (North), majority Muslims. See table 9.3 below.

Table 9.3 : Men and Women in leadership positions receive equal respect

	UNN	UNILAG	UNIABUJA	BUK
Agreed	45%	38%	n/a	21.7%
Strongly Agreed	13.8%	16.0%	n/a	8.7%
Neutral	17.5%	18.0%	n/a	4.3%
Disagree	16.3%	20.0%	81.3%	52.2%
Strongly Disagreed	7.5%	8.0%	18.8%	13.0%
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: Crosstabulations by the researcher (Data obtained from tables 9.3.1 for UNN, 7.9 for UNILAG, 9.3.2 for UNIABUJA, 9.3.3 for BUK all in Appendix)

Table 9. 3: Men are seen as more suitable for senior academic positions

	UNN	UNILAG	UNIABUJA	BUK
Agreed	17.5%	22.0%	25.0%	34.8%
Strongly Agreed	20.0%	20.0%	n/a	21.7%
Neutral	15.0%	20.0%	37.5%	21.7%
Disagree	32.5%	24.0%	37.5%	8.7%
Strongly Disagreed	15.0%	14.0%	n/a	13.0%
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: Cross-tabulations by researcher   (see tables 9.4.1 for UNN, 9.4.2 for UNILAG, 9.4.3 for UNIABUJA, 9.4.4 for BUK columns all in Appendix)

In table 9.4 above, the findings reveal that, compared to UNN and UNILAG, more women in UNIABUJA/BUK agreed with the statement that men are seen as more suitable for senior academic positions, implying that less women were considered suitable for such positions. It is clear that the inequalities created by the interactions of gender, ethnicity and religion are more visible within UNIABUJA/BUK compared with the other universities.

One possible explanation for this is the lower level of access to education for women in the North compared with other regions of the country. Due to a combination of colonial policies and a fear of spread of Christianity by the Emirs (Muslim religious leaders in Northern Nigeria) a higher number of schools were established in the Southern region by Christian missionaries (Miles, 1994; Mahdi, 2009), thereby improving access to education for women in that area and maybe explaining their higher participation in the formal labour market than that of women in the North. A participant in UNIABUJA/BUK blamed the low number of women on the lack of access to education, and consequently, the labour market for women in Northern Nigeria, noting that female education and employment were critically low in the North, particularly in the North-West and that she felt lucky to have acquired an education as her own mother was not educated (Ch.8, p.245).

This lack of access to education has implications for how women are valued and evaluated (Lamont, 2012), a cultural process that involves assessing members of a group and making judgements regarding their value and worth on the basis of measurable attributes. The unequal access to education by Muslim girls in the north of the country, thereby impacting their access to the formal labour market, has been noted in the literature chapters. To what extent does culture, framed by ethnicity and religion, influence the valuation of these women? In investigating women's work, it is crucial to examine this in a multi-ethnic and religious society such Nigeria.

The data indicate that the socio-cultural norm according lesser value to women is not peculiar to the north where UNIABUJA/BUK are located. A participant from UNN, an Easterner, also suggested that girls' were seen to be less worthy of an education than boys as her father was more interested in training her brothers, having listened to family members who advised him

that educating girls would be a waste of money. She only got an education due to her mother's insistence that her girls would receive one (Ch.6, p.194-195). However, as the uncles did not want her father to spend money on 'girls' it seemed that in this case, the reason was mostly economic, rather than based on ethnicity or religion among families of a lower economic class and fewer resources.

Furthermore, a participant who is from the South East but works in UNILAG remarked that while there were some cultures that did not consider girls as being equal to boys, girls had the same opportunities as boys in her own part of the country, unless their families were financially constrained, at which point, the boys would be given priority (Ch.7, p.222).

In addition to ethnicity and religion's impact on women's participation in education in the north, as discussed above, the effect of economic class is also visible in the Northern region. In this case, a participant commented that girls and boys whose parents were educated tended to be equally educated and that was also her own experience. However, parents with no education were more likely to favour boys' education over girls (Ch.8, p.261)

The difference class makes can be seen in the narrative of this participant from UNILAG declaring that she was lucky as her parents were educated, with good jobs, and valued education:

"... I must say that I am one of those that was very lucky, my parents were educated. My mother was an icon in her own specialty, a trained nurse and midwife. My parents believed in education my father was a civil servant who worked with the Civil Port Authority. They also believed in education for both male and female. They left no stone unturned in making sure that their children were educated including their adopted children. We were eight children in my family and we are all graduates" (Professor, UNILAG).

It is clear that what these participants across the country had in common was that they were privileged, with access to education. While religion and ethnicity may influence regional differences in women's experiences, economic class was one uniting factor determining access to education and eventually the formal labour market. However, the fact that they consider themselves as lucky to be born into such circumstances still reveals the effect of cultural attitudes on the valuation of women. This implies that, at the societal level, class also plays a role in their identities as successful academic women, intersecting with the cultural attitudes to gender, particularly with regards to women's education in Nigeria, as already discussed in the literature. This supports existing literature that long-held cultural views and, more recently, religious extremism have greatly impacted on access to education for girls in Northern Nigeria (NDHS, 2003; World Bank, 2013). Furthermore, the statement from the UNN participant above alludes to cultural practices across Nigeria that value boys more than girls. Such cultural processes have positioned women in a disadvantageous manner within the educational structures, with implications for the educational system regarding the imbalance between boys and girls with access to education, as noted in Chapter 2, which could produce inequalities in organisational and overall socio-economic structures with Nigerian society. The implications are that societal norms across Nigeria have typically favoured men, which then legitimises inequalities that are sometimes manifest in an absence of or unwillingness to implement any existing policies designed to tackle gender inequalities.

The varying influences of socio-cultural attitudes framed by ethnicity and religion and how they are perceived by women are further seen below. A participant from UNIABUJA/BUK remarks:"… our voices are not heard, our voices are drowned because it is a man's world." (Ch.8, p.254).

While it is clear in the case studies (which span the three major geo-political zones of Nigeria), that there are inequalities in organising processes that are visible and have been legitimised due to cultural influences, the higher degree of inequality experienced by women in this region, as indicated by the data, could be due to standardisation (Massey et al, 2014), a process by which individuals, groups, and institutions construct uniform beliefs and practices according to agreed-upon rules. As has been pointed out in the literature, the strict Islamic rules which hold sway in Northern Nigeria are highly influential. In discussing Muslim women's participation in Nigerian politics, Adamu (no date) locates three positions providing interpretations from the Qur'an. First, women do not need to be active as Islam has appointed men to oversee their affairs; secondly, the political and textual histories of Islamic societies suggest that women can participate in politics as there is precedence for this; finally, for women to participate, they have to be old and should not occupy the highest positions. Furthermore, men have taken to Shari'a to promote men's common goals, increasingly resistant to any interpretation of Islamic texts that might legitimise women's participation in public spaces. For a society largely influenced by its religious beliefs, this explains patriarchal attitudes (the North, in this case) that have fostered a situation where more of the participants in the North than in the other parts of the country perceive that men are better leaders within the organisational structures, as ethnicity and religion are inextricably linked.

Does this mean the women are conditioned, based on their ethnic or religious groups, to believe that the men are better leaders? "Gender intersects with racial, class, ethnic, sexual and regional modalities of discursively constituted identities…as a result, it becomes impossible to separate out 'gender' from the political and cultural intersections in which it is inevitably produced and maintained" (Butler, 1990, p. 3). Even as studies have shown that women are marginalised in Nigerian academia, does this mean that northern female academics experience marginalisation

differently from other women? This could explain why there is a much lower number of Northern women in education and in academia as pointed out by UNIABUJA/BUK participants, which has contributed to the tokenism in their university as discussed earlier in this chapter.

This perception of women's experiences in the north is based on what are viewed by other ethnic groups and religion as socio-religious rules in Northern Nigeria, e.g. Sharia laws, seclusion or purdah which are seen as harsh on women, and supported in the literature (Togunde, 1999; Williams 2001; Baliamoune-Loutz, 2007) discussed in Chapter 3 . A UNILAG HR staff member explained that individuals may be afraid of going to the North as the area is considered risky and volatile and have what may be viewed as discriminatory practices against women (Ch.7, p.222). In fact, some of the academic women interviewees from UNN, UNILAG were quick to point out their negative perception of cultural attitudes and practices in the North, framed by ethnicity and religion, somehow viewing their situation as better than women in other regions. One UNN participant pointed out that for the Hausas (Majority ethnic group in the North) " women cannot come out to talk anyhow" (sic) and described a situation where she was involved in a project with two men of different ethnic groups (Yoruba and Hausa) and that, while the Yoruba man called her regularly to discuss the project, the other man would send details of the project to her but has never called her. This, according to her, was probably due to how women are perceived in his culture, but insists that it was different in her own culture as "in our own case it's not like that" (p.188). We can also see similar comparisons from the participant from UNILAG who mentions that in some Northern areas girls are still considered less equal than boys (Ch.7, p.232).

Furthermore, there were also negative perceptions based on religion. As this participant puts it:

"I had my first degree at UNN and my second degree at the ABU, Zaria and my PhD at UNILAG. I think that UNN and UNILAG have moved ahead. ABU is also waxing strong, but the religious context attached (due to its location in the North) with women being seen and not heard is still there. Nigeria generally is moving ahead, but some areas are moving faster than others." (Professor, UNN)

Another participant mentioned that religion had a greater influence in the North and that an individual she knew was not offered a position due to the fact he was a Christian:

"The effect of religion is not so much in the South-west of Nigeria, but you see it manifesting so much in the Northern part of Nigeria. We cannot say religion does not have any influence in our education system, tertiary institutions particularly in the North. For example when I was studying at the University of Maiduguri in the North, I saw these things happening with the academic staff and in Kwara State, someone very close to me was denied a position simply because he is a Christian even though that was in Federal University" (Lecturer 1, UNILAG)

Clearly, there are strongly held opinions as to the gender situation in the northern region within the context of religion and ethnicity, as it is evident that the participants consider their situation better than those of Muslim women in the north, with one of them declaring "in our own case, it is not like that". However, this causes one to wonder whether this feeling of being better off may be rendering their own issues invisible, as they may be finding satisfaction comparing their situation with their fellow women rather than with men (Hodson 1989), who clearly have the more favourable socio-economic circumstances. This is because the literature shows that colonial policies on girls' education across the country were woefully inadequate, mostly providing girls with domestic skills, which did not prepare them for the labour market (Uchendu, 1995). As already pointed out in this section, a participant from UNN (from the South-East) also mentioned that her father and uncles preferred to educate the boys rather than herself and sisters. Therefore, the women's gender identities intersect with their ethnicity and

religion at the societal(meso) level at which the inequalities are influenced by values framed by religious, cultural beliefs and government policies.

In spite of these regional differences, there was a common perception in all the case studies, of positive changes with regards to women's situation in the formal labour market. As this participant from UNN explained:

"Women are really progressing. Just like I said, earlier, the environment matters. Your family and environment helps to progress women in academia, but I don't think that today, people are seeing still seeing it that women should continue to be in the kitchen…There are many lecturers amongst them too."(Lecturer 2, UNN)

Another at UNIABUJA/BUK supported the notion that things are getting better:

" One thing I am sure of this, in most cases, men for a very long time have been the ones at the forefront, getting all the opportunities, getting all the degrees. When I attend the Association of Academic Staff meetings I see that most of them are just men. Actually now it's getting better, but we have not gotten there yet."(Lecturer 1, UNIABUJA)

Agency in addressing gender inequality issues can be seen in the comment of the following participant from UNILAG, who suggested they were fighting suppression:

"… as women, we have seen our challenges and we are moving out of it. So we are coming up gradually. Not as fast as it should be, but it is better now. We are pushing it, we are moving it, we are making a statement. We are telling the men that we can do it, but they are suppressing us because they believe your place is with your man, with your family. We are fighting it seriously".(Assoc. Prof, UNILAG)

However, in light of the general ambiguity in the participants' responses with regards to any perception of inequalities in their organisations, one wonders why they view the situation as getting better, given the fact that many of them did not acknowledge any inequalities in the first place or at best, downplayed the impact on their careers. It could be a question of loyalty to their culture and potentially explains Ogundipe-Leslie's (1994) argument that African

women need to consider the context before taking on a feminist position. This is to avoid accusations of becoming westernized and abandoning their own socio-cultural norms (Mekgwe, 2008). As Steady (2005) tells us, African feminism not only seeks to question African culture, it also aims not to disparage it, knowing that different women view it differently.

So in conclusion, this analysis has assessed relevant themes in the data using the inequality regimes approach of intersectional analysis, due to the intricacies of the data in which the individual identities of the participants and the organisational structures are linked by cultural processes constructed within the context of the Nigerian society and highly influential in the creation of inequalities at the micro and macro levels. Across all the case studies, there was an awareness of the strong family values and responsibilities, heavily influenced by societal gender roles, which framed women's agency. The participants have constructed an identity as successful professional women and mothers at the same time, despite any challenges they faced, revealing their agency in unequal situations at work. The data reveal that ethnic and religious differences are disadvantageous in the organisation, particularly for minority women, while the majority ethnic women believed that their ethnicity or religion did not accord them any privileges. Finally, geographical locations influenced women's experiences of organisational structures, particularly with more women in the northern region (UNIABUJA/BUK) believing that men received more organisational advantages. These themes will be discussed within the context of the conceptual framework in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 10 DISCUSSION

10.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the main findings of the study, linking the results to the literature and conceptual framework in order to answer the research questions. It is broadly divided into three parts. First, it considers the influence of socio-cultural attitudes on organisational structures and women's experiences at work. In doing this, the researcher looks at the agency of Nigerian academic women in the context of organisational structures which have been influenced by the cultural processes of the society. Secondly, the discussion proceeds to look at the women's perception of gendered organisational practices in recruitment, selection and promotion and the visibility of equalities. Finally, it looks at the ethnic and religious influences on the women's work and impact on their career progression. The literature suggests that women experience inequalities within the Nigerian formal labour market due to their gender, ethnicity and religion. This has been corroborated by findings from the study. However, the study outcomes reveal that there are ambiguities in how the women perceive these inequalities brought about by the complex nature of the society and socio-cultural influences on the women and organisations. These ambiguities are why it is imperative that this intersectional study of Nigerian women's experiences at work be viewed through a postcolonial and African feminist lens, in order to contextualise their experiences and achieve greater analytic depth, creating a synergy that contributes towards a feminism for the contemporary Nigerian woman. Far too little attention have been paid to intersectionality in Nigeria and to the best of the researcher's knowledge, there are no studies conceptualising intersectionality, postcolonial feminism and African feminist discourse. The study draws on intersectionality, a sociological theory

developed by black feminists and Third Wave feminists which focuses on the intersections of multiple identities (Arya, 2012).

However, it is understood that the Western classification of the feminist movement into periods or waves is not exactly applicable to non-western or postcolonial locations (Caughie, 2010), with Spurlin (2010) questioning the extent to which the historical struggles by feminists in the West repeat the colonising action when trying to historicize the struggles of women in postcolonial locations, by framing them within the three waves of feminism. Furthermore, the conceptualization of 'women of colour' in analysing multiple differences in the West may not be relevant for women in other contexts across the globe (Purkayastha, 2012). It is critical to consider this when theorising in non-western Postcolonial African contexts like Nigeria. Davis (2008) claims that acknowledgement of the differences between women, which is a major theoretical and normative issue in feminist research has been addressed by intersectionality. However, Kerner (2017) argues that intersectionality in feminist discourse focuses on multiple inequalities experienced by women, but does not proffer sufficient theoretical insight into power relations and differences among women and into global feminist interactions in the way that Postcolonial feminism does.

This study argues that intersectionality is not sufficient to analyse women's experiences in Nigeria as it does not adequately provide a deeper understanding of relational differences between women, particularly with regards to issues of representation of women in the global south by Western feminists. The contention is that Intersectionality should be conceptualised with Postcolonial and African feminisms in order to achieve an intersectionality anchored to the complexities of Nigeria. There is a continued emphasis on ethnicities in Nigeria, which suggests the importance of postcolonial thought. Furthermore, the society does not readily

allow for religious diversity, leading to tensions across the country, which can be attributed to legacies of colonialism. It is therefore imperative that issues of difference be critically examined to mitigate these tensions through postcolonial studies. Postcolonial theory can be important in analysing power relations within racial, ethnic and cultural differences and diversity, raised by a deeper awareness of neo-colonialism (Ashcroft et al, 2002, p.201). Kerner (2017) and Bartels et al 2019) have suggested a conceptualisation of intersectionality and postcolonial feminism. Postcolonial feminisms motivate intersectionality towards being more historically focused, and making power relations a focal point. At the same time, more studies are employing intersectionality and it could be a source of empirical support for postcolonial feminists in their efforts to transcend boundaries of difference (Kerner, 2017). It is critical to utilize the appropriate approach when researching African women's experiences in a postcolonial location as there is a crucial need to consider the different experiences of women based on their realities and to give voice to the 'other', (hooks, 1984, 2000; Spivak, 1988; Mohanty, 1991, 2003).

In order to understand intersectionality in Nigerian academia, this study has employed the concept of Acker's (2006) inequality regimes. However, the suggestion by Acker (2006) in her conceptualisation of inequality regimes that race, class and gender are the most usually occurring categories of difference in organisations somewhat negates the experiences of women in other areas of the world for whom other categories of difference may be more critical. This points to the inadequacy of Western feminist analytical tools in explaining the actions and complex work experiences of women situated outside the West, who have been 'othered'. While intersectional analyses have widened their scope of analysis to go beyond gender, class and race (Davis, 2008; Collins, 2010; Bartels et al, 2019), this study agrees with Mohanty's (2003) assertion that any discourse on so called "Third World Feminisms" must

simultaneously involve a critique of the hegemony of Western feminisms and the construction of feminist considerations and strategies that are independent and rooted in the geography, history and culture of the context.

In order to analytically ground this study within the 'realities of a specific place', this study goes further to expand this conceptualisation of intersectionality and postcolonial feminist theory by incorporating African feminisms as there is need for a more specific Africa-centred approach in the study of gender in Africa in order to explore gender relations without denigrating the complex historical, cultural forces shaping the realities of African women (Steady, 2005). This is because studies of gender in Africa need a feminist theory which is focused on the agency of women in Africa (McFadden, 2007) and developed purposefully for Africans (Rajan and Park, 2005). Drawing on the notion of the non-universality of women favoured by postcolonial feminists, it is pertinent to analyse any effects of colonialism and postcoloniality within Africa from a specifically African feminist perspective. Mohanty (2003, p.32) reminds us that "there is no easy generalization in the direction of women in the Third World". Therefore any analysis of African women's experiences should take care to delineate the social, political, cultural context of the subject. Mikell (2010) notes that African feminism has its roots in African culture and developed largely in resistance to the perceived dominance of Western feminism. The rich tradition of resistance to patriarchy by African women means that African feminists have the right to theorise, write, strategise and speak for themselves. Furthermore, African feminists recognise that they do not share a homogenous identity. However, what they have in common is the goal of transforming African societies with a focus on the lives of African women (African Feminist Charter, 2006).

In Nigeria, socio-cultural attitudes to gender, ethnicity and religion shape women's experiences in academia. The deeply religious and patriarchal nature of the society, framed by colonial legacies and postcolonial realities create a condition in which women experience inequalities due to their gender, ethnicity and religion within organisational structures. Thus in order to adequately examine women's work in the Nigerian labour market, an understanding of the impact of the country's colonial legacies, postcolonial policies and socio-cultural attitudes, which have been discussed in previous chapters, is crucial. The findings of this study demonstrate that Nigerian academic women experience work in complex ways and is an indicator of the non-homogeneity of women's experiences, depicting the agency of the participants along with challenges posed by socio-cultural factors at various levels. By using an intersectional approach and discussing the findings of the study through the lenses of postcolonial feminisms, which rejects the hegemony of Western feminism, and more specifically African feminism(s), which argue for African-centred approaches (Steady, 2005), the researcher develops a synergistic relationship which can contribute new knowledge in conceptualising intersectionality, Postcolonial and African feminism, suitable for investigating women's experiences in the Nigerian formal labour market.

10.2 Socio- Cultural Influences on Organisational Structures, Identity, and Agency

The study revealed that there was an awareness of the strong family values and responsibilities, heavily influenced by societal gender roles, which framed the women's agency. This answers the research question of how academic women perceive and manage the influence of socio-cultural attitudes on organisational structures and their career progression within a postcolonial space.

There is a lack of research on how women interact with structures both organisational and societal and the challenges they may experience in the process of building or progressing in their careers. Some intersectional scholars have pointed out the ambiguity (Smith, 2009) and the indistinguishable nature (Campbell, 2016) of the multiple and complex experiences based on the categories of gender, race and class. According to (Smith 2009 p.80) "once we attempt to unpack these categories as social relations, they become ambiguous. They arise in the organisation of struggle against inequalities that people experience. But gender relations between men and women is not separable from the actualities of the experiences of racial oppression or of the inequalities of class. Nor is race separable from class. This does not mean, of course, that inequalities, injustices, and oppressions do not differentiate; movements for change mobilize and focus on issues that are relevant to particular groups". In this study, the categories under scrutiny are gender, ethnicity and religion.

However, for analytical purposes, gender, ethnicity/ religion have been looked at as distinct elements even though their influences are often indistinguishable within social interactions in Nigeria. This is due to the differences observed by the researcher in respondents' perceptions of gender relations in comparison to ethnic or religious relations in their organisational and societal structures. This approach creates a systematic sociological narrative of inequality and stratification where each aspect can be found within a separate existential location (Bradley, 2016). Thus, gender relations focus on how men and women interrelate, ethnicity and religion highlight territorial relationships between various groups.

 In order to understand the workplace experience of women, it is important to focus on the practices and processes that make up organisational structures and relations. The challenge here is to analyse and explain the influence of socio-cultural attitudes on organisational

structures, how women perceive their societal roles, manage their gender, ethnic and religious identities, as well their strategies for coping within their organisations in order to achieve career progression. This is because the gendered nature and influence of the societal attitudes was mirrored in all the case studies. It was made clear that cultural processes that usually assigned stereotypical gender roles and that saw women as carers for family responsibilities are highly influential on women's actions and positioning within the organisational structures.

This indicates a need to explore the participants' agency subject to the intersections of their gender, ethnicity and religion. For the sake of practicality, the study focused on the actions of the actors, analysing their strategic conduct within these structures, a concept known as methodological bracketing (Giddens, 1976, 1984). It reflects the participant's perception of the existing organisational structures and their agencies with regards to their careers. As Abdelnour et al (2017) point out, it is difficult to deal with the issue of agency and institutions without tackling how individuals work in and relate to their organisations. Ruiz Castro and Holvino (2016) found that career direction and progress are contradictory processes, overly influenced by individual identities, work interactions shaped by those identities, as well as formal and informal organisational practices embedded in a societal context, which is heavily influenced by gender, race and class.

The field work revealed that there were structures in place at both individual, organisational and societal level that influenced women's employment and experiences and that how women perceived these structures contributed to their level of agency. As explained in the previous chapter, the women constructed their individual identities as successful professional women. However, it is also evident that gendered societal expectations, including the lion's share of family responsibilities, were a constraint on the women's ability to progress their careers. Thus,

Gidden's structuration theory is vital in order to understand the relationship between the academic women and the structures within which they carry out their actions. The relationship between structure and agency has been conceptualised in various ways. Giddens (1984) argues that there is a fundamental link between agency and structure, essentially, a combination of two processes. Similarly, for Barley and Tolbert (1997) agency exists and is applied within the limits of structure. On the other hand, Archer (1996) argues for these processes to be viewed as distinct as they are both dynamic and their interaction could trigger the reproduction of structures or even radical changes within them. To her, individuals have agency with varying degrees of awareness of the challenges and opportunities that exist within different structural contexts. This could explain why the women took pride in having succeeded as female academics.

What is evident in the data is that they have simultaneously constructed an identity as successful professional women and mothers, given the challenging societal context and revealing their agency within organisational structures. Whether they experienced any perceived inequalities or not, it is important that these women are not regarded as being victims as they constructed their identities as successful professional women as explained in the previous chapter. A participant from UNN surmised her drive for becoming an academic, *"I have always been a go-getter. I have always known that I would be an academic. So, I was focused on that, growing up. The truth is I worked hard as a student and graduated with a First class, so it was easy for me to be absorbed into the system. That is how I became a lecturer." (Lecturer 1, UNN)."* Studies conducted on women in many societies, particularly in Africa, tend to focus on the oppression suffered by women in patriarchal societies. However, it is also true that indiscriminate generalisations are often made on women's situations without differentiating between the experiences of women in different places (Ezeigbo, 1990). For

example, in their study of Caribbean, Bangladeshi and Pakistani women in the British public sector using inequality regimes, Healy et al (2011) found that some of these women were active agents who were able to use their agency to shape their work context to suit their needs. They were able to adapt to the organisational culture, demonstrating a type of "intersectional empowerment".(Crenshaw, 1991 p. 1252). However, while the subjects of their study certainly had their challenges, they were also BAME (black and ethnic minorities) women in the UK, a country with highly developed policies on gender equality, while the subjects of this study used their agency in a vastly different context, a highly patriarchal society, with rigid gender roles and very little support by way of government or organisational policies on gender. For example, narratives from the respondents in UNN, UNILAG and UNIABUJA/BUK indicate that, in spite of having children, taking care of family responsibilities, and ethnic and religious tensions, they were able to succeed in their professional roles as academics.

Thus, while the analysis was able to demonstrate the agency of this present study's participants in organisational structures, the complexity of their experiences also indicates the value of viewing this intersectional study of women's experiences through the lenses of postcolonial and African feminisms, bearing in mind the relational difference between feminists in the global North and South. Any such study in Nigeria has to consider that the cultural attitudes to women in all spheres of society, particularly at work, are also framed by intersections of ethnicity and religion; and, as Nnaemeka, (1998) suggests, gender activism is shaped by historical pre-colonial, colonial legacies and postcolonial policies, which have consistently been limiting to Nigerian women.

In order to fully understand the case studies, it would be beneficial to take a glimpse at women's roles in the society dating back to precolonial times, depicting the strength of these women.

"One important female political position in Igbo society, especially among the Western and Onitsha Igbo, was the *Omu"*. The *Omu (Nneomumu- mother of the society)* tended to be a highly respected woman who had achieved her wealth based on her abilities and not from her connections with royalty (Chuku, 2009 p.84). "The Igbo woman fought patriarchal domination with strength which came not only from the fluidity and certain 'democratic' ingredients embedded in Igbo socio-political systems, but also from the Igbo woman's remarkable ability to manipulate and exploit the existing systems in her society to strengthen her position, to carve out a secure and healthy place for herself in spite of the weakness patriarchy might have imposed on her position" (Ezeigbo, 1990, p.151).

The restrictions of patriarchy are also seen within precolonial Yoruba women. Other than having power as rulers, there were also various ways through which women were able to wield authority in the Yoruba kingdoms. "Queen mothers, king's sisters, king's wives, priestesses, and market women's leaders occupied a variety of titled offices through which they influenced domestic politics and foreign affairs either directly or indirectly" (Denzer, 1994, p.11). Nevertheless, Denzer points out that the number of these women in powerful positions paled in comparison to the male chiefs, with the expectations that women would defer to the men should they have opposing views.

With regards to Hausa women, Nast (1996) found that in the 1500s, women in Kano had important roles collecting tax, market administrators, and religious leaders of the bori spirit possession cult (religion practiced in parts of precolonial Hausaland before the arrival Islam and colonialism). However, the rise of Islam during the reign of King Muhammadu Rumfa of Kano (1463-1499) influenced women's participation (Bergstrom (2002) as during this time, women were not allowed to participate in government (Nast 1996, p.54). Bergstrom notes that

this removal of women from several public positions, introducing Shari'a law and seclusion of women negatively influenced women's status in many of the Hausa states.

However, Coles and Mack (1991) have argued that these women continued to covertly wield influence long after they began to withdraw from public roles, as reflected in their royal titles. Thus, the experiences of these pre-colonial women indicate that then as with now, the women had agency, even in the face of oppression. This agency or ability to influence change in spite of the challenges of patriarchy have remained till today and is supported by the findings of this study, which show that women have been able to negotiate a position for themselves as successful academics within their organisations. This supports Mama and Abbas' (2015) suggestion that injustice and cultural and material oppression based on gender have created postcolonial movements of women, with some women seeking representation by gaining entry into power and leadership structures and others demystifying the structures and cultures upholding patriarchy. Furthermore, the participants' success in negotiating a position supports Nnaemeka's (2005) suggestion that African feminisms are shaped by negotiation, with the ability to engage with patriarchal structures striking a balance and compromise. This brings to mind the difference in feminist interactions and indicates the importance of conceptualising postcolonial and African feminism in globalised feminist discourse due to the women's realities influenced by traditional African cultural structures and the legacies of colonialism in Nigerian society.

This relational difference brings to the fore, the significance of adequate representation for African women in a postcolonial space. For example, Chukwu (2015) argues that the dynamic contribution of Igbo women to economic growth and the development of the traditional Igbo society has been obscured by inaccurate ideas espoused by two camps. First European writers,

such as David Hume who have written about Africa's general lack of civilization and, secondly, the biased notion that the Igbo culture was chauvinistic, favouring men and discriminating against women. Similarly Bergstrom (2002) suggests that Hausa women have found themselves defined in several ways, framing them as more suited to the domestic environment and secluded from public life, even as they undertake efforts to define their places in society. The study reveals that, while women still experience challenges based on socio-cultural attitudes framed by ethnicity and religion, the situation is changing, with more women having agency and not helpless individuals with no control over their own lives, as often depicted.

Research conducted based on Western frameworks often delivers results that present Africa in a negative light, and might be seen as dysfunctional thereby reinforcing the hegemony of Western discourse (Akbar, 1984). It is important to consider this hegemony in gender research as it has been argued that women are not a homogenous group, simply due to their gender (Gunjate and Shivaji, 2012). The past three decades have been characterized by a marked presence of those 'feminisms' that are widely regarded as addressing the needs of those who have for a long time been marginalised and unrepresented by mainstream feminism. These 'feminisms' have mostly been theorised against Western feminism (Mekgwe, 2008). African feminist Ogundipe-Leslie (1994 p.223) resisted the idea that African women were oblivious to their situations and unable to demand change without being guided by from the Western feminists. She reminds us that in pre-colonial Africa there were indigenous means of resistance to gender injustice, just as there were indigenous channels of resistance in the colonial period.

This study has shown that this remains the case to this day. The findings reveal that there were various forms of gender agency, which showed that women in all the case studies were determined to thrive despite the challenges. An example was the adoption of masculine

behaviour by women in UNILAG to combat perceived gender inequalities within the organisation. In a study of women in management, Rodriguez (2013) suggested that women were aware of the need to masculinize themselves in order to achieve respect at work. Thus, the UNILAG women adopted this to show that they too can play that role if necessary.

However, it is also possible that they could be criticised for doing this. Given the oppressive nature of the society, these strategies employed by the participants reveal their agency. Women managers and professionals often face gendered contradictions when they attempt to use organisational power in actions similar to those of men. "Women enacting power violate conventions of relative subordination to men, risking the label of "witches" or "bitches." (Acker, 2006, p.447). Therefore it is possible that, based on gendered societal expectations, inequalities are produced and reproduced due to the fact that men and women receive different rewards for the same behaviour (Kornau, 2014).

This criticism of toughness (generally considered to be a masculine trait) in women can also be seen in UNILAG where a participant declared she would rather work with men than women as they are too tough on and unsupportive of other women. Would men be accused of being too tough? Mavin (2008) notes that lack of research on solidarity, particularly in the case of senior women supporting other women in their career progression and the Queen Bee concept (stinging other women who might threaten her power) as happened with a participant from UNILAG, suggesting that part of the reason why there is a lack of equality in success at work is that women tend to be unsupportive to one another at work. However, Webber and Giuffre (2019) have argued that one of the challenges to women's solidarity at work is a lack of recognition of gender inequality at work and Derks et al (2011), argued that gender discrimination leads women to engage in 'Queen Bee' attitudes as a coping mechanism to

achieve success in a sexist organisational culture. This could explain the behaviour of the senior women towards the junior women during the interview as they may be afraid of being seen as weak and not able to make decisions just like men.

Further instances of gender agency can be seen here with an interviewee from UNILAG (an engineering lecturer) who said that the key to combating inequalities lay in encouraging more female students into traditionally male dominated disciplines, whilst another one said she got into her field (marine sciences) as there were too few females in it. These responses suggest a certain level of gender activism, despite the insistence by many participants that there were no inequalities and the prevalent lack of criticism of any perceived gendered relations and practices (which will be discussed in the next section).

The various strategies discussed above demonstrate academic women's agency, ranging from focusing on survival to actively resisting gendered practices in the organisation. The former supports Mikell's (1997) assertion that African feminism is focused more on survival than on issues of gender inequality, while the latter supports Ahikire's (2014) criticism of Mikell's (1997) claim . As mentioned in the theoretical chapter, Ahikire (2014 p.8) argues that this view of African feminism "does a disservice to the women's movements, and to the generations of women that have been dedicated to pursuing more audacious and radical agendas, especially in the fraught arenas of sexuality, culture and religion". Supporting this argument is the strength displayed by the pre-colonial women as described above and even during the colonial period. The literature shows that activism was rife amongst Nigerian women during the colonial era, such as women who participated in "the 1916 demonstrations over the colonial control of marketplaces, the 1925 Nwaobiala Movement to restore societal order and preserve Igbo heritage, the 1929 Water Rate Demonstrations, the 1929 Women's War, the Anti-Tax

Demonstrations of the 1930s, Price Control and Produce Inspection Protests, and the Pioneer Oil Mill Demonstrations of the 1940s-1950s" (Chuku, 2009 p.89). There was also the Igbo women's war 1929 (Achebe, 2006) and individual activists such as Mrs Funmilayo Ransome Kuti (Asaju and Adagba, 2013). Martin (2016) notes that there were unique beliefs such as collective responsibility (where men and women have equal roles to play in society), which could be seen in the African nationalist movement guiding a Pan-African feminism, and indicates the critical nature of postcolonial and African feminisms in African feminist discourse.

This activism of women in the pre-colonial and colonial periods makes the lack of criticism of gender relations observed in this study even more surprising and makes one wonder whether they banded together against colonialism (seen as the other) rather than against men (not seen as the 'other'). Thus the academic women's reluctance to criticise any issues of gender relations may be because Western views are seen as different from their own values, to which they are loyal and thus accept without criticism. For example one interviewee, on reflecting on her experiences abroad, stated *".... you know our culture is completely different from that of the westerners... Anyway, that is our culture, I am proud of our culture but it is quite different for us. So the woman has to struggle with all this, which the man does not have to struggle with." (Lecturer 2, UNILAG)*. However, this loyalty to culture against what is seen as the 'other' has not always been very beneficial to women. One of the participants, an official of the National Universities Commission, gave an example of how there was so much infighting, particularly from men, when Professor Grace Alele Williams became the first female Vice Chancellor in Nigeria. According to her *"...It is the nature of men in Africa to feel that women would lord over them. It is a culture thing."* This could be why Mekgwe (2008) asserts that African feminism is not a battle against men. Rather, it strives to challenge and engage them in order

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to raise their consciousness to the realisation that the oppression experienced by women are different from the collective subjugation experienced by Africans. However, getting men to be more aware of (and theoretically contribute to resolving) issues of equality for women, may be challenging considering what Ahikire (2014, p.14) terms 'the moral panic', which is embodied by worries about the institution of the family and "about women who allegedly want to rule their husbands". In her view, this panic over masculinity is directly linked to the various ways in which African feminism has brought disruption to hegemonic discourses.

This study points to varying forms of agency such as at individual levels, which could be why Mcintosh noted the demonstration of personal or individual agency, rather than through a human rights framework (Amoah, 2009; Veney, 2009), as it seemed that women in the study were mostly operating at an individual level without the support of other women. Amadiume (1987) claims that women have 'more individual choices and freedoms, but less collective power' and questions if 'this has in fact made (African) women more vulnerable'. These different methods of gender activism suggest that African women's agency, manifest in various ways, is highly contextual and should be considered as critical in feminist discourse.

In answering the research question stated earlier, this study has shown there are strong factors, including family and cultural values shaped by colonial legacies, that influence women's agency. This is in line with this study's argument that an intersectional analysis of African women's relationship with organisational structure would be incomplete without viewing it through a Postcolonial and African feminist lens. The ambiguity and contradictions of the findings, where women view themselves as successful yet constrained by socio-cultural factors and are also unwilling to criticise gendered practices, indicates the value of Postcolonial and African feminism in this intersectional study.

This could explain why Nnaemeka (1998) suggests that discussing feminism in Africa should be within a pluralistic context, recognising the fluidity of the history, culture and the realities which influence gender activism in postcolonial Africa. A key part of this study's theoretical framework is the postcolonial feminist theory, which, as Tyagi (2014) tells us, criticizes Western feminists as ignoring social, cultural and historical contexts when considering the concerns of Third world women, thereby contributing to their oppression. Therefore, conceptualising intersectionality, Postcolonial and African feminism is an important step towards mitigating Western feminist dominance in African gender studies.

10.3 Gender and Women's Perception of Recruitment, Selection and Promotion Practices

The findings highlight that there was an ambiguity in the participants' responses with regards to their perceptions of gender inequality within the organisational structures as seen in their reluctance to criticise organisational practices and social norms. This answers the research question of how gendered practices influence recruitment, selection and promotion of academic women in the Nigerian Higher Education Sector.

As seen in the findings and analysis chapters, evidence of a low number of female academic staff recruited compared to men, a dearth of women on interview panels and challenges such as family responsibilities influencing the promotion of women, reveal that there were gender inequalities in organising processes, such as recruitment, selection and promotion, in all of the case studies. There was also evidence of attitudes which could potentially legitimise gender inequalities.

However, the researcher observed that many women across all the case studies insisted there was no gender inequality within the organisational structures of their universities, even in the face of what might be regarded as discrimination, including poor gender representation in senior positions, gendered attitudes, gender imbalance in the number of employees. While there were others who agreed that these inequalities existed to a certain degree, they still insisted that women should not demand special treatment. There was a limited awareness of these inequalities as there was a distinct lack of criticism or reluctance to be confrontational about inequalities in recruitment and selection based on gender, from the majority of the respondents. As such, there was an ambivalence in their perception of inequality during recruitment, selection and promotion processes within their organisation, which revealed itself in an absence of criticism of unequal organisational practices.

While many of the women attributed some impediments to their careers to family responsibilities, they were not overly critical of it, with many being of the opinion that they needed to work harder in order to balance work and family. There was a general acceptance of the gendered practices within the organisational structure, with some participants arguing that there was no discrimination in recruitment, selection and promotion and that hard work was the way forward. Smith and Self (1981) refer to such women as traditionalists. They have strong views as to their gender identities, which are deeply rooted in their culture and tend not to engage in gender activism or adopt any gender agency in the workplace. The gender socialisation within the Nigerian family and society could arguably be responsible for this attitude. An example of this can be seen in the decisions by many families in Nigeria to educate their sons rather than their daughters, due to the belief that sons would carry on the family name and legacy (Okpukpara et al, 2006).

An implication of this lack of criticism is that the participants may have internalised their gender roles in the family and society and tended not to question any gendered practices within the organisation as these practices reflect societal practices, which they may view as normal. Gender roles which have been normalised in the family and society due to cultural processes led to these women's acceptance of their gendered identity and consequently the gendered construction of their role within the university and within the society, which then translates to acceptance of this gendered notion of women's place within the organisation, which is the university.

This internalisation is obvious in the findings with one participant from UNILAG stating that she did not believe her family responsibilities were a problem as there were also other women with families doing very well in their academic careers. Another participant from UNN, whilst listing the range of family responsibilities placed on women, insisted that gender does not have any influence. In the case of promotion, the normalisation of gendered roles and their impact within the organisational structures can be seen in a statement from a participant in UNILAG claiming that the university was trying to encourage women in many ways, including by making them 'deputy directors'. Interestingly, she did not question why women could not be 'directors' rather than a deputy. This is in line with Wacjman (1998), who argues that women have internalised gender hierarchies to the point that it appears almost appropriate for men to be in a higher position.

Based on some of the responses of the participants, many of whom insisted that women just needed to work as hard as men in spite of the challenges due to intersections of their culturally assigned gender roles and positions in the organisational structure, the researcher observed that this internalisation of gender roles has resulted in an insensitivity by the majority of the

respondents to gender inequalities within their university and an absence of criticism. In order to adequately explain the ambiguities in the women's perception, examining the contradictions in the women's narratives through the lenses of Postcolonial and African feminism reveals the importance these women place on their culturally assigned gender roles, which is in conflict with operating at a level equal to men within their organisations.

Not only did the findings and analysis reveal the recruitment, selection and promotion practices which could be gendered, it also revealed the extent to which they were visible and to which the women were aware or unaware of them. With these existing gendered practices, to what extent then, do the women perceive in/equalities in the various universities? The study reveals how women in all case studies perceive their workplace and the general visibility or awareness of inequalities within the organisation, which may be unintended or deliberate. Acker (2006) defines visibility of inequality as the degree to which there is an awareness of inequalities within an organisation. Previous studies indicate that how one perceives one's departmental work environment is a critical factor influencing job satisfaction and employee retention within a faculty, especially for women (O'Meara et al, 2014; Berheide and Walzer 2014).

These academic women appear to be satisfied with their experience within their organisation in terms of gender relations, while also pointing out that men have a different experience. In considering how gender intersects with the other categories of difference in this study, another possible explanation for this is the fleeting nature of gender inequalities (Acker 2006) and a limited awareness of gender inequality within the context of female leadership. The women's mixed attitudes towards any perceived gender imbalance supports Britton (2017)'s argument that the contexts in which women experience gender at work are highly influential on their comprehension of its main role and relevance.

Acker (2006) argues that patterns of invisibility or visibility vary depending on the basis of inequality and other researchers have suggested that practices that create gender inequality maybe so fleeting that they are difficult to observe. The comments from the participants support this argument, that gender and gender inequality have the tendency to disappear in organisations or to be seen as peripheral to the organisation's main goals. For example one of the participants, a professor at UNN in chapter 6, stated that there are no gender inequality issues and that some people hide under that not to work. In the same breath, she added that it was the "usual domestic factors, that keep women down", which in her opinion could be overcome by having greater support. This dismissal of challenges based on gender by the participants who are women is seen in the narratives of the majority of the participants in the universities in this study and highlights how gender disappears in academia.

This reinforces the notion of the low visibility of gender inequalities. The powerless may also not recognise their disadvantage is a function of the privilege of the majority, in the same way that the powerful are unaware of their privilege (McIntosh, 1995 in Acker, 2006). This could explain why women from UNIABUJA/BUK noted that they enjoyed various opportunities at the university as the number of females academics was very low, a situation which could potentially be tokenistic. Yoder (1991) note that previous studies have found that tokenism is more likely to have a negative impact on women than men, with Kanter (1977) arguing that tokenism makes it challenging for women to support one another.

Nevertheless, the question remains of why these women do not recognize their own vulnerability, the inequalities based on gender and the impact on their career progression? In trying to determine why women might deny the salience of gender, Ridgeway (2011) argues

that there is a general perception by men and women that their workplace is gender neutral with gender appearing to be invisible. The visibility of gender occurs as what might seem like an intrusion into the perceived gender neutral context of the work environment, with gender having an episodic "now you see it, now you don't" quality in interactions, along with unclear rules on how to manage it when it does appear in interactions (Britton, 2017).   For example, despite agreeing that there were more men in senior positions than women, many of the participants across the case studies insisted that they did not experience any gender inequality.

This underlines the importance of research in African women's experiences within organisations. It allows for an extensive look at the factors influencing women's actions, decisions and outlook in the context of their societal realities. It helps to explain the ambiguities found in the participant's responses because the inequalities evident in this study support the assertion by (Blay, 2008 p.67), who has argued that "in these contemporary (neo-colonial) times, issues of gender inequality, gender discrimination, and gender oppression are realities in Africa".

These mixed reactions in reporting their experiences would explain why Aguirre (2000) noted that there has not been a proper grasp of workplace satisfaction and the professional socialisation of women and minority academics. It is crucial for institutions to develop an equitable organisational culture in order to ensure equality in employee relations as this could affect recruitment and selection, practices which are essential to the health of an organisation (Osibanjo and Adeniji, 2013). Thus, how justice is perceived within an organisation is important as decisions regarding recruitment, selection, promotion, pay, training and other benefits are of a perennial interest to employees and management alike (Jepsen and Rodwell 2012).

The pattern of ambivalence continues across all case studies, with some women reporting that they had promotion opportunities while others felt that other challenges such as family responsibilities had an impact on their career progress. In their study to investigate the influence of gender on the job satisfaction of US university lecturers, Okpara et al (2005) found that female staff experienced more satisfaction with their work and co-workers, while their male colleagues experienced greater overall job satisfaction including with their pay, promotions, supervision. This variation in satisfaction from the participants' responses could explain Acker (2006)'s claims that, while inequality in organizations involves systematic disparities in various work related aspects, including power over resources, opportunities for promotion, employment security, pay and conducive work relations, there are variations in the degree to which these disparities are present in organizations and in their severity; there might be inequality in pay or control over resources, while a high level of equality might be found in employment security. Therefore, it is possible that women who are in different situations or roles within the case studies may have experienced the processes differently, resulting in variable levels of satisfaction and implying that women are not homogenous.

In a study on gender differences on job satisfaction, Oshagbemi (2000), found that high ranking female academics such as senior lecturers, readers and professors, experienced more satisfaction than male academics with similar ranking. Hauret and Williams (2017) refer to this as a "gender paradox" and, in their cross-national analysis of gender satisfaction using data from European Social Survey, found that in some countries women reported a higher job satisfaction than men. This could be why there was little criticism observed among the participants in all the case studies. In proffering an explanation as to why women were less critical of their job satisfaction, Hodson's "Gender Differences in Job Satisfaction: Why Aren't

Women More Dissatisfied?" (1989), proposed some hypotheses, including that men and women placed more value on different aspects of work. Secondly, women were more likely to have lower expectations of themselves or compare their situation to that of other women rather than men, which then led to an increased feeling of satisfaction with what they had. One of the participants from UNIABUJA/BUK commented that she was lucky to have had the opportunity to study to postgraduate level when compared to her relatives and friends, who were given out in marriage at very young ages.

Furthermore, a common response amongst the participants in all the case studies was that they felt 'lucky' to have the support of their family members including husbands. This reveals the advantage of a Postcolonial and African feminist theoretical perspective. In the first instance, viewing the participants' responses through a Postcolonial and African feminist perspective allows one to understand their feeling of satisfaction as colonial and religious influences on education, particularly for girls in the North, meant that they had lower access to an education system that was already skewed against girls. In the second instance, it also allows one to understand the women's satisfaction, given the fact that many women in Nigeria are generally expected to expend their energies on looking after the family and not pursue highflying careers.

As it has already been established that organisations are influenced by the society/nation, the national culture could be influential in determining individual behaviour (Leidner & Kayworth, 2006). A unifying factor amongst the respondents was that women have the primary duty to care for family members. This creates an environment where women may experience structural gender inequality within the society, which then reduces any negative perception of gendered practices within their university.

This environment was further consolidated by Eurocentric colonial policies, which provided men with more education and employment opportunities while women stayed at home to take care of the family. Some scholars have decried the drastic change in the roles and status of women, from what they used to be in the pre-colonial traditional society to the economic, political and cultural powerlessness that defined the colonial period till the present (Mba, 1982; Amadiume;1987). The practices became hybridised in postcolonial Nigeria, with many Nigerians viewing them as indigenous practices and strongly holding on to them.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the literature suggests that postcolonialism is not only concerned with a certain period but is continuous, focusing on everyday issues influenced by colonialism. It signifies amongst other things, difference and uncertainty (Bhabba, 1994) as well as consistent resistance and reconstruction, focusing on various experiences, including representation, suppression, emigration, resistance, cultural and racial discrimination, gender and difference, with postcolonialism and feminism forging a bond to challenge oppression (Mishra and Hodge, 1994, p.284). An example is the lack of educational opportunities for women described by the participant in UNIABUJA/BUK and supports previous studies on how colonial/postcolonial policies have negatively affected the education and economic opportunities for Nigerian women. Thus, in answering the research question of how gendered practices influence Nigerian academic women's recruitment, selection and promotion, it is evident that colonial practices left a legacy that influences women's education, hence their participation in the formal labour market.

Generally, colonial policies on education favoured men more than women across the country. In her review of Mckintosh's (2009) book on *Yoruba women, Work, and Social Change,* Veney (2009) notes that women were hampered by colonial racism, which was an obstacle to women

as the policies offered inferior and subordinate educational opportunities to women, rooted in the belief that African women could only pursue vocational education, as there were little or no roles for them within the colonial administration. Furthermore, pre-colonial patriarchal arrangements marginalised and alienated women (Uchem, 2001; Omolewa, 2002), with boys gaining occupational skills, while domestic skills were taught to girls, laying a foundation for the gender equity gaps in the academia in Africa (Aina et al., 2015). During the colonial period, women's access to Western education was limited. Men were able to access the newly introduced British currency more than women due to the male-dominated cash crop economy, which they dominated, and the gendered and discriminatory colonial employment policy (Chuku, 2009 p.89).

As earlier mentioned, a participant from UNIABUJA/BUK bemoaned the lack of access to education of women, particularly in the Northern region of Nigeria where the university is situated. Some of the colonial policies were particularly damaging to the educational prospects of Hausa women (Northern Nigeria). The colonial administration actively discouraged Christian missionaries from setting up schools in predominately Muslim areas, such as Hausaland. Additionally, there were not many schools established by the British themselves. (Miles 1994). This has resulted in a lack of access to education compared to people in other parts of the country, even in present day Nigeria. As pointed out in chapter 2, people living in the North (which is dominated by Hausas) are four times more likely to have no education than those in the South (World Bank, 2013). Thus, the intersection located in the gender and ethnicity of these mostly Hausa/Fulani women in the north can be seen and this implies that gendered work practices could have been influenced by the historical, economic and political environment created by these colonial/postcolonial policies.

However, poor educational access was not peculiar only to Northern women. Despite women's contribution to nationalistic struggles, postcolonial feminists have realised that decolonisation did not improve their circumstances as they were relegated to the background, with access to education and jobs limited to only a small proportion of the female population (Rajan and Park, 2005). This has had far reaching effects on Nigerian women in the formal labour market and could be one of the reasons why the participants in this research perceived that there are more men recruited, selected and in senior positions in academia than women. This indicates that it is critical to view Nigerian's women's experiences through a feminist theoretical framework in order to achieve a holistic analysis, which must include postcolonial feminism, as opposed to one dominated by Western feminist tools,.

The absence of criticism found in the study is revealed in the women's responses in all the case studies, in which many respondents agree that more men are recruited and that there are, hardly any women involved in the selection process and more men in senior positions, but also insist that there is no gender discrimination as all they needed to do was work harder. In explaining the findings, one possible explanation for the participants' denial of the importance of gender in their experiences and a lack of criticism of any perceived inequalities could be based on the argument by Nnaemeka (2005), that rather than being confrontational African women attempt to achieve change, growth and social justice by building on the indigenous and constructing their feminism within the demands of their culture and local contexts. Thus, it may be that the participants were unwilling to be seen as feminists, so supporting the argument by Mekgwe (2008) that many women writers in Africa, while in agreement with feminist politics, often reject the feminist label, while others have remained indecisive, wavering between endorsing the label and rejecting it.

Buchi Emecheta's answer to the question whether she was a feminist was: "I will not be called feminist here, because it is European. It is as simple as that. I just resent that… I don't like being defined by them… It is just that it comes from outside and I don't like people dictating to me. I do believe in the African type of feminism…you see, you Europeans don't worry about water, you don't worry about schooling, you are so well off. Now, I buy land, and I say, 'Okay, I can't build on it, I have no money, so I give it to some women to start planting. That is my brand of feminism". (Buchi Emecheta in Nfah.Abenyi, 1997). This indicates that her own brand of activism lies in the economic survival of women. As mentioned in chapter 3, Mikell (1997) argues that the portrayal of women as 'objects', by Western feminism, is seen as secondary in African feminism, which considers issues that pertain to survival and livelihood as more crucial than those that concern gendered cultural attitudes. On the other hand, Ahikire (2014) argues that it is not all about survival but that African women have engaged in radical gender activism. One can see the value of African feminist analysis as opposed to only relying on solely Western feminist tools as there are complexities in gender activism. Based on the findings, it could be that many of this study's participants may just want to survive a hostile environment or not want to be seen as acting against the culture, while there are a few with more radical ideas..

The findings help us to understand the idea of a relational difference between Western feminism and African feminism from a Postcolonial standpoint as issues such as a lack of representation of women in senior positions observed in the case studies would potentially attract loud criticism from women at work in the West, whereas, the participants in the study seem far less inclined to criticise due to a variety of reasons. Based on Western feminism, some of the responses may seem like discriminatory oppression, while Postcolonial feminists have suggested that all women's' experiences are not the same. Shital and Shivaji (2012) note that critics such as Gloria Anzaldua and Morago (1981, Chandra Mohanty (1991,2003), Minh-ha

(1986, 1989), Gayatri Spivak (1988), have challenged earlier feminist approaches in which women were considered to have a universal identity based on oppression.

While for inequality regimes an intersectional approach has aided in analysis in this study, viewing the findings from a Postcolonial and African feminist perspective, rather than solely focusing on intersections of multiple differences, is also critical in order to deeply understand the global relational differences between women highlighted by these academic women's lived experiences in the Nigerian academia within their social, historical and geographical realities.

Thus, based on these findings, it could be argued that the experiences of elite women working in Nigeria, a postcolonial African country would be different from women in other parts of the world and would benefit from a synergistic relationship between intersectionality, postcolonial and African feminisms. An examination of the literature has made it evident that African feminism(s) represent a construction of postcolonial feminist discourse with African feminists arguing for feminist study centred on Africans and based on an understanding of the continent's realities (Steady, 2005, Nnaemeka, 2005). This implies that the different sociocultural landscape within which these women in the case studies are operating suggests the need for theories specific to their situation. The ambiguities indicated by the findings, particularly in their perception of inequalities, do not suggest that their own brand of gender activism is less than that of the West.

As explained in the previous chapter, part of the reason why there was ambivalence amongst the respondents is due to both a lack of awareness and absence of any policy encouraging gender equality or greater gender diversity, largely as a result of cultural processes that normalise gendered practices. The Nigerian socio-cultural space is highly gendered, with social

roles defined by gender. While university life in Nigeria is highly gendered (Adedokun, 2004), there is a lack of an explicit agenda for gender, which has potentially legitimised gendered organisational practices (Odejide et al, 2006). The benevolent sexism seen in UNILAG and UNIABUJA/BUK and the tokenism in UNIABUJA/BUK (see discussion above) and general lack of organisational support are examples of the influences of aspects of the culture on organisational practices and how women perceive them. This is in line with the findings of African feminists (Mama, 2005; Mama and Barnes, 2007), which show that at the institutional level, patriarchal organisational cultures remain the order of the day in African academia in which women are greatly outnumbered, and their intellectual contribution constantly overlooked.

These inequalities often receive a cloak of legitimacy through arguments that make them seem natural (Glenn 2002 in Acker 2006 p.453), leading to situations of benevolent sexism. An example is the participant, a Marine biologist from UNILAG , who reported that women were discouraged from certain roles, such as going out to the field (in this case bodies of water), as they were deemed too risky or dangerous. This supports the findings by King et al (2012) who argue that based on gender stereotypes, beliefs that women have to be protected, it may be difficult for women to experience challenging assignments, which could in turn be responsible, in part, of women's underrepresentation at senior levels within the organisations as not going out to the field may mean that they are not able to achieve promotion at the same rate as men.

Thus, some gendered roles are masked by seeming concern for women's safety and this could be explained by benevolent sexism, reinforcing traditional gender roles (Glick and Fiske, 1997). Glick and Raberg (2018) tell us how benevolent sexism undermines efforts to tackle gender inequality and negatively contributes to women's progress in the workplace through

subtle discrimination. Women are being asked not to go to the field due to dangers, as in the case at UNILAG discussed above, which may hamper their progress. This protection offered to women may cause the advantaged to see visible inequalities as perfectly legitimate (Acker, 2006). Hence, while the women may see this as unfair, the men may be bewildered by this as they may view their actions as necessary in order to protect the women.

This legitimacy of factors that could produce inequality also explains the lack of will to implement legal policies that would ensure equal treatment, both at organisational level (as we have seen in recruitment, selection and promotion processes across the case studies) and at national level. As discussed in Chapter 2, Nigeria has been a part of many local and international agreements to improve gender equality, e.g. CEDAW. However, there arguably still remains a high legitimacy of gender inequalities. Gender and race inequalities still persist in work organisations in spite of available antidiscrimination laws (Acker, 2006). As has been explained in the literature review, in spite of the National Gender Policy (2007), which is a replacement and reinforcement of the provisions made in the 1999 constitution and allows for equality, protects the interest and guarantees the rights of women, in light of the religious, cultural and traditional norms governing the Nigerian society, it has proven difficult to pass laws enshrining the equal rights of women. An example is the Gender and Equal opportunities Bill, which in 2016, after six years of deliberations, could not be successfully passed into law in Nigeria due to opposition. If there is a lack of support for equality strategies by the powerful stakeholders in the organisation, this undermines their legitimacy. This means that the legitimacy of inequalities may be created and reinforced at different levels in the organization (Acker, 2006).

The general absence and inadequacy of equality policies, observed and expressed by the participants respectively, mean that establishment and implementation of these policies did not have the support of the high level stakeholders at the universities. Healy et al. (2011) argue that this lack of organisational support diminishes the legitimacy of any equality strategies at various levels of the organisation. On the other hand, Foldy (2002) claims that diversity policies in organisations only serve as a tool for internalisation of organisational norms for women and other minorities. This lack of policies tackling gender and other inequalities could be due to the fact that it was only recently that older institutions and some modern ones in Africa adopt any gender equity policies. As AssiéLumumba (2007) and Meena (2007) have argued, this could be because the colonisers who were responsible for establishing these institutions had not adopted similar policies back in their home countries. It meant that prevailing socio-cultural attitudes and the subsequent colonial policies at the starting point of higher education in African Higher education favoured men more than women (Taiwo, 2014).

However, as can be seen from the some of the comments of this study's participants (both academic women and university HR staff) particularly with regards to the need for comprehensive equality policies in their universities, there is a growing awareness of the need to tackle practices that may foster inequality for women. Allan (1995) points out that in the book, Re-creating Ourselves: African Women and critical Transformations, Ogundipe-Leslie (1994) simultaneously tackles the need for African women to break the chain of gender oppression, for African societies to rid female gender of the stigma that constantly surrounds it, and for both groups to deeply reconsider their involvement in an oppressive postcolonial class culture. A major site of struggle for women's rights in postcolonial Africa is within the state, which can simultaneously be an ally through the introduction of welfare policies and positive legal changes and an antagonist due to its discriminatory policies against women and

other minorities. An example of the latter includes unequal employment opportunities and state-sanctioned violence against women. This undoubtedly has a serious impact on women's advancement in the formal labour market (Mohanty and Lourdes, 1991).

Furthermore, the narratives of the participants in all case studies have indicated that child bearing and childcare were a challenge to women's career progression. So how then have they received organisational support in this area? There were variations according to the particular case studies with regards to maternity leave policy. UNILAG fared better than others, with a comparatively generous maternity policy (6 months), unlike other case studies which had 3 months. However, it was also interesting to note that 46% of UNILAG survey participants remained neutral when asked if the university was family friendly, with 34.9% agreeing, compared to 28% who disagreed. Could it be that they had a negative view of the universities' family friendliness but were reluctant to be critical of their organisation?. Nevertheless, the situation was made clearer in during the interviews as some of the UNILAG participants still lamented the lowered productivity of women when they return from maternity leave, commenting that they tend not to progress in their research and post doc positions became harder to get once you are above 35 years old.

This could explain why Abendroth et al (2014) argued that the employment arrangements entered into by women returning to work after having a baby have the potential to affect their careers negatively. They include part-time work, reduced out-of- hours or flexible hours designed to reconcile childcare and work(Yerkes et al, 2017). The effects of such work arrangements are critical to explaining the persistent disadvantages and 'lower occupational status' faced by women in the workplace (Dex et al 2008). On the other hand, it could be that some women place value on work arrangements that allow them to carry out their childcare

responsibilities, even if they may be disadvantaged career wise by such arrangements (Yerkes et, 2017). This has implications for the formulation of equality policies, which should consider the unique needs of all the stakeholders, and also calls into question the HR policies in Nigerian academia, which do not appear to have made any provisions despite the country being part of international agreements to improve women's rights (e.g. CEDAW), as discussed in the literature chapters. The experiences are individualized, with no mention of group support. This is interesting as Nigerian public organisations are highly unionized (Fajana et al, 2011), yet none of the participants mentioned any union support to help women tackle inequalities which is striking from a Western feminist point of view. This further indicates a reluctance to criticize their culture and systemic failure to view women's issues as important. The findings have shown that recruitment and selection practices in Nigeria are also influenced by various aspects of the society, which supports the claim by Rees and French (2010) that different cultures approach recruitment and selection in various ways, as discussed in chapter 3. Thus, there is a need for more HRM research in Nigeria. With a lack of HRM models contextually tailored for the Nigerian labour market, Fajana et al (2011) claim that HRM practices in organisations are influenced by the country's cultural and institutional structures, as well as concepts from Western HRM models.

This section has discussed the influences of gender on organising processes or recruitment, selection and promotion, discussing the findings which indicate inequalities based on gender, as gleaned from the participants' experiences. Based on analysis of participant experiences within the organisational structures of their universities in the previous chapter, it has also discussed how aware the participants are of any inequalities and, the legitimacy of the inequalities and policies to tackle them. Overall, there are mixed reactions towards the inequalities produced by organising processes, legitimising of inequalities and varying degree

of visibilities of inequalities, indicating the usefulness of employing an intersectional approach using inequality regimes. However, with the women vacillating between some positive and negative feedback, seeming unawareness of inequalities, an absence of comprehensive policies on the part of the universities and a reluctance by the women to engage in criticism of perceived gender inequalities, the complexities of the Nigerian context framed by socio-cultural factors, including colonial legacies, ethnicity, religion and attitudes to gender, become clear, revealing the critical need for an approach which conceptualises intersectionality, Postcolonial and African feminist discourse in matters concerning Nigerian women, creating essentially an intersectional African feminism. The next section discusses findings based on women's perception of ethnic and religious influences within their universities.

10.4 Ethnicity And Religion in Organisations: Intersections in a Post-colonial space

The findings suggest that ethnic and religious minority women participating in the study perceived these differences to be a disadvantage to them within organisational structures. On the other hand, the majority ethnic and religious women were of the perspective that their ethnicity or religion did not provide any special advantages. This answers the research question which asks 'To what extent do ethnicity and religion affect academic women's recruitment, selection and promotion of academic women in the Nigerian Higher Education Sector?'.

Ethnicity is viewed as crucial to recruitment and selection in the Nigerian formal labour market. In order to answer the research questions, the study employed an intersectional approach using Acker's (2006) inequality regimes to analyse any perceived influence of ethnicity and religion on organisational processes of recruitment, selection and promotion and how visible any

existing inequalities may be in the organisational structure based on recurring themes in the data. Acker (2006) in her conceptualisation of inequality regimes, acknowledges that there are other bases of inequality embedded within organisational practices; however, she views gender, race and class as the most present. As already mentioned, with regards to the participants and context of the study, other additional bases of inequality include ethnicity and religion. There is a continued emphasis on ethnicity in Nigeria, which suggests the importance of postcolonial thought. Furthermore, the country does not readily allow for religious diversity, leading to tensions amongst the populace.

The impact of colonialism on postcolonial ethnic and religious relations is a source of discrimination for Nigerian women. According to Rosser (2007 p.244), "as new nation-states are constructed, women in formerly colonized countries experience discrimination along race, class and gender lines due to the entanglement of patriarchy with colonialism". Thus, women's relationships with(in) organisational structures are influenced by societal attitudes to gender, ethnicity, religion and legacies of colonialism. This is evidenced by the findings in this study, particularly with regards to women who are a minority ethnic group within their universities. The study reveals that participants in UNILAG and UNIABUJA/BUK, who were in the minority based on their ethnicity and religion, perceived that there was discrimination due to these differences. This perception of discrimination supports Adeleye et al's (2014) claim that in the Nigerian public sector, there have been challenges in achieving diversity and inclusion. Political and other official roles are allocated based on ethnic affiliations, as well as state of origin . Needless to say, this has fostered an atmosphere of hostility and distrust which is fertile ground for discrimination. Ethnic rivalries and unfair employment practices fueled by colonial and postcolonial policies have contributed to this (Osaghae and Suberu, 2005), fostering discrimination and desperation (Odeku and Animashaun, 2012). This study argues that

conceptualising postcolonial and African feminism with intersectionality would provide greater analytical insight into the boundaries of difference that delineate women in postcolonial locations and would be beneficial to a study on women's recruitment, selection and promotion in Nigerian academia. The participants in this study have multiple identities within the socio-cultural Nigerian context, which impact on their actions and perceptions within the organisational structures. In contrast to the assumptions of Western feminist scholarship based on race, gender and class (Mohanty,2003), Postcolonial feminism focuses on how colonialism/neo-colonialism intersects with differences, such as gender, nation, sexualities, amongst others, as well as the subjectivities that influence women's lives. Spurlin (2010) has pointed out that in view of global movement of feminist practices across borders, feminist notions of social justice need to take cognizance of the local national contexts within which women live and work and the differences in the histories associated with these contexts.

Due to the nature of the postcolonial Nigerian state in which various ethnic groups feel marginalised, many inequalities have arisen due to socio-economic competition amongst the ethnic groups, resulting in ethno-regional conflict and tensions which have dogged Nigeria since achieving independence in 1960 (See Chapter 3). To promote integration at a national level, the Federal Character principle was introduced (Asaju and Egberi, 2015). This, as discussed in chapter 3, was to foster a more equitable sharing of posts and proportionate distribution of the country's economic and natural resources in order to ensure a fair representation of all ethnicities (Heirmexy, 2011). However, there remains a lack of the desired national integration in different aspects, including employment. Asaju and Egberi (2015), suggest that, while the principle stresses the importance of ethnic balancing, ethnicity inevitably reigns supreme, while the nation is deemphasized, thus inspiring a high level of mutual distrust.

Thus, due to fear of discrimination and tensions which have stoked security fears, ethnic differences have influenced people's decisions when seeking employment. As discussed in the previous chapter, this is exacerbated by the concept of indigenisation in Nigeria, where one is not considered an 'indigene of a state despite being born there' and despite being a Nigerian citizen (Nwanegbo et al. 2014). Hagher (2002) argues that constitutionally, indigeneship is a basis for access to employment, education and other public resources. Human Rights Watch (2006) notes that this policy was ideal as it provided more opportunities for indigenes within their own state, who would have otherwise experienced discrimination in another state. However, while they may be protected in their own state, the same practice could create discrimination against them in other states (Adesoji and Alao, 2009), which appears to have resulted in spatial segregation in many Nigerian cities. This essentially occurs when members of a group are overrepresented in a particular area, while being underrepresented in another Van Kempen & Ozuekren (1998).

Arguably, policies such as indigenisation help to institutionalise spatial segregation which could potentially force indigenes of a state to remain there, rather than go outside to seek employment or other opportunities in order to avoid discrimination. This has affected diversity, which can be seen in the large number of particular ethnic groups dominating each of the case studies UNN(Igbos), UNILAG (Yorubas), UNIABUJA/BUK(Hausas) and fostering inequalities, particularly for minority ethnic and religious women. For African feminists, a reconceptualisation of citizenship is imperative as it needs to be more inclusive, regardless of differences including gender, class, sexuality or geographical inequalities amongst others (McFadden, 2007), and achieving this is the crucial responsibility of post-colonial policies.

What is evident is that ethnic and religious discrimination appears to have a higher level of visibility to the respondents. While gender inequality is difficult to pinpoint, ethnic inequality is more visible (Acker, 2006). Additionally, the majority of employees at each of case studies are members of a particular ethnic group and religion, which suggests a lack diversity and also raises the question of equality amongst women. While gendered practices produce inequalities, the salience of ethnicity and religion in Nigeria may also have similar effects of producing unequal power relations between groups of women, particularly those not from the majority ethnic group in a particular university. This is because intersectionality not only concerns marginalised groups, but also focuses on power relations between groups (McCall, 2005; Verloo, 2005; Mugge and De Jong, 2013). Thus, due to the patriarchal nature of the society and so with gendered practices, the women compare themselves with men, while with an ethnic and religious bias, they may be comparing themselves with other women.

Marginalisation of women in academia has been discussed in the literature. However, it seems that minority ethnic women experienced it slightly differently, a testament to the non-homogeneity of women's experiences. While, a majority of the participants claimed that ethnicity and religion had no influence on their selection, women in minority ethnic and religious groups argued that ethnicity and religion were quite influential in the general administration of the university, with one participant in UNILAG (chapter 7) describing a "silent influence of ethnicity" in which it is not readily apparent at the university but manifested by certain actions. This supports the study's argument for a conceptualisation of Postcolonial and African feminism in this intersectional study. As has been discussed above, the ethnic and religious tensions influence employment decisions. These tensions are highly influenced by colonial and postcolonial policies, as they do not exist in isolation but occur simultaneously. While many UNIABUJA/BUK participants do not feel that their ethnicity or religion accords

them any privileges, other staff, particularly those not of the Hausa/Fulani ethnic group, feel otherwise. This could be why Celis et al (2014) have argued that gender equality cannot be fully achieved when it is restricted to ethnic majority men and women. The implication is that minority women's ethnicity intersects with their positioning in the organisation, contributing to inequality amongst women.

It is worth pointing out, as explained in the previous chapter, that a lone Christian participant, described her experience as positive, within a Muslim dominated university. The fact that she was surprised at having been given a chance by a Muslim man spoke volumes, as she made clear that she believed that their culture and religion were more restrictive of women in various aspects, including career-wise, which indicates intersectionality of gender and religion. This pattern of visibility can be explained by Acker (2006), who argued that, while the organisational practices that produce gender inequality may be difficult to detect or have a tendency to disappear, "those created by racial inequality are usually evident, visible, but segregated, denied, and avoided" (p.452). Arguably, the lack of ethnic diversity is influenced by societal challenges, such as the indigenisation policy discussed earlier, would make the awareness of any inequality that might be produced difficult to measure. The nuances of the context of the subject of analysis points to the suitability of a fusion of intersectionality, postcolonial and African feminism, providing an explanation for the visibility or invisibility of inequalities for women at work, produced by the intersections of gender, ethnicity and religion in a postcolonial African nation.

Worthy of note is that there appeared to be very little ethnic or religious agency across the case studies. In the case of UNN, due to the lack of ethnic/religious diversity the researcher observed that there was no noticeable ethnic and religious agency amongst the participants in order to

cope with their careers and achieve progression. On the other hand, in UNILAG there was some ethnic agency by very few non-Yoruba participants and in UNIABUJA/BUK there were structural inequalities based on ethnicity and these seemed to be noticed by minority non-indigenes. However, they seemed inclined to mostly keep their heads down, with very little activism reported.

Despite the ethnic and religious inequalities, having internal contacts brought about a fluidity in dis/advantages as recruitment processes at UNILAG, UNIABUJA/BUK appeared to be heavily influenced by informal processes such as word of mouth. This is a highly important way of disseminating information regarding employment (Van Hoye & Lievens, 2009). However, this could negatively impact equity in the recruitment process as Van Hoye et al (2016), note that individuals who have received positive word of mouth information tend to have greater interest when they are of the same gender as the source. This could arguably be said to be the same for people of a similar ethnicity and religion. Thus, it is possible that an over reliance on word of mouth as a recruitment tool could be contributory to maintaining gender, ethnic or socioeconomic inequalities that may already exist within an organisation as people tend to gravitate towards others who are similar to them, which gives a certain homogeneity to their social networks (McPherson et al, 2001).

This could perpetuate gender and ethnic inequalities. As already noted in chapter 7, this hiring based on social networks highlights the need for intersectional research as it could be one of the ways through which gender and racial inequalities are perpetuated. The categories of difference such as the race and gender of both the applicant and the decision makers can affect that judgment, resulting in decisions that some candidates may be more suitable for the position than are others (Acker, 2006). However, Acker's explanation focuses on gender and race. In

this study, examining the recruitment based on internal contacts or word of mouth through a Postcolonial and African feminism would allow one to see with clarity how ethnicity and religion, shaped by tensions and distrust amongst the different ethnic groups in the country, could influence women's relationship with organisational structures. Further, it could create discrimination based on gender as some recruiters may hire people with similar attributes to themselves French and Rumbles (2010, 169-190), for example men hiring or providing internal information of jobs to other men.

This calls into question HRM policies in Nigerian organisations, which Fajana et al (2011) note are influenced by the socio-cultural diversity of the country and characteristically influenced by language, culture, religion gender and educational qualifications. The study reveals that these factors intersect in varying degrees, posing challenges to the women in this study, including the minority ethnic/religious women and women in different regions across the country.

The findings also revealed that there are regional differences in women's perception of leadership in academia. There were indications both at an organisational and societal level that the respondents within UNN and UNILAG seemed to be more reflexively aware of gender inequality when it was a product of their interactions with or perception of members of other ethnic groups from across different regions of the country. Their comments indicated that they perceived women to be highly discriminated against in the Northern part of the country, due to their ethnicity and religion (majority Hausa and Muslim). While there was general evidence of a gendered perception of women within the organisational structures, where women reported that men were seen as better leaders and more men were in senior positions within the organisation compared to women in the other two case studies, more

women in UNIABUJA/BUK felt that women were seen as not being able to handle senior positions and leadership. Does this then mean that women in the North, more than other women across the country, have been conditioned by socio-cultural factors to view themselves or be viewed as incapable of senior positions or leadership?

This implies that there are regional differences across the country that need to be considered in any feminist investigations into women's work which could potentially indicate intersections between gender, ethnicity and religion. There is a relationship between these demographic components, societal factors and women's ability to be involved in decision-making (Osamor and Grady, 2018; Sarumi et al, 2019). Discrimination against Muslim women's participation in public spaces features prominently in the literature (McGarvey, 2009; Mahdi, 2009; Uthman 2009), which could explain why that perception was evident amongst women who participated in the study.

The concern here is for feminist discourse in Nigeria to be viewed through the analytical lenses of a feminism framed by a knowledge of colonial historical legacies and religious influences, which has contributed in conditioning this belief in men's superiority as leaders. Fears of a conversion to Christianity and a deeply entrenched patriarchy were behind the Emirs (Muslim leaders) and colonial officers hesitation to educate Muslim girls, whose education has often been seen as an afterthought and given the least consideration in both colonial and postcolonial Nigeria (Mahdi, 2009). Consequently, the number of women in education in the North is lower than in other parts of the country, as has been stated in previous chapters, which has had implications for women in the formal labour market and consequently in attaining leadership positions. One can see how such a feminism, juxtaposed with a firm grasp of the impact of colonisation and how it intersects with women's lives and identities, could allow for a deeper

understanding of the economic and socio-cultural factors which have conditioned their perspectives of these women.

There is a need for accurate representation of the histories and fluid socio-cultural realities that influence Nigerian women's experiences at work within the context global feminism discourse. Mohanty (2003) has suggested that very little historical work has been done on the involvement of women in the so called 'Third World' with feminism. This is not to imply that there has been little research on histories of women's liberation movements, women's roles and status in the developing world, especially the resistance of indigenous women to colonialism, but that these histories often need to be read against the grain of other discursive practices and intersecting progressive ideological positions, such as postcolonial nationalism, Western feminism, and so on, in order to be more complete. This suggests the need for comparisons and comparative research.

This section has discussed the women's experiences in their organisation and their perception of ethnic and religious influences. Ethnic and religious tensions, exacerbated by colonial and postcolonial policies, along with fear of discrimination, are a source of discouragement for potential candidates to apply in the various case study universities. Furthermore, while the women in the dominant ethnic and religious groups across the case studies perceive that their majority status do not accord them any advantages, the minority women disagree, arguing that there is bias in the organisational structure based on ethnicity and religion. Also, there were regional differences on the perception of leadership influenced by religious norms and legacies of colonialism. These complex experiences demonstrate the value of an intersectional study from the perspective of Postcolonial and African feminism, based on an exploration of Nigerian women's experiences at work and their contextual realities, as it gives voice to the 'other'.

The figure below is the framework illustrating the findings analysed and discussed above..

Figure 7: Analytical Framework illustrating findings
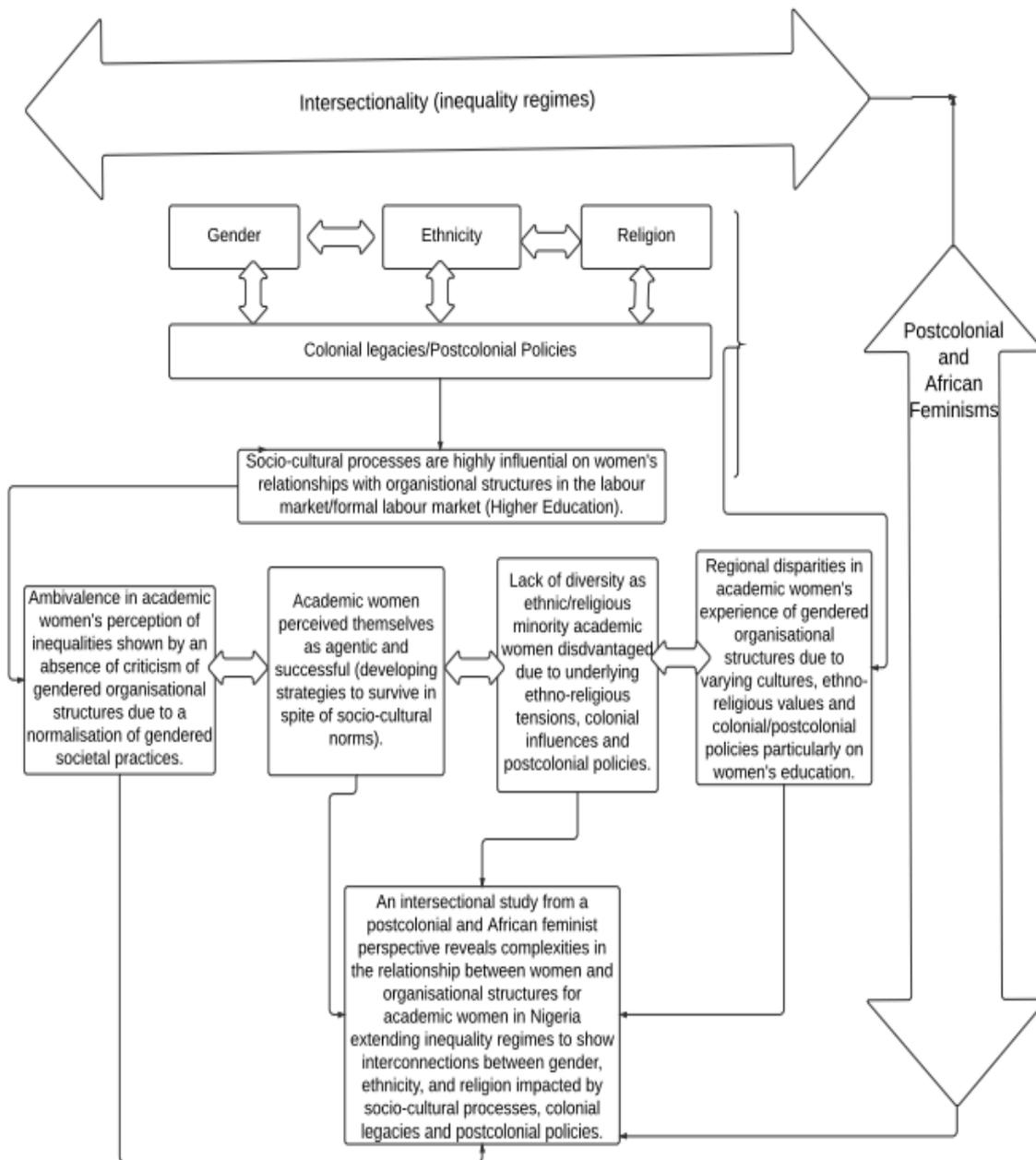
10.5. Conclusion

It is evident that academic women's experiences and identities within organisational structures in Nigeria are highly influenced by socio-cultural processes framed by gendered attitudes, ethnic and religious norms, which could impact their agency and inhibit career progression. However, the findings also suggest that there are ambiguities in women's perception of their positions and positioning, indicating the complexities of women's experiences in the workplace.

The women viewed themselves as successful academics, not oppressed, indicating that they had agency when their careers were involved. On the other hand, many of the respondents accepted the gendered practices within the organisational structure and appeared to have internalised their gender roles in the family and society and tended not to question any gendered practices within the organisation as these practices reflect the societal practices that the academic women in this study may view as normal, subsequently resulting in what could be viewed as an insensitivity by the majority of the respondents to gender inequalities within their university.

Furthermore, the results are also significant as, while ethnic and religious minority women have pointed out that they have faced discrimination due to their status, there is a lack of activism to challenge this situation. This might be due to the fact that the federal character principle has arguably been ineffective, compounded by the apparent legitimacy provided to ethnic discrimination by indigenisation, which has discouraged individuals from venturing into other states for employment for fear of discrimination.

Interestingly, while gender inequality appeared to have a low visibility in the organisational and societal structures, many of the participants seemed more inclined to view it through the lens of perceived behaviour of other ethnic and religious groups. For example Igbo and Yoruba women at UNN and UNILAG respectively, regularly pointed out that their perception of how women in the north were treated by men, based on their culture and religion, while women at UNIABUJA/BUK were more inclined than participants in other case studies, to perceive that men were seen as better suited for top positions than women, indicating regional differences in the perception of female leadership.

Finally, the findings reveal that gendered attitudes, ethnicity and religion, which are shaped by historical and colonial legacies, intersect to influence women's relationships with organisational structures. While there are differences amongst the case studies (e.g. the importance of having internal connections in UNILAG and UNIABUJA/BUK, and the regional variations in perception of women's access to senior positions), the results have revealed that at intersections of gender, ethnicity and religion are similar practices contributing to unequal power relations at work. Those could be viewed as inequality regimes in all of the organisations, influenced by the wider Nigerian socio-cultural attitudes and framed by colonial legacies and postcolonial policies.

However, as mentioned above, it also revealed the agency of the participants at various levels, revealing their strength and the complexities of women's work experiences, thereby contributing to intersectionality research on feminist issues in Nigeria from a postcolonial and African feminist standpoint. Thus, it could be argued that the analysis using the intersectional approach of inequality regimes, through a Postcolonial and African feminist lens, supports the existence of complex interactions of gender, ethnicity and religion at the organisational and

societal level in Nigeria, which influence women's experiences at work in a postcolonial African space and support the development of a feminism specific to Nigeria.

CHAPTER 11 CONCLUSION AND REFLECTIONS

This study set out to determine the impact of gendered practices, ethnicity and religion on women's recruitment, selection and career progression in academia using an intersectionality, postcolonial and African feminist theoretical framework. Qualitative and quantitative data were collected from four different universities in Nigeria and presented within a frame of three case studies in order to access rich data and reach a wider range of participants. Conducting this study was not without its limitations. Very low response rates in one of the universities required for an additional university to be added along with the logistical challenges this decision entailed.

The study has shown that socio-cultural processes and practices in which women are expected to take on roles within the family and society, including childcare and family responsibilities, are critical in shaping organisational structures and women's relationships with these structures. This is in line with the literature about gendered roles in Nigerian society. However, the findings also suggest that women have agency and have constructed their identities as successful academic women, able to develop strategies to navigate these challenges, even as their actions and relationships with organisational structures are shaped by socio-cultural norms and societal attitudes to gender are internalised and normalised by actors within the universities. In focusing on their actions as women within organisational structures, the study has gone a long way towards enhancing our understanding of the complexities of the relationship between agency and structures. This agency occurred in various forms. In some cases, rather than fighting cultural injustices based on gender, some of their activism seemed to be aimed mostly at survival and livelihood which Mikell (1997) argues is the main focus of African feminism.

The research surmises that strategies were to ensure survival. In other cases, their strategies were in line with Nnaemeka (2005)'s brand of Africa feminism, which involves negotiating with the patriarchy. For example some UNN and UNILAG participants described women acting in a way that would be acceptable to men as the way to get ahead which meant that women had to be friendly, hardworking and hospitable otherwise "... *they will say "no, a woman's place should be in the kitchen, she should go and tend to her family or her husband"*. In other cases, there was active, albeit understated, resistance in line with Ahikire (2014)'s notion of gender activism beyond mere survival. For example a UNN participant describes more girls going into education and becoming lecturers, while another one from UNILAG insists that women are pushing forward and fighting inequalities seriously.

While maintaining a balance between their identities as successful women and family responsibilities due to socially assigned gender roles showed the women's agency, it also revealed that this agency is impacted by culture. The challenges posed by these family responsibilities to the career progress of women highlight the significance of their agency. This study has provided an opportunity to critically think about how women in a patriarchal society, with strict social attitudes to gender such as Nigeria, can be agentic within organisational and societal structures. Furthermore, in analysing how academic women perceive and manage the influence of external societal factors on their career progression within a postcolonial space, this study focuses on the academic women's agency within the institutional structures both at the organisational and societal level.

In relation to how gendered practices influence women's recruitment, selection and promotion, the study has found that the result of an internalisation of societal views on gender at the

individual level is the reluctance to criticise organisational gendered practices as well as any experience of difficulties due to their roles in the family. This has led to ambiguities and contradictions, with one participants remarking "we are equal but the males are more". On the one hand the gendered practices revealed by the data are a reminder of women's presence in academia which is largely regarded as a male preserve as noted in the literature. On the other hand, the study has shown that women's determination to succeed and downplaying of any perceived inequalities is a pointer to both their agency and a need to remain loyal to their culture, which has assigned them gender roles that are potentially constraints on their ambitions within academia. At the organisational and societal level, there is a reluctance to develop policies to tackle these issues, mostly due to apathy on the part of the universities and to a patriarchal society in which men are the main decision makers in legal, political and economic spheres. By focusing on the lived experiences of women in Nigerian academia, the current findings add to the existing research on gender inequalities experienced by women in Nigerian academia. The data reveal a perception of unfair practices and the lack of policies to tackle them, recruitment of fewer women than men, an absence of women in selection panels, fewer women in senior positions. Furthermore, there is evidence of benevolent sexism and tokenism and expectations for women to act in a certain manner regarded as acceptable to men, which are ways of reproducing inequalities and can be limiting to women.

This study has also shown that ethnicity and religion are important determinants of women's work. The literature shows that ethnic tensions and distrust in Nigeria (Osaghae and Suberu) have influenced people's decisions with regards to mobility for employment, which has led to a lack of diversity in the workforce. The present research has indicated that minority ethnic and religious women perceive that ethnicity and religion influence organisational processes and are discriminatory on these bases. Evidence from the findings have further suggested that there

are regional differences in how women's occupation of senior or leadership positions are perceived, showing that women experience unequal work situations differently. Among all of the case studies, which were selected to represent the three major geo-political zones and dominated by the three major ethno-religious groups in the country, participants in the Northern region dominated by the Hausa/Fulani ethnic group and the Muslim religion were more inclined to agree that men were seen as more suited for senior and leadership positions than women.

This supports the literature on the legacies of colonialism and impact of religion on women's education, particularly in the Northern region of the country. Socio-religious norms, which encouraged the seclusion of women, a lack of schools as Christian missionaries were not permitted to establish schools in the North and sub-standard education for girls, contributed to women's inability to access the formal labour sector, particularly in the North, and has led to men occupying positions of leadership. However, the findings also show that women in other parts of the country are not immune from being perceived as less suited to these top positions than men due to the legacies of colonial educational policies across the country, which provided girls with mostly domestic skills and general socio-cultural values and regarded boys as more important than girls, thereby impacting women's participation and progress in the formal labour market till this day.

The study reveals the significance of intersectionality in Nigeria, where individuals are highly defined by their ethnic and religious identities but, at the same time, gender roles are well established. Central to this research is a look at the multiple intersecting differences in the lives of the academic women. Through, the application of inequality regimes, this study contributes to a gap in research on intersectionality in organisational studies in Sub-Saharan Africa, with a

focus on Nigeria. An examination of the findings of the study by the intersectional approach of inequality regimes enables one to recognise the fluidity of the practices that reproduce multiple inequalities in academia. This study has extended Acker's framework of inequality regimes to understand women's experiences in a non-Western context by showing that, beyond gender, class and race, other factors such as ethnicity and religion influenced by socio-cultural processes, colonial legacies and postcolonial policies can contribute to inequality regimes in organisations. In all the case studies involved in this research, nearly all the participants are in an ethnic/religious majority revealing a lack of diversity due to ethnic and religious tensions in the country exacerbated by rivalries founded on divisive policies by the colonial administration and fueled by unsatisfactory and poorly implemented postcolonial policies aimed at rectifying the situation. Participants in an ethnic minority reported a perception of discrimination indicating a visibility of inequalities based on intersections of ethnicity, religion and organisational processes.

The research shows how interactions between categories of difference, such as gender, ethnicity and religion, can impact women's work in Nigeria, enabling a conceptualisation of intersectional analysis in a postcolonial location. An intersectional analysis of gender relations and social structures is useful for engaging with questions of inequalities within academia, as well as the structures guiding higher education in Nigeria. However, the study argues that this alone cannot provide the depth of analysis required to understand the realities of African women in Nigeria, a postcolonial location. Instead it argues that this intersectional research be conducted in conjunction with Postcolonial and African feminisms.

While efforts have been made by third wave feminists and intersectionality researchers to tackle multiple inequalities for different groups of women, the researcher argues that

intersectionality does not do enough to address global power relations and differences between Western feminists and feminists in the 'Third world' and is not adequate for analysing the issues of countries in a postcolonial African space as women in different areas of the world have different priorities and complex experiences. This is certainly true in this study. Echoing across the case study universities was an acceptance of their roles as family caregivers, a reluctance to criticise visible gendered practices, some of which have been legitimised by socio-cultural attitudes towards women, and a lack of organisational policies. Nevertheless, these women deemed themselves to be successful academics and embraced the idea that they just needed to work harder in order to accommodate demands at the organisational and societal level in order to progress their careers. Furthermore, in Nigeria, there is a consistent emphasis on ethnicity and religion in difference spheres of society. This is revealed in the complex intersections of gender, ethnicity and religion in the study as gender was more invisible to the participants than ethnicity and religion, while the minority women encountered gendered, ethno-religious discrimination. Still for some women gender was the main source of discrimination. The paradox here is that many gendered attitudes are framed by socio-cultural values shaped by ethnicity and religion, and thus they are interlinked.

For the majority of the participants, socio-cultural attitudes to gender intersects with ethnicity and religion, framed by legacies of colonialism and everyday day realities, and could be the reason for the failure to pass policies such as the Gender Discrimination Bill 2016 into law and why the National Gender Policy 2007 has not reached its full potential. For minority ethnic and religious participants, gender intersects with ethnicity and religion to condition employment and promotion. This suggests that policies such as the Federal Character policy, a postcolonial initiative aimed at addressing inequality based on ethnicity, may not be as effective as originally intended, with a participant noting that there is a silent influence of ethnicities on

organisational structures. The four case studies also reveal how socio-cultural attitudes towards women at work vary geographically and are contextually influenced by the ethnicity and religious practices in that location; however, a unifying factor was that they all agreed that women were mostly responsible for family nurturing and caregiving.

It is clear from the study that the country is rapidly changing as the educated and comparatively privileged participants are evidence that more women are joining academia, usually a reserve for men in the formal labour market. The findings imply the need for a review of recruitment, selection and promotion policies to accommodate the difficulties experienced by women due to socio-cultural expectations in academia. Furthermore ethnic and religious diversity should become more prioritised. Nigerian higher institutions and the government need to create an enabling environment to develop gender policies as well strengthen and implement existing ones to tackle gender inequalities and the lack of ethnic and religious diversity revealed in the study. This will contribute towards Human Resources Management practice in Nigeria, which is still developing.

This research stresses the relevance of postcolonial feminist theory and African feminisms as it considers the differences of women in postcolonial spaces in the context of a rapidly globalised world and global feminist discourse, thereby giving voice to women on the margins. By undertaking this research from a postcolonial and African feminist standpoint, this research contributes to a new way of theorising contemporary African feminist issues in work, organisation and management studies by illuminating the complex issues of African women at work and highlighting the socio-cultural, historical and geographical realities of these women. Rather than merely painting a picture of oppression, examining the intersections of gender, ethnicity and religion from a postcolonial and African feminism perspective has delved deeper

to reveal an intricacy of identities of the women either as being negatively impacted by gendered societal expectations, strict ethno-religious values, colonial legacies/postcolonial policies or as successful, agentic and determined to survive. In this case, it makes room for women who feel successful or those who feel discriminated against or deprived. Findings revealed that recruitment, selection, promotion and career progression are largely determined by the individual experiences and identities of the women, actions at work shaped by those experiences, as well as formal and informal organisational practices, heavily influenced by a gendered Nigerian societal context and cultural factors. Therefore, this study also contributes to the debate on relational difference between feminists in the global north and south as it entails looking at women's present experiences based on the multiple differences or identities in academia from a postcolonial and African feminist standpoint. While postcolonial feminist theory approaches relations of difference from a historical perspective, which is inherent to the field of postcolonial studies, intersectionality studies mainly emphasise the ways in which multiple differences simultaneously intersect in the present (Kerner, 2017). African feminism urges the use of African-centred approaches to the study of gender in Africa, which have a firm grasp of the socio-cultural realities of Africa (Steady, 2005). These theories argue against the Western hegemony in feminism and have suggested new ways of interaction and cooperation amongst feminists across the globe.

This study contributes to the empirical study of intersectionality and postcolonial feminist theory and African feminisms by revealing the simultaneous construction of differences of gender, ethnicity and religion in a postcolonial space. The tool of intersectional analysis has provided empirical support in this postcolonial and African feminist investigation, revealing that the subtlety of gendered practices and a refusal to acknowledge them due to a normalisation of such practices at individual, organisational and societal levels all contribute to the tendency

to avoid criticism of unequal work situations, a reluctance to speak against the culture and failure on the part of organisations to establish diversity policies to tackle issues of inequality. This has contributed to intersectionality studies in Nigeria, which has been identified as lacking in the literature.

The data derived from a survey of academic women from across various levels as well as interviewing women from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, in various positions within these universities, can be generalised to identify women's experiences in the higher education sector within Nigeria's socio-cultural context and to build intersectionality, African feminism and postcolonial feminist theory. The study has provided a clearer conceptual basis for postcolonial and African feminist discourse, showing its value and mitigating the hegemony of Western feminism by recognising that intersections of gender, ethnicity, religion and socio-cultural processes contribute to both the agency, inequalities and the complex nature of women's experiences at work in Nigeria, a post-colonial African location, contributing to theorising contemporary African feminist issues in work, organisation and management studies.

Future research on the lack of criticism of the dominance of men in organisational structures is required. The reluctance of the academic women to criticise, either for socio-cultural reasons. the invisibility of inequalities, or the need to survive within their organisations, indicates that there should be more research on the lack of awareness and criticism of the hegemonic masculinities apparent in organisational and societal structures. Additionally, further research is suggested to assess the effects of class intersecting with gender and ethnicity in women's participation in academia. It was interesting to see the differences in the narratives of the women in which some felt privileged to have had an education while some had parents who

were well educated and could afford. Also from the narrative an overriding issue of equal access to education for girls and boys was based on economic class, in which boys were favoured in cases where families had to make a choice as to who got an education.

10.1 Reflections

My place as an African researcher in the West has made me highly aware of my positioning as I navigate the racialized, classed and national differences in a such a diverse country as the United Kingdom. Perhaps this was made easier by the fact that negotiating with differences in the form of gender, ethnicity, religion and language amongst others back home in Nigeria was a lived reality. More acutely, it also made me aware of the importance of these differences within the context of global feminist issues and so inspired me to think of a framework that would be more representative of how women's lives could be impacted by various factors in different contexts.

In employing intersectionality, my aim was to use its successful frameworks to explore the multiple inequalities which could occur due to the myriad differences in a gendered, ethnicised and deeply religious society such as Nigeria. However, I was also concerned with how well the actions of the women would be represented within mainstream feminist discourse. While Intersectionality was introduced by black feminists and subsequently operationalised to dispel the hegemony of mainstream 'White' feminism, it is still heavily underpinned by the gendered, racialised and classed perspectives of Western feminist thought. Would it address effectively the boundaries of location (Anthias, 2012) when confronted with issues of women in the global south? Even with the expansion across a multitude of other analytical categories of difference, such as ethnicity, sexuality, disability, religion, most intersectional scholarship have their

origins in the West. Furthermore, the constructs of 'women of colour' (Purkayastha, 2012) and other marginalised groups in the West which frames the concept of intersectionality, may not be relevant to Nigerian women in Africa, Therefore, while useful for analysing multiple differences, would it do enough to adequately represent their complex experiences? Many factors that influence women's positioning in socio-economic structures in Nigeria have their roots not only in the pre-colonial gender relations hinged on duality whereby men and women had their complementary roles, but also in colonial policies, which entrenched gendered practices in various spheres such as education and the labour market, providing an underpinning for inequality between men and women that is reinforced by contemporary formal labour market practices in postcolonial Nigeria. Further, many colonial practices, which were engineered to maintain a strict hold on the country, created ethnic and religious tensions which remain to this day.

Thus, in trying to explore any equalities faced by women in Nigerian academia, it became clear that there are a host of highly influential factors that need to be addressed. As such, I was interested in how these complexities could be brought to the fore from the perspective of a feminism which could address issues that arise from women's interactions with colonialism as well as a feminism with a firm grasp of the socio-economic, cultural, historical and contemporary realities in Africa. In Nigeria, the continuing emphasis on ethnicities and religion, together with a patriarchal society, means that an intersectional study adapted to give voice to the postcolonial African woman, is a highly timely and critical contribution.

For me, conducting research with Nigerian women as research subjects demanded for a high level of self-reflexivity and understanding of my subjectivity. Being of an ethnic group considered a majority in Nigeria, and then marrying a man from a minority ethnic group, I

considered how these two identities intersected. To a Nigerian, my last name suggests I am a minority while my language indicates I am not. I am an indigene in my state; however, I am now considered part of my husband's state, but, with language differences, still considered an outsider. This is a small example of the multiple identities many people negotiate with in Nigeria.

Furthermore, the study presented me with both advantages and disadvantages. In collecting data, it struck me how willing these women were to speak with me and share their experiences with a complete stranger. It could be that, as a woman born and raised in Nigeria, they saw me as one of their own. Many of them had also completed doctoral programmes with children just as I was doing and so it was something of a sisterhood who understood one another. In the beginning, this came with a disadvantage of not allowing me to assess their responses critically as we share similar attitudes and expectations, albeit in varying degrees. Many of their perceptions of what society expected of them closely resembled mine. Growing up, I knew exactly what my position was and what was expected of me as a woman. Therefore, I understood the reluctance of the participants to be seen as critical of these expectations and unequal situations at work, which could result in one being labelled a feminist, thereby eliciting a wide range of feelings from positive to negative depending on your audience.

However, this research has made me question and reflect on my position and positioning. In doing so, I was not only able to assess critically, gendered actions which have been normalised and made invisible by society, but also see my own agency and ability to make decisions that affect my life. I recall deliberating over this with a fellow Nigerian female doctoral scholar at a conference I attended here in the UK, which had an emphasis on gender equality. We discussed how difficult it was to explain to our families that we were feminists as that would

also entail deciding what feminism meant to us as Nigerian/African women. Also, how is my feminism and my experiences, as well as those of other Nigerian and African women, perceived in the context of globalised feminist discourse ? My hope is that this work will contribute towards providing more insight into the lived experiences of women in the Nigerian workplace and contribute towards a more functional feminism, one which combines emergent and established feminist frameworks with an understanding of what it is to be an African, a Nigerian woman in a postcolonial, globalised world.

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Table 6.4

The job process was fair and non-discriminatory. * JobTitle Crosstabulation

| | | | JobTitle | | | |
			Assistant Lecturer	Lecturer (1&11)	Other	Professor
	Strongly Disagree	Count	1	2	1	0
		%	12.5%	4.0%	16.7%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	0	10	0	0
		%	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Neutral	Count	1	13	1	2
		%	12.5%	26.0%	16.7%	25.0%
	Agree	Count	3	22	3	5
		%	37.5%	44.0%	50.0%	62.5%
	Strongly Agree	Count	3	3	1	1
		%	37.5%	6.0%	16.7%	12.5%
Total		Count	8	50	6	8
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The job process was fair and non-discriminatory. * JobTitle Crosstabulation

| | | | JobTitle | |
			Senior Lecturer	Total
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0	4
		%	0.0%	5.0%
	Disagree	Count	1	11
		%	12.5%	13.8%
	Neutral	Count	0	17
		%	0.0%	21.3%
	Agree	Count	5	38
		%	62.5%	47.5%
	Strongly Agree	Count	2	10
		%	25.0%	12.5%
Total		Count	8	80
		%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6.5

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements: The interview panel was gender-balanced.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Assistant Lecturer	Lecturer (1&11)	Other	Professor
	Strongly Disagree	Count	1	3	0	1
		%	12.5%	6.0%	0.0%	12.5%
	Disagree	Count	1	8	0	3
		%	12.5%	16.0%	0.0%	37.5%
	Neutral	Count	1	14	1	2
		%	12.5%	28.0%	16.7%	25.0%
	Agree	Count	3	20	1	2
		%	37.5%	40.0%	16.7%	25.0%
	Strongly Agree	Count	2	5	4	0
		%	25.0%	10.0%	66.7%	0.0%
Total		Count	8	50	6	8
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements: The interview panel was gender-balanced.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Senior Lecturer	Total
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0	5
		%	0.0%	6.3%
	Disagree	Count	1	13
		%	12.5%	16.3%
	Neutral	Count	4	22
		%	50.0%	27.5%
	Agree	Count	2	28
		%	25.0%	35.0%
	Strongly Agree	Count	1	12
		%	12.5%	15.0%
Total		Count	8	80
		%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6.6

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements about promotion: Women and men have equal opportunities in promotion.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Assistant Lecturer	Lecturer (1&11)	Other	Professor
	Disagree	Count	1	2	0	2
		%	12.5%	4.0%	0.0%	25.0%
	Neutral	Count	0	4	1	1
		%	0.0%	8.0%	16.7%	12.5%
	Agree	Count	3	18	0	2
		%	37.5%	36.0%	0.0%	25.0%
	Strongly Agree	Count	4	26	5	3
		%	50.0%	52.0%	83.3%	37.5%
Total		Count	8	50	6	8
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements about promotion: Women and men have equal opportunities in promotion.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Senior Lecturer	Total
	Disagree	Count	0	5
		%	0.0%	6.3%
	Neutral	Count	0	6
		%	0.0%	7.5%
	Agree	Count	2	25
		%	25.0%	31.3%
	Strongly Agree	Count	6	44
		%	75.0%	55.0%
Total		Count	8	80
		%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6.7

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements about your career experiences: My religious identity helps me in my career at the university.] * Please select the option that best describes your religion: Crosstabulation

			Christian	Total
	Strongly Disagree	Count	21	21
		% :	26.3%	26.3%
	Disagree	Count	29	29
		% :	36.3%	36.3%
	Neutral	Count	23	23
		%:	28.8%	28.8%
	Agree	Count	5	5
		% :	6.3%	6.3%
	Strongly Agree	Count	2	2
		% :	2.5%	2.5%
Total		Count	80	80
		% :	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6.8

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: There is an equal number of men and women in senior academic positions.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Assistant Lecturer	Lecturer (1&11)	Other	Professor
	Strongly Disagree	Count	2	6	1	2
		%	25.0%	12.0%	16.7%	25.0%
	Disagree	Count	0	13	1	4
		%	0.0%	26.0%	16.7%	50.0%
	Neutral	Count	4	21	3	1
		%	50.0%	42.0%	50.0%	12.5%
	Agree	Count	2	8	0	1
		%	25.0%	16.0%	0.0%	12.5%
	Strongly Agree	Count	0	2	1	0
		%	0.0%	4.0%	16.7%	0.0%
Total		Count	8	50	6	8
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: There is an equal number of men and women in senior academic positions.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Senior Lecturer	Total
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0	11
		%	0.0%	13.8%
	Disagree	Count	7	25
		%	87.5%	31.3%
	Neutral	Count	1	30
		%	12.5%	37.5%
	Agree	Count	0	11
		%	0.0%	13.8%
	Strongly Agree	Count	0	3
		%	0.0%	3.8%
Total		Count	8	80
		%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6.9

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: Women are seen as lacking the decision-making abilities required by leadership positions.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Assistant Lecturer	Lecturer (1&11)	Other	Professor
	Strongly Disagree	Count	2	6	0	1
		%	25.0%	12.0%	0.0%	12.5%
	Disagree	Count	2	16	2	2
		%	25.0%	32.0%	33.3%	25.0%
	Neutral	Count	1	11	1	5
		%	12.5%	22.0%	16.7%	62.5%
	Agree	Count	2	13	2	0
		%	25.0%	26.0%	33.3%	0.0%
	Strongly Agree	Count	1	4	1	0
		%	12.5%	8.0%	16.7%	0.0%
Total		Count	8	50	6	8
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: Women are seen as lacking the decision-making abilities required by leadership positions.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Senior Lecturer	Total
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0	9
		%	0.0%	11.3%
	Disagree	Count	3	25
		%	37.5%	31.3%
	Neutral	Count	1	19
		%	12.5%	23.8%
	Agree	Count	3	20
		%	37.5%	25.0%
	Strongly Agree	Count	1	7
		%	12.5%	8.8%
Total		Count	8	80
		%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6.10

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: There is an equal number of men and women in senior academic positions.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle			
			Assistant Lecturer	Lecturer (1&11)	Other	Professor
	Strongly Disagree	Count	2	6	1	2
		%	25.0%	12.0%	16.7%	25.0%
	Disagree	Count	0	13	1	4
		%	0.0%	26.0%	16.7%	50.0%
	Neutral	Count	4	21	3	1
		%	50.0%	42.0%	50.0%	12.5%
	Agree	Count	2	8	0	1
		%	25.0%	16.0%	0.0%	12.5%
	Strongly Agree	Count	0	2	1	0
		%	0.0%	4.0%	16.7%	0.0%
Total		Count	8	50	6	8
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: [There is an equal number of men and women in senior academic positions.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle	
			Senior Lecturer	Total
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0	11
		%	0.0%	13.8%
	Disagree	Count	7	25
		%	87.5%	31.3%
	Neutral	Count	1	30
		%	12.5%	37.5%
	Agree	Count	0	11
		%	0.0%	13.8%
	Strongly Agree	Count	0	3
		%	0.0%	3.8%
Total		Count	8	80
		%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6.11

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: Men are seen as more suitable for senior academic positions.] *   Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group: Crosstabulation

			Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group:		
			Igbo	Other	Yoruba
	Strongly Disagree	Count	12	0	0
		% :	15.8%	0.0%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	26	0	0
		% :	34.2%	0.0%	0.0%
	Neutral	Count	12	0	0
		% :	15.8%	0.0%	0.0%
	Agree	Count	14	0	0
		% :	18.4%	0.0%	0.0%
	Strongly Agree	Count	12	2	2
		% :	15.8%	100.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	76	2	2
		% :	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: [a) Men are seen more suitable for senior academic positions.] * g) Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group: Crosstabulation

			Total
	Strongly Disagree	Count	12
		% :	15.0%
	Disagree	Count	26
		% :	32.5%
	Neutral	Count	12
		% :	15.0%
	Agree	Count	14
		% :	17.5%
	Strongly Agree	Count	16
		% :	20.0%
Total		Count	80
		% :	100.0%

Table 6.12

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements: My ethnic identity had a positive effect during the selection process.] *   Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group: Crosstabulation

			Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group:		
			Igbo	Other	Yoruba
	Strongly Disagree	Count	16	2	0
		%	21.1%	100.0%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	19	0	0
		%	25.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Neutral	Count	30	0	2
		%	39.5%	0.0%	100.0%
	Agree	Count	9	0	0
		%	11.8%	0.0%	0.0%
	Strongly Agree	Count	2	0	0
		%	2.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Total		Count	76	2	2
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements: My ethnic identity had a positive effect during the selection process.] *   Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group: Crosstabulation

			Total
	Strongly Disagree	Count	18
		%	22.5%
	Disagree	Count	19
		%	23.8%
	Neutral	Count	32
		%	40.0%
	Agree	Count	9
		%	11.3%
	Strongly Agree	Count	2
		%	2.5%
Total		Count	80
		%	100.0%

Table 6.13

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements about promotion: **I am interested in promotion to a more senior position.] *** **Do you have children? Crosstabulation**

| | | | c) Do you have children? | | |
			No	Yes	Total
	Disagree	Count	0	3	3
		%	0.0%	4.5%	3.8%
	Neutral	Count	0	5	5
		%	0.0%	7.6%	6.3%
	Agree	Count	2	11	13
		%	14.3%	16.7%	16.3%
	Strongly Agree	Count	12	47	59
		%	85.7%	71.2%	73.8%
Total		Count	14	66	80
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 7.4

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements about your recruitment Everyone has equal opportunities in the recruitment process * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle		
			Assistant Lecturer	Associate Professor	Lecturer (1&11)
	Strongly Disagree	Count	1	0	0
		%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	0	0	2
		%	0.0%	0.0%	8.7%
	Neutral	Count	0	0	2
		%	0.0%	0.0%	8.7%
	Agree	Count	0	2	10
		%	0.0%	50.0%	43.5%
	Strongly Agree	Count	0	2	9
		%	0.0%	50.0%	39.1%
Total		Count	1	4	23
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements about your recruitment: Ever has equal opportunities in the recruitment process * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle			
			Other	Professor	Senior Lecturer	
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0	0	0	1
		% within JobTitle	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%
	Disagree	Count	0	1	1	4
		% within JobTitle	0.0%	12.5%	8.3%	8.0%
	Neutral	Count	0	0	0	2
		% within JobTitle	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%
	Agree	Count	0	4	5	21
		% within JobTitle	0.0%	50.0%	41.7%	42.0%
	Strongly Agree	Count	2	3	6	22
		% within JobTitle	100.0%	37.5%	50.0%	44.0%
Total		Count	2	8	12	50
		% within JobTitle	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7.5

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements: My religious identity had a posit[ive] effect during the selection process. * Please select the option that best describes your religion: Crosstabulat[ion]

			Christian	Muslim	Total
	Agree	Count	2	0	2
		%	4.2%	0.0%	4.0%
	Disagree	Count	17	0	17
		%	35.4%	0.0%	34.0%
	Neutral	Count	9	2	11
		%	18.8%	100.0%	22.0%
	Strongly Disagree	Count	20	0	20
		%	41.7%	0.0%	40.0%
Total		Count	48	2	50
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7.6

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements about promotion: Women and men have equal opportunities in promotion. * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle		
			Assistant Lecturer	Associate Professor	Lecturer (1&11)
Strongly Disagree	Count		0	0	1
	%		0.0%	0.0%	4.3%
Disagree	Count		0	0	2
	%		0.0%	0.0%	8.7%
Neutral	Count		1	0	3
	%		100.0%	0.0%	13.0%
Agree	Count		0	1	11
	%		0.0%	25.0%	47.8%
Strongly Agree	Count		0	3	6
	%		0.0%	75.0%	26.1%
Total	Count		1	4	23
	%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements about promotion: Women and men have equal opportunities in promotion.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle			
			Other	Professor	Senior Lecturer	
Strongly Disagree	Count		0	1	1	3
	%		0.0%	12.5%	8.3%	6.0%
Disagree	Count		0	1	2	5
	%		0.0%	12.5%	16.7%	10.0%
Neutral	Count		0	0	0	4
	%		0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.0%
Agree	Count		1	4	3	20
	%		50.0%	50.0%	25.0%	40.0%
Strongly Agree	Count		1	2	6	18
	%		50.0%	25.0%	50.0%	36.0%
Total	Count		2	8	12	50
	%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7.7

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: **There is an e**
number of men and women in senior academic positions.* JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Assistant Lecturer	Associate Professor	Lecturer (1
Strongly Disagree	Count		0	1	3
	%		0.0%	25.0%	13.0%
Disagree	Count		1	0	10
	%		100.0%	0.0%	43.5%
Neutral	Count		0	1	7
	%		0.0%	25.0%	30.4%
Agree	Count		0	2	2
	%		0.0%	50.0%	8.7%
Strongly Agree	Count		0	0	1
	%		0.0%	0.0%	4.3%
Total	Count		1	4	23
	%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: **There is an e**
number of men and women in senior academic positions. * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Other	Professor	Senior Lecturer	Total
Strongly Disagree	Count		0	2	5	11
	%		0.0%	25.0%	41.7%	22.0%
Disagree	Count		1	2	3	17
	%		50.0%	25.0%	25.0%	34.0%
Neutral	Count		0	0	0	8
	%		0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	16.0%
Agree	Count		1	2	3	10
	%		50.0%	25.0%	25.0%	20.0%
Strongly Agree	Count		0	2	1	4
	%		0.0%	25.0%	8.3%	8.0%
Total	Count		2	8	12	50
	%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0

Table 7.8:

**To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: Women are
as lacking the decision-making abilities required by leadership positions. * JobTitle Crosstabulation**

			JobTitle		
			Assistant Lecturer	Associate Professor	Lecturer (1
Strongly Disagree	Count		0	1	0
	%		0.0%	25.0%	0.0%
Disagree	Count		0	2	12
	%		0.0%	50.0%	52.2%
Neutral	Count		0	1	8
	%		0.0%	25.0%	34.8%
Agree	Count		1	0	2
	%		100.0%	0.0%	8.7%
Strongly Agree	Count		0	0	1
	%		0.0%	0.0%	4.3%
Total	Count		1	4	23
	%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

**To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: Women are
as lacking the decision-making abilities required by leadership positions. * JobTitle Crosstabulation**

			JobTitle			
			Other	Professor	Senior Lecturer	
Strongly Disagree	Count		0	1	1	3
	%		0.0%	12.5%	8.3%	6.0%
Disagree	Count		1	3	3	21
	%		50.0%	37.5%	25.0%	42.0%
Neutral	Count		1	0	3	13
	%		50.0%	0.0%	25.0%	26.0%
Agree	Count		0	3	2	8
	%		0.0%	37.5%	16.7%	16.0%
Strongly Agree	Count		0	1	3	5
	%		0.0%	12.5%	25.0%	10.0%
Total	Count		2	8	12	50
	%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 7.9

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: [j) Men and wor in leadership positions receive equal respect] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Assistant Lecturer	Associate Professor	Lecturer (1&11)	Othe
Men and women in leadership positions receive equal respect]	Strongly Disagree	Count	0	0	1	0
		%	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	0	0	5	0
		%	0.0%	0.0%	21.7%	0.0%
	Neutral	Count	1	1	4	0
		%	100.0%	25.0%	17.4%	0.0%
	Agree	Count	0	2	11	1
		% w	0.0%	50.0%	47.8%	50.0%
	Strongly Agree	Count	0	1	2	1
		%	0.0%	25.0%	8.7%	50.0%
Total		Count	1	4	23	2
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: [j) Men and wor in leadership positions receive equal respect] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Professor	Senior Lecturer	Total
Men and women in leadership positions receive equal respect]	Strongly Disagree	Count	2	1	4
		%	25.0%	8.3%	8.0%
	Disagree	Count	2	3	10
		%	25.0%	25.0%	20.0%
	Neutral	Count	1	2	9
		%	12.5%	16.7%	18.0%
	Agree	Count	2	3	19
		%	25.0%	25.0%	38.0%
	Strongly Agree	Count	1	3	8
		%	12.5%	25.0%	16.0%
Total		Count	8	12	50
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7.10

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements about your career experiences: My ethnic identity helps me in my career at the university. *   Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group: Crosstabulation

			Hausa/Fulani	Igbo	Other
Strongly Disagree	Count		0	8	2
	%		0.0%	57.1%	28.6%
Disagree	Count		1	2	3
	%		100.0%	14.3%	42.9%
Neutral	Count		0	4	1
	%		0.0%	28.6%	14.3%
Agree	Count		0	0	1
	%		0.0%	0.0%	14.3%
Total	Count		1	14	7
	%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements about your career experiences: My ethnic identity helps me in my career at the university. *   Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group: Crosstabulation

			Yoruba	Total
Strongly Disagree	Count		9	19
	%		32.1%	38.0%
Disagree	Count		8	14
	%		28.6%	28.0%
Neutral	Count		9	14
	%		32.1%	28.0%
Agree	Count		2	3
	%		7.1%	6.0%
Total	Count		28	50
	%		100.0%	100.0%

Table 7.11

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements about your career experiences: My religious identity helps me in my career at the university.*   Please select the option that best describes your religion: Crosstabulation

			Christian	Muslim	Total
Agree		Count	2	1	3
		%	4.2%	50.0%	6.0%
Disagree		Count	13	0	13
		%	27.1%	0.0%	26.0%
Neutral		Count	13	1	14
		%	27.1%	50.0%	28.0%
Strongly Disagree		Count	20	0	20
		%	41.7%	0.0%	40.0%
Total		Count	48	2	50
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7.12

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: The university has family-friendly policies in place. *   Do you have children? Crosstabulation

			Do you have children?		Total
			No	Yes	
Strongly Disagree	Count		0	2	2
	%		0.0%	4.7%	4.0%
Disagree	Count		0	6	6
	%		0.0%	14.0%	12.0%
Neutral	Count		1	20	21
	%		14.3%	46.5%	42.0%
Agree	Count		5	8	13
	%		71.4%	18.6%	26.0%
Strongly Agree	Count		1	7	8
	%		14.3%	16.3%	16.0%
Total	Count		7	43	50
	%?		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 8.4 BUK

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements about your recruitment: Everyone has equal opportunities in the recruitment process] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle		
			Assistant Lecturer	Associate Professor	Lecturer (1
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0	0	1
		%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%
	Disagree	Count	0	0	4
		%	0.0%	0.0%	40.0%
	Neutral	Count	0	0	1
		%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%
	Agree	Count	1	1	0
		%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%
	Strongly Agree	Count	0	0	4
		%	0.0%	0.0%	40.0%
Total		Count	1	1	10
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements about your recruitment: [d) Everyone has equal opportunities in the recruitment process] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle			TOTAL
			Other	Professor	Senior Lecturer	
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0	0	0	1
		%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%
	Disagree	Count	0	1	2	7
		%	0.0%	33.3%	66.7%	30.4%
	Neutral	Count	0	1	0	2
		%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	8.7%
	Agree	Count	2	1	1	6
		%	40.0%	33.3%	33.3%	26.1%
	Strongly Agree	Count	3	0	0	7
		%	60.0%	0.0%	0.0%	30.4%
Total		Count	5	3	3	23
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 8.5 UNIABUJA

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements about your recruitm
Everyone has equal opportunities in the recruitment process * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle		
			Assistant Lecturer	Associate Professor	Lecturer (1
Strongly Disagree	Count		0	0	1
	%		0.0%	0.0%	10.0%
Disagree	Count		0	0	4
	%		0.0%	0.0%	40.0%
Neutral	Count		0	0	1
	%		0.0%	0.0%	10.0%
Agree	Count		1	1	0
	%		100.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Strongly Agree	Count		0	0	4
	%		0.0%	0.0%	40.0%
Total	Count		1	1	10
	%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements about your recruitment
Everyone has equal opportunities in the recruitment process] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

		JobTitle			
		Other	Professor	Senior Lecturer	
Strongly Disagree	Count	0	0	0	1
	%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%
Disagree	Count	0	1	2	7
	%	0.0%	33.3%	66.7%	30.4%
Neutral	Count	0	1	0	2
	%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	8.7%
Agree	Count	2	1	1	6
	%	40.0%	33.3%	33.3%	26.1%
Strongly Agree	Count	3	0	0	7
	%	60.0%	0.0%	0.0%	30.4%
Total	Count	5	3	3	23
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 8.6 UNIABUJA

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements: I was satisfied by the sele
process.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Assistant Lecturer	Associate Professor	Lecturer (18
Neutral		Count	0	0	1
		%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%
Agree		Count	2	1	8
		%	100.0%	100.0%	80.0%
Strongly Agree		Count	0	0	1
		%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%
Total		Count	2	1	10
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements: I was satisfied by the sele
process.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Senior Lecturer	Total
Neutral		Count	0	1
		%	0.0%	6.3%
Agree		Count	3	14
		%	100.0%	87.5%
Strongly Agree		Count	0	1
		%	0.0%	6.3%
Total		Count	3	16
		%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 8.7 BUK

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements: I was satisfied by the sele[...] process.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Assistant Lecturer	Associate Professor	Lecturer (1&11)	Other
	Disagree	Count	0	0	1	0
		%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%	0.0%
	Neutral	Count	0	0	0	1
		%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%
	Agree	Count	1	1	5	3
		%	100.0%	100.0%	50.0%	60.0%
	Strongly Agree	Count	0	0	4	1
		%	0.0%	0.0%	40.0%	20.0%
Total		Count	1	1	10	5
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements: I was satisfied by the sele[...] process.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Professor	Senior Lecturer	
	Disagree	Count	0	0	1
		%	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%
	Neutral	Count	0	3	4
		%	0.0%	100.0%	17.4%
	Agree	Count	3	0	13
		%	100.0%	0.0%	56.5%
	Strongly Agree	Count	0	0	5
		%	0.0%	0.0%	21.7%
Total		Count	3	3	23
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 8.8 UNIABUJA

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements: [The interview panel was gender-balanced.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Assistant Lecturer	Associate Professor	Lecturer (1&11)
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0	0	2
		%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%
	Disagree	Count	1	1	5
		%	50.0%	100.0%	50.0%
	Neutral	Count	0	0	2
		%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%
	Agree	Count	1	0	1
		%	50.0%	0.0%	10.0%
Total		Count	2	1	10
		% within JobTitle	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements: The interview panel was gender-balanced.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Senior Lecturer	Total
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0	2
		%	0.0%	12.5%
	Disagree	Count	1	8
		%	33.3%	50.0%
	Neutral	Count	0	2
		%	0.0%	12.5%
	Agree	Count	2	4
		%	66.7%	25.0%
Total		Count	3	16
		%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 8.9 BUK

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements: The interview panel was gender-balanced.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Assistant Lecturer	Associate Professor	Lecturer (1&11)
	Strongly Disagree	Count	1	1	1
		%	100.0%	100.0%	10.0%
	Disagree	Count	0	0	4
		%	0.0%	0.0%	40.0%
	Neutral	Count	0	0	2
		%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%
	Agree	Count	0	0	1
		%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%
	Strongly Agree	Count	0	0	2
		%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%
Total		Count	1	1	10
		% within JobTitle	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements: The   interview   panel   was gender-balanced.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Other	Professor	Senior Lecturer	
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0	0	0	3
		%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	13.0%
	Disagree	Count	2	2	3	11
		%	40.0%	66.7%	100.0%	47.8%
	Neutral	Count	2	1	0	5
		%	40.0%	33.3%	0.0%	21.7%
	Agree	Count	1	0	0	2
		%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.7%
	Strongly Agree	Count	0	0	0	2
		%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.7%
Total		Count	5	3	3	23
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 8.10 BUK

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements: My religious identity had a pos[itive] effect during the selection process.*   Please select the option that best describes your reli[gion] Crosstabulation

			Christian	Muslim	Total
	Strongly Disagree	Count	1	8	9
		%	100.0%	36.4%	39.1%
	Disagree	Count	0	6	6
		%	0.0%	27.3%	26.1%
	Neutral	Count	0	3	3
		%	0.0%	13.6%	13.0%
	Agree	Count	0	4	4
		%	0.0%	18.2%	17.4%
	Strongly Agree	Count	0	1	1
		%	0.0%	4.5%	4.3%
Total		Count	1	22	23
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 8.11 UNIABUJA

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements: [My religious identity ha[d a] positive effect during the selection process.] *   Please select the option that best describes your reli[gion] Crosstabulation

			Please select the option that best describes your religion: Muslim	Total
	Strongly Disagree	Count	11	11
		%	68.8%	68.8%
	Disagree	Count	4	4
		%	25.0%	25.0%
	Neutral	Count	1	1
		%	6.3%	6.3%
Total		Count	16	16
		%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 8.12 BUK

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: There is an e[...] number of men and women in senior academic positions.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle		
			Assistant Lecturer	Associate Professor	Lecturer (1&11)
	Strongly Disagree	Count	1	1	2
		%	100.0%	100.0%	20.0%
	Disagree	Count	0	0	3
		%	0.0%	0.0%	30.0%
	Neutral	Count	0	0	3
		%	0.0%	0.0%	30.0%
	Agree	Count	0	0	1
		%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%
	Strongly Agree	Count	0	0	1
		%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%
Total		Count	1	1	10
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: There is an eq[...] number of men and women in senior academic positions.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle			
			Other	Professor	Senior Lecturer	
	Strongly Disagree	Count	3	1	1	9
		%	60.0%	33.3%	33.3%	39.1%
	Disagree	Count	2	1	2	8
		%	40.0%	33.3%	66.7%	34.8%
	Neutral	Count	0	1	0	4
		%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	17.4%
	Agree	Count	0	0	0	1
		%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%
	Strongly Agree	Count	0	0	0	1
		%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%
Total		Count	5	3	3	23
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 8.13 UNIABUJA

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: There is an e
number of men and women in senior academic positions.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Assistant Lecturer	Associate Professor	Lecturer (1&11)
Strongly Disagree		Count	1	1	7
		%	50.0%	100.0%	70.0%
Disagree		Count	1	0	2
		%	50.0%	0.0%	20.0%
Neutral		Count	0	0	1
		%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%
Total		Count	2	1	10
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: There is an e
number of men and women in senior academic positions.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Senior Lecturer	Total
Strongly Disagree		Count	2	11
		%	66.7%	68.8%
Disagree		Count	1	4
		%	33.3%	25.0%
Neutral		Count	0	1
		%	0.0%	6.3%
Total		Count	3	16
		%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 8.14 BUK

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: Women are s as lacking the decision-making abilities required by leadership positions.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle		
			Assistant Lecturer	Associate Professor	Lecturer (1&11)
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0	0	1
		%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%
	Disagree	Count	0	0	2
		%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%
	Neutral	Count	0	0	2
		%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%
	Agree	Count	1	1	4
		%	100.0%	100.0%	40.0%
	Strongly Agree	Count	0	0	1
		%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%
Total		Count	1	1	10
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: Women are seen as lacking the decision-making abilities required by leadership positions.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

		JobTitle			
		Other	Professor	Senior Lecturer	
Strongly Disagree	Count	0	1	0	2
	%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	8.7%
Disagree	Count	1	0	0	3
	%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	13.0%
Neutral	Count	1	0	0	3
	%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	13.0%
Agree	Count	1	2	3	12
	%	20.0%	66.7%	100.0%	52.2%
Strongly Agree	Count	2	0	0	3
	%	40.0%	0.0%	0.0%	13.0%
Total	Count	5	3	3	23
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 8.15 UNIABUJA

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization:　Women are s
as lacking the decision-making abilities required by leadership positions.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Assistant Lecturer	Associate Professor	Lecturer (1&
Neutral		Count	0	0	2
		%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%
Agree		Count	2	0	8
		%	100.0%	0.0%	80.0%
Strongly Agree		Count	0	1	0
		%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Total		Count	2	1	10
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: [Women are seer
lacking the decision-making abilities required by leadership positions.] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Senior Lecturer	Total
Neutral		Count	1	3
		%	33.3%	18.8%
Agree		Count	1	11
		%	33.3%	68.8%
Strongly Agree		Count	1	2
		%	33.3%	12.5%
Total		Count	3	16
		%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 8.16 BUK

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements about your career experiences: My religious identity helps me in my career at the university.] * Please select the option that best describes your religion: Crosstabulation

			Please select the option that best describes your religion:		
			Christian	Muslim	Total
Strongly Disagree	Count		1	6	7
	%		100.0%	27.3%	30.4%
Disagree	Count		0	9	9
	%		0.0%	40.9%	39.1%
Neutral	Count		0	3	3
	%		0.0%	13.6%	13.0%
Agree	Count		0	3	3
	%		0.0%	13.6%	13.0%
Strongly Agree	Count		0	1	1
	%		0.0%	4.5%	4.3%
Total	Count		1	22	23
	%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

8.17 BUK

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements: My ethnic identity had a positive effect during the selection process.] * Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group: Crosstabulation

		Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group:			
		Hausa/Fulani	Other	Yoruba	Total
Strongly Disagree	Count	4	1	1	6
	%	20.0%	50.0%	100.0%	26.1%
Disagree	Count	9	1	0	10
	%	45.0%	50.0%	0.0%	43.5%
Neutral	Count	4	0	0	4
	%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	17.4%
Agree	Count	3	0	0	3
	%	15.0%	0.0%	0.0%	13.0%
Total	Count	20	2	1	23
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Appendix 4: UNN, UNILAG, UNIABUJA/BUK Crosstabulations in Empirical Analysis

Table 9.1.1 (UNN column)

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements about your career experiences: My ethnic identity helps me in my career at the university.] * Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group: Crosstabulation

			Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group:		
			Igbo	Other	Yoruba
Strongly Disagree	Count		20	2	0
	%		26.3%	100.0%	0.0%
Disagree	Count		28	0	0
	%		36.8%	0.0%	0.0%
Neutral	Count		20	0	2
	%		26.3%	0.0%	100.0%
Agree	Count		7	0	0
	%		9.2%	0.0%	0.0%
Strongly Agree	Count		1	0	0
	%		1.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	Count		76	2	2
	%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements about your career experiences: My ethnic identity helps me in my career at the university.] * g) Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group: Crosstabulation

			Total
Strongly Disagree	Count		22
	%		27.5%
Disagree	Count		28
	%		35.0%
Neutral	Count		22
	%		27.5%
Agree	Count		7
	%		8.8%
Strongly Agree	Count		1
	%		1.3%
Total	Count		80
	%		100.0%

Table 9.1.2 (UNIABUJA Column)

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements about your career experiences: My ethnic identity helps me in my career at the university.] *   Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group: Crosstabulation

			Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group: Hausa/Fulani	Total
	Strongly Disagree	Count	7	7
		%	43.8%	43.8%
	Disagree	Count	9	9
		%	56.3%	56.3%
Total		Count	16	16
		%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 9.1.3 (BUK Column)

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements about your career experiences: My ethnic identity helps me in my career at the university.] * Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group: Crosstabulation

			Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group:			
			Hausa/Fulani	Other	Yoruba	Tota
	Strongly Disagree	Count	5	1	1	7
		%	25.0%	50.0%	100.0%	30.4
	Disagree	Count	8	1	0	9
		%	40.0%	50.0%	0.0%	39.1
	Neutral	Count	4	0	0	4
		%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	17.4
	Agree	Count	2	0	0	2
		%	10.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.7%
	Strongly Agree	Count	1	0	0	1
		%	5.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%
Total		Count	20	2	1	23
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.
		%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0

Table 9.2.1 (UNN column)

To what extent would you agree or disagree with the following statements: My religious identity had a positive effect during the selection process.] *   Please select the option that best describes your religion Crosstabulation

			Christian	Total
	Strongly Disagree	Count	21	21
		%	26.3%	26.3%
	Disagree	Count	27	27
		%	33.8%	33.8%
	Neutral	Count	25	25
		%	31.3%	31.3%
	Agree	Count	6	6
		%	7.5%	7.5%
	Strongly Agree	Count	1	1
		%	1.3%	1.3%
Total		Count	80	80
		%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 9.3.1 (UNN Column)

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: Men and women in leadership positions receive equal respect] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Assistant Lecturer	Lecturer (1&11)	Other	Professor
Strongly Disagree	Count		2	1	0	1
	% within JobTitle		25.0%	2.0%	0.0%	12.5%
Disagree	Count		2	9	0	1
	% within JobTitle		25.0%	18.0%	0.0%	12.5%
Neutral	Count		0	10	1	1
	% within JobTitle		0.0%	20.0%	16.7%	12.5%
Agree	Count		2	26	4	2
	% within JobTitle		25.0%	52.0%	66.7%	25.0%
Strongly Agree	Count		2	4	1	3
	% within JobTitle		25.0%	8.0%	16.7%	37.5%
Total	Count		8	50	6	8
	% within JobTitle		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: Men and women in leadership positions receive equal respect] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

		JobTitle Senior Lecturer	Total
Strongly Disagree	Count	2	6
	% within JobTitle	25.0%	7.5%
Disagree	Count	1	13
	% within JobTitle	12.5%	16.3%
Neutral	Count	2	14
	% within JobTitle	25.0%	17.5%
Agree	Count	2	36
	% within JobTitle	25.0%	45.0%
Strongly Agree	Count	1	11
	% within JobTitle	12.5%	13.8%
Total	Count	8	80
	% within JobTitle	100.0%	100.0%

Table 9.3.2 (UNIABUJA Column)

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: Men and women leadership positions receive equal respect] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Assistant Lecturer	Associate Professor	Lecturer (1&11)
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0	0	3
		%	0.0%	0.0%	30.0%
	Disagree	Count	2	1	7
		%	100.0%	100.0%	70.0%
Total		Count	2	1	10
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: Men and wor in leadership positions receive equal respect] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle Senior Lecturer	Total
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0	3
		%	0.0%	18.8%
	Disagree	Count	3	13
		%	100.0%	81.3%
Total		Count	3	16
		%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 9.3.3 (BUK Column)

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: Men and women in leadership positions receive equal respect] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

			JobTitle			
			Assistant Lecturer	Associate Professor	Lecturer (1&11)	Other
Strongly Disagree	Count		0	0	1	1
	%		0.0%	0.0%	10.0%	20.0%
Disagree	Count		1	1	3	3
	%		100.0%	100.0%	30.0%	60.0%
Neutral	Count		0	0	1	0
	%		0.0%	0.0%	10.0%	0.0%
Agree	Count		0	0	4	0
	%		0.0%	0.0%	40.0%	0.0%
Strongly Agree	Count		0	0	1	1
	%		0.0%	0.0%	10.0%	20.0%
Total	Count		1	1	10	5
	%		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: Men and women in leadership positions receive equal respect] * JobTitle Crosstabulation

		JobTitle		
		Professor	Senior Lecturer	
Strongly Disagree	Count	1	0	3
	%	33.3%	0.0%	13.0%
Disagree	Count	1	3	12
	%	33.3%	100.0%	52.2%
Neutral	Count	0	0	1
	%	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%
Agree	Count	1	0	5
	%	33.3%	0.0%	21.7%
Strongly Agree	Count	0	0	2
	%	0.0%	0.0%	8.7%
Total	Count	3	3	23
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 9.4.1 (UNN Column)

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: [Men are seen more suitable for senior academic positions.] * g) Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group: Crosstabulation

			Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group:		
			Igbo	Other	Yoruba
	Strongly Disagree	Count	12	0	0
		%	15.8%	0.0%	0.0%
	Disagree	Count	26	0	0
		%	34.2%	0.0%	0.0%
	Neutral	Count	12	0	0
		%	15.8%	0.0%	0.0%
	Agree	Count	14	0	0
		%	18.4%	0.0%	0.0%
	Strongly Agree	Count	12	2	2
		%	15.8%	100.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	76	2	2
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: Men are seen as more suitable for senior academic positions.] * Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group: Crosstabulation

			Total
	Strongly Disagree	Count	12
		%	15.0%
	Disagree	Count	26
		%	32.5%
	Neutral	Count	12
		%	15.0%
	Agree	Count	14
		%	17.5%
	Strongly Agree	Count	16
		%	20.0%
Total		Count	80
		%	100.0%

Table 9.4.2 (UNILAG Column)

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: [Men are seen as more suitable for senior academic positions.] *   Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group: Crosstabulation

| | | | Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group: | | |
			Hausa/Fulani	Igbo	Other
	Agree	Count	0	5	1
		%	0.0%	35.7%	14.3%
	Disagree	Count	1	1	0
		%	100.0%	7.1%	0.0%
	Neutral	Count	0	4	1
		%	0.0%	28.6%	14.3%
	Strongly Agree	Count	0	1	3
		%	0.0%	7.1%	42.9%
	Strongly Disagree	Count	0	3	2
		%	0.0%	21.4%	28.6%
Total		Count	1	14	7
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: [Men are seen as more suitable for senior academic positions.] *   Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group: Crosstabulation

			Yoruba	Total
	Agree	Count	5	11
		%	17.9%	22.0%
	Disagree	Count	10	12
		%	35.7%	24.0%
	Neutral	Count	5	10
		%	17.9%	20.0%
	Strongly Agree	Count	6	10
		%	21.4%	20.0%
	Strongly Disagree	Count	2	7
		%	7.1%	14.0%
Total		Count	28	50
		%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 9.4.3 (UNIABUJA Column)

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: Men are seen as more suitable for senior academic positions.] * Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group: Crosstabulation

			Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group: Hausa/Fulani	Total
	Disagree	Count	6	6
		%	37.5%	37.5%
	Neutral	Count	6	6
		%	37.5%	37.5%
	Agree	Count	4	4
		%	25.0%	25.0%
Total		Count	16	16
		%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 9.4.4 (BUK Column)

To what extent would you agree with the following statements about your organization: Men are seen as more suitable for senior academic positions.] * Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group: Crosstabulation

			Please select the option that best describes your ethnic group:			
			Hausa/Fulani	Other	Yoruba	Total
	Strongly Disagree	Count	2	0	1	3
		%	10.0%	0.0%	100.0%	13.0%
	Disagree	Count	2	0	0	2
		%	10.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.7%
	Neutral	Count	5	0	0	5
		%	25.0%	0.0%	0.0%	21.7%
	Agree	Count	7	1	0	8
		%	35.0%	50.0%	0.0%	34.8%
	Strongly Agree	Count	4	1	0	5
		%:	20.0%	50.0%	0.0%	21.7%
Total		Count	20	2	1	23
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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Participant Information

Bio: My name is Nene Ibokessien and I was born and raised in Nigeria. Currently, I am a PhD researcher at the Westminster Business School, University of Westminster, London. A mother of two children, I am interested in women's careers with a focus on higher education.

What is the research about? The interviews are being conducted as part of a doctoral research project, which aims to investigate the career and leadership opportunities of academic women in Nigeria.

Why is it being done? Despite increases in women's access to higher education both as students and academics, there is an underrepresentation of women in academic and leadership roles in higher education institutions. The research will attempt to explore the experiences of female academic staff and enable a better understanding of how careers and leadership opportunities develop in various higher education institutions across the country.

If I take part, what do I have to do? Once you have confirmed that you are happy to be interviewed, the researcher will send you an informed consent form, which you will be asked to read, sign and return to the researcher.

What will happen during the interview?
Interviews will be conducted over the telephone and will last no more than 1hr to 1hr 15 mins. In order for the researcher to concentrate on your answers, the interview will be recorded electronically and transcribed for analysis.

What if I change my mind later? If you decide to take part, but later change your mind, you can withdraw at any time by contacting the researcher at w1523116@my.westminster.ac.uk

What about keeping my answers confidential? At no point will participants be identifiable in the thesis, research reports or publications about the research. Reference numbers will be used in internal storage and any publications. No responses that allow a person to be identified will be made public and the researcher will maintain your anonymity at all times.

How will the data be stored? The electronic files and interviewer notes related to your interview will be stored securely at the University of Westminster. London, England.

For further information, please contact the researcher at w1523116@my.westminster.ac.uk

UNIVERSITY OF
LEADING
THE WAY
WESTMINSTER⌗

CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project: Factors Influencing the Careers and Opportunities For Academic Women.

Name and position of researcher:
Nene Ibokessien (BSc, MSc.) Doctoral Researcher, Westminster Business School, University of Westminster

Please read all of the following information. Then print or sign your name, date the form and return it to the researcher at w1523116@westminster.ac.uk

The interview will be recorded electronically to aid analysis.

The data will be used for a doctoral thesis and academic publications.

The final results of the research will be owned by the researcher and the University of Westminster.

I have read the Participant Information Sheet, Informed Consent Form and I have had an opportunity to ask questions about the research.

I agree to be interviewed on the basis of the information provided here and in the Participant Information Sheet.

I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time during the research and I will inform the researcher if I decide to do so.

Name: _____ Signed _____ Date: _____

1. Please tell me how you got to be where you are today (their position particularly for senior ones)

2. Tell me about your early education and your reason for getting a postgraduate degree.

3. In your opinion, do you think there are equal opportunities for girls and boys in the Nigerian educational system

4. Was your family supportive in your getting an education?

5. What influenced your decision to seek employment in Higher Education?

6. Did you employ any particular strategies to get into the academic job market?

7. Can you tell me how you heard about your current job?

8. How would you describe the recruitment and selection process for your current job?

9. If an interview took place, what was the interview panel like in terms of gender composition?

10. Were you satisfied with the recruitment process?

11. What do you think influences the chances of getting a promotion at your university?

12. Are you aware of any guidelines for recruitment and promotion in your university?

13. What are your views about career progression in academia?

14. Could you tell me about any strategies you have employed for achieving career progression in your current job?

15. Are there any formal ways that the university has supported your career progression?

16. Could you tell me what you think are the critical factors required to get to senior or leadership positions within your university?

17. In your opinion, do you think gender affects career progression in academia?

18. Do you think having children and other family responsibilities affect women more than men in their academic careers?

19. Are you aware of any gender equality policy at your university?

20. Do you think there is need for gender equality policies at work?

21. How many women are employed as academics and how many men/ What is the gender composition of academic leaders in your department/faculty?

22. Do you feel that your voice is heard/well represented at your university?

23. There is a lot of positivity by women academics I have interviewed, why do you think this is so?

24. How important is ethnicity in how things are run within your university?

25. How important is religion in how things are run in your university?
26. In your opinion, do you that an individual's gender, ethnicity and religion can influence their ability to be employed in a Nigerian university?

27. What are your future goals?

28. Are there any other important issues that I have not raised that you would like to discuss with me?

Interview topic guide for HR/Personnel

1. Could you tell me a little bit about how Personnel/Human resources practices such as recruitment, selection and promotion are organised within your university?

2. Does your university have formal recruitment, selection and promotion policies?

3. How are they formalised? For example, are they in a single document or report?

4. How are the policies distributed or disseminated? For example, how are staff made aware of these policies?

5. Would you say that staff are aware of these policies?

6. During interviews, does anyone from Personnel/HR sit in on the interview panels?

7. What are your views on career progression?

8. Does the university have any formal gender equality policies?

9. In your opinion, how successful are these policies in improving gender equality?

10. In your opinion, does ethnicity have any influence on how people are recruited or promoted within your university?

11. In your opinion, does religion have any influence how people are recruited or promoted within your university?