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Cross cultural and gender differences in leadership experiences of prominent Nigerian female leaders

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CROSS CULTURAL AND GENDER DIFFERENCES
IN LEADERSHIP:
EXPERIENCES OF PROMINENT NIGERIAN FEMALE LEADERS

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Abstract

Gender and culture are subsets of leadership influence that contain within them implications for modern organizations and society in general. There is much published literature exploring cultural differences in leadership as well as gender differences in leadership. In contrast, there are few literature contributions that explore the nexus of the two phenomena.

This study addressed the gaps in existing literature concerning women in leadership within the Nigeria context. Research questions were raised to provide answers to the notion that culture rather than gender will be a better predictor of leadership styles among women. As a result, understanding unique cultural dimensions related to women leaders is germane for theoretical, empirical and practical implications on organizational studies in Nigeria.

A qualitative research method was adopted for this study. Primary and secondary sources of data were used in this study. Content analysis was employed in the analysis of existing research on cultural and gender differences. Further, thematic elements that were consistent across literature were highlighted and applied to the current study. Also, qualitative semi-structured interviews of was used to collect data from ten notable Nigerian female leaders selected through non-probability random sampling technique.

The results of the content analysis indicated that the majority of existing research works affirms that gender is not a strong predictor of leadership style among women. The results of the second portion of the study revealed that there are cultural elements that inherently make Nigerian female leaders different from their male counterparts.

This implication of this finding is that rather than gender itself as a predictor of leadership styles, the self image and expectations of a society toward the female gender are strong predictors of female leadership styles. This study advances gender and leadership literature and also contributes in a cross curricular sense to African and organizational studies in Africa.

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1.0   Introduction

This research is concerned with women in leadership positions in Nigeria. The Nigerian political landscape is particularly complex, with high levels of corruption and exclusion of women from political and public life. Women also face serious barriers in education and the workplace. This chapter outlines a basic introduction to Nigeria, particularly concerning the position and role of women in Nigerian life (especially public life and politics). Then, the problem of the research, its aims and objectives, significance, and an outline to the remainder of the research is provided.

In order to answer the objectives of this research, the researcher has used an intensive qualitative research study, with in-depth interviews with Nigerian women in leadership roles. The interviews focused on leadership factors, including traits, leadership styles, and contextual factors, in order to determine the characteristics of successful female Nigerian leaders as well as their perceptions of the leadership environment and the challenges they face. Nigeria provides an excellent location for examining issues of gender and leadership. Most studies that have been done on these issues have come from Western societies. Nigeria is patriarchal and as such it presents many difficulties for women aspiring to leadership.

Due to the qualitative nature of this study, much detailed information was obtained on the thoughts, perceptions, and opinions of the 10 interviewees regarding how they believe they were able to manage to reach prestigious positions as effective female leaders in the climate of gender discrimination and cultural segregation of men's and women's roles that exists in Nigeria. In order to understand the gender related obstacles that female leaders must overcome in Nigeria it important to understand intersectional aspects of gender, culture, and colonialism.

Eishiet (2009) asserts that women in Nigeria had significant influence in the public sphere prior to British colonialism. Nigerian women exerted influence in both economic and

socio-political arenas. Although males maintained dominance, women's voices were heard and considered; indeed, according to Mba (1982), Awe, (1992) as cited in Eishiet (2009) women's voices were considered important and critical to community discourse. Women's social position in pre-colonial Nigeria has been described as, "complementary to that of men, rather than subordinate to them " (Eishiet, 2009, p.1). Gender roles changed with the cultural influence of the British during the colonial period. The Victorian ideals that the British fostered in Nigeria negatively reinforced tribal hierarchies and pressed women out of the public sphere (Eishiet, 2009); this lead to a division of labor which drove the socio-economic and cultural gradients that had already existed between men and women increasing the differences that defined gender.

Makama (2013) discusses the Patriarchal power structure in place today within Nigeria. Societal relations have a material basis and male domination over females exists through male control over the access to resources. The situation has become so severe that women themselves are seen as property or as chattel.

> Nigerian woman is seen as an available object for prostitution, forced marriage, street hawking, instrument of wide-range trafficking and a misfit in the society. Thus, the purported irrelevance associated with the status of women in society has merely reduced an average woman to an inferior commodity (Makama, 2013, p. 115).

There are a number of sectors of social interaction that are all influenced by the patriarchal culture that is in place in Nigeria which strongly influence gender inequality to the detriment of Nigerian women. These include, lack of access to the means of production, excessive unpaid employment of women, cultural mores that advocate submission to men and reinforce unpaid labor by women "household duties", male control over female sexuality, and the refusal of the state to interfere with male violence against women (particularly against spouses) (Makama, 2013). There are no laws in place prohibiting men from forcing their wives to have sex with them (Makama, 2013).

FMWA (2006) in Eishiet (2009) has pointed out that the Nigerian State at independence has maintained a number of colonial policies that continue to frustrate women's participation in the public sphere. Women still suffer limited access to resources and their paid work is often marginal; women are generally relegated to doing agricultural labour and working in (i.e. the informal sector). The constitution and labour laws in general are not applicable in these areas. Women may use land to grow crops but generally do not own land and have use of it only at the behest of their husband or brother or other male family member. Women have little access to credit and are while women are either involved in subsistence farming or are used as farm labour, they do not participate in the marketing of cash crops such as Cocoa (Makama, 2013; Eishiet, 2009).

1.1. Nigeria: An Overview

Nigeria has a history of military rule characterised by frequent human rights violations that have cast a long shadow over the nation's political and economic spheres (Akinboye, 1998). Today Nigeria is among the world's most corrupt nations, which has undermined the struggle for true democracy in the country. Those seeking political leadership positions in Nigeria typically do so as a means of gaining control rather than an opportunity to cooperate, coordinate and guide (Akinboye, 2006), a situation which is bound to favour corruption over leader effectiveness. Although the nation is rich in natural resources, the majority of its people live in poverty due to poor governance (Olurode & Akinboye, 2005) and national debt (Akinboye, 2006).

Nigeria has recently begun a programme of development and urbanisation, but at great cost to many local people who have been displaced and seen their agricultural lands turned into industrial complexes (Akinboye, 2004). The nation has also been working toward continental economic integration, though its efforts have been hampered by problems such as widespread poverty and disease (Akinboye, 1997). These problems are exacerbated by the

fact that Nigeria is heavily mired in debt despite its vast oil resources (Akinboye, 2006). In addition, there are challenges posed by modern economic trends as Nigeria seeks to capitalise upon globalisation's potential benefits while minimising any potential harms it presents (Akinboye, 2007).

Nigeria is a patriarchal culture in which women are not accorded the same status as men in all aspects of society, and this is particularly evident in the political sphere where they have typically been relegated to the side-lines rather than encouraged to assume leadership positions (Akinboye & Adeleke, 2004). Nwankwo, (2010) has indicated that politics in Nigeria today are democratic; the constitution allows any citizen the right to seek office; the reality is that although women make up half the population of Nigeria very few hold public office. Gender discrimination is rampant in Nigerian politics and the number of women elected to public office in the 2003, 2007 and 2011 Nigerian general elections was extremely low statistically. See Table 1.

Table 1 showing comparison of women representation in 2003, 2007 and 2011 general elections

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Source: Gender Audit and IPU PARLINE database (2012) as cited in Makama, 2013.

Further barriers to women's attainment of leadership positions, which arise from the general culture of patriarchy, include greater poverty relative to men, lack of education and violence (Akinboye, 2004).

Gender inequality in Nigeria is most evident in the realm of leadership. Inequality in the nation is culturally and systemically entrenched, and one of its primary effects is that few women ascend to leadership roles and have the opportunity to be involved in high-level decision making. Furthermore, the few women who do manage to achieve leadership roles tend to be relegated to traditional women's spheres of influence, assuming positions such as treasurer or welfare officer (Nigeria Labour Congress, 2003). According to statistics provided by the British Council and the UK Department for International Development (2012), in Nigeria, women hold less than 30% of public sector positions and only 17% of all senior posts. Furthermore, in 2011, women comprised just 9% of those standing for election in Nigeria's National Assembly, which is lower than Rwanda, South Africa and the global average overall. Of the 360 members in the Nigerian House of Representatives, only 25 are female, and females comprise just 4% of local government councillors. Some commentators cite the lack of female representation among political decision makers as the reason why Nigeria has made a relatively low investment in human development sectors such as education and health (The British Council and the UK Department for International Development, 2012).

Women are also at a disadvantage in the private sector in Nigeria. This is in part due to a lack of educational opportunity for women and girls. The United Nations Girls' Education Initiative (UNGEI) was implemented in Nigeria in May 2005 in an effort to bring gender parity into the Nigerian school system (Okojie, 2011). While a number of programmes directed at this goal were launched prior to UNGEI, a significant portion of children of both genders are not attending school girls remain disproportionately underrepresented in the classroom. UNICEF (2008) in Okojie (2012) reports that according to the Nigerian School Census 87.0% of males were enrolled in school in 2005 while only 81.3% of females were enrolled. In addition, the report revealed that gender disparities were

greater in the northern parts of the country than they were in the south with fewer girls attending school in the north. Since education predicts employment outcomes it is not surprising that women in the private sector in Nigeria have a tendency to work at jobs requiring low skills which pay poorly. The literacy rates for men and women (above 15 years of age) in Nigeria were 59.4% for females and 74.9% for males in 2003 (UNDP, 2005). The World Bank indicates that the literacy rate for females > 15 years of age in Nigeria was 49.8% when last measured in 2009 (tradingeconomics.com, 2014).

Table 2 showing Occupation and Gender in Nigeria (2008) as reported in JICA (2011, pg. 35)

Source: Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development (2008b) *Nigeria Gender Statistics Book*, Table 5.2, p.39

Ojo (2002) in Makama (2013) has indicated that there have been significant discrepancies in the numbers of males and females in high skill, high paying professions. For instance, the percent of Nigerian females in the following professions in 2002 is given as follows:

"architects, 2.4%, quantity surveyors, 3.5%, lawyers/jurists, 25.4%, lecturers, 11.8%, obstetricians and gynecologists, 8.4%, pediatricians, 33.3%, media practitioners, 18.3% (UNDP 2005 in Makama, 2013; pg. 120). In spite of the lower number of women in highly skilled jobs, most Nigerians both male and female work in the agricultural sector (see Table 2); women participate in agriculture but are at a disadvantage because traditionally women generally do not own land. Significantly fewer women in Nigeria work in the formal private sector than do males (36.5% female to 63.5% male participation (JICA, 2011). Females provide much of the agricultural labour but this is often considered part of household chores or unpaid labour with income for female as low as US $614 and the male, US $1,495 (UNDP 2005 in Makama, 2013; pg. 120). While JICA (2011) indicates that the majority of retail activities are carried out by females in Nigeria, most of this activity takes place in the informal sector. Fapohunda (2012) points out that 46% of females in Nigeria are employed in the informal sector. This is because women lack employment opportunities in the formal sector. Informal market trading is often considered illegal in Nigeria and is unregulated; market women are frequently harassed by law enforcement. Lack of educational opportunities and high illiteracy among females along with little access to credit or land ownership has left Nigerian women largely relegated to the informal sector. Early marriage and childbirth along with prohibitive religious practices aggravate the gender inequality that currently exists in the country (Makana, 2013).

The section that follows provides an overview of the situation in Nigeria, with a focus on educational attainment, the Nigerian labour market and women's access to employment and leadership positions. Topics covered include general demographics, education levels by gender, general labour market information, female participation in Nigeria's labour market, and female representation in leadership positions.

Figure 1: Age of the Nigerian Population (Source: Central Intelligence Agency, 2013)

1.1.1. Nigerian Demographics

Nigeria is a populous and diverse nation. The census indicates that the country has a population of approximately 140,400,000. According to the government (National Population Commission, 2009), the Central Intelligence Agency cites the current population (as of July 2013) at 174,507,539. The most recent statistics provided by the Central Intelligence Agency (2013), indicate that Nigeria has the largest population in Africa, comprising more than 250 ethnic groups. Religious affiliation is split primarily between Muslim (50%) and Christian (40%), with indigenous beliefs making up the remaining 10%. Nigeria's population is skewed toward youth, with those 14 years and under comprising 43.8% and individuals aged 15 to 24 years making up an additional 19.3%, while only 3% of the population is 65 years or older. The median age in Nigeria is just 17.9, the population growth rate is 2.54% and life expectancy at birth is 52.46 years on average (49.35 years for men and 55.77 for women).

The British Council and the UK Department for International Development (2012) note that females make up 49% of Nigeria's population overall.

Nigeria has a booming economy, but this wealth is not trickling down to those who need it most, so the gap between the rich and poor in the nation remains wide (Adekoya, 2013). According to statistics provided by the British Council and the UK Department for International Development (2012), the poverty rate is high in Nigeria, with 54% living below the poverty line. Rather than decreasing, the rate of poverty has doubled over the past three decades. Nearly half (42%) of Nigerian children are undernourished, and unemployment is high.

Nigeria ranks 153rd on the UN Human Development Index, which uses indicators such as health, education, income, general equality and gender equality to determine each nation's progress (United Nations Development Programme, 2013). Providing health care is a particular challenge, with doctor-patient ratios as low as 1:70,000 in some areas, which, along with poor sanitation and lack of access to clean water, leads to high rates of morbidity and mortality, particularly for Nigerian women and children (National Coalition on Affirmative Action, 2009). Infrastructure, both in terms of road networks and electricity generation, is lacking in Nigeria, and the erratic electricity supply forces those who can afford it to spend large amounts of money on diesel and generators (Adekoya, 2013).

Both Nigeria's culture and history militate against women attaining leadership positions. According to the Nigeria Labour Congress (2003), Nigeria is a patriarchal society and all of the nation's private and public institutions favour men. Gender-based discrimination, violence against women and the denial of opportunities to females are a legacy of traditional systems and colonialism. The result of this discrimination is a modern system based on inequality, which is evident in the fact that women were not even granted voting rights in all Nigerian regions until 1979 (Irabor, 2012). It is also evident in the taxation

system in Nigeria, which favours males. Women who have dependants pay more taxes than men with dependents because the men are assumed to be the breadwinners (The British Council and the UK Department for International Development, 2012). Furthermore, of all the Nigerians who live in poverty, approximately 65% are women despite the fact that women comprise just half of the population (National Coalition on Affirmative Action, 2009).

According to research conducted by the National Population Commission (2009), the average Nigerian desires a large family. Nigerian women believe that the ideal number of children is 6; Nigerian men's ideal average is 8. However, Nigerian women's ideal family size decreases with education and affluence; women with postsecondary education want just 4.3 children, on average, and those in the wealthiest households want only 4.5, while uneducated and impoverished women believe that 8 children is the ideal family size. Nearly half (43%) of Nigerian men believe that husbands should make the decision regarding the number of children the couple should have without any input from their wives. As for actual family sizes, the Central Intelligence Agency (2013) reports that the average Nigerian woman has 5.31 children.

In a study by (Hollander, 1996) of 2,662 monogamous couples from Yoruba, Nigeria, researchers found that the determination of family size as it relates to the reproductive desires of husbands and wives depended on the size of the family. If family size was small, with few living children, the husband's desires were generally dominant. In situations where the family was large, the woman's desires were the determining factor with respect to procreation. Hollander (1996) indicated that the reasoning given by survey respondents included that initially, women (new brides) are expected to justify their inclusion into the husband's family. As a result, newly married women tend to submit to their husband's wishes. Bearing children brings a woman respect and greater autonomy. After bearing several children a

woman will be more secure in her marriage and in a stronger position to defend her own preferences regarding family size (Hollander, 1996). Olayemi (2012) has investigated the relationship between family size and food insecurity for families in Osun State, Nigeria. The average family size was 7.32 which is considered large. Children are considered a source of manual labour. However, in spite of this, family size and food security are negatively correlated. Gender may have an impact on the labour value that children provide but the effect of the genders of children on family income was not discussed in the study (Olayenum 2012).

Okupukpara and Odurukwe (2007) investigated child labour in Nigeria as it related to gender divisions in children's activities. The study also assessed the implications of geographical location on the likelihood of children's involvement in the labour force in Nigeria (See Tables 3 and 4). Overall, male activities were slightly more clearly divided between either work or school with females participating in both work and school simultaneously at a slightly higher rate than males. There is a significant difference between the degree to which children participate in the labour force between urban and rural areas in Nigeria. Rural agricultural areas show much higher rates of child labour and subsequently significantly lower school attendance than urban areas. Robson (2004) investigated the breakdown of child labour activities and other activities among Hausa children living in rural Northern Nigeria. See Table 5. Although the study took place in only one area of rural Africa, the authors indicate that rural children make an independent and autonomous contribution to the labour force in Africa. The authors note that production activities are mostly a male area; these include such things as agriculture and processing of food commodities. Table 3 follows the gender norms that would be expected in Nigeria with trading being largely a female activity even among children (Robson, 2004).

Table 3: Percentage distribution of child activities by gender of the child (Okupukpara and

Odurukwe, 2007, pg. 7)

Table4. Percentage distribution of child activities in urban and rural Nigeria (Okupukpara and Odurukwe, 2007, pg. 9)

Table 5: Children's Activities by gender (Robson, 2004)

A recent survey conducted by the Nigerian National Population Commission (2009) found that almost one-fourth (24%) of women in Nigeria were married prior to 15 years of age, nearly half (46%) were married by 18 years of age and 58% were married by the time they reached 20 years, though there is evidence that the age at which first marriages occur for women has been rising. Men married significantly later, on average, with only 1% betrothed by age 15, 13% by age 20 and 39% by age 25. This longer unmarried time for men offers more opportunities for education and career attainment prior to assuming family responsibilities, and it should be noted that age at first marriage rises significantly among women in conjunction with educational levels.

In addition to early marriage, Nigerian women are disadvantaged in terms of access to health care, land ownership and employment opportunities (Nwakeze, 2012). Approximately three-quarters of all women in Nigeria have difficulty accessing the health care they need, with barriers including cost of treatment, lack of required supplies or providers at health

facilities, lack of transportation, inability to see a female health care provider, fear of going alone to seek medical care and difficulties in securing permission to seek treatment (Nigerian National Population Commission, 2009).

1.1.2. General Labour Market Statistics

Nigeria is currently experiencing rapid population growth coupled with one of the fastest rates of urbanisation in the world, and given the relative youth of its population (40.9% are less than 14 years of age), the country is on the verge of explosive economic expansion (Nwachukwu, 2012). However, Nigeria's unemployment rate is quite high, at 23.9% (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013), a problem that has been attributed to years of warfare, military rule, corruption and general mismanagement, which have hindered the nation's economic growth despite an abundance of natural resources (National Bureau of Statistics, 2010).

Unemployment is higher in rural areas (24.2%) than urban areas (15.2%) and among those under 25 years of age (35.9%) (National Bureau of Statistics, 2010). Of the 6 million who enter Nigeria's job market every year, only 1 in every 10 secure employment within the nation's formal employment sectors, and of these lucky individuals, only about one-third are female (British Council and the UK Department for International Development, 2012). Ifc.org (2008) discusses some of the issues holding women entrepreneurs back in Africa. Financing women entrepreneurs has proven to be good for business in Africa yet these business women continue to face difficulties obtaining funding and operating capital for new endeavours.

Access Bank, Nigeria's seventh largest bank, has recognized that female-owned businesses are contributing significantly to Nigeria's economy. The obstacles women face in

securing financial backing include that they are not generally land owners; land is traditionally used for collateral. Only 10% of Southeastern and Southern land is owned by women and just 4% of Northeastern land is owned by women (UK Department for International Development., 2012). In addition, there is a perception that financing women is a riskier proposition than financing men (ifc.org, 2008). However, IFC World Bank Group (2010) has indicated that female owned and operated enterprises are a good business risk. Women business owners also reinvest more of their capital into sustaining their families than their male counterparts.

In a study done on Nigerian women farmers, teachers, and traders working in the informal sector in two rural villages, economic activity in this sector is generally under-reported with women working 6-11 hours a day in addition to their household obligations (Ene-Obong, Enugu & Uwaegbute, 2001). Community based support programmes have been established in Nigeria through The Ministry of Women Affairs and Poverty Alleviation, which operates at both the state and federal levels to assist in providing a more egalitarian situation for women. Improving the quality of life for women and their families is recognized as crucial to human resource development and is supported through the United Nations, international agencies, and NGOs as well (UN Women West and Central Africa, (2014). Discrimination against women was reported as being significant with women indicating barriers to economic success including having no property rights, being forced to marry at very young ages, and facing lack of educational opportunities (Ene-Obong, Enugu and Uwaegbute, 2001).

Figure 2: Unemployment in Nigeria (Source: National Bureau of statistics, 2010)

Tinuke (2012) has indicated that while women's economic contributions in Nigeria are significant, the lack of education, gender discrimination, and conditions of abject poverty that many women live under are barriers to advancement and as a result women often are not able to reach their full potential. Economic and social issues including conflict exacerbate the difficulties females face in obtaining the training and resources necessary to elevate their socio-economic status (Tinuke, 2012). Gender inequality along with poverty and lack of political power work in concert to prevent women from advancing in Nigeria. Improvement in women's access to education is seen as critical for supporting the advancement of females and lifting women and children out of poverty

According to statistics provided by the Central Intelligence Agency (2013), Nigeria's per capita GDP was $2,800 in 2012, with a growth rate of 6.3%. Overall, 39.9% of the nation's GDP is generated by agriculture, 43% by other industrial activities and 26% by services. However, agriculture is the largest employer, accounting for 70% of jobs, while just 20% of Nigerians are employed in services and 10% in other industries. The National Statistics Bureau (2010) reports that the agriculture, forestry and fishing sectors employ 14,837,693; wholesale and retail 12,097,189; manufacturing 5,337,000; other services 3,471,702; and mining and quarrying 146,488. The organisation also reports that 13,560,427 Nigerians are self-employed owners of businesses classified as informal sector enterprises. Of

those whose businesses activities have been recorded, the majority of these informal sector business owners (5,623,954) engage in wholesale and retail activities, an additional 2,284,647 in manufacturing, 1,478,290 in social activities, 1,363,882 in food and accommodation services and 3,874 in activities associated with extra-territorial organisations. There are more female (7,519,048) than male (6,044,379) informal business owners. This is likely because females have fewer employment opportunities through the formal sector. With fewer women attending school than their male counter parts, women are often unable to obtain employment through the formal sector (Makana, 2013). In addition, employers are often reluctant to hire young women for fear that they will quit their job in order to raise children. Nigerian women have little access to credit and in general do not own land. These limitations effectively drive women toward the unregulated, informal sector.

Figure 3: Nigerian Labour Force Participation by Sector (Source: National Statistics Bureau, 2010)

According to the Central Intelligence Agency (2013), Nigeria's most important agricultural products include cassava (tapioca), cattle (goats, pigs, and sheep), cocoa, corn, cotton, fish, millet, palm oil, peanuts, rubber, sorghum, timber and yams. Key industries produce construction materials (such as cement), ceramics, chemicals, coal and crude oil,

fertilizers, food products, animal hides, footwear, rubber products, printing, steel, textiles and wood products. The majority of the Nigeria exports (95%) are petroleum and petroleum products, though the nation also exports rubber and cocoa.

1.1.3. Educational Attainment by Gender

The findings from a survey conducted by the Nigerian National Population Commission (2009) indicate that 40% of females in Nigeria have never attended school, compared with just 28% of males; however, there is evidence that education rates are rising for both genders, and that affluent children of either gender are more likely to be educated than their poorer counterparts. The survey also found that overall, just 35.7% of girls completed secondary school compared to 46.9% of boys, and only 8.9% of girls went on to postsecondary education while 14.3% of boys had the opportunity to do so. Significant discrepancies in literacy rates were also noted. Among female aged 15 to 19, 67% were literate, but just 31.7% of those between the ages of 45 and 49 were able to read. Among men, 81.7% of the youngest group were literate, and 68.9% of those in the oldest group were able to read. Literacy levels were found to be higher in urban areas than rural areas, particularly among women. Gender differences were most significant among low-income individuals, with rates of literacy in low-income households of just 40% for men and 13% for women. The Central Intelligence Agency (2013) cites 2010 literacy rates at 61.3% for Nigeria's population overall, 72.1% for males over the age of 15 and 50.4% for females in the same age group.

The Nigerian Government instituted the Universal Basic Education (UBE) programme in Nigeria in 1999 (Ubeconline.com, 2013). The programme was mandated to provide 9 years of free basic education to all Nigerian children. When the programme was initially founded, there was no law in place to ensure that basic education was made

accessible for all children. On May 26, 2004, former Nigerian President, Olusegun Obasanjo, signed the UBE act making free education available (Ubeconline.com, 2013). The responsibility for funding schools and teachers is handled primarily ant the state and local levels in Nigeria, however the federal government has set aside 2% of its consolidated revenue fund for education (Ubeconline.com, 2013) In spite of the UBE act, there are still many barriers to education for girls in Nigeria. There are deeply rooted cultural and religious differences throughout Nigeria regarding the appropriateness of allowing girls to attend school. The recent kidnapping of 230 girls and young women at gunpoint from a government secondary school in Chibok, Borno state in April, 2014 highlights the danger that girls and women face as a result of religious fundamentalist resistance to allowing the education of girls.

Dropout rates are the highest in the world for school children in Nigeria (UK Department for International Development., 2012). While regional differences exist in the dropout rate, ~70% of young Nigerian women are illiterate. Early marriages and childbearing affect the dropout rate for girls. In addition, female students are subject to sexual coercion by male teachers with some students reporting that refusal to give in to them results in failing grades (UK Department for International Development., 2012). Many girls run away rather than enduring sexual abuse from their male teachers.

Figure 4: Nigerian Educational Attainment Indicators by Gender (Source: National Population Commission, 2009)

1.1.4   Gender development in Nigeria

Nigeria is a federation which consists of 36 states and a total of 774 locally governed areas (Barken, Gboyega & Stevens, 2001). States enjoy varying levels of autonomy with respect to the allocation of money among the federal, state, and local tiers of government. The states that make up post-colonial Nigeria are the product of dynamic regional changes that have taken place over the last century (Barken, Gboyega & Stevens, 2001). During the period of colonial rule, power shifted between provinces and economic power gradients emerged particularly between the North and South (Barken, Gboyega & Stevens, 2001). While Nigeria is the eighth largest African oil producing nation it remains one of the poorest places on earth (Eia.gov, 2013). Nigerian oil is extracted in the Southern Province but oil revenues are shared with the North (Nigeria Intel, 2014), (Eia.gov, 2013).

The Northern Protectorate of colonial Nigeria became what is today the Northern Province and likewise the Southern Protectorate forms what is today the Southern Province. There was significant economic disparity between the provinces at the time the federation of Nigeria was formed in 1914 (Barken, Gboyega and Stevens, 2001). Unification of the North

and South has been problematic due to differences in regional governance and administration. The South is not disposed to embrace legislation originating from the Northern Province and while the South favours unification, the North fears Southern regional influences. Nigeria is culturally diverse and the problems that exist between various ethnic and religious groups persist today. The dynamic nature of Nigeria's difficulties regarding government is evident from the fact that Nigeria has had seven constitutions and there is consensus building regarding restructuring the current constitution (Barken, Gboyega and Stevens, 2001).

Nigerian gender discrepancies in educational attainment and literacy are largely attributable to the fact that parents often anticipate few if any benefits from educating girls. Many Nigerian parents do not want to educate their girls because they believe that female children will be married off and become part of another man's household (Oyesola, 2013). Educating females may be considered a waste of resources, as it is assumed that they will be financially dependent on men when they grow up (Ifemeje & Ikpeze, 2012). However, inequality of educational opportunities is also partially attributable to colonial oppression because educational systems in the region were established to meet the manpower requirements of colonial governments rather than the needs of local peoples (Omolewa, 2002, cited in Adeniran, 2007).

Even those females who are fortunate enough to receive an education have poorer prospects in the Nigerian workplace. No matter what educational qualifications women obtain, they are paid less than men, on average, even when those men have lower qualifications (British Council and the UK Department for International Development, 2012). Halima Ibrahim, a former chairwoman for the Women Commission representing the Nigerian trade unions, attributes this failure to fairly compensate working women to societal prejudice. She argues that the majority of employers believe that women are less competent than men,

even when their qualifications are equal, because women are stereotyped as less productive and intellectually inferior (cited in Oyesola, 2011).

The British Council and the UK Department for International Development (2012) suggest that there are many barriers to education for girls, the most notable of which are early marriage and childbirth, and the fact that many parents in Nigeria believe that the costs of educating females outweigh any perceived benefits. Schools typically require fees and have supply costs that many parents cannot afford. Furthermore, there is a shortage of female teachers and a risk of sexual harassment from male teachers. In addition, the overall quality of educational institutions is often poor.

According to Nwakeze (2012), increasing the rate of women's education in Nigeria would increase their labour force participation for a number of reasons. First and foremost, women who receive higher educational qualifications can command higher wages, which makes it worthwhile for their families to have them working in formal paid employment rather than relegated to the domestic sphere. Second, education tends to increase girls' self-esteem, which in turn increases the likelihood that they will have the confidence to seek employment and the desire to achieve a higher degree of independence.

1.1.4. Employment by Gender

Much of the labour that takes place in Nigeria, particularly among women, is difficult to quantify because it occurs informally (Nigerian National Population Commission, 2009). According to the National Bureau of Statistics (2010), gender distribution of employment in Nigeria varies by industry: the agriculture, forestry and fishing sectors account for 21.1% of male employment but just 9.4% of employed females, while for wholesale and retail, gender ratio is reversed, with 17.4% of female employment and 7.5% of male employment occurring

in this sector. Similar numbers of men and women are employed in human health and social work (0.74% and 0.78% respectively); however, this sector accounts for a very small percentage of the total. Nigerian women are more likely than their male counterparts to own informal sector businesses, the majority of which involve wholesale and retail, manufacturing activities or food and accommodation services.

The National Coalition on Affirmative Action (2009) reports that the majority of women's employment comprises unregulated activities that generate low incomes, whereas men operating within the informal, unregulated sector tend to engage in activities that yield higher incomes. Mordi et al (2010) have discussed the gender discrimination that is being faced by women in the informal sector in Nigeria. Although the Nigerian Constitution guarantees women equal rights they are often expected to behave in a humble subservient manner and there is cultural precedent for treating them like minors. In spite of the fact that Nigeria is becoming more democratic and women are participating more often in entrepreneurial activities, many women have difficulty in obtaining success as a result of socio-cultural values which encourage subservient behaviour. Women also face difficulties in negotiating the institutional support measures that are in place in Nigeria for obtaining capital (Mordi et al., 2010).

Networking can also be a problem in countries like Nigeria as a result of pressure on women to avoid interaction with men in public settings with the exception of family members.

According to employment statistics provided by the Nigerian National Population Commission (2009), 59% of women were employed officially in 2008, an additional 4% had worked in some official capacity during the preceding year but were not currently employed and 37% had not worked at all during the year prior to the survey. By comparison, 88% of males were officially employed at the time of the survey, an additional 2% had worked

recently but were not currently working and just 18% were unemployed. The majority of employed women aged 15 to 49 years (46.5%) worked in sales and services, followed by agriculture (30.3%) and skilled manual labour 17.3%. An additional 2% worked in clerical jobs, 1.3% in unskilled manual labour occupations and 0.8% did not report their occupations. Only 1.8% of officially employed Nigerian women worked in professional, technical or managerial roles. Nigerian men aged 15 to 49 years were employed primarily in agriculture (50.1%), followed by skilled manual labour (18.6%), sales and services (14.9%), unskilled manual labour (13.2%), professional/managerial/technical roles (1.7%), clerical work (0.7%) and unspecified work (0.7%). Although gender participation in the labour force tended to be concentrated in different fields, a similar percentage were employed in the more prestigious professional, managerial and technical roles.

The Nigerian National Population Commission (2009) notes that education appears to have an even more profound effect on women's likelihood of ascending to prestigious careers than it does for men, given that 50% of women who undertake postsecondary education end up in professional, managerial or technical jobs compared to 42% of men with postsecondary education. It should also be noted that not all work is paid in cash in Nigeria. Of those employed in agriculture, 46% of women and 58% of men are not paid in cash but rather accept goods or services as remuneration and many are self-employed (National Population Commission, 2009).

Figure 5 below provides a breakdown of formal sector employment by gender. However, it includes only those employed in regulated activities. Many women are employed in unregulated, informal work and therefore will not be reflected in these statistics.

Figure 5 Official Employment by Gender (Source: National Population Commission, 2009)

Differences between men's and women's labour force participation in Nigeria are even more pronounced for certain age groups. Statistics provided by the International Labour Office (cited in Nwakeze, 2012) show discrepancies in labour force participation for various age groups in Nigeria in 2010 (see Table 6 below).

Table 6: Labour Force Participation by Gender in Nigeria

Source: ILO (2010), cited in Nwakeze (2012)

These discrepancies reflect the increased responsibility that Nigerian woman have with regard to raising families. Labour force participation is significantly lower for women during their childbearing years relative to their participation when they are older. The National Coalition on Affirmative Action (2009) notes that 87% of all those employed in the formal, regulated sector are men, but women comprise 70% of industrial sector workers.

Therefore, although official statistics suggest relatively equal representation in more prestigious occupations, this is an inaccurate representation, given that much of women's work occurs in the informal, unrecorded sector. Barriers to women's attainment of prestigious employment in certain fields are evident in the fact that 82.5% of medical doctors are male (National Coalition on Affirmative Action, 2009), though women have slightly higher representation in the paediatric medical specialty, comprising one-third of all paediatricians in the country (Ojo, 2002, cited in Adeniran, 2007). Women are underrepresented in other prestigious, well-compensated professional positions as well, comprising just 2.4% of architects, 3.5% of surveyors, 8.4% of obstetricians and gynaecologists, 11.8% of lecturers, 18.3% of media practitioners and 25.4% of lawyers and jurists (Ojo, 2002, cited in Adeniran, 2007).

Reproductive discrimination is a particularly significant barrier to women's employment in Nigeria. Gender-based norms in the nation place full responsibility for childcare, eldercare and household management on women, even when the women also engage in paid employment, which makes it difficult for them to pursue careers and, in particular, to attain managerial roles in all sectors (National Coalition on Affirmative Action, 2009). Nigerian women often receive little maternity leave, or may even be automatically terminated in some cases if they become pregnant, and few employers in Nigeria have complied with a recent mandate to provide day-care spaces where mothers can look after their nursing infants (Oyesola, 2013).

Furthermore, many companies do not grant paid maternity leave, and government agencies have denied paid maternity leave to pregnant women who are not married, thus discriminating against this particular group (Oyesola, 2011). Sexual harassment is also a common problem for working women, and many who refuse to give in to their employers' sexual demands are fired from their jobs (Ifemeje & Ikpeze, 2012). However, awareness of

the need to promote equal rights for women and ensure that they have equal access to employment has been rising in recent years (Nigeria Labour Congress, 2003). Attempts have been made to address gender discrimination in the workplace through the enactment of various legal and regulatory frameworks. Legislative acts designed to eliminate workplace inequality in employment opportunities, profession choices, promotional practices, remuneration and job security have included the following:

> The right of women to work, without any form of discrimination, is recognized and guaranteed by many international and national instruments, like Article 2 of CEDAW, Section 18 (3) African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights; Article 7 of ICESCR, ILO Equal Remuneration Convention of 1951 Discrimination Convention (Employment and Occupation) 1958 (NO111), Workers, with Family Responsibilities Convention 1981 (No 156) and Maternity Protection Convention, 2000 (No 183), and Section 42 of the Nigerian 1999 Constitution (Ifemeje & Ikpeze, 2012: 58).

However, despite these attempts to reduce inequality in the workplace, gender-based discrimination persists in Nigeria, and is most pronounced at the highest levels of all organisations (Ifemeje & Ikpeze, 2012). Nigeria suffers from a high degree of income disparity between rich and poor as well as between women and men. Half the population subsists on only 10% of the national income (UK Department for International Development., 2012). There are geographical differences in poverty rates in Nigeria as well. Poverty levels have risen to ~72% in the rural Northeast compared to 23 % in the South (UK Department for International Development., 2012) with malnutrition affecting one out of two children under the age of five in the Northeast (UK Department for International Development., 2012). These geographical differences in poverty rates have a significant impact on women and children. Sixty to 70% of the rural labour force is comprised of women. Poverty is higher in rural settings than in urban areas and conflict often hinders women socio-economically and affects their mobility (UK Department for International Development., 2012).

The problem of gender inequality in the workplace is difficult to overcome because Nigeria's social, cultural and legal systems serve to maintain unequal workplace

opportunities, compensation, and security (Ifemeje & Ikpeze, 2012). Research has shown that the majority of employers (who are male) prefer to hire male employees, with common reasons cited for denying opportunities to female applicants including the belief that women are more likely to require leaves from work due to domestic and health issues; therefore, it is primarily the traditional role of mother and domestic caretaker assigned to women that blocks their access to employment (Nwakeze, 2012). Furthermore, even when they are employed, women typically report earning less than their husbands, though the discrepancy decreases with education level (National Population Commission, 2009).

There are a number of beliefs about female personnel that reflect negative social attitudes about women in Nigeria and block their career paths. Ritual arguments that influence recruitment, deployment and advancement decisions affecting Nigerian women include the belief that certain professions are unfeminine and thus inappropriate for women, the assumption that women are more likely than men to quit in order to raise families (therefore, investing in them is seen as a waste of resources), the stereotype that women are less emotionally stable than men and the belief that women are less amenable to discipline (Maliki, 2000, cited in Nwakeze, 2012). Where the patriarchal attitudes originated cannot be stated definitively, however, in the tradition of Franz Fanon (1963) they can be considered artifacts left over from colonialism.

The colonial paradigm is one that took the form of Western dominance over indigenous people, particularly in Africa. The colonial paradigm, as a product of Western society, mirrored Western thought on gender relations, which is in the Christian tradition. According to the dominant biblical doctrine, women are in a subservient position to men and they generally are not considered heads of a household or anything but a support role. This influence of traditional gender roles, therefore, is the most likely culprit for how the patriarchal dynamics present in Nigeria manifested. What is necessary, however, is

developing a new way to look at women, which would be from an equality and diversity perspective. In this capacity, difference is celebrated as a strength rather than a hindrance.

According to Nwakeze (2012), raising wages may be among the best solutions for increasing women's workforce participation in Nigeria. Currently, the loss of women's unpaid work in the domestic sphere can be considered an opportunity cost of their increased participation in official paid work. However, if wages were sufficiently high to mitigate the effects of this opportunity cost, it would be worthwhile to provide more employment opportunities for women within the formal sector. The author also suggests that in addition to increasing the rate of female education, enhancing household technology could help to increase the rate of female participation in the formal sector workforce because labour-saving devices in the home reduce the burden of household maintenance that typically falls to women. In addition, she asserts that reducing fertility (the average number of children per woman) would likely increase female labour force participation by reducing the burden of care at home, which is also typically undertaken by women.

Nwakeze (2012) notes that an additional barrier to women's employment that must be overcome is the male breadwinner stereotype. She asserts that recasting the breadwinner role to encompass both genders would help to facilitate female labour force participation. In addition, she notes that there is a need to overcome the perception that certain jobs are better suited to men while others (often the more poorly paid and less prestigious occupations) are women's work. She suggests that flexible working hours and the provision of childcare services in the workplace would also be beneficial because they would enable women to fulfil their childcare roles without being denied opportunities for gainful employment.

During the labour strike which took place over a six week period in Nigeria in 1945, labour activists used an argument based on the male breadwinner model in an attempt to raise wages for African workers. The labour strike marked a beginning of efforts to use the model

to seek wage increases for men based on their family responsibilities as well as to negotiate with the government for a family allowance to offset the high costs of providing for African families. The efforts to obtain a family allowance were not successful. The government at the time felt that there were major differences between African families and their needs and European families and their needs (Cole, Manuh & Miescher, 2007).

Like the trade unionists, individual workers in Nigeria began to adopt the breadwinner argument when negotiating with employers for wages and benefits; indicating that married men carried a substantial burden by virtue of their role as providers. The argument did not always lead to financial gains; however, it did persist and become part of Nigerian culture. Cole, Manuh and Miescher (2007) note that women appreciated the breadwinner model. As Nigerian men began to achieve wage increases that socio-economically differentiated them from their female counterparts, women responded by preferentially seeking out "breadwinners" as husbands. Family and work roles were separated with woman culturally committed to raising children and caring for the home. Cole, Manuh and Miescher (2007) point out that in the 1940s and 50s Nigerian woman began to divorce men who did not provide for their needs at a level that they considered was appropriate for a breadwinner.

The separation of labour and the relegation of lower-paying jobs to women has been shown to increase self-esteem among men and increase attitudes of subservience among women (Cole, Manuh and Miescher, 2007).Ultimately, Nwakeze (2012) argues that it will be necessary to facilitate a complete socio-cultural reorientation whereby stereotypes that confine Nigerian women to the domestic sphere are eliminated. She notes that the argument is not whether or not a woman should fulfil the biological role of mother, but rather that this role should not preclude participation in the formal sector labour force and other public endeavours. This socio-cultural reorientation would go some way toward eliminating gender-

based segregation and hierarchy without significantly altering a core value in Nigerian society: the importance of family.

Figure 6:   Political Participation and Representation by Gender in Nigeria (Source: The British Council and the UK Department for International Development, 2012)

The Nigeria Labour Congress (2003), commenting on its gender equity policy, lists a number of barriers to women's leadership in Nigeria. First, women are raised to believe that they are inferior, and to accept without question a lower social status based on their gender. They are often denied equal educational opportunities, and are typically marginalised in terms of employment, kept to the lowest cadres of private and public organisations where they are paid less even when doing the same work as their male counterparts. They are often forced to engage in child labour and many are married off at very young ages. Furthermore, there is an unofficial understanding within the majority of sectors that women will be blocked from attaining leadership positions. Specific barriers to women's participation in high-level decision making include patronage networks that are dominated by men, a party system that does not typically nominate females for leadership positions, restrictions on female mobility and fear of violence (British Council and the UK Department for International Development, 2012). The result is that women comprise only about one-fourth (24%) of all Nigerian Federal Civil Service workers and hold less than 14% of management posts, even though a number of women have been appointed to permanent secretary positions as a result of

affirmative action initiatives (Coalition on Affirmative Action, 2009). Tripp (2001) discusses the issue of female political leaders in Africa. Prior to the 1990s there had been no publicly elected female leader of an African nation.

However, in the 1970s woman began to aspire to leadership roles. "In the 1990s, women ran for president in Kenya and Liberia, while others sought party nominations for the presidency in Angola, Burkina Faso, the Central African Republic, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Nigeria, Sao Tomé and Príncipe, and Tanzania (Trip, 2001, p. 141). Women's organizations have pushed affirmative action initiatives throughout Africa. *Gender and Development Action* and *Women Empowerment* are Nigerian organizations that along with a number of NGOs have successfully lobbied efforts to reserve seats for women in parliament (Trip, 2001).

Table 7: Women's Representation in Nigerian Parliament

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Source: United Nations Statistics Division (2013)

Along with national efforts, international pressure is bearing on Africa to make adjustments to allow for greater representation by women in African politics. Trip (2001)

points out that, "At the UN's Beijing Conference on Women in 1995, the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), the world organization of national parliaments, adopted a Plan of Action aimed at addressing men's domination of political and parliamentary life in all countries (P.145).

Ifemeje and Ikpeze (2012) note that Nigerian men discriminate against aspiring female politicians both in terms of voting and the allocation of political offices, despite Article 3 of CEDAW, which mandates that women receive equal opportunities to participate in the formulation of the nation's legal and policy frameworks. Former Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo's campaign promises included ensuring that 15% of federal public office positions would go to women; however, this fell far short of the 35% recommendation made by the Beijing Declaration (Ifemeje & Ikpeze, 2012).

Table 8: Female Representation in Parliament by Region

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (2013)

Women have made political gains in recent years, but still represent a small minority of all political appointments in Nigeria (Ifemeje & Ikpeze, 2012). Data provided by the United Nations Statistics Division (2013) indicate that Nigerian women did make some gains in terms of parliamentary representation within the past decade, but in recent years, this progress appears to have stagnated (see Table 7). However, despite the progress that has been made, at 6.7% representation, Nigeria lags behind most other regions of the world, including Africa as a whole. Statistics provided by Inter-Parliamentary Union (2013) for women's parliamentary representation by region are listed in Table 8 to the left. They indicate that the Nordic countries have outpaced other regions in moving toward egalitarian gender

representation thus far, while the Americas, non-Nordic European countries, Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia have all achieved similar ratios. Although the Arab and Pacific states have relatively low representation overall, they have still outpaced Nigeria in making progress toward equalising representation in Parliament, and Nigeria's female representation is only about one-third of the average for Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole.

Although parliamentary representation by Nigerian women is lower than that of most other nations, it has been rising in recent years, and progress is evident in statistics provided by Irabor (2012). As can be seen in Table 9 below, the representation of women has increased steadily for all high-level political positions, with the exception of the Presidency and the Governorship, where Nigerian women have not attained positions, and the Deputy Governorship, where they actually lost ground in 2011.

Table 9: Women's Representation in Nigerian Political Offices, 1999-2011

Source: Lance-Onyeiwu (2011), Cited in Irabor, 2012: 17

Despite some signs of progress, when comparing political posts held by men and women in Nigeria, the gender discrepancy is significant. As shown in Table 10 below, the Presidency, Vice-Presidency and all Governor Positions are held by men. Women comprise a

very small proportion of the Senate, House of Representatives, Deputy Governors and Houses of Assembly members.

Table 10: Political Representation of Men and Women in Nigeria, 2011

Source: Lance-Onyeiwu M, (2011), Cited in Irabor, 2012: 18

Irabor (2012) lists a number of factors barring Nigerian women's ascension to leadership positions. These include lack of resources, legal system discrimination, lack of political will and democratic processes within most Nigerian political parties, the selection of candidates based on popularity rather than political platforms, corruption, political violence, vote purchasing, sexual harassment, illiteracy, timidity, labelling and a general culture of patriarchy. Adekoya (2013) asserts that despite President Goodluck Jonathan's pledge to tackle corruption, he has achieved little toward this goal thus far; therefore, corruption remains a particular barrier to women's political participation. Research conducted by David, Mabe and Adekunle (2012) to examine the factors that prevent Nigerian women from actively participating in local political activities yielded a similar list of barriers to those cited by Irabor (2012), as shown in Table 11 below.

Table 11: Barriers to Nigerian Women's Political Participation

Reason for Lack of Political Participation	%

Source: David et al. (2012: 463)

As can be seen from the findings of David et al. (2012), lack of financial resources was the most commonly cited barrier, a problem that may stem from the fact that Nigerian women tend to earn less than their male counterparts. Cultural factors that relegate women to the domestic sphere were also cited as a significant problem by many of the female respondents. Lack of recognition for women in positions of authority was noted as a barrier to women's political participation as well, and an additional 12.2% of the study respondents said that the failure of political parties to establish clear policies for women's political participation also acted as a significant barrier.

Irabor (2012) offers a number of potential solutions to the problems facing aspiring female politicians in Nigeria, including having the state provide security for women during election periods, enforcing a system of non-violent campaigning, prohibiting hate speech, promoting economic empowerment for Nigerian women, educating politicians regarding the impact of women's participation on governance and democracy overall, incorporating gender-sensitive provisions into party mandates, encouraging reforms that will level the playing field, amending the existing electoral laws to support the participation of independent candidates, raising funds and allocating resources to support female politicians, and establishing a women's political institute to provide the education and skills training needed by aspiring female politicians. She also calls upon women to actively fight corruption during

elections and to demand electoral reforms designed to eliminate the use of bribery. In addition, she advises that Nigeria adopt the recommendations made by Justice Uwais' Electoral Reform Committee regarding proportional representation of women and disabled individuals.

It is obvious that Nigerian women's leadership aspirations are often blocked due to gender stereotypes and associated cultural beliefs and practices. However, beliefs about gender differences among leaders are not confined to Nigeria; they exist in many nations and have been studied extensively, most often in Western nations, though there have been a smaller number of studies conducted in Africa and other regions. The main problem to be investigated is to explore the research in order to evaluate the broader reasons for exclusion of Nigerian women from leadership positions in the context of Nigerian culture and to develop ways to increase participation of Nigerian women.

1.2. Aims and Objectives of the Research

The main aim of this research is to study the intersection of culture, gender, and leadership in the context of Nigeria and to understand the problems faced by female leaders in Nigeria. Specific objectives set to be accomplish include

1. The examination of theoretical and empirical evidence related to the impact of culture and gender on leadership on a global scale.

2. The impact of culture and gender on leadership in contexts specific to Nigeria.

1.3. Research Questions

The research questions that will be examined in this research are:

1. Are there any interrelationships between the cultural differences and gender in leadership styles from the global perspective?

3. Do the experiences of female leaders in Nigeria support prominent leadership theories on cultural differences in approaches to leadership?

4. Do the experiences of female leaders in Nigeria suggest gender differences in approaches to leadership?

1.4   Rationale for the Study

Nigerian women are structurally disadvantaged in their ability to ascend to leadership positions because their status in Nigerian society is lower than that of men (Akinboye & Adeleke, 2004) and they are more likely to live in poverty, be blocked from receiving a good education because males are prioritised in Nigerian families (which prevents them from obtaining good jobs) and to be the victims of violence, all of which militate against their participation in politics and by extension, their opportunities to ascend to leadership positions (Akinboye, 2004).

Early ideas of what accounts for leadership success rested on the premise that great leaders were born rather than made and since history has celebrated great leaders who were mostly male, the predominant theory of leadership was known as the Great Man Theory. However, as the behavioural sciences began to address leadership, new theories began to emerge that were based on learned skills and behaviours as well as other more flexible factors (Cawthorn, 1996).

The importance of studying female Nigerian leaders is that they are in the position of having to operate in a society that has marginalized their power and diminished their authority in the past. And while Nigerian women are guaranteed equal rights, the cultural mores which have repressed women and thwarted their leadership aspirations remain. While things are beginning to become more egalitarian in Nigeria, women are still barred from advancement and suffer higher levels of poverty than their male counterparts.

Women who have achieved leadership roles under these constraints may provide valuable information about the adaptation of leadership strategies in a female hostile environment. Along with formal leadership theories, the perspectives and ideas that these leaders have shared regarding how they believe that they managed to obtain high level positions in Nigeria will serve to inform the literature on leadership as it is affected by gender and culture as well as the personal ideas and attributes of female leaders in a patriarchal society..

1.5   Organization of the Study

This chapter has provided an introduction to the research situation and the problem of the study, as well as setting out aims and objectives. In Chapter 2, a comprehensive literature review of the theoretical aspects of the thesis is discussed. These include gender and leadership, as well as culture, gender, and leadership. Chapter 3 discusses the qualitative, interview-based methodology that was used in the study, while Chapter 4 presents the findings of this research and discusses them compared to existing studies. Chapter 5 concludes the thesis, including a summary of findings and policy recommendations. Chapter 6 critically evaluates the research process and findings and identifies further issues within the research. Supplementary data and instruments are included in the Appendix.

2.0   Literature Review

This study examines cross-cultural gender differences in leadership on a global scale as well as issues specific to Nigerian female leaders operating within a patriarchal culture. To support this research, a comprehensive literature review was conducted. This review explores the theoretical foundations and past research findings for gender differences and leadership traits and styles; cultural differences in leadership; and political, religious and corporate leadership in Nigeria, with a focus on female leaders. Sources covering socio-political, economic and general demographic information about Nigeria were also incorporated to provide context regarding the environment in which Nigerian female leaders currently operate.

Sources were selected based on a comprehensive search of the university library as well as academic databases: Proquest, Google Scholar, Questia and JSTOR. While these represented the bulk of the literature gathered, reputable Internet resources, organizational resources and other search mechanisms were also used at times. Exclusionary tactics for the literature review were primarily contingent on scope of topic and reliability of the scholarship. Since the academic base was trait theory, sources that reflected trait theory characteristics were given precedence over others in terms of inclusion.

Sources for this literature review, which were drawn from academic databases such as Academic Search Premier, Academic Search Elite, Questia and Google Scholar, included books, peer-reviewed journal articles and reports produced by reputable organisations. The literature search focused on theory and research findings spanning a number of categories, including gender differences in education and labour force participation in Nigeria; gender differences in personality traits; gender differences in leadership traits, behaviours and styles; cross-cultural leadership differences; and issues specific to female leaders in Nigeria. The literature review that follows is divided into two sections that cover the key issues examined

by this research. Section 2.1 addresses gender, personality, and leadership (including theoretical foundations and prior research), while Section 2.2 addresses culture and leadership theories (including theoretical foundations and prior research). Finally, Section 2.3 examines the existing research on female leadership in Nigeria. This research demonstrates a significant research gap, as a lot of attention is placed on structural inequalities associated with leadership for Nigerian women and little attention is given to the experience of leadership itself.

2.1 Gender, Personality and Leadership: Theoretical Foundations and Prior Research

This section provides an overview of the theoretical foundations of personality, gender and leadership as well as a review of gender and leadership research to date. It begins with a history of the evolution of leadership theory, followed by an examination of gender trait research, gender and leadership research and research that has examined cultural influences on gender differences.

2.1.1.1 The History of Trait and Personality Theories of Leadership

In the past, it was assumed that great leaders were born rather than made, and that such leaders were almost invariably male; thus, the predominant theory of leadership was known as the Great Man Theory. However, when behavioural sciences grew in popularity, they gave rise to a variety of new leadership theories based on learned skills, behaviours, situation, contingency, follower effects and other more flexible factors (Cawthorn, 1996), but a review of the literature indicates that trait theories have been the most persistent and widely studied.

Zillig, Hemenover and Dienstbier (2002) define traits as habitual patterns encompassing thought processes, emotional responses and behaviours. The authors note that these elements may be apparent to differing degrees depending on the particular trait. The roots of trait theories can be found in early personality theories such as the psychoanalytic theory advanced by Sigmund Freud, who was among the first theorists attempting to map the human mind. However, some of the later theorists who built upon Freud's work felt that he overemphasised subconscious drives while failing to pay sufficient attention to social forces (Westen, Gabbard & Ortigo, 1990). Psychoanalytic personality theories have fallen into disfavour in more recent years, with preferences shifting toward more scientifically rigorous quantitative approaches to the study of personality (Boyle, Stankov & Cattell, 1995), to which trait theories are well-suited.

According to Carducci (2009), since psychologist Gordon Allport first proposed more than 4,000 traits as the basic units of personality in the 1930s, this enormous pool of traits has shrunk dramatically. Trait theories of personality gained in popularity in the 1940s, and of these, two have proved to be particularly influential. The first was Eysenck's triad of extraversion, neuroticism and psychoticism (Petrides, Jackson, Furnham & Levin, 2003) and the second was the Big Five model of personality, the result of numerous converging theories (including Eysenck's model), which has become the most widely accepted trait theory of personality to date (Zillig et al., 2002). Research indicates that the Big Five model of personality has predictive value for many different overt behaviours (Cuperman & Ickes, 2009; Fleeson & Gallagher, 2009; John & Srivastava, 1999). Table 12 below provides an overview of the five-factor model.

Table 12: Personality Factors of the Big Five Model

(Adapted from Carducci, 2009:300)

Carducci (2009) lists a number of strengths of the five-factor model, including the fact that the traits have been found in various cultures and can be identified using different questionnaires and factor analytic techniques. Furthermore, McCrae and Costa (1987) found that the five-factor model generates substantial agreement between self-reports and observer reports on all five factors, and thus is a useful means of gauging personality.

Cross-cultural research indicates that the Big Five model of personality is relevant to various cultures (McCrae &Terracciano, 2005) and animal studies indicate that four of the Big Five traits (all except for openness) also exist in animals (John & Srivavasta, 1999), which suggests that the traits are partially attributable to genetic influences rather than sole products of culture and socialisation. However, it should be noted that although the Big Five model currently enjoys wide support, there is still disagreement about some of the markers for each of the traits and their overall scope (Zillig et al., 2002).

The Big Five model of personality has been criticised based on a number of issues. First, there is evidence that personality varies over time (Donnellan & Lucas, 2008; Hampson

& Goldberg, 2006; McCrae et al., 2005), which suggests that traits may not be stable. Furthermore, fluctuations in traits over the lifespan vary from place to place (Donnellan & Lucas, 2008), which indicates that situational and environmental factors probably play a role in personality trait changes. Gender differences in traits also vary from nation to nation (Schmitt, Realo, Voracek & Allik, 2008), which provides further support for environmental and situational factors. Also worth noting is that a meta-analysis conducted by Salgado (1997) found that the majority of big-five traits did not accurately predict the ability to meet job criteria across all occupations. Only emotional stability (an inverse marker for neuroticism) and conscientiousness were valid predictors for all occupational groups. However, the most significant critique of trait theory models in general is that many researchers have found traits to be poor predictors of behaviour across various situations (Mischel, 1968; Kenrick & Funder, 1988) and fail to account for situational variables (Carducci, 2009).

Over the years, experts have debated whether personality traits arise due to environmental factors or internal factors such as genetic predisposition (Boyle et al., 1995). However, there is plenty of evidence that traits impact leadership opportunities by affecting educational outcomes and career success. Leadership opportunities are to some degree dependent upon educational achievements, and a meta-analysis of Big Five trait studies found that three of these traits, agreeableness, conscientiousness and openness, predict academic achievement (Poropat, 2009). Moreover, other research has associated low scores for the traits of agreeableness and conscientiousness with juvenile delinquency (John & Srivavasta, 1999), which is likely to limit leadership opportunities if not eliminate them altogether. In the workplace, some researchers have found that high conscientiousness scores predict superior performance in various professions (Barrick & Mount, 1999) and overall career success

(Kern, Friedman, Martin, Reynolds & Lyong, 2009), and extroversion is associated with performance in managerial positions (Barrick & Mount, 1999).

More evidence supporting the role of the Big Five traits in leadership behaviour and performance comes from research conducted by Judge, Piccolo and Kosalka (2009), who found that agreeableness was associated with leadership attributes such as friendliness, cooperativeness, empathy, gentleness, fairness and pleasantness, and that conscientiousness was correlated with fairness, tenaciousness, persistence, performance orientation and general ethics. They also found that neuroticism's opposite trait, emotional stability, had a positive effect on followers, increasing their job satisfaction and reducing turnover. In addition, leaders who scored highly for emotional stability were more inclined to stay calm in difficult situations and recover swiftly after setbacks. The researchers also found that the trait of openness was associated with aspects of the transformational leadership style, including the ability to inspire and motivate and the capacity to cope effectively with organisational changes. As for leader emergence, extroversion predicted the ascension to positions of leadership, as well as the likelihood of adopting a transformational leadership style.

Other researchers have also associated Big Five traits with leadership, including agreeableness in general and markers for this trait such as cooperativeness (Hogan, Curphy & Hogan, 1994; Judge et al., 2009; Stogdill, 1948); conscientiousness (Arvey et al., 2006; Hogan et al., 1994; Judge et al., 2002; Judge et al., 2009; Tagger, Hackett & Saha, 1999); extroversion and markers for this trait such as sociability (Hogan, Curphy & Hogan, 1994; Judge et al., 2009; Lord, De Vader & Alliger, 1986; Mann, 1959; Northouse, 1997; Stogdill, 1948); inverse markers for neuroticism such as emotional stability, adjustment and stress tolerance (Bass, 1990; Hogan, Curphy & Hogan, 1994; House & Aditya, 1997; Judge et al., 2009; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991; Mann, 1959; Yukl, 1998; Yukl & Van Fleet, 1992); and openness (Judge et al., 2002; Judge et al., 2009; Kickul & Neuman, 2000). It should be noted

that not all leadership research has focused on the Big Five personality traits. Additional traits have been identified as key to leadership by other researchers, including adaptability (Stogdill, 1948; Bass, 1990), aggression/dominance (Bass, 1990; Mann, 1959), creativity (Bass, 1990; Daft, 1999), ambition/achievement orientation (House & Aditya, 1997; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991; Yukl, 1998), integrity (Bass, 1990; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991; Northouse, 1997; Yukl, 1998; Daft, 1999), intelligence (Bass, 1990; Lord et al., 1986; Simonton, 2006) and self-confidence/self-efficacy (Bass, 1990; Daft, 1999; Foti & Hauenstein, 2007; House & Aditya, 1997; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991; Northouse, 1997; Smith & Foti, 1998; Stogdill, 1948; Yukl, 1998; Yukl & Van Fleet, 1992).

Although trait research has seen a resurgence in popularity in recent years, for many years it was largely displaced by behavioural and leadership style theories, beginning with the Ohio State Leadership Studies, which shifted the emphasis from trait theories to behavioural theories and the view of leadership attributes from static, inherent qualities to flexible outcomes shaped by interacting, fluctuating variables (Schriesheim & Bird, 1979). Lewin's three-styles leadership model encompassing autocratic, democratic and laissez-faire behavioural styles (Lewin, Llippit, & White 1939) gained ground during the second half of the century, propelled to the forefront to some degree as a result of the findings of the Michigan Leadership Studies. This research, running from the 1950s to the late 1970s and including more than 500 studies, provided convincing evidence for the superiority of a democratic style in producing not only greater employee satisfaction but also heightened productivity (Bass & Bass, 2008). This finding has relevance for studies of gender and leadership, given the findings of various studies indicating that women are more inclined than men to adopt transformational, democratic leadership styles (Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt & van Engen, 2003).

Although there has been a shift toward more flexible models of leadership as opposed to the traditional stable trait theories, trait research is still popular, and has enjoyed a resurgence with the rise of the Big Five model of personality. Gender perceptions have not benefited from this focus on traits, given that beliefs about gender-stereotypical traits have remained somewhat entrenched according to various surveys conducted in recent years (Atlintas, 2010; Avolio et al., 2009; Dennis & Kunkel, 2004; Kray, 2007; Tahmincioglu 2008). This indicates that there is a pressing need to examine how rapidly evolving leadership conceptions interact with less rapidly evolving gender conceptions.

2.2   Theoretical Foundations for Gender Differences

The theoretical foundations for gender differences that have particular relevance to leadership studies will be discussed are included in this literature review. Theories regarding gender differences can be roughly divided into two categories: biological/evolutionary and socially constructed. Those favouring the former assume that gender differences are innate, static and based in physiology and evolutionary biology. Advocates of the anatomy-as-destiny view often use the notion of inborn gender differences to reinforce stereotypes or justify maintaining the status quo in which women are often judged as lacking in the qualities required for leadership.

Some sociobiologists such as Buss (1995) assert that gender differences are the result of differing evolutionary reproductive strategies that would theoretically favour communality, caring and gentleness in women and aggressiveness, dominance and ambition in males. By contrast, researchers looking at the issue from a psychoanalytical perspective see the differentiation of gender roles and the devaluation of women as resulting from differences in the ways in which young boys and girls bond with and separate from their mothers (Chodorow, 1989). Others view gender differences as the product of schemas impacting both cognition and socialisation so that future experiences and behaviours are made to fit within

these schemas even when they do not (Bem, 1981) or the enforcement of stereotypical social roles as a result of both the gendered division of labour and societal expectations (Eagly, 1987). Cognitive-behavioural explanations for gender differences (and to a lesser extent, psychoanalytical explanations) attribute such differences largely to nurture rather than nature.

Gender stereotypes are particularly relevant for leader performance, given that 'stereotype threat' – 'an individual's awareness that he or she may be judged by or may self-fulfill negative stereotypes about her or his gender or ethnic group' – can increase anxiety and adversely impact behaviour and efficacy (Lips, 2001:33). Recent research has found that gender differences in math test performance are largely cultural; they do not exist in countries such as Sweden and Norway where men and women are considered equals, and in countries were gaps favouring males are present, they correlate with the level of social inequality between men and women (Guiso et al., 2008). Also, gender differences in math test scores disappear entirely when subjects are told that there are typically no gender differences in test outcomes (Spencer, Steele & Quinn, 1999). Furthermore, studies have shown that despite a large body of research indicating that there are no significant gender differences in leader efficacy (Eagly & Johnson, 1990), stereotypes can adversely impact the evaluation of women in leadership roles even when they perform as well as their male counterparts (Boldry, Wood & Kashy, 2001).

Gender stereotypes may arise from beliefs about the origins of gender differences. Table 13 below summarises assumptions about gender differences based on nature and nurture, as identified via a comprehensive review of the literature.

Table 13: Assumptions Underlying Nature and Nurture-Based Theories of Gender Differences

Assumptions Underlying Nature Theories of Gender Differences	Assumptions Underlying Nurture Theories of Gender Differences
• Natural selection pressures triggered the evolution of different instinctual reproductive strategies and aptitudes in men and women. • Hormonal and brain-based differences are at the root of gender differences in traits, behaviours and aptitudes.	• Gender differences in behaviour and emotional expression result from differences in childrearing and societal expectations. • Differences in aptitude can be explained by socioeconomic circumstances, lack of encouragement in certain subjects and stereotype threat.

2.3   Differences in Leadership Styles

2.3.1   Theoretical Foundations for Leadership Differences

The majority of significant leadership theories can be classified using the broad categories of trait, behavioural, transformational, situational/contingency, functional, and information processing. The progression of these theoretical foundations shows increasing complexity, with simplistic notions of innate leadership capacity in the form of static traits (Cawthorn, 1996) giving way to the acknowledgement of leadership as a process situated within an influential context rather than simply an inborn talent (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2007).

2.3.1.1   Trait Theories

Trait theories of leadership are related to the Great Man idea that leaders are born rather than developed. They are premised on the assumption that one or more inherent traits predispose some people to be leaders and others followers. Trait theorists have studied various individual characteristics such as intelligence, though there have been insufficient attempts among various researchers to integrate their findings regarding the variety of traits they have identified as associated with leadership ability (Derue et al., 2011).

Trait theory leadership studies conducted by a variety of researchers spanning the second half of the last century have produced highly variable results. However, certain

stereotypically masculine traits recur in multiple studies, such as dominance (Mann, 1959; Bass, 1990), aggressiveness, control (Bass, 1990) and ambition and drive (Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991). However, many traits identified in these studies could be considered gender neutral, such as self-confidence (Stogdill, 1948; Bass, 1990; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991; House & Aditya, 1997; Yukl, 1998; Daft, 1999) and extroversion (Mann, 1959; Hogan et al., 1994; Northouse, 1997).

2.3.1.2   Behavioural Theories

Behaviours that leaders choose to engage in underpin more of the variance in leader efficacy than innate traits (Derue et al., 2011). Behavioural leadership research seeks to identify the behaviours that are most effective in leadership situations by taking into account the effects of these behaviours on subordinates. Behavioural models have included Lewin's autocratic-democratic-laissez-faire triad and the concept of charismatic or transformational leadership introduced by Burns in 1978 (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2007), the latter of which has gained popularity in recent years due to studies associating it with greater leader effectiveness (Bass & Bass, 2008). Transformational leadership stands in contrast to transactional leadership, which can be likened to a softer version of the old autocratic style in that it emphasises maintaining control via the giving or withholding of rewards rather than the motivating of followers through shared vision and inspiration (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2007).

Behavioural leadership research also suffers from a number of limitations. Derue et al. (2011) assert that the behaviours and traits of a leader combined account for anywhere from 31% to 92% of leadership effectiveness variance overall. Therefore, their predictive value is largely unknown. Furthermore, studies of some theoretically behavioural leadership types such as transformational/charismatic rely on the subjective perceptions of followers because the image a leader projects is as important as the few observable behaviours (such as communicating organisational values and goals) in which the leader engages, and even

follower interpretations of observable behaviours are likely to be somewhat subjective (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2007). Given that transformational leadership is more of an interactive process between leader and followers than an easily identifiable set of behaviours, it is difficult to study objectively and empirically. Therefore, it is often placed in a category of its own, outside of the behavioural theory group.

2.3.1.3 Transformational versus Transactional Leadership Theories

Transactional leadership is a style whereby managers control subordinates through the provision or withholding of rewards (and in some cases, additional adverse consequences for noncompliance or failure to perform). Transactional leaders favour clear, enforceable contracts and the development of exchange relationships between leaders and followers (Bass & Bass, 2008). Three types of transactional leadership have been identified: contingent reward (followers receive rewards when they perform as well), active management by exception (the leader intervenes primarily to correct errors or address performance shortfalls) and passive management by exception (the leader takes corrective action only when problems become too serious to ignore) (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2007). The primary difference between transactional and transformational leaders is the first are simply traders, whereas transformational leaders act as agents of change, appealing to the higher natures of their followers and encouraging them to make sacrifices and expend efforts to fulfill group goals (Bolman & Deal, 1997).

Transformational leadership can be likened more to a process or overall style than a set of behaviours or traits. Transformational leaders are creative and innovative, with the ability to convince and empower those who follow them. They motivate their followers by inspiring them, winning them over with charisma, showing individualised consideration and concern, acting as mentors, providing intellectual stimulation, and communicating organisational vision. Studies have shown that transformational leaders deal well with

conflict and uncertainty, behave ethically and have a high level of emotional intelligence (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2007). Research has shown that women are more likely than men to adopt transformational leadership styles (Eagly et al., 2003). The transformational leadership style stands in sharp contrast to traditional carrot-and-stick theories (such as McGregor's Theory X) whereby employees were viewed as an obstructive force that had to be pressed into service and kept in line (Bass & Bass, 2008).

Whilst a number of studies have indicated that transformational leadership is more effective than other leadership styles (Bass & Bass, 2008; Northouse, 2001), not all research has generated this conclusion (Sadler, 1997). Such inconsistencies are likely attributable to the failure to take situational variables into account when conducting leadership studies, as transformational leadership is likely to be far more effective in some settings and scenarios than others. Also, given that so much of what comprises transformational leadership revolves around subjective qualities such as charisma and the capacity to inspire, both its existence and its efficacy are very difficult to measure.

2.3.1.4 Situational and Contingency Leadership Theories

Chamorro-Premuzic (2007) note that situational and contingency leadership theories began to grow in popularity due to increasing criticism of trait and behavioural theories, particularly the former (and especially the Great Man variant). Scepticism that arose during the 1970s regarding the validity and relevance of personality traits caused an increased interest in the examination of leadership contexts. According to Chamorro-Premuzic (2007), researchers found that certain situations or settings were more favourable to leaders adopting certain leadership styles and highly unfavourable to other styles. Thus, having the right set of traits for a given situation or the ability to adapt as needed were identified as the characteristics of an effective leader.

Situational and contingency theories have particular relevance for the study of gendered leadership styles and perceptions because certain contexts may be unfavourable either to female styles of leadership (assuming that gender differences in leadership style exist) or to the women themselves, regardless of leadership style. For example, a number of studies have shown that female leaders may be more negatively evaluated than their male counterparts regardless of performance (Avolio et al., 2009; Boldry, Wood & Kashy, 2001). Furthermore, many believe that women do not have the qualities associated with leadership (Brackert, 2004), and to make matters worse, they are often put into leadership positions in times of difficulty, where the likelihood of failure is high (Bruckmüller & Branscombe, 2010). Thus, female leaders are likely operating in unfavourable or even hostile contexts far more often than male leaders.

Contingency models of leadership expand upon situational theories by attempting to determine which situational variables can trigger the emergence of leadership. Contingency models take multiple variables into account including leader personality, leader behaviour, follower characteristics and environmental factors such as organisational climate and structure. Such models address the bidirectional influence of leader characteristics and situational variables in determining leader efficacy within a given organisation (Hoy & Miskel, 1987). In other words, they account for the fact that aspects of a situation, such as the respect of followers, the support of higher management, the overall corporate climate, resources and power available to the leader and other factors influence the ways in which a leader behaves and his or her overall effectiveness. This stands in sharp contrast to unidirectional models whereby it is assumed that the leader's characteristics are the only factors influencing overall success or failure, and that these characteristics are immune to environmental influences.

There are elements within situational and contingency models that have particular relevance for studies of gender and leadership. First and foremost, they indicate that leaders will receive more support from followers if they are respected and liked, and this will have a significant impact on a leader's performance. Power is also a critical factor, for any leader who is bestowed with power will have greater influence, and thus an enhanced likelihood of successfully achieving goals (Fiedler & Garcia, 1987). These are important factors, given research showing that female leaders tend to be liked or respected less than their male counterparts, regardless of performance (Rothwell, 2009), and that by virtue of the overall devaluation of their gender, they tend to have less power in corporate situations as well (Kray, 2007; Unger, 2001). Situational leadership theories are also particularly relevant to studies of cultural differences in leadership because each culture presents a unique environment in which a particular leader must operate. The situational effects of culture are also likely to interact with gender effects to influence leader behaviour, performance and evaluation.

2.3.1.5   Functional Leadership Theories

According to Lord (1977), functional leadership theories combine elements of transformational leadership theories and contingency leadership theories in that they address not only leader behaviours but also follower behaviours and situational issues. In addition, functional theories define leadership as a process rather than simply an aptitude or set of behaviours and the focus is placed more heavily on efficacy as defined by the achievement of group goals. Key elements of functional leadership include functional behaviour, exchange, leadership perception, and perhaps most importantly, social influence. Social influence may be a factor adversely impacting the performance of female leaders, because given the traditional position of women as socially inferior, they may wield less influence in the social sphere regardless of their abilities or actions.

2.3.1.6 Information Processing Leadership Theory

According to Lord and Maher (1991:4), information-processing theory defines leaders not by what they actually do, but rather, by the way in which they are perceived. In other words, the process of becoming a true leader involves being seen as a natural leader by others. The authors assert that 'Leadership can be recognized based on the fit of a person's characteristics with perceivers' implicit ideas of what leaders are'. They further note that people tend to stereotype and label others because it reduces information processing demands. In other words, implicit beliefs and assumptions shape perceptions of leadership ability and effectiveness. This has serious implications for female leaders, given the negative perceptions of women many people hold (Brackert, 2004; Tahmincioglu, 2008) and the fact that stereotypically male characteristics are most often associated with effective leadership (Atlintas, 2010; Avolio et al., 2009; Dennis & Kunkel, 2004; Kray, 2007).

2.3.1.7 Summary of Leadership Theory Attributes

Table 14 summarises the attributes of various types of leadership theories identified via a comprehensive review of the literature.

Table 14: Summary of Leadership Theories

Type of Theory	Attributes
Trait Theories	• Assume that leadership ability arises from an innate set of traits or talents • Are premised upon the idea that leaders are born rather than made • Have traditionally favoured traits that are stereotypically male • Have been criticised for failing to take context into account
Behavioural Theories	• Focus on the behaviours in which leaders choose to engage and thus allow for free will in facilitating leadership efficacy • Assume that certain leadership behaviours are always effective • Have been criticised for failing to account for situational variables and follower effects

Transformational Theories	• View leadership as a process rather than simply a set of traits or behaviours
	• Take the reactions and bidirectional effects of followers into account to some degree
	• Contrast charismatic, intellectually stimulating, inspirational leadership with leadership based on exchange and the fulfilment of contractual obligations
	• Favour many more stereotypically feminine traits
	• Comprise elements that are difficult to objectively measure
Situational/Contextual Theories	• Acknowledge multidirectional effects of leadership behaviours, situations or contexts, follower responses and other factors
	• Take whole systems into account rather than simply leader traits or behaviours
Functional Leadership Theories	• View leadership as a process
	• Focus on functional behaviours for promoting the successful achievement of group goals
	• Take social influence into account
Information Processing Leadership Theories	• Define leaders by how they are perceived rather than what they do
	• Take stereotyping and labelling into account as factors affecting leadership effectiveness

2.4 Leadership Traits and Attributes

2.4.1 Review of Gender Differences Research

The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), developed in 1974, comprises 20 traits associated with women (such as sensitivity and gentleness), 20 associated with men (including dominance and forcefulness) and 20 considered gender neutral (sincerity, friendliness, etc.). BSRI scores have shown that the majority of people do not match the stereotypical descriptors associated with their gender roles (Kent & Moss, 1994; Kolb, 1999). Despite these findings, many researchers continue to seek evidence of biologically based gender differences for a variety of traits and behaviours.

Gender differences research has a long and controversial history, most of which is beyond the scope of this literature review. For the purposes of this review, only gender research on traits that have been identified as associated with leadership ability by various studies will be examined. Key leadership traits that researchers have identified include the following (items that have considerable overlap and descriptors that are considered synonymous have been collapsed into single categories):

- Adaptability (Stogdill, 1948; Bass, 1990)

- Adjustment/emotional stability/emotional maturity/stress tolerance (Bass, 1990; Hogan, Curphy & Hogan, 1994; House & Aditya, 1997; Judge et al., 2009; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991; Mann, 1959; Yukl, 1998; Yukl & Van Fleet, 1992)

- Aggression/dominance (Bass, 1990; Mann, 1959)

- Agreeableness/cooperativeness (Hogan, Curphy & Hogan, 1994; Judge et al., 2009; Stogdill, 1948)

- Conscientiousness (Arvey et al., 2006; Hogan et al., 1994; Judge et al., 2002; Judge et al., 2009; Tagger, Hackett & Saha, 1999)

- Creativity (Bass, 1990; Daft, 1999)

- Drive/ambition/achievement motivation/achievement orientation (House & Aditya, 1997; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991; Yukl, 1998)

- Extroversion/sociability (Hogan, Curphy & Hogan, 1994; Lord, De Vader & Alliger, 1986; Judge et al., 2009; Mann, 1959; Northouse, 1997; Stogdill, 1948)

- Integrity (Bass, 1990; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991; Northouse, 1997; Yukl, 1998; Daft, 1999)

- Intelligence (Bass, 1990; Lord, De Vader & Alliger, 1986; Simonton, 2006)

- Openness to experience (Judge et al., 2002; Judge et al., 2009; Kickul & Neuman, 2000)

- Self-confidence/self-efficacy (Bass, 1990; Daft, 1999; Foti & Hauenstein, 2007; House & Aditya, 1997; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991; Northouse, 1997; Smith & Foti, 1998; Stogdill, 1948; Yukl, 1998; Yukl & Van Fleet, 1992)

The sections that follow summarise research studies conducted into gender differences for each of these leadership-associated traits.

2.4.1.1   Adaptability

Adaptability is a rather broad category that is difficult to pin down. However, there have been a number of studies that have examined aspects or types of adaptability in relation to gender, yielding mixed results. A recent study conducted by O'Connell, McNeely and Hall (2008), found that after accounting for environmental and human capital factors, there is a strong correlation between gender and adaptability, with females being far more adaptable than males in the workplace. However, Davies, Mangan and Shqiponja (2003) assert that as a general rule, males are better able to adapt their learning approaches to various contexts and Bar-On (1997) found males to be more adaptable overall. Many other studies on gender differences in adaptability have not been included in this review because they were undertaken with small, very specific populations (mentally ill individuals, recent immigrants, etc.), and thus have little relevance for leadership studies due to lack of generalizability. Given the inconsistent results, it is difficult to draw any definitive conclusions from extant literature regarding adaptability and gender.

2.4.1.2   Adjustment

There are a number of traits that fall under the broad category of adjustment, including emotional stability, emotional maturity and the ability to tolerate stress well. Such traits are undoubtedly beneficial in a leadership position. A common stereotype holds that women are more emotionally expressive and less emotionally stable than men, but is there any truth to this? A number of researchers have explored this question, with mixed conclusions.

Various studies have found that women score higher on average on measures of neuroticism, a personality domain encompassing emotional instability, irritability, anxiety, depression, shyness, self-consciousness, moodiness, vulnerability, lack of confidence and impulsiveness (Mueller & Plug, 2006). However, Simon and Nath (2004) found that there were no significant differences in overall internal experiences of subjective emotional states between men and women in the United States. Thus, men may experience emotions of the same intensity as women but not express them because it is not considered socially desirable for men to show emotion or vulnerability. Simon and Nath did find some significant differences for certain negative feelings such as anxiety, but these disappeared when socioeconomic status was controlled for, indicating that gender-based emotional differences could be explained by the devalued position in society many women hold, rather than innate, biologically based gender differences. The mitigating effect of socioeconomic position may explain why so many prior studies have yielded conflicting results regarding gender differences in emotional stability.

Many studies have found that women are more inclined to express emotion than men, leading many experts to conclude that it is social conditioning to gender role expectations rather than innate biological differences that underpin differences in emotional expressiveness (Brody & Hall, 1993; Fischer, 2000; Kring & Gordon, 1998). It is possible that because it is more socially acceptable for women to express emotion, they appear to be

more emotional overall. Men may be unwilling to report experiencing feelings – particularly those considered un-masculine – even on anonymous surveys.

If, for the sake of argument, it is assumed that women are more emotional than men, would this indicate a greater or lower likelihood of emotional stability and maturity? Women tend to rate themselves as less emotionally stable than do male subjects (Furnham & Buchanan, 2005; Schmitt, 2008). However, self-ratings are subjective and thus it is difficult to draw definitive conclusions from this. It is possible that women are less emotionally stable than men, or it may be simply that they erroneously believe themselves to be less emotionally stable than men due to the incorporation of stereotypes within their cognitive schemata.

Numerous studies have linked emotional intelligence to enhanced leader effectiveness in a broad array of contexts, and a number of researchers have also found a correlation between emotional intelligence and the adoption of a transformational leadership style (Clarke, 2010; Walter, Cole & Humphrey, 2008). However, many studies show little if any gender difference in emotional intelligence scores. Bar-On (1997) found no statistically significant difference between the overall emotional intelligence scores of males and females, but did find differences on certain individual measures. For example, females had better interpersonal skills, but males were better at managing their emotions. Research conducted by Katyal and Awasthi (2005) found girls to have higher emotional intelligence than boys, but the difference was very small. Petrides and Furnham (2000) found that although females scored higher on a measure of social skills, males erroneously believed that their emotional intelligence was higher than that of their female counterparts.

The evidence for gender differences in emotional intelligence is mixed, with aspects of socialisation and culture acting as significant confounding variables. Evidence for gender differences in internal emotional states is also inconclusive, and may be affected by cultural factors such as the belief that men should not be sensitive, which may influence the results of

studies that make use of self-report instruments. Overall, the evidence suggests that if there are emotional differences between men and women, they are probably very small and affected by factors such as socioeconomic status and enculturation far more profoundly than any innate, biologically based gender differences.

2.4.1.3   Aggression/Dominance

Aggression and overall dominance have historically been considered masculine traits, and this is one of the few domains for which significant gender differences have been found by many researchers (Burton, Hafetz & Henninger, 2007), though it is unclear what proportion of these differences are attributable to nature and how much can be ascribed to nurture. According to Chrisler and McCreary (2010), differences in aggression may not be as large as many people believe. They assert that although men certainly show more public aggression, women are often more aggressive in private when there are no witnesses. Also, some studies have found that women are more inclined to engage in indirect aggressive actions (relational aggression) because the public expression of more direct, physical aggression carries stigma for females (Eagly & Steffen, 1986; Burton, Hafetz and Henninger, 2007). It is also worth noting that many studies using adult rather than child samples show no gender differences in relational aggression (Burton, Hafetz and Henninger, 2007).

Many have argued that men are naturally more aggressive due to their higher testosterone levels. However, according to Albert, Walsh and Jonik (1993), there is very little support for a direct relationship between testosterone levels and aggression in humans. There is no consistent relationship between testosterone levels and aggressiveness in people, and aggression levels do not rise in conjunction with the testosterone increase that occurs during puberty, nor when testosterone is administered therapeutically. Females with testosterone levels 200% above the normal level do not become more aggressive, and neither castration

nor anti-androgen treatment has been shown to consistently decrease aggression in men. Furthermore, certain brain injuries or tumours can trigger increased aggressiveness in people of either gender regardless of testosterone levels. Overall, this lack of evidence for hormone-based aggression triggering supports theories suggesting that gender differences in public aggression are largely due to socialisation.

2.4.1.4   Agreeableness/Cooperativeness

According to Mueller and Plug (2006), the personality dimension of agreeableness encompasses a number of traits, including trust, compliance (lack of stubbornness), modesty, sympathy for others, straightforwardness and altruism. Agreeable people work well in teams and prefer to create and work within supportive environments. Agreeableness and, to a greater extent, cooperativeness are traits that are stereotypically associated with women.

In keeping with prior research, Burton, Hafetz and Henninger (2007) found that women scored higher on measures of agreeableness than men. However, as in other trait studies, self-report measures were used, so it is difficult to determine whether women are simply providing what they believe to be socially desirable responses for their gender or are actually more agreeable by nature. Mueller and Plug (2006) also found women to be more agreeable than men, and although the results of their study indicated that men tend to be more antagonistic than women, males are rewarded for this trait with higher salaries (antagonistic women gain no such benefits). This provides further evidence of the fact that certain behaviours that have historically been associated with effective leadership are viewed more favourably in men than in women.

Evidence suggests that agreeableness may be more a result of nurture than nature. A large study of fraternal and identical twin pairs, some reared together and some apart, found that although there was substantial evidence for a strong genetic component in the traits of openness and conscientiousness, genetics accounted for just 12% of the variance in

agreeableness (Bergeman et al., 1993). This indicates that females may be more agreeable on average because they have been encouraged to do so, not because they are innately predisposed to be agreeable by their biology.

As for which gender is more cooperative, the largest multi-study evaluations that have been conducted thus far have yielded mixed results, but suggest that overall, gender differences are small to non-existent and only occur in certain circumstances (Rubin & Brown, 1975; Walters et al., 1998). In particular, Walter, Stuhlmacher and Meyer (1998) found that women may begin negotiations in a more cooperative manner, but if their partners use a cutthroat strategy, they are less forgiving and become much more competitive.

2.4.1.5   Conscientiousness

Conscientiousness encompasses a number of traits, including competence, efficiency, organisational skills, dutifulness, thoroughness, self-discipline and deliberation. This set of traits is positively correlated with job performance (Mueller & Plug, 2006). Conscientiousness is a personality domain strongly influenced by genetic factors, and the level to which it is expressed may be moderated by gender (Bergeman et al., 1993).

In a study conducted by Mueller and Plug (2006), women scored slightly higher than men on measures of conscientiousness. Burton, Hafetz and Henninger (2007) also found women to be slightly more conscientious. Interestingly, women scoring higher on measures of conscientiousness were also more inclined to be more physically aggressive and adaptable than less conscientious women, though they were also less able to manage stress effectively. By contrast, the less conscientious women were more likely to engage in relational aggression and were less agreeable on average.

2.4.1.6 Creativity

Numerous studies conducted with populations in the United States, Japan, China and Germany have found no significant gender differences on tests of creativity or creative performance (Barron & Harrington, 1981; Saeki, Fan & Van Dusen, 2001; Shi, Zhou & Zha, 1999; Wang et al., 1998). Norlander, Erixon and Archer (2000) found that those who were identified as psychologically androgynous (having stereotypical traits of both genders) were more creative than individuals who identified as having stereotypical traits for their own gender.

In their study of people in creative professions, Negrey and Rausch (2009) found that the gender gap for creative occupation was very small, with 17.2% of males and 16.5% of females making up an extremely creative core group and 20.6% of men and 23.4% of women working as creative professionals in what was considered the most creative region of Florida. For the purposes of this study, creative industries included research and development, software, design, architecture, publishing, advertising and various media occupations (video games, music, film, etc.). Particularly creative occupations included architecture, engineering, science (life sciences, physical sciences and social sciences), education and training, the arts, entertainment, media, design, sports and library-related work. The ultra-creative group were defined as those who originated new ideas and products or applied their knowledge to solve difficult problems. It is worth noting that although the researchers found similar percentages of people of each gender employed in creative occupations, they identified a large income gap between the most creative men and women.

2.4.1.7 Drive/Ambition/Achievement Motivation/Achievement Orientation

Drive, ambition and achievement orientation or motivation are obvious assets for anyone who wishes to ascend to a leadership role. Research suggests that on average, women

tend to expect less from their careers; fewer women are ambitious to ascend to specific leadership roles and they tend to be more cautious when making decisions about applying for new positions (Fulton et al., 2006; Institute of Leadership & Management, 2010). However, this is to some degree attributable to the disparity that persists in childcare responsibilities, as women are often still expected to fulfil the bulk of these responsibilities (Fulton et al., 2006; Institute of Leadership & Management, 2010).

2.4.1.8   Extroversion/Sociability

Extroversion is a personality domain that encompasses sociability, assertiveness, adventurousness, enthusiasm, warmth and excitement-seeking. High extroversion has been correlated with success in managerial positions and overall earnings (Mueller & Plug, 2006).

Mueller and Plug (2006) found women to be significantly more extroverted than men on average. However, a study of subjects from 37 nations conducted by Lynn and Martin (1997) found that men were more extroverted than women on average in the majority of countries. Countries that did not follow the pattern – those where women tended to be more extroverted than men – included Australia, France, Japan, Mexico and the United States. Countries were there was no appreciable gender difference included Czechoslovakia, Iceland, Italy and the United Kingdom. Given the differing results for various countries, it is likely that culture, rather than innate biological differences, is at the root of variance. The outcomes of other studies of gender differences in extroversion measures have been in keeping with Lynn's and Martin's (1997) findings for each country. For example, the study conducted by Mueller and Plug (2006), which found women to be slightly more extroverted, drew its subject pool from the United States only, and Farmer et al.'s (2002) UK study found no gender difference in extroversion scores.

2.4.1.9 General Intelligence

There has been a large body of often controversial research conducted to determine whether there are gender differences in IQ scores and abilities. Despite a handful of studies suggesting an advantage of a few additional IQ points for one gender or the other, the overall body of research indicates that there is little if any difference between average male and female IQs overall (American Psychological Association, 1996; Baumeister, 2001; Colom et al., 2002; Hedges & Nowell, 1995).

In the past boys outperformed girls slightly in mathematics in the United States and the UK, but this is no longer the case according to a large study commissioned by the National Science Foundation (Hyde et al., 2008), probably because girls now take as many advanced mathematics courses as boys (Lewin, 2008). It is worth noting that stereotype threat was probably a factor in the previous gender gap, given that studies have shown the gap to be non-existent in cultures where girls and boys are considered equally capable (Guiso et al., 2008) and the fact that the performance gap on math tests can be triggered if women are told beforehand that males are likely to do better on the test (Spencer et al., 1999). Boys are also more likely to be encouraged in their mathematical endeavours (Eccles, 1993). Stereotype threat and differential encouragement may also play a role in boys' lower scores on tests of linguistic ability.

Some studies have shown a slight advantage for males in certain visual-spatial skills and for females on verbal skills, though it is unknown how much of this is attributable to innate biologically based differences and to what extent culture or socialisation triggers these differences (American Psychological Association, 1996). However, given that female performance on visual-spatial tests can be improved or diminished based on whether they are told that women tend to perform more poorly or better than men (Hausmann, Schoofs & Rosenthal, 2009; McGlone & Aranson, 2006; Sharps, Price & Williams, 1994), it is likely

that social factors play a significant role. Furthermore, boys play video games more frequently than girls, but when girls play the same games, they make great gains in visual-spatial skills, which suggests that the difference in this domain may result to some degree from differential experiences rather than biologically based aptitudes (Feng, Spence & Pratt, 2007).

Although many of these findings regarding intelligence are intriguing, they may not be particularly relevant for studies of leadership, given that the American Psychological Association (1996), which has reviewed the findings of a large number of intelligence studies, asserts that although the correlation between IQ and school grades is strong, intelligence as measured by tests provides little predictive value for job performance. While it is possible that intelligence does have an effect on some of the less easily measured aspects of leadership, given the lack of significant gender difference on this measure, it is unlikely to be a critical factor in differentiating leadership styles by gender.

2.4.1.10   Integrity

Synonymous with honesty, integrity has been identified as an important attribute for good leadership. The public perception is that women are more honest than men on average, according to research conducted by the Pew Research Center (2008), which found that 50% of the public believe women to be more honest, compared to just 20% who perceived men as more honest. Much of the integrity research conducted in recent years appears to back this stereotype (Aiken, 1991; Davis et al., 1992; Fridkin & Kenney, 2009; McCabe & Treviño, 1997; Ones & Viswesvaran, 1998; Ward, 1986), though a number of studies have also found no significant difference (Baird, 1980; Cavallo & Brienza, 2002; Haines et al., 1986; Kidwell, Stevens & Bethke, 1987; Reingold, 2009).

Ones and Viswesvaran (1998) conducted a large-scale study involving more than 700,000 job applicants, finding that women scored more highly than men on overt measures of integrity. Other integrity studies have largely focused on academic cheating. Of these, the vast majority found higher rates of cheating among males (Aiken, 1991; Davis et al., 1992; McCabe & Treviño, 1997; Ward, 1986), though a couple of studies yielded no significant gender difference (Baird, 1980; Haines et al., 1986).

2.4.1.11   Openness to Experience

Openness to experience encompasses a number of cognitive and affective domains that underpin attitudes toward new sensations, feelings and ideas. The International Personality Item Pool (2011), a scientific collaborative, lists a number of items associated with this personality domain, including a vivid imagination, the tendency to find new ideas exciting, liberal political views, possession of a rich vocabulary, the tendency to seek deeper meanings and a highly developed aesthetic appreciation. Traits that are negatively correlated with this personality dimension include conservatism, dislike of abstract ideas, aversion to philosophical or theoretical discussion, and lack of interest in artistic and poetic works.

According to Yannick (2009), the individual who is open to experience welcomes novel ideas, is willing to entertain new values and looks forward to fresh experiences. He or she seeks opportunities for personal growth and is likely to have a broader-than-average range of experiences and interests. Essentially, those who score highly on measures of openness to experience tend to be more intellectually adventurous and curious, open-minded, aware of feelings and creative, whereas low-scorers tend to be close-minded and conventional, preferring fixed routines and familiar ways of doing things.

A large-scale, cross-cultural study of openness to experience by gender yielded mixed results, with men scoring higher than women in the majority of cultures, but women

outscoring men in a significant minority (McCrae et al., 2005). However, these gender differences tend to be quite small compared to differences within each gender, and conflicting findings may be attributable to men rating themselves higher on openness to ideas and women on openness to feelings (Costa, Terracciano & McCrae, 2001). Also worth noting is that a longitudinal study conducted by Gjerde and Cardilla (2009) found no gender differences in openness scores among pre-schoolers or among the same individuals at age 23.

2.4.1.12   Self-Confidence/Self-Efficacy

According to Lenney (1977), some studies have suggested that women are less confident than men in certain achievement situations. However, a number of variables may affect this gender difference, including the amount of emphasis placed on evaluation or social comparison, whether or not performance feedback is provided and the field in which performance is evaluated. Furthermore, Roberts (1991) suggests that men and women take different approaches to self-evaluation, with men adopting a competitive approach and women viewing evaluative situations as opportunities to learn about their abilities. If this theory is correct, women's self-evaluations may more accurately reflect their strengths and weaknesses, whereas men's may be artificially inflated as a way of displaying confidence.

It is worth noting that Lenney's review took place several decades ago, and there is evidence that women's confidence has risen along with their rising status. Chusmir and Koberg (1991) conducted a study of 437 male and female managers, finding similar levels of self-confidence in both genders. Interestingly, both males and females who had either androgynous or masculine sex-role orientations had the highest levels of self-confidence. The researchers concluded that although gender did not significantly affect self-confidence, sex role identity did.

Researchers at Indiana University (2008) found that female students reported more anxiety and less self-confidence, particularly surrounding competency issues, even when they

performed at the same level as their male counterparts (no gender differences in performance were identified). The researchers also found that male medical students tended to overestimate their abilities.

Self-efficacy can be seen as a more situation-specific correlate of general self-confidence because it is the confidence that individuals have in their ability to bring about desired effects (Lopez, Zhang & Lopez, 2009). Much of the research that has been conducted into self-efficacy has focused on students, often in very specific fields (mathematics self-efficacy, computer self-efficacy, etc.). However, there has been some research undertaken on general self-efficacy in coping with day-to-day challenges. For example, Lopez, Zhang and Lopez (2009) found no gender differences in coping self-efficacy – the perceived ability to cope effectively with difficult circumstances – among students at various colleges and universities. As for studies of actual leaders, many have found female leaders to be more confident on average (Berry, Nealon & Pluess, 2008; Caliper, 2005; Van Keer, Bogaert & Trbovic, 2009). However, many studies found no significant among leaders for this trait (Cavallo & Brienza, 2002; Chusmir & Koberg, 1991; Chusmir, Koberg & Stecher, 1992; Masters & Meier, 1988; Melamed & Bozionelos, 1992).

2.4.1.13   Summary of Leadership Traits by Gender

Table 10 below provides a summary of gender differences (or lack thereof) in traits that have been associated with effective leadership.

Table 15: Summary of Leadership Traits by Gender

Trait	Findings (males)
Adaptability	• Males are more adaptable (Bar-On, 1997). • Males are better at adapting learning approaches to various contexts (Davies, Mangan & Shqiponja, 2003). • Females are more adaptable in the workplace (O'Connell, McNeely & Hall, 2008).
Adjustment	• There are no gender differences in emotional intelligence (Bar-On, 1997). • There are no gender differences in emotional states and no differences in anxiety when socioeconomic status is controlled for (Simon & Hath, 2004). • Girls have slightly higher emotional intelligence (Katyal & Awasthi, 2005). • Women score higher on measures of neuroticism (Mueller & Plug, 2006). • There is no correlation between gender and emotional adjustment (Lipschitz-Elhawi & Itzhaky, 2008).
Aggression/ Dominance	• Men engage in more direct aggression, women more relational aggression (Burton, Hafetz & Henninger, 2007; Eagly & Steffen, 1986). • There is no support for a direct link between testosterone and aggression in humans (Albert, Walsh & Jonik, 1993). • Men are more aggressive (Burton, Hafetz & Henninger, 2007). • Men are more aggressive in public, women in private (Chrisler & McCreary, 2010).
Agreeableness/ Cooperativeness	• Just 12% of the variance in agreeableness is attributable to genetics, suggesting that socialisation plays a greater role in the development of this trait (Bergeman et al., 1993). • Gender differences in cooperativeness are small to non-existent, depending on the situation (Rubin & Brown, 1975, Walters et al., 1998). • Women are more agreeable (Burton, Hafetz & Henninger, 2007; Mueller & Plug, 2006).
Conscientiousness	• Women are more conscientious than men (Burton, Hafetz & Henninger, 2007; Mueller & Plug, 2006).

Trait	Findings
Creativity	• There are no significant gender differences in creativity (Barron & Harrington, 1981; Saeki, Fan & Van Dusen, 2001; Shi, Zhou & Zha, 1999; Wang et al., 1998). • Psychologically androgynous individuals more creative than those who match the stereotype for their gender (Norlander, Erixon & Archer, 2000).
Drive/Ambition/ Motivation/ Achievement Orientation	• Women are less ambitious to ascend to specific leadership roles and more cautious about applying for new positions, though this is likely attributable to the gender disparity in childcare expectations (Fulton et al., 2006, Institute of Leadership & Management, 2010).
Extroversion/ Sociability	• Men are more extroverted than women in the majority of 37 countries; women are more extroverted in the U.S., France, Australia, Japan and Mexico; no gender difference exists in the UK, Iceland, Italy and Czechoslovakia (Lynn & Martin, 1997). • There is no gender difference in extroversion/sociability in the UK (Farmer et al., 2002). • Women are more extroverted than men in the U.S. (Mueller & Plug, 2006).
General Intelligence	• There is little if any difference between average male and female IQs (American Psychological Association, 1996; Baumeister, 2001; Colom et al., 2002; Hedges & Nowell, 1995). • Some studies show a slight advantage for males in visual-spatial abilities and females in verbal skills, but it is not known if such differences are based in biology or culture and socialisation (American Psychological Association, 1996). • The gender disparity in mathematics performance no longer exists (Hyde et al., 2008).
Integrity	• There are no significant gender differences in academic cheating (Baird, 1980; Haines et al., 1986). • There are higher rates of academic cheating among males (Aiken, 1991; Davis et al., 1992; McCabe & Treviño, 1997; Ward, 1986). • Females score more highly than males on measures of integrity (Ones & Viswesvaran, 1998).

Openness to Experience	• Men are more are open to ideas on average, whereas women are more open to feelings (Costa, Terracciano & McCrae, 2001).
	• Men score more highly than women on openness to experience in the majority of countries; women outscore men in a significant minority of countries (McCrae et al., 2005).
	• No gender difference in openness to experience was found among pre-schoolers or the same individuals at age 23 (Gjerde & Cardilla, 2009).
Self-Confidence/ Self-Efficacy	• Women are less confident than men in most achievement situations (Lenney, 1977).
	• There are no gender differences in self-confidence among male and female managers, but men and women with androgynous or masculine sex-role orientations display the most confidence (Chusmir & Koberg, 1991).
	• Female medical students tend to underestimate their competence, whereas male medical students overestimate their abilities (Indiana University, 2008).
	• There are no significant gender differences in perceived ability to cope effectively with difficult circumstances (Lopez, Zhang & Lopez, 2009).

2.5   Factors affecting Leadership

2.5.1 Gender Differences and Culture

Schmitt et al. (2008) note that although many researchers have found gender differences in certain personality traits to exist across cultures, they are often much larger in some cultures than others. Gender differences in traits tend to actually be larger in more egalitarian cultures and prosperous nations. However, it has been suggested that such differences may arise due to differing frames of reference from one culture to the next. For example, women in one culture may compare themselves to other women when evaluating their own agreeableness, whereas women in another culture may compare themselves to men, and this discrepancy may contribute to variations in gender differences from one culture to the next (Schmitt et al., 2008). It has also been suggested that differing attributions may

account for cross-cultural gender difference discrepancies. For example, an act of kindness or self-sacrifice may be perceived as particularly generous in an individualistic culture but as simply the fulfilment of a social role within a collectivist culture (Schmitt et al., 2008). According to Schmitt et al. (2008), additional theories that have been put forth to explain cross-cultural gender differences range from social role expectations to evolutionary genetic influences to social desirability bias. The latter may arise with the use of self-report instruments if men and women are less likely to report traits that are not considered socially acceptable for their gender. However, based on their own research and comprehensive analysis of their findings, the authors favour an interaction effect between genes and environment for explaining cross-cultural variations in gender differences.

Prior research has yielded a significant amount of evidence for cultural effects on gender differences in personality traits. A review of the literature indicates that not all of the key leadership traits have been studied across both gender and culture simultaneously; researchers have typically examined either cultural differences or gender differences, but rarely compared the two. The following is a review of research that has identified interacting effects for culture and gender on certain leadership-associated traits.

2.5.1.1 Adjustment

According to Fischer and Manstead (2000), a common stereotype, which is more strongly held in Western nations, suggests that women are more emotional than men. However, cross-cultural research on crying has shown that although women are more likely to cry than men, differences in crying frequency tend to be larger in nations such as the Netherlands, Sweden, Poland, Israel, Finland, Greece, Austria and Brazil and lower in nations such as Nigeria, Kenya, Jamaica, China and Austria (Vingerhoets & Becht, 1996). There is also evidence suggesting a social desirability bias in the self-reporting of emotional states.

Research conducted by Copeland, Hwang and Brody (1996) found that although European-American, Asian-American and Asian women all tended to report experiencing more intense emotions, both positive and negative, than their male counterparts, when this was actually tested using stories designed to elicit emotions, the European-Americans showed a greater gender difference, with the women reporting more nervousness, fear or shame than the Asian and Asian-American groups. It has been suggested that the smaller gender differences in emotional expression found in collectivist cultures provide evidence of culture overriding gender norms (Fischer & Manstead, 2000).

Neuroticism can be considered an inverse marker for emotional adjustment and in their cross-cultural study of Big Five personality traits, Schmitt et al. (2008) found that women tended to be more neurotic than men in the majority of nations examined. Another large multicultural study found that women were rated as more anxious, on average, than men across cultures (McCrae et al., 2005). However, when looking at individual nations, there was significant variation. In Schmitt et al.'s (2008) study, there were large gender differences in neuroticism scores in Israel and Morocco; moderate differences in Brazil, Estonia, France, India, Italy, Latvia, Lebanon, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Peru, Romania, Spain, Turkey and the United Sates; small gender differences in twenty-nine other nations and negligible differences in seven nations (Bangladesh, Botswana, Ethiopia, Greece, Indonesia, Japan and Tanzania). Schmitt et al. (2003), looking at cultural clusters, found that gender differences in neuroticism were most significant in the Americas and Europe but minimal to non-existent in the Middle East, Africa, Asia and Oceania.

2.5.1.2 Aggression/Dominance

A large multicultural personality study conducted by McCrae et al. (2005) found that men tend to be rated as more aggressive than women by those who know them. Examining

two societies, one patriarchal (the Maasai of Tanzania) and one matrilineal (the Khasi of India), Gneezy, Leonard and List (2009) found that men were twice as likely as women to choose competitive environments in the patriarchal society, whereas in the matrilineal society, this tendency was reversed. The women in the matrilineal society not only chose to compete more often than the men in their own society, but were also more competitive than the men in the patriarchal society. The researchers note that these findings are similar to those of studies examining these tendencies in Western cultures.

It should be noted that cross-cultural comparisons of gender differences in aggression may be complicated by the ways in which aggression is expressed from one culture to the next. In a pre-industrialised nation, aggression may be purely physical as individuals compete for dominance, whereas in an industrialised nation, it may manifest as the ruthless pursuit of money and other resources (Geary, 1998). Moreover, because the aggressive warrior role is largely a social construction, in societies that value dominance and aggression in males only, women's opportunities are likely to be restricted to the domestic sphere, and this tendency is exacerbated by the formation of aggressive coalitions in patriarchal societies (Wood & Eagly, 2002).

2.5.1.3   Agreeableness

In their cross-cultural study of Big Five personality traits, Schmitt et al. (2008) found that women tended to be more agreeable than men in the majority of nations examined. However, there is evidence that the magnitude this gender difference varies from one cultural cluster to the next .Schmitt et al. (2003) found larger gender differences in agreeableness in the Americas and Europe, whereas differences were minimal to non-existent in the Middle East, Africa, Asia and Oceania. Further evidence for cultural differences in agreeableness comes from the research of Zahn-Waxler, Friedman, Cole, Mizuta and Hiruma (1996), who

found that there was a significant gender difference (favouring girls) in the likelihood of engaging in prosocial behaviour (a marker for agreeableness) among American children but not Japanese children.

2.5.1.4   Conscientiousness

In their cross-cultural study of Big Five personality traits, Schmitt et al. (2008) found that women tended to be more conscientious than men in the majority of nations examined. However, Schmitt et al., (2003), looking at cultural clusters, found that gender differences in conscientiousness were highest in the Middle East; significant throughout the Americas and Europe; and still evident but less significant in Africa, Oceania and Asia.

2.5.1.5   Creativity

No studies were identified that looked at gender differences creativity on a global scale. However, Kauffman (2006) examined cross-cultural gender differences in creativity within the United States, finding that African-Americans were less gender stereotypical when assessing their own creativity than their European-American counterparts. Creativity was assessed among multiple domains, and the European-American respondents tended to score themselves more highly on gender-stereotypical aspects of creativity, while the African-Americans were less regulated by these stereotypes. This is in keeping with other research showing African-Americans to be more flexible, open-minded and spontaneous than European Americans, who tend to be more structured and regulated (Shade, 1986, cited in Kauffman, 2006). However, because this study used self-report measures and creativity is difficult to define, the results are intriguing but far more research is required to draw any definitive conclusions.

2.5.1.6 Extroversion

In their global study of Big Five personality traits, Schmitt et al. (2008) found that women were more extroverted than men in the majority of nations examined. However, according to the findings of Schmitt et al. (2003), extroversion scores vary significantly by overall cultural region, showing the most significant gender differences in Oceania, the Americas and Europe and minimal to non-existent gender differences in Southern Europe, the Middle East, Africa and Asia. Lynne and Martin (1997), in a study of 37 nations, found that men were more extroverted in most of the nations studied, but there were a number of exceptions including Australia, France, Japan, Mexico and the United States where women were typically more extroverted, and Czechoslovakia, Iceland, Italy and the United Kingdom where there were no significant gender differences in extroversion scores.

2.5.1.7 Intelligence

A study of 34 nations conducted by Nosek et al. (2009) found that national gender stereotypes that associate science with males predict nation-level gender differences in science and math scores. Moreover, research has shown that differences in math scores favouring males disappear in cultures where girls and boys are expected to perform equally well (Guiso et al., 2008), which indicates that gender differences in particular aspects of intelligence are likely a function of culture rather than nature. However, the gender difference in reading skills favouring girls is actually larger in more gender-equal societies (Guiso et al., 2008), so the cause of this difference remains unclear.

Cross-cultural studies within a single nation are even more informative, because the external environment in which the cultural group operates is the same. In the United States, the gender difference in mathematical achievement is highest among white students and insignificant to non-existent among black and Hispanic students (Hyde & Linn, 2006). This

provides further evidence for cultural effects on gender differences in achievements that reflect general intelligence.

2.5.1.8   Openness

In a large multicultural study, men were rated as more open to ideas than women across cultures; however, in a significant minority of nations, women outscored men on measures of openness (McCrae et al. 2005). However, the findings from other cross-cultural studies suggest that women tend to be more open to feelings and men to ideas, on average, in the majority of nations, though not all follow this pattern (Costa et al., 2001; McCrae, 2002). Schmitt et al. (2008) found that men outscored women on openness to experience in thirty-seven cultures, but the results were only statistically significant in eight, and in eighteen cultures, women scored higher on openness to experience than men, though this difference was only statistically significant in four of the cultures.

2.5.1.9   Self-Confidence

Examining cultural and gender differences in self-confidence, Lundeberg, Fox, Brown and Elbedour (2000) found significant cultural effects on confidence but minimal to non-existent gender differences when gender was viewed within a particular cultural context. However, given the dearth of research on this topic, more studies are required to draw any firm conclusions about cross-cultural gender differences in self-confidence.

2.5.2   Review of Leadership Research

Leadership theories have proliferated over the past century, and examining all of them is beyond the scope of this literature review. For the purposes of review, only research based on the most widely accepted and studied leadership theories will be summarised. These

theories focus on traits, behaviours or styles, transformational processes and contingency (situational) aspects of leadership.

2.5.2.1   Trait Leadership Studies

Various studies have sought to identify traits associated with effective leadership. Table 16 lists traits that have been highlighted by multiple studies, placing them in relation to Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) gender role categorisations for comparison. Although various BSRI traits are assigned to each gender role, research has shown that most people's personality profiles do not align with the BSRI stereotype for their gender (Kent & Moss, 1994; Kolb, 1999). However, many people continue to believe that such stereotypes reflect reality, and the majority of BSRI items that match leadership traits are male or androgynous, whereas most negatively associated traits are classified as feminine.

Table 16: Leadership Traits in Relation to BSRI Items

Traits Associated with Leadership	Positively Related BSRI Categorisations	Negatively Related BSRI Categorisations
Adaptability (Stogdill, 1948; Bass, 1990)	• Adaptable – Androgynous	
Adjustment/emotional stability/emotional maturity/stress tolerance (Bass, 1990; Hogan, Curphy & Hogan, 1994; House & Aditya, 1997; Judge et al., 2009; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991; Mann, 1959; Yukl, 1998; Yukl & Van Fleet, 1992)	• Cheerful – Feminine • Happy - Androgynous	• Childlike – Feminine • Moody – Androgynous • Unpredictable – Androgynous

Aggression/dominance (Bass, 1990; Mann, 1959)	• Aggressive – Masculine • Assertive – Masculine • Dominant – Masculine • Forceful – Masculine	• Gentle – Feminine • Soft-Spoken – Feminine • Yielding - Feminine
Traits Associated with Leadership	Positively Related BSRI Categorisations	Negatively Related BSRI Categorisations
Agreeableness/ cooperativeness (Hogan, Curphy & Hogan, 1994; Judge et al., 20009; Stogdill, 1948)	• Eager to Soothe Hurt Feelings – Feminine • Helpful – Androgynous • Sympathetic – Feminine • Tactful - Androgynous • Understanding – Feminine • Yielding – Feminine	• Competitive – Male
Conscientiousness (Arvey et al., 2006; Hogan et al., 1994; Judge et al., 2002; Judge et al., 2009; Tagger, Hackett & Saha, 1999)	• Conscientious – Androgynous • Reliable – Androgynous	
Creativity (Bass, 1990, Daft, 1999)		• Conventional – Androgynous
Drive/ambition/achievement motivation/ achievement orientation (House & Aditya, 1997; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991; Yukl, 1998)	• Ambitious – Masculine	
Extroversion/sociability (Hogan, Curphy & Hogan, 1994; Judge et al., 2009; Lord, De Vader & Alliger, 1986; Mann, 1959; Northouse, 1997; Stogdill, 1948)	• Friendly – Androgynous	• Shy – Feminine

Thus far there have been few attempts to integrate trait theories of leadership with leadership effectiveness in various domains. However, one large meta-analysis was conducted by Derue et al. (2011). Some of their findings are summarised in Table 17 below, which positions certain key leadership traits in relation to specific leadership success domains. Traits are presented in descending order of importance. Those with a significant correlation to a particular leadership success domain appear at the top of each list, whereas those at the bottom are correlated at a minimal level.

Table 17: Relative Importance of Traits to Various Leadership Effectiveness Domains

(Adapted from Derue et al., 2011:29)

Many of the traits identified by Derue et al. (2011) as contributing to effective leadership, such as extroversion, openness to experience and agreeableness, are elements of the modern transformational leadership style. Interestingly, the emotional stability of the leader was negatively correlated with group performance. Also, conscientiousness has a negative relationship with follower satisfaction, both with the job itself and the leader, despite its positive relationship to effective group performance. It is unclear why conscientiousness should be associated with lower follower satisfaction, though perhaps conscientious leaders are more demanding of their followers. However, this is only speculation. The findings regarding conscientiousness have particular relevance for studies of the intersection of gender and leadership, given that women score more highly than men on measures of conscientiousness (Burton, Hafetz and Henninger, 2007; Mueller & Plug, 2006).

2.5.2.2   Behavioural Leadership Studies

A greater proportion of leader efficacy is attributable to the behaviours that comprise overall leadership style than to theoretically innate traits (Derue et al., 2011). Behavioural leadership models include Lewin's triad of autocratic, democratic and laissez faire styles; and Burns' transformational/charismatic leadership (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2007). Both democratic and charismatic leadership share traits in common with transformational leadership, given that the former is people-oriented and collaborative and the latter is highly influential and often visionary. However, transformational leadership has the added dimensions of individualised consideration and the ability to provide intellectual stimulation (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2007).

Active management by exception, a form of transactional leadership, can be considered a weaker variant of autocratic leadership in that the manager does anticipate problems and take corrective action, thus exerting some degree of control (Derue et al., 2011). Transactional or autocratic managers can be differentiated from transformational leaders in that they do not inspire or empower followers.

Leadership styles that are passive and ineffective include laissez-faire, a hands-off style characterised by avoidance of responsibility and critical decision-making (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2007). With passive management by exception, a slightly more involved passive style, the manager intervenes only when problems have become so serious that they can no longer be ignored (Derue et al., 2011). Derue et al. (2011) assert that there are four categories of leader behaviours: Task-oriented, relational, change-promoting and passive. Table 18 below lists the definitions provided by Derue et al. and indicates how these behaviours fit with popular leadership models.

Table 18: Leadership Behavioural Categories

(Adapted from Derue et al., 2011:12-14)

Although the results of many studies suggest that the behaviours associated with transformational leadership are the most effective overall (Bass & Bass, 2008; Derue et al., 2011), not all researchers have found transformational leadership to be superior (Sadler, 1997). Derue et al.'s (2011) meta-analysis, which encompassed 13 prior meta-analyses as well as 46 primary studies, provided a number of insights into the association between leadership behaviours and leadership effectiveness in various domains. Findings are summarised in Table 19 below.

Table 19: The Relative Importance of Leadership Behaviours to Leader Effectiveness

(Adapted from Derue et al., 2011:31)

As can be seen in Table 19, passive styles are consistently correlated with negative outcomes for all leadership efficacy variables, whereas transformational has a consistently high correlation with leadership effectiveness, although contingent-reward leadership behaviours and showing consideration for followers also rank highly for the majority of leadership effectiveness domains. Unsurprisingly, follower satisfaction with leaders is most closely tied to showing consideration and other transformational leadership behaviours. Contingent-reward ranks particularly highly for follower job satisfaction, perhaps because it may be associated with fair compensation for meeting performance targets. Although active

management by exception is positively associated with leadership outcomes, the correlation tends to be quite weak. In other words, it contributes little, if anything, to positive outcomes.

While behaviours have greater predictive value for leader effectiveness than traits, leader behaviours and traits together account for as little as 31% of leadership efficacy overall (Derue et al., 2011), and interpretations of behaviours are to some degree subjective (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2007). This means that behaviours have a somewhat limited utility for predicting leadership effectiveness. Furthermore, transformational leadership, currently in vogue, can be seen as an interactive process of transformative change guided by a visionary, charismatic individual, and thus stands apart from unidirectional leadership models. To examine this process more fully, transformational leadership is addressed separately in the section that follows.

2.5.2.3 Transformational Leadership Studies

When Burns (1978) introduced his concept of transformational leadership, he described it as a process whereby the leader and his or her followers work together to raise motivation and morale. Northouse (2009:171) provides a good synopsis of this process:

> As its name implies, transformational leadership is a process that changes and transforms people. It is concerned with emotions, values, ethics, standards, and long-term goals. It includes assessing followers' motives, satisfying their needs, and treating them as full human beings. Transformational leadership involves an exceptional form of influence that moves followers to accomplish more than what is usually expected of them. It is a process that often incorporates charismatic and visionary leadership.

Northouse (2009) notes that although the transformational leader is the initiator of the process, he or she works together with followers in a democratic manner to bring about positive change. While a transactional leader works within a pre-existing corporate environment, offering rewards to employees who meet key performance targets, the

transformational leader seeks to change the corporate culture altogether to ensure greater fairness and justice.

True transformational leadership is focused upon the collective good. Rather than simply demanding that followers do as they say, transformational leaders act as role models for the changes they wish to initiate, and their goals have a moral or ethical component. Mahatma Ghandi and Martin Luther King are examples of exceptional transformational leaders. Table 20 below lists key traits and behaviours of transformational leaders, as well as their effects on followers.

Table 20: Transformational Leadership Traits, Behaviours and Effects on Followers

(Adapted from Northouse, 2009:174)

According to Bass (1999), transformational leadership gained popularity as social conventions favouring authoritarian systems gave way to flattened hierarchies and a greater willingness to question authority. Key features of the transformational leadership style, which encompasses democratic, egalitarian, participative values, include:

• Idealised influence: Using charisma to influence followers in a positive way

• Intellectual stimulation: Challenging assumptions and encouraging creativity and innovation

- Inspirational motivation: Communicating an organisational vision and optimism in a manner that inspires followers to put forth their best efforts on behalf of group goals

- Individualised consideration: Supporting and coaching followers, and attending to their developmental needs whenever possible

According to Northouse (2009), transformational leaders have high expectations of their followers, and demonstrate great confidence that their followers will be able to meet these expectations. Thus, followers are empowered to exceed their own expectations and develop greater confidence in their own abilities, which in turn leads to even better performance and greater achievements.

There has been a significant amount of transformational leadership research undertaken in recent years. Conclusions drawn from recent studies, including large-scale meta-analyses conducted by Eagly et al. (2003) and Derue et al. (2011), have been compiled for the purposes of this literature review and summarised in Table 21 below.

Table 21: Summary of Transformational Leadership Research Findings

2.5.3 Leadership Studies

2.5.3.1 Situational/Contingency Theory Leadership Studies

Criticism of behavioural and trait theories (particularly the latter) led some theorists to shift their attention to situational factors. Specific criticisms that triggered this shift, according to Chamorro-Premuzic (2007), included the fact that retrospective trait studies did not indicate causality (whether certain traits caused one to rise to a leadership position, or leadership led to the development of these traits). Also, trait research gave no indication as to whether leadership-associated traits were sufficient or necessary for effective leadership. In other words, some critical attributes may not have been identified, and others that were highlighted may not have actually been relevant. Furthermore, many experts in the field felt that characteristics and abilities on their own did not explain variances in leader behaviours and effectiveness. The contingency leadership model arose to address these shortcomings.

Fiedler's contingency model holds that certain leadership styles will be more effective in some contexts than others. Specifically, when the context is favourable to a particular leader's preferred style or set of attributes, that leader will be more influential and effective (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2007). Leaders are bound to be more effective in situations where they have the trust and respect of their followers and control over the distribution of rewards and punishments. In environments where followers are prejudiced against them and they have little power to back up requests and assertions, their efficacy will be limited (Klenke, 2004).

Situational leadership theory, another contextual model that was developed by Hershey and Blanchard (1969), cited in Graeff (1983:285), focuses on the 'task-relevant maturity of subordinates', which comprises psychological maturity (taking responsibility for one's behaviour and work) and occupational maturity (the capacity, experience and/or skills to perform in a given job). A review of the literature conducted by Johansen (1990) found

that research conducted thus far into the efficacy of applied situational leadership theory has yielded mixed results, and the validity and pragmatic utility of the theory remains in question.

Jex and Britt (2008) describe the Vroom-Yetton-Jago model (devised by Vroom and Yetton in 1973, and modified by Vroom and Jago in 1988), a more prescriptive contingency theory that provides guidance for decision-making. Essentially, the theory asserts that leaders will be effective if they use decision-making strategies that are compatible with the situations in which they operate. It encompasses a number of decision-making styles ranging from the most democratic (group consensus) to the most unilateral (solitary decision-making). In order to choose the most appropriate decision-making style, the leader must analyse a number of variables, some focused on subordinate characteristics (such as the degree to which followers support the goals of the organisation and whether or not their acceptance of a given decision is required for implemenation) and aspects of the decision-making process itself (information available to make the decision, the level of decision quality required). All in all, there are eight situational attributes that must be taken into account when choosing a decision-making style. Thus, the model is quite complicated. Although some research has supported the Vroom-Yetton-Jago model, Jex and Britt (2008:321) caution that such studies have relied upon the retrospective recollections of managers regarding their decision-making processes. The authors note that more recent studies that did not rely on retrospection 'have provided more limited support for the theory'.

Another popular contingency theory is path-goal theory. According to Northouse (2009), path-goal theory places the contextual emphasis on followers and asserts that the effectiveness of a leader depends on the ability to meet the motivational needs of his or her subordinates. Therefore, the leaders whose styles match those most desired by their subordinates will have the greatest efficacy. A good leader will provide what is missing in a particular work environment (rewards, information, etc.) and remove any obstacles to

follower success. Thus, follower characteristics determine the likelihood that a particular leader will be successful. While lauded for its focus on practicality, path-goal theory has also been criticised for its complexity, given the large number of leadership aspects that must be taken into account and the fact that empirical studies have provided only partial support for the theory.

An additional theory that has relevance from a contingency perspective is the social identity theory of leadership, which posits that followers prefer a leader who not only possesses generic traits associated with effective leadership, but also prototypical traits for the group. In other words, followers are more inclined to support a leader who they believe is like them (Gaffney & Blaylock, 2010). According to Northouse (2009), this theory, introduced by Hogg (2001), suggests that the leadership prototype develops in conjunction with the identity of the follower group. The more similar a leader is to this prototype, the greater his or her attractiveness and influence is likely to be with that particular group.

Power is a key situational factor for leadership success, because without it, a leader will be unable to influence his or her followers. Thus, power features prominently in the majority of situational leadership theories. According to Northouse (2009), there are five bases of power:

- Referent: Followers identify with and like their leader.

- Expert: Followers believe that their leader is competent and knowledgeable.

- Legitimate: The leader has formal status and authority.

- Reward: The leader has the capacity to reward followers for desired performance.

- Coercive: The leader has the capacity to punish followers for failing to meet standards.

The first two powers are based on subjective perceptions of leadership characteristics and abilities, whereas the latter arise from objective factors. Leaders who lack these powers will

lack influence and have a reduced likelihood of success, regardless of actual abilities, knowledge or general competence. Thus, situational favourability can be seen as contingent upon the bases of power that a leader has at his or her disposal within a given context.

2.5.3.2   Summary of Leadership Study Findings

A large meta-analysis conducted by Derue et al. (2011) found that the traits most critical to leader effectiveness, group performance and follower satisfaction are the tendency to show consideration, agreeableness and extroversion, whereas passive behaviours are strongly correlated with ineffective leadership. Extroversion and agreeableness are both associated with transformational leadership in particular (Judge & Bono, 2000).

Of the various leadership styles identified, transformational leadership appears to be the most effective (Bass & Bass, 2008; Derue et al., 2011). This style, favoured by younger managers (Doherty, 1997) and women (Eagly et al., 2003), has been shown to provide increased effectiveness and follower satisfaction across various job fields and cultures (Muenjohn & Armstrong, 2007).

A number of leadership experts believe that leadership theories which focus on traits or behaviours are of limited utility because they fail to take contextual variables into account. They assert that a particular leadership trait, behaviour or style may be more effective in one setting than another. This critique of traditional theories has given rise to a number of new contingency leadership models, though empirical research into the validity and usefulness of these models has yielded mixed results thus far (Jex & Britt, 2008; Johansen, 1990; Northouse, 2009).

2.5.4   Review of Research into the Intersection of Gender and Leadership

There has been a significant amount of research conducted into the intersection of gender and leadership, with the majority of studies focused on leadership traits, behaviours and styles. However, there have also been a number of interesting studies conducted to examine situational effects and assessment biases that may impact the performance and evaluation of women in leadership roles. In addition, surveys have yielded insights into the public's assumptions about leaders of each gender. The sections that follow cover gender differences in actual and assumed leadership traits, styles and behaviours; situational and contingency effects on leadership that interact with gender effects; and differences in leader evaluation based on gender.

2.5.4.1 Gender and Leadership Trait Studies

A number of studies have been undertaken to examine gender differences in leadership-associated traits. Findings from this research are summarised below.

Adaptability

The majority of studies of gender differences in leadership that have included measures of adaptability and its markers (comfort with change, willingness to consider new approaches and flexibility) have found female leaders to be more adaptable (Sexton & Bowman-Upton, 1990; Caliper, 2005; Cavallo & Brienza, 2002; Van Keer, Bogaert & Trbovic, 2009). However, Kabacoff (1998) found that male organisational leaders tended to be more adaptable and Kotrba & Guidroz (2010) found that whether male or female leaders were more adaptable depended on their fields.

Adjustment

Studies of gender differences in adjustment and its positive markers (emotional stability and emotional self-awareness) and negative markers (anxiety, excitability, neuroticism and apprehensiveness) have yielded mixed results. Fietze, Holst and Tobsch

(2009) and Van Keer et al. (2009) found male leaders to have better overall adjustment scores, Musson (2001) and Cavallo and Brienza (2001) found in favour of women on this measure and others have found no significant gender differences for this trait (Berry, Nealon & Pluess, 2008; CDR Assessment Group, 2008; Envick & Langford, 2003). Nearly all of these studies focused solely on European, Australian and North American business and religious leaders; only the research of Cavallo and Brienza (2002) was global in scope.

Aggression and Dominance

Research conducted thus far has not supported the stereotype that male leaders are more aggressive and dominant. Kabacoff's (1998) study of North American organisational leaders in various fields and Musson's (2001) study of religious leaders in Europe both found female leaders to be more dominant, on average, while Melamed and Bozionelos' (1992) study of European managers found no significant gender differences on this measure. Berry et al. (2008) found that male managers and executives in Australia tended to be more aggressive and more inclined to favour a control-and-command style. However, a meta-analysis conducted by Eagly et al. (2003) found that men were more likely to adopt passive management by exception and laissez-faire leadership styles, both of which are arguably the opposite of dominant and aggressive. Also worth noting is the research of Wu and Minor (1997), which found that female managers in the United States were more inclined to be aggressive than their counterparts in Japan and Taiwan, suggesting a cultural interaction for gender differences in aggression.

Agreeableness

Agreeableness is among the few traits for which research findings have typically supported gender stereotypes. In many studies, female leaders have scored higher on measures of agreeableness and its positive markers such as cooperativeness, empathy, interpersonal skills, sensitivity, compromise, consensus-building, helpfulness and

supportiveness (Berry et al., 2008; Caliper, 2005; Fietze et al., 2009; Fridkin & Kenney, 2009; Groves, 2009). However, Kabacoff's (1998) study of organisational leaders in North America found male leaders to be more agreeable, on average, and Cavallo and Brienza's (2002) global study of managers found no significant gender differences. This is in keeping with other research showing that gender differences tend to be more pronounced in Western nations than in the rest of the world (Schmitt et al., 2003). The incorporation of a broader range of cultures within Cavallo and Brienza's (2002) research may have smoothed out average gender differences. Also worth noting is Van Keer et al.'s (2009) study of Australian executives and managers, which found that although female managers were more agreeable than male managers, they were less agreeable than male and female non-executives. In one of the few gender difference studies conducted in non-Western nations, Al-Dabbagh (2008) found that female leaders in Saudi Arabia were more likely than their male counterparts to adopt a cooperative, transformational style.

Conscientiousness

Studies of religious leaders, managers and entrepreneurs (small business leaders) in Western nations have yielded mixed results with regard to gender differences in conscientiousness. However, several studies have found male leaders to be more conscientious, including Musson's (2001) study of European religious leaders, Envick and Langford's (2003) study of North American entrepreneurs, Berry et al.'s (2008) study of Australian managers and Van Keer et al.'s (2009) study of European executives (though the latter study found female non-leaders to be more conscientious than male non-leaders). On the other hand, Cavallo and Brienza's (2002) global study found female managers to be more conscientious, as did Fietze et al.'s (2009) study of European executives. A large meta-analysis conducted by Eagly et al. (2003) found that men were more likely to adopt non-

conscientious management styles such as passive management-by-exception and laissez faire, though the researchers did not examine conscientiousness directly.

Creativity

Research examining creativity differences among leaders has also yielded mixed results. Studies conducted by Caliper (2005) and Berry et al., (2008) found female leaders to be more innovative in North America, Europe and Australia. However, Van Keer et al. (2009) found male executives to be more innovative. As with many other leadership trait studies, this creativity research was conducted in Western nations, so it provides no insight into gender-based creativity differences among leaders in non-Western countries.

Drive/Ambition/Achievement Motivation

In keeping with gender stereotypes, Clark, Hadley and Darcy (1989) and Fulton et al., (2006) found male North American political leaders to be more ambitious. However, Fulton et al. (2006) attribute this gender difference to the fact that the women had more childcare responsibilities. In studies of managers, researchers have either found females to be more ambitious (Berry et al., 2008; Van Keer et al., 2009) or no significant gender differences (Catalyst, 2004; Cavallo & Brienza, 2002), though the Institute of Leadership & Management (2010) did find males managers to be more ambitious. However, like Fulton et al. (2006), the researchers attributed the gender disparity to differences in childcare responsibilities. Also worth noting is that once again, the sole international study conducted by Cavallo and Brienza (2002) found no significant gender differences in ambition, which is in keeping with the findings of prior research indicating that gender differences tend to be larger in Western nations (Schmitt et al., 2003).

Extroversion

Many researchers have studied extroversion and its positive markers (sociability, risk taking, communication and assertiveness) and negative markers (a reserved interactional

style) among leaders, though with the exception of Cavallo and Brienza's (2002) global study, all of this research has taken place in Western nations. Some researchers have found no significant gender differences among leaders for this trait (Envick & Langord, 1988; Kabacoff, 1998; Masters & Meier, 1988; Melamed & Bozionelos, 1992) while others have found in favour of men (Fietze et al., 2009; Musson, 2001; Sexton & Bowman-Upton, 1990) or women (Berry et al., 2008; Caliper, 2005; Cavallo & Brienza, 2002; Craig, Francis & Robbins, 2004; Van Keer et al., 2009). Overall, the results are far from clear and provide no insight into cultural influences on this trait.

Intelligence

Unsurprisingly, few researchers have chosen to address the socio-politically contentious topic of gender differences in intelligence among leaders. However, Melamed and Bozionelos (1992) found no significant gender differences in intelligence among European managers. This is in keeping with research indicating that gender differences in intelligence among the general population are negligible to non-existent (American Psychological Association, 1996; Baumeister, 2001; Colom et al., 2002; Hedges & Nowell, 1995).

Integrity

The few studies that have been conducted to examine integrity among managers and political leaders have typically found no gender differences among leaders on markers for integrity such as ethical perceptions, trustworthiness and honesty (Cavallo & Brienza, 2002; Kidwell, Reingold, 2009; Stevens, & Bethke, 1987), despite stereotypes favouring women for this trait. However, Fridkin and Kenney (2009) did find female senators in North America to be more honest, and Deshpande, Joseph and Maximov (2000) found that Russian female managers scored more highly on measures of integrity than their male counterparts.

Openness to Experience

Research examining openness to experience and its positive markers (willingness to consider new approaches and openness to change) and negative markers (conservatism, cautiousness and a preference for established routines) among leaders has found that females tend to score higher for this trait than males (Berry et al, 2008; Caliper, 2005; Envick & Langford, 2003; Fietze et al., 2009; Musson, 2001; Van Keer et al., 2009). However, a study of North American organisational leaders that was conducted by Kabacoff (1998) yielded mixed results, with males scoring higher for conservatism but also for comfort with change and willingness to consider new approaches. It is likely that the slightly different markers used to define openness by various researchers affected the outcomes of their studies, given that openness is a trait that is potentially broader in scope, vaguer and more difficult to define than more straightforward traits such as extroversion or conscientiousness. The only study examining openness among leaders in non-Western cultures was the research of Wu and Minor (1997), which found that female managers in Taiwan and Japan tended to be more conservative and traditional.

Self-Confidence/Self-Efficacy

The likelihood of finding gender differences among leaders for the trait of self-confidence varies according to the descriptors used. Studying self-confidence specifically, a number of researchers have found no significant gender differences (Cavallo & Brienza, 2002; Chusmir & Koberg, 1991; Chusmir, Koberg & Stecher, 1992; Melamed & Bozionelos, 1992). When risk-taking was used as a marker of self-confidence, Masters and Meier (1988) found no significant gender differences, Sexton and Bowman-Upton (1990) and Carland et al. (1995) found that males tended to score higher on this measure and Berry et al. (2009) found in favour of female leaders. Van Keer et al. (2009), evaluating social confidence and decisiveness, also found in favour of female leaders.

Table 22 Summary of Leadership Gender Differences Identified by Past Research

Trait	Gender Differences Suggested by the Majority of Past Studies
Adaptability	Female leaders tend to be more adaptable
Adjustment	Mixed results*
Aggression/Dominance	Female leaders may be more aggressive and dominant
Agreeableness	Female leaders tend to be more agreeable and cooperative
Conscientiousness	Mixed results
Creativity	Mixed results
Drive/Ambition/Achieve-ment Motivation	Mixed results, slightly favouring male leaders overall
Extroversion	Mixed results
General Intelligence	No difference
Integrity	No difference
Openness to Experience	Female leaders tend to be more open to experience
Self-Confidence/Self-Efficacy	Mixed results

*In cases where there has been no clear majority of results in favour of one gender or the other, the findings are identified as mixed results.

2.5.4.2   Gender Differences Leadership Styles and Behaviours

While some researchers have chosen to focus on individual traits, others have looked at overall styles and behaviours. The findings from these studies suggest that female leaders may be more inclined to manifest certain behaviours and styles than their male counterparts, though how much of this is attributable to nature and how much to socialisation and context is difficult to determine. Eagly and Johnson (1990) conducted a large meta-analysis, finding that that men were more likely to engage in autocratic, task-oriented leadership behaviours, whereas women were more inclined to adopt democratic, interpersonally-oriented leadership styles when studies were conducted in laboratories or made use of students or employees who

were not in leadership roles. However, when studies of actual leaders were conducted within the organisations in which they led, gender differences in task-oriented and interpersonal behaviours virtually disappeared, though the greater tendency toward democratic behaviours in women and autocratic behaviours in men was maintained. The researchers attribute this reduction in gender differences within natural organisational settings to the fact that leaders in such contexts were likely selected based on similar criteria.

A meta-analysis conducted by Eagly et al. (2003) indicated that women are more inclined to adopt transformational leadership styles and engage in contingent-reward behaviours (providing rewards when employees meet performance expectations), a facet of transactional leadership. However, they found that male leaders were more likely to engage in certain other transactional leadership behaviours, such as dealing with failures to meet performance standards and errors (active management by exception) or intervening only when problems had become too severe to ignore (passive management by exception). Men were also more inclined to be frequently absent and avoid all leadership responsibilities (laissez-faire leadership). However, it should be noted that these differences were relatively small.

Eagly and Carli (2003) cite a number of strengths associated with the Eagly et al. (2003) study. First, the results are unlikely to be attributable to publication bias, given that many unpublished studies were used in the meta-analysis. Second, the findings probably did not result from women being placed in different (less powerful) leadership roles than their male counterparts because the effects did not differ between studies in which leaders of both genders held the same leadership roles and those where leaders held a broad array of positions in various organisations. Third, although there is evidence that male and female leaders are evaluated differently, this study made use of rating scales that were behaviourally anchored (assessed the frequency of relevant behaviours) rather than relying on the use of

adjective ratings scales (which are inclined to produce more subjective results). Therefore, the findings for slight gender differences in leadership behaviours are probably valid.

2.5.4.3   Assumed Gender Differences in Leadership Traits, Skills and Behaviours

Research has shown that gender stereotypes – beliefs that men and women are inclined to manifest certain traits and not others – tend to be automatically activated (Eagly & Carli, 2003). According to Moran (1992), studies conducted several decades ago indicated that people perceived men to be more competent. Furthermore, they assumed that male and female attributes represented a set of polar opposites, and those who fell in the middle of this spectrum were maladjusted. Women were perceived as warmer than men, but the leadership ideal of the era was a tough individual lacking in warmth – a masculine stereotype. Thus, in the past it was believed that for women to be effective leaders, they had to be rare aberrations – women who manifested a masculine set of traits. However, with the rising popularity of the transformational leadership model, a variety of traits once deemed feminine have now come to be associated with effective leadership.

Despite the shift toward a valuing certain stereotypically feminine behaviours such as the tendency to show consideration and lead in a democratic manner, gender stereotypes have been remarkably resilient (Pew Research Center, 2008, Tahmincioglu, 2008). As a result, women may be excluded from stereotypically masculine leadership roles due to the perception that they lack the required traits. Interestingly, although recent surveys indicate that women possess many of the qualities currently desired for leadership roles (and are often rated more highly than men for these qualities), many people still prefer male leaders. One particularly noteworthy survey illustrating this paradox was undertaken by the Pew Research Center in 2008.

The Pew Research Center (2008) conducted a large-scale survey to gather information about public perceptions of gender differences in leadership traits and abilities. The focus of

this particular survey was political leadership, but the traits examined are applicable to any leadership position, and the skills, although specific to the U.S. presidency, can be seen as representing certain key leadership traits as well. Results of the survey are summarised in Table 23 below. Note that these are not actual traits exhibited by leaders of each gender, but rather, what the public believes about male and female leaders. Percentages do not add up to 100% because a portion of those surveyed answered that they either felt leaders of both genders were equally likely to manifest a given trait or they were unsure. For the skills category, associated trait descriptors have been added to show connections to traits of interest for this study.

Table 23 Assumed Leadership Traits and Skills by Gender

(Adapted from the Pew Research Center, 2008)

In the Pew Research Center (2008) survey, women outscored men on the majority of positive leadership traits, with the exceptions of hardworking and ambitious, which generated equivalent scores, and decisive, for which men came out ahead. Also in keeping with stereotypes was the significant difference in compassion scores favouring women. As for negative traits, the public perceived men as more arrogant and stubborn, and women as more manipulative, again in keeping with gender stereotypes. For political skills (which are representative of a variety of leadership traits), women came out ahead on the ability to establish compromises, integrity in leadership and representing the interests of followers (a sign of consideration). They were also believed to be better equipped to handle social issues, perhaps due to the perception that they are more compassionate and do better in caretaking roles. They even came out ahead for having the courage and integrity to stand up for their beliefs. However, in areas that could be seen as reflecting dominance, toughness and assertiveness such as dealing with crime and national security, they received low scores compared to men.

Although women outscored men on a number of individual leadership traits in the Pew Research Center (2008) survey, a greater proportion of the public (21%) said that men make better leaders than women (just 6% said that women make better leaders than men). However, 69% felt that both genders could be equally competent leaders, and the remainder were unsure. This disparity between perceived leadership traits and perceived leadership

ability suggests that people may be biased against female leaders regardless of actual traits or performance. This bias is also evident in the fact that voters tend to assume that female politicians are warm, kind and friendly, whereas they perceive male politicians as strong, dominant, independent and aggressive (Gaffney & Blaylock, 2010).

Tahmincioglu (2008) reports on the results of another survey, conducted jointly by MSNBC and *Elle*. This survey of 60,000 people found that stereotypes regarding leaders of each gender persist despite increasing equality. As with the Pew Research Center survey, of those who expressed a gender preference for leaders, the majority (41% of males and 33% of females) believed that men make better leaders. Furthermore, approximately one-third of those of either gender said that they would prefer to work for a man, whereas just 13% preferred a female manager. Interestingly, three-quarters of the women who expressed a gender preference indicated that they would prefer to work for a male boss rather than a female boss, which shows that it is not only men who hold negative gender stereotypes about women. Stereotypical female trait descriptors that appeared in the survey included bitchy, catty, emotional, gossipy and moody, though women were rated highly on their problem-solving abilities and the capacity to establish supportive work environments. Many respondents also felt that female bosses would lack the power to help them ascend through the ranks.

Despite the stereotypes identified by the MSNBC/*Elle* survey, it is worth noting that 54% of those surveyed had no gender preference for a leader. Furthermore, those who had actually worked for female managers were more likely to state a preference for female bosses, as were workers under 30 years of age (Tahmincioglu, 2008). This suggests that attitudes are slowly changing as more people gain experience with female leaders. Also worth noting is that as women have increasingly taken up formerly male-dominated leadership roles, their self-reported assertiveness and dominance; their desire for challenge, power and

freedom; and their propensity to take risks have all increased dramatically (Eagly & Carli, 2003).

Overall, the results of recent surveys indicate that despite the progress that has been made, gender stereotypes that impact perceptions of leader efficacy persist. This is evident in the fact that male followers are still more inclined to evaluate female leaders as lacking in key traits such as ambition, authoritativeness, objectivity and firmness, and to state that they are timid, passive, nervous, shy, deceitful, quarrelsome, uncertain, hasty, prone to procrastination or desperate for acceptance (Brackert, 2004).

A number of studies have been conducted to examine assumptions about gender differences in leadership-associated traits. Findings from these studies are summarised as follows.

Adaptability

Self-ratings of adaptability are higher for women leaders in fields that are considered feminine and male leaders in fields considered masculine (Kotrba & Guidroz, 2010), which suggests that people expect to be more effective as leaders in stereotypically gender-congruent fields, despite a lack of evidence supporting this assumption. In fact, many studies have found that female leaders tend to be more adaptable overall (Caliper, 2007; Cavallo & Brienza, 2002; Sexton & Bowman-Upton, 1990; Van Keer et al., 2009); more adaptable in the workplace in general (O'Connel, McNeely & Hall, 2008); and more likely to adopt a transformational leadership style (Eagly et al., 2003), which incorporates adaptability.

Adjustment

Assumptions about the emotional adjustment of leaders conform to the stereotype that women are less emotionally stable than men. Surveys incorporating positive adjustment markers such as relaxed, mature, optimistic, self-aware, emotionally stable and calm in a

crisis, as well as negative adjustment markers such as anxious, moody and emotional, have found consistently in favour of men when looking at assumptions rather than actual leader traits (Accenture, 2007; Pew Research Center, 2008; Prentice & Carranza, 2002; Sumer, 2006; Tahmincioglu – *Elle*/MSNBC.com, 2007). However, studies focused on actual rather than assumed traits and behaviours have yielded mixed results, with some finding in favour of men (Fietze et al., 2009; Van Keer et al., 2009), others in favour of women (Cavallo & Brienza, 2002, Musson, 2001) and still others identifying no significant gender differences (Berry et al., 2008; CDR Assessment Group, 2008; Envick & Langford, 2003).

Aggression/Dominance

Assumptions about leader aggression and dominance clearly favour men in accordance with popular stereotypes. Surveys have shown that most people believe male leaders are more controlling, authoritative, aggressive, strong, tyrannical and decisive (Accenture, 2007; Escandon & Kamungi, 2008; Johnson et al., 2008; Pew Research Center, 2008; Prentice & Carranza, 2002). However, studies of actual leader behaviours indicate that the situation may be more complex. A large meta-analysis conducted by Eagly et al. (2003) yielded mixed results regarding gender differences in aggression and dominance. Moreover, although some researchers have found men to be more aggressive and dominant in leadership roles (Berry et al., 2008), others have found females to score higher for this trait on average (Kabacoff, 1998; Musson, 2001) and still others have found no significant gender differences (Melamed & Bozionelos, 1992). Given that both Kabacoff's (1998) and Musson's (2001) studies focused on religious leadership, it is possible that their findings are anomalous to religious leaders. On the other hand, the meta-analysis conducted by Eagly et al. (2003) found that men were more likely to adopt passive leadership styles, which are arguably the opposite of dominant and aggressive styles.

Agreeableness/Cooperativeness

Surveys have consistently shown that people expect female leaders to be more agreeable as evidenced by social skills (Petrides & Furnham, 2000), cooperativeness (DiTomaso & Farris, 2002; Prentice & Carranza, 2002), generosity, helpfulness, likeability, humbleness, respectfulness, politeness (Prentice & Carranza, 2002), relationship-orientation (Sumer, 2006), appreciativeness, concern for others' well-being, consensus-orientation (Accenture, 2007) and compassion (Pew Research Center, 2008). They also expect male leaders to have more negative markers for agreeableness such as a self-serving approach, social ineptitude (Prentice & Carranza, 2002), stubbornness and arrogance (Pew Research Center, 2008). However, although some studies of actual leader traits and behaviours support the stereotypes of women being more cooperative (Kabacoff, 1998; Van Keer et al., 2009), empathic, interpersonally skilled (Caliper, 2005), sensitive (Berry, 2008), socially and emotionally adept (Groves, 2009), caring (Fridkin & Kenney, 2009) and generally agreeable (Fietze et al., 2008), others have found no significant gender differences among leaders for this trait (Cavallo & Brienza, 2002; Reingold, 2009).

Conscientiousness

For conscientiousness, both stereotypes and assumptions strongly favour women. Many surveys have shown that people believe female leaders are more conscientious in general (Accenture, 2007; Prentice & Carranza, 2002), hardworking (Accenture, 2007; Pew Research Center, 2008; Prentice & Carranza, 2002), dependable and perfectionist (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). Male leaders, by contrast, are assumed to be more forgetful and lazy (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). However, although some studies of actual leader traits and behaviours have supported the popular assumption about greater female conscientiousness (Cavallo & Brienza, 2002; Eagly et al., 2003; Fietze et al., 2009), others have found in favour

of men for this trait (Berry et al., 2008; Envick & Langford, 2003; Musson, 2001; Van Keer et al., 2009).

Creativity

The Pew Research Center (2008) survey, which focused on North American political leaders, found that people believe female political leaders are more creative. This is in keeping with studies of actual leader traits finding in favour of women leaders for this trait (Berry et al., 2008; Caliper, 2005), though some researchers have found male leaders to be more innovative (Van Keer et al., 2009). Non-leader studies have typically shown no significant gender differences in general creativity scores (Barron & Harrington, 1981; Saeki, et al., 2001; Shi et al.; Wang et al., 1998).

Drive/Ambition/Achievement Motivation

Female leaders are assumed to be less ambitious than their male counterparts (Escandon & Kamungi, 2008) or equally ambitious (Pew Research Center, 2008). These findings are in keeping with those of research examining actual leader traits, as some researchers have found male leaders to be more ambitious (Clark et al., 1989; Fox, 2003; Fulton et al., 2006; Institute of Leadership and Management, 2010) or no significant gender differences in ambition (Catalyst, 2004; Cavallo & Brienza, 2002). However, other studies have found female managers to be more ambitious than their male counterparts (Berry et al., 2008; Van Keer et al., 2009).

Extroversion

Some surveys have found that male leaders are assumed to be more extroverted (Prentice & Carranza), while others indicate that the majority believe female leaders are more extroverted (Pew Research Center, 2008). These conflicting findings mirror those of research

into actual leadership behaviours, many of which have found no significant gender differences in sociability (Envick & Langford, 1998; Kabacoff, 1998; Melamed & Bozionelos, 1992) while some have found in favour of women (Berry et al., 2008; Caliper, 2005; Cavallo & Brienza, 2002; Craig et al., 2004; Van Keer et al., 2009) and still others in favour of men (Fietze et al., 2009; Musson, 2001; Sexton & Bowman-Upton, 1990) for this trait.

Intelligence

The findings from surveys conducted in North America suggest that people believe female leaders are more intelligent on average (Pew Research Center, 2008; Prentice & Carranza, 2002), while a global survey found that people believe there are no significant gender differences in intelligence among leaders (Accenture, 2007). Research examining actual intelligence has found no significant gender differences among leaders (Melamed & Bozionelos, 1992) or the general public (American Psychological Association, 1996; Baumeister, 2001; Colom, et al., 2002; Hedges & Newell, 1991) for this trait.

Integrity

Surveys indicate that female leaders are assumed to be more honest (Pew Research Center, 2008; Prentice & Carranza 2002), trustworthy (Escandon & Kamungi, 2008) and generally ethical (Accenture, 2007), while male leaders are perceived as more likely to be corrupt (Escandon & Kamungi, 2008) and manipulative (Pew Research Center, 2008). However, many studies of actual leader ethics and behaviours have shown no significant gender differences in integrity (Cavallo & Brienza, 2002; Kidwell et al., 1987; Reingold, 2009). In fact, just one study was identified that found in favour of female political leaders in terms of honesty (Fridkin & Kenney, 2009), which suggests that the assumption about women being more ethical in leadership positions may be unfounded.

Openness to Experience

Surveys indicate that the public believes female leaders are more open to experience in terms of broader interests and general open-mindedness (Prentice & Carranza, 2002), while male leaders are perceived as more conservative, prejudiced, traditional and typical (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). The assumption about greater openness among female leaders is supported by past research in which female leaders have typically outscored males on measures of openness (Caliper, 2005; Envick & Langford, 2003; Fietze et al., 2009; Kabacoff, 1998; Magee & Hojat, 1998; Musson, 2001; Van Keer et al., 2009), while males have scored higher on measures of cautiousness, adherence to established routines (Caliper, 2007) and general conservatism (Kabacoff, 1998), though one study found that male leaders were more likely to consider new approaches and be comfortable with change in general (Kabacoff, 1998).

Self-Confidence/Self-Efficacy

Surveys indicate that the majority believe male leaders are more confident (German Consulting Group, 2005; Escandon & Kamungi, 2008), decisive (Pew Research Center, 2008), risk-taking and assertive (German Consulting Group, 2005). However, on measures of self-confidence/self-efficacy and their markers, female leaders have received higher scores in several studies (Berry et al., 2008; Caliper, 2005; Van Keer et al., 2009), though a couple of studies have found in favour of males (Carland et al., 1995; Sexton & Bowman-Upton, 1990). However, many studies have found no significant gender differences for this trait (Cavallo & Brienza, 2002; Chusmir & Koberg, 1991; Chusmir et al., 1992; Masters & Meier, 1988; Melamed & Bozionelos, 1992).

Overall, there appears to be a significant mismatch between beliefs about gender differences in self-confidence and the traits of actual leaders. Differences in assumed and

actual leader confidence may be partially attributable to the different markers used to define this trait. For example, some researchers have looked directly at self-confidence while others have focused on risk taking, assertiveness or boldness. This discrepancy may also arise either from a belief in an incorrect gender stereotype or from selection bias (confident women may be more likely to ascend to leadership positions, thus skewing the results of studies focusing on this leadership trait).

Table 24: Assumptions versus Actual Gender Differences in Leadership Traits

Trait	Actual Leaders	Assumptions
Adaptability	Female leaders tend to be more adaptable.	Assumptions depend on the particular field of work.
Adjustment	Studies have yielded mixed results, some favouring women, some favouring men and some finding no significant differences.	People assume that male leaders have better emotional adjustment.
Aggression/ Dominance	Research findings have favoured women or found no gender difference.	People assume that males are more aggressive and dominant.
Agreeableness/ Cooperativeness	Studies have found females to be more agreeable and cooperative or have identified no significant gender difference for this trait.	People typically assume that female leaders are more agreeable and cooperative.
Conscientiousnes s	Studies have yielded mixed results.	Most believe that female leaders are more conscientious.
Creativity	Studies have yielded mixed results.	People believe that female leaders are more creative.
Drive/ Ambition/ Achievement Motivation	Studies have yielded mixed results.	People assume that males are more ambitious or that there is no difference.

Extroversion	Studies have yielded mixed results, though the majority have favoured women for this trait or found no significant gender difference.	Surveys have yielded mixed results, though assumptions slightly favour male leaders overall.
General Intelligence	Research indicates that there are no significant gender differences in intelligence.	People tend to assume that female leaders are more intelligent or that there is no difference.
Integrity	Most studies have found no significant gender differences in leader integrity.	People assume that female leaders have greater integrity while male leaders are more likely to be corrupt.
Openness to Experience	Female leaders tend to be more open to experience.	People assume that female leaders are more open to experience.
Self-Confidence/Self-Efficacy	Studies have yielded mixed results, with the majority finding no significant gender difference.	People assume that male leaders are more confident.

2.5.5 The influence of Gender on Leadership

2.5.5.1 Situational/Contingency Effects on Leadership Efficacy by Gender

Situational variables include characteristics of both followers and the organisation in which a leader operates. Situational/contingency models of leadership take into account the fact these contextual variables can significantly impact a leader's effectiveness (Hoy & Miskel, 1987). The two situational/contingency theories that have the greatest relevance for examining the intersection of gender and leadership are Fiedler's contingency model and path-goal theory.

According to Klenke (2004), a key element of Fiedler's contingency leadership model is situational favourability – how favourable or unfavourable an organisational context is to a particular leader. Components of favourability include the following:

• Group atmosphere/leader-follower relations: The level of confidence, trust and respect followers have for a given leader

- Task structure: Whether the task is a routine undertaking with clearly specified features and defined goals, or is ambiguous and unclear, both to the leader and his or her followers

5. Position power: How much authority the leader has to enforce compliance and encourage optimum performance through the administration of rewards and punishments

Research indicates that female leaders are disadvantaged in all three aspects of favourability. They are less likely to have the confidence and trust of their followers because many people believe that they lack the qualities associated with effective leadership (Brackert, 2004). Furthermore, they are usually liked or respected less than their male counterparts, regardless of performance (Rothwell, 2009). Thus, they are more likely to be operating within hostile environments. As for task structure, women often ascend to leadership positions in times of difficulty when task structures are likely to be unfavourable and the likelihood of success relatively slim (Bruckmüller & Branscombe, 2010).

Power is perhaps the most critical element for a leader's success because those with power have a greater ability to influence followers and achieve goals (Fiedler & Garcia, 1987). Because they are considered less likely to possess the attributes required for effective leadership, women tend to have less power than their male counterparts in corporate contexts (Kray, 2007; Unger, 2001). As a result, they are operating at a significant disadvantage. This effect is also seen in the political sphere. In Nigeria, for example, female members of political parties were not seen as possessing the qualities required for leadership. Instead, they were relegated to supporting roles 'clapping, dancing, and cooking for the men' during political rallies and meetings (Akinboye & Adeleke, 2004:31). Although there has been some evidence of change in the nation in recent years, the political playing field is far from level for women in Nigeria (Akinboye & Adeleke, 2004).

Eagly and Carli (2003) note that recent changes in the contexts in which most leaders operate have corresponded with an increase in the number of female corporate and political leaders. A major aspect of this changing context has been the widespread shift to holding transformational rather than autocratic leadership as the ideal. In the past, a leader's authority came primarily from his access to military, political or economic power. Today, hierarchies are flatter and power is more often wielded collaboratively. In contrast to the single, dominant leader of the past who commanded through intimidation, there is now a strong emphasis on supporting, empowering and engaging workers. Today's leader is more akin to a teacher or coach than a dictator who acts unilaterally. The old command-and-control style that was characterised by the accumulation of power and an aggressive assertion of authority continues to fall further out of fashion as studies increasingly support the transformational model as the most effective leadership style. However, studies identifying a shift to transformational leadership have taken place largely in developed Western nations, so their findings may not reflect the situation in developing non-Western nations.

The command-and-control style is still favoured in many nations, including Nigeria. The nation has a legacy of military rule, which has left a lasting impact (Akinboye, 1998). Today, gaining leadership positions within Nigeria's government is perceived as a way in which to gain control rather than to coordinate, cooperate and guide the Nigerian people toward a better future (Akinboye, 2006). The rise of transformational leadership in many nations suggests a need to revisit path-goal theory, a situational model. The premise of this theory is that a leader's effectiveness relies upon his or her ability to motivate followers by meeting their needs. In particular, an effective leader is one who can address the unmet needs of followers by supplying the information, rewards or other elements that they desire and smooth their path to success (Northouse, 2009). This model shares elements in common with transformational leadership theory, which emphasises support, individualised consideration

and the provision of intellectual stimulation. With its focus on follower characteristics, path-goal theory could potentially have positive or negative implications for women. On one hand, women are seen as better able to provide a supportive work environment. On the other hand, many people still express concerns that female managers may lack the power and authority to support their successful ascension through the ranks (Tahmincioglu, 2008).

Differences in assessment regardless of performance could also be considered a situational variable, and there is evidence suggesting that men and women may be operating within different evaluative environments. This issue is examined in the section that follows.

2.5.5.2 Gender Differences in Leader Evaluation

Research into gender bias in evaluation has yielded the following insights. First, people tend to attribute the successes of men to skill and women's successes to luck (Stelter, 2004). As a result, people may assume that a female leader who has been effective in the past will not perform well in the future, or in other situations. Second, when men and women are equally effective in leadership roles, women still receive less favourable evaluations (Boldry, Wood & Kashy, 2001; Eagly, Makhijani & Klonsky, 1992). Therefore, it is obvious that some form of bias influences the assessment process in many cases. Third, regardless of leader competence, evaluations of women in leadership roles become increasingly negative the more male followers they have (Avolio et al., 2009). This tendency can be explained by the social identity theory of leadership, which posits that followers prefer a leader who not only possesses generic traits associated with leadership, but also prototypical traits for the group. In other words, followers are more inclined to support a leader who they feel is like them (Gaffney & Blaylock, 2010). A fourth finding, and one that has been replicated across a broad array of studies, is that the same leadership behaviours are judged differently for each gender (Avolio et al., 2009; Brackert, 2004; Kolb, 1999; Smith, Matkin & Fritz, 2004). Some examples of this tendency include the following:

- When male leaders wait to make their decisions, they are considered prudent, but when women do the same, they are perceived as passive or indecisive (Brackert, 2004).

- Female executives are judged negatively if they are assertive, forceful and competent, whereas males receive favourable judgements for the same traits and behaviours (Brackert, 2004; Kabacoff, 2000; Kray, 2007).

The fact that a large meta-analysis of studies in the field found no gender differences in leader effectiveness overall (Eagly & Johnson, 1990) provides further evidence that gender differences in evaluation result from bias.

Overall, research findings suggest that women are evaluated negatively for engaging in many of the stereotypically masculine behaviours that are associated with leadership, but also for failing to engage in such behaviours and adopting a more stereotypically feminine style (Kawakami, White & Langer, 2000). Essentially, women who possess qualities such as assertiveness, control, independence and courage that are associated with effective leadership are thought to be lacking in warmth (considered to be at the opposite end of the trait spectrum), and therefore incongruent with their gender roles, making them less likeable (Gaffney & Blaylock, 2010). This is evident in the case of Hillary Clinton, U.S. Secretary of State, who was described as 'cold and absolutely flawless' by Chris Matthews of MSNBC, suggesting that he evaluated her as highly competent but not likeable (cited in Gaffney & Blaylock, 2010:5).

2.5.5.3   Summary of Gender and Leadership Research

Key findings from studies exploring the intersection of gender and leadership have been compiled for the purposes of this literature review and summarised in Table 25 below.

Table 25: Summary of Gender and Leadership Research Findings

Area of Inquiry	Findings
Gender Differences in Perceived Leadership Traits	• Many people still hold stereotypical beliefs about which traits each gender is most likely to manifest (Brackert, 2004; Gaffney & Blaylock, 2010; Tahmincioglu, 2008), and a review of the literature indicates that these are often at odds with actual leader traits.
Gender Differences in Leadership Behaviours	• Women are more inclined to use democratic, interpersonally oriented leadership styles; men are more likely to favour autocratic styles (Eagly & Johnson, 1990). • Women are more likely to adopt transformational and contingent-reward leadership styles; men are more likely than women to use active management by exception, passive management by exception and laissez-faire styles (Eagly et al., 2003).
Gender and Situational/Contingency Effects on Leadership	• Male leaders are more likely to be respected than female leaders regardless of performance (Brackert, 2004; Rothwell, 2009). • Women are more likely to be given leadership positions in unfavourable circumstances, such as during crises when the likelihood of failure is high (Bruckmüller & Branscombe, 2010). • Women often have less power and influence than their male counterparts in corporate environments (Kray, 2007; Unger, 2001). • Contexts are becoming more favourable to women with the flattening of hierarchies and the recent emphasis on providing an empowering and supportive environment for workers (Eagly & Carli, 2003).
Gender Effects on Leader Evaluation	• Men's successes are more often attributed to skill, women's to luck (Stelter, 2004). • Women receive less favourable evaluations regardless of performance (Boldry, Wood & Kashy, 2001; Eagly, Makhijani & Klonsky, 1992). • The likelihood of female leaders receiving negative evaluations is positively correlated with the number of male followers, regardless of performance (Avolio et al., 2009). • The same leadership traits and behaviours are judged differently in women than they are in men (Avolio et al., 2009; Brackert, 2004; Kobacoff, 2000; Kolb, 1999; Kray, 2007; Smith et al., 2004).

Gender and Leader Efficacy	• Overall, there is no significant gender difference in leadership effectiveness (Eagly & Johnson, 1990).

2.5.6 What Is Currently Known about Gender Differences and Leadership

An enormous number of studies have attempted to identify gender differences in various traits and behaviours associated with leadership. Looking at the research that has been conducted thus far, certain overarching themes emerge:

- Gender differences in traits are small to non-existent, and it is difficult to determine how much of a given trait is attributable to biological gender and how much to socialisation.

- Gender differences in traits vary from one culture to the next.

- Despite the lack of evidence for significant gender differences in most traits, many people still hold stereotypical perceptions that effect their evaluations of leaders.

- Situational variables may impact leadership effectiveness, and women are more likely lead within unfavourable situations or contexts.

- Traits, and even behaviours, are often poor predictors of leadership efficacy.

- There are small differences in favoured leadership styles by gender, with women slightly more likely to adopt a transformational leadership style, but there are no significant gender differences in leader effectiveness.

Given the intersecting effects that have been identified for gender and culture and the fact that there are cultural differences in preferred leadership styles and behaviours (Hofstede et al., 2001; House et al., 2004), an examination of cultural effects on leadership styles and behaviours was undertaken as part of this literature review. A review of theory and past research on cross-cultural leadership differences is provided in the section that follows.

2.6   Culture and Leadership Theories: Theoretical Foundations and Prior Research

The second area of concern for the literature review is culture and leadership theories. This discussion begins with examination of cultural dimension-based theories, which try to provide a comprehensive comparative framework for cultural characteristics. However, it also critiques these frameworks, and examines how they can fail and what their limitations are. This section also examines the empirical evidence for the impact of culture on leadership, as well as the intersection of culture and gender.

2.6.1   Culture and Leadership

Table 26 below provides brief definitions of Hofstede's (2001) five cultural dimensions, as well as a sixth dimension, Performance Orientation, which appears in many large-scale cross-cultural leadership studies but is not adequately covered by any of Hofstede's dimensions. It should be noted that Hofstede's Masculinity dimension encompasses traits associated with gender stereotypes rather than the actual traits and behaviours of real men and women. Some researchers, such as those who carried out the large-scale Project GLOBE study (House et al., 2004), have rejected this dichotomy in favour of other indicators such as assertiveness, humaneness, and gender egalitarianism.

Table 26: Cultural Dimensions and Associated Terms

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For the purposes of this research, world cultures have been grouped according to the cultural categories identified by House et al. (2004) for Project GLOBE, the largest cross-cultural leadership study undertaken to date. See Table 27 below for a list of countries included in each cultural cluster.

Table 27: Cultural Clusters

Tables 28 through 33 below provide a summary of findings for cultural attributes associated with each cultural cluster. As can be seen from Table 28 below, power distance varies significantly from one culture to the next. Anglo and Nordic European countries tend to maintain a relatively low power distance, whereas countries in the Middle East, Confucian Asia, Eastern Europe, South Asia, and Africa typically maintain a higher power distance. Latin Europe scores in the mid-range on this measure while Latin American and Germanic European countries vary widely on this measure. The findings of other researchers such as Brodbeck et al. (2000) often diverge from those reported by Hofstede (2001) and House et al.

(2004), likely because some of these other researchers have focused on ideal leadership prototypes rather than actual cultural traits.

The findings of Brodbeck et al. (2000), Dorfman et al. (1997), Manwa (2002), and Yokongdi (2010) suggest that a lower power distance is universally preferred despite the fact that many cultures maintain a relatively high power distance. This is supported by research showing that when respondents provide rankings for where their cultures are in terms of power distance and where they should be, the latter rankings indicate a preference for a lower power distance within each cultural group (Javidan et al., 2005)

Table 28: Power Distance by Culture

*Hofstede does not distinguish between white and black samples in South Africa as do House et al. (2004); if South Africa is not included, the African range is higher at 60 - 80.

Individualism versus collectivism also varies widely by culture, with Anglo and Western European countries skewing in the direction of individualism and Middle-Eastern, Asian, Latin American, and African countries skewing in favour of collectivism. It should be noted that many cultural clusters have one outlying country that affects the overall range of scores. The findings of additional researchers tend to agree with those reported by Hofstede (2001) and House et al. (2004). Interestingly, when asked to rate where their cultures are versus where they should be, Anglo and Western European respondents tend to state a preference for becoming more collectivist (Javidan et al., 2005), suggesting that collectivism represents an ideal for more individualistic cultures.

Table 29: Individualism versus Collectivism by Culture

Hofstede's (2001) Masculinity dimension and House et al.'s (2004), Assertiveness,

Humane Orientation, and Performance Orientation scores were examined collectively, given

the interrelatedness of these domains. There are some slight disagreements among scores,

likely due to the slightly different categories used by each set of researchers. However, some overall trends can be identified.

Hofstede (2001), provides Masculinity versus Femininity scores for each set of countries, placing the Anglo, Middle Eastern, Asian, African, and Latin European countries in the mid-range (though some are slightly skewed in favour of stereotypically masculine traits) and Nordic Europe more in the stereotypically feminine direction (see Table 30 below). Project GLOBE (House et al., 2004) rankings for assertiveness (a trait associated with stereotypical masculinity) are above average for Eastern and Germanic Europe, below-average for Nordic Europe, and mid-range for other regions. However, if the Netherlands is excluded, Germanic Europe skews toward the Masculine side and when Italy is excluded, Latin Europe skews toward the feminine side. Asian and African countries show a broad range of scores on this measure. Interestingly, when asked where their cultures are and where they should be, respondents in all regions except the Asian countries wished to reduce their assertiveness, whereas those in the two Asian cultural clusters stated a desire to increase it (Javidan et al., 2005).

As for the Humane Orientation dimension (associated with stereotypical femininity due to the emphasis placed on caring and compassion), Southern Asia and Africa were ranked as the most humane and Germanic Europe and Latin America the least by Project GLOBE researchers (House et al., 2004). When asked how their cultures should be, respondents from all cultural clusters said that they wanted to increase their Humane Orientation scores (Javidan et al., 2005).

Performance Orientation, which overlaps some of the other domains, was found to be a culturally universal leadership ideal by Brodbeck et al. (2000). However, performance-oriented practices vary from one culture to the next according to the findings of House et al. (2004), who gave the highest scores to the Anglo, Confucian Asian, and Germanic cultures

on this measure and the lowest to Eastern Europe and Latin America. Other countries scored

in the mid-range. It should be noted that Brodbeck et al (2000) focused on Western European

countries; therefore, their results may not be generalizable to other regions. Javidan et al.

(2006) note that regardless of current Performance Orientation rankings, those of all cultural

groups wish to increase their Performance Orientation scores.

Uncertainty avoidance also varies by culture, as can be seen from Table 31 below (a column for additional research was not added to this table because researchers tend to used Hofstede's categorisations for the Uncertainty Avoidance dimension). Uncertainty Avoidance is high in Germanic and Nordic Europe, low in the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and Latin America, and in the mid-range elsewhere, according to House et al. (2004). Hofstede (2001), by contrast, reports low Uncertainty Avoidance scores among the Anglo cultures, African countries, and the Nordic European cluster; high Uncertainty Avoidance in the Arab countries, Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Latin Europe; and a wide range of scores in the Asian countries. The cause of these discrepancies between House et al. (2004) and Hofstede (2001) are unknown, though it is possible that socio-cultural changes occurring in many of these countries during the interval between the two studies led to significant shifts in some of the scores. Javidan et al. (2006) report that those surveyed from Anglo, Germanic, and Nordic European cultures wish to reduce the countries' uncertainty avoidance, whereas those from other cultural clusters want to increase it.

Table 31: Uncertainty Avoidance by Culture

Long-term orientation scores from Hofstede (2001) were not available for all countries. Also, additional research beyond that conducted by Hofstede (2001) and House et al. (2004) is not included in Table 32 below because other researchers typically use Hofstede's findings for this dimension. As can be seen from Table 32, the findings reported by Hofstede (2001) and House et al. (2004) for this dimension agree in some cases but not others. For example, Hofstede (2001) reports low Long-Term Orientation scores for Anglo, Latin European, and African countries, while House et al. (2004) provide mid-range rankings. Also, House et al. (2004) rank Confucian Asia in the mid-range for Long-Term Orientation while Hofstede (2001) gives these countries high scores on this measure. There is a particularly large divergence for Nordic Europe, where Hofstede (2001) provides a low score range while House et al. (2004) rank the cultural cluster highly for this measure. In some cases, there is not sufficient data from Hofstede (2001) to make meaningful comparisons.

Table 32: Long-Term Orientation

Looking at the tables above, the research conducted by others into cultural dimensions agrees with the findings presented by Hofstede (2001) in the majority of cases, reinforcing the dimensions theory, though there are exceptions. It is also apparent that House et al.'s (2004) cultural clusters do not always represent cohesive cultural groups. Some groupings, such as the Anglo cultural cluster, show more consistency, whereas others, such as the Latin American group, show wide variation on some measures. Also, the Project GLOBE (House et al., 2004) rankings do not always match Hofstede et al.'s (2010) individual country rankings for a given group. Furthermore, some regions, such as Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America, have received little attention from researchers other than Hofstede (2001) and House et al. (2004). Despite these limitations, it is possible to draw some overarching conclusions regarding the tendencies of each cultural cluster. Table 33 below provides a general overview of the cultural cluster traits identified in Tables 27 through 22.

Table 33: Cultural Cluster Characteristics

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Table 34 below provides a summary of the leader behaviours associated with particular leadership styles. Table 35 provides an overview of leadership dimension score averages for each cultural cluster.

Table 34: Leadership Style Dimensions

(Source: adapted from Javadan, et al. 2006)

Table 35: Leadership Differences by Culture from House et al.'s (2004) Project GLOBE Study

(Source: adapted from Javadan, et al. 2006)

Looking at Tables 33 and 34, there is no particular association between individualism and autonomous leadership but some evidence of an inverse relationship between individualism and the tendency to adopt a self-protective leadership style. Charismatic leadership appears slightly more likely in cultures with a lower power distance and is also correlated with individualism in some (though not all) cases. As would be expected, the participative leadership dimension is positively associated with a lower power distance. Other than the Anglo group, humane leadership tends to align with collectivism. Team orientation is often (though not always) higher in collectivist societies. Overall, there are significant differences in leadership style tendencies among cultural groups.

Although the findings of these studies indicate that culture does influence the likelihood of adopting particular leadership styles from one country or region to the next, some researchers have also found evidence of cultural universality for certain leadership ideals. For example, Dorfman et al. (1997) found universal preferences for supportiveness, contingent-reward, and charismatic leadership styles.

Brodbeck et al. (2000), in their large-scale study of European leadership ideals, found certain leadership preferences among all cultural groups they examined, including performance orientation (the degree to which individuals in a society are rewarded or encouraged to strive for improvement and excellence), which could in theory be linked with contingent-reward leadership. However, House et al. (2004) found that only Confucian Asia, Germanic Europe, and the Anglo countries were high scorers for this trait in terms of actual leadership behaviours.

Brodbeck et al. (2000) found malevolence to be universally disliked, and face saving and self-centredness to be nearly universally considered an impediment to effective leadership. Malevolence would certainly be inversely associated with integrity and face-saving linked to a short-term orientation. Self-centredness might to some degree correlate

with individualism. However, the researchers did not examine any countries outside of Europe so conclusions cannot be drawn about global universality from this research. Resick et al. (2006), in their global leadership study, found that ethical leadership is universally endorsed.

Table 36: Cultural Universals for Leadership Ideals

*Brodbeck et al.'s (2000) research focused on European countries only.

Despite evidence of some cultural universals for leadership ideals, there is also evidence that many leadership behaviours and preferences vary based on culture. For example, Dorfman et al. (1997) found three leader behaviours to be culturally linked: directive, participative, and contingent-punishment, all of which could potentially be linked to the Hofstede's (2001) Power Distance dimension. Javidan et al. (2006), commenting on the findings of Project GLOBE (House et al., 2004), assert that autonomous leadership (being individualistic), status consciousness (associated with Long-Term Orientation), and risk taking (linked to the Uncertainty Avoidance dimension) are culturally contingent.

A review of the literature indicates that most measures designed to examine cultural and leadership behaviours and ideals have been developed in Western countries. Measures

designed in regions other than North America and Europe might yield very different results in terms of cultural traits and tendencies, or focus on different cultural and leadership dimensions entirely.

Overall, studies examining cross-cultural leadership differences indicate that leadership styles align with cultural attributes in some cases but not others. Taken collectively, the results of various studies indicate that there are great cultural differences in leadership as it is actually practiced, but that the majority of leadership ideals tend to be similar across cultures.

There are, of course, a number of limitations to these cultural and leadership rankings. As can be seen from the tables above, the majority of researchers have focused on Anglo and European cultural groups with Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East receiving little attention from researchers. Furthermore, a review of the literature indicates that First Nations groups such as the aboriginal peoples of North America, Australia, and New Zealand have received almost no attention from researchers. Also, far more global research has been conducted to explore transformational and transactional leadership in cross-cultural settings than the impact of core cultural traits on the adoption of leadership styles and preferences, making it difficult to find studies covering the same ground as Project GLOBE (House et al., 2004; Hofstede, 2001).

Another issue worth noting is the fact that researchers often frame their questions to Participants in a variety of ways. For example, in some cases, Participants are asked about ideal leadership behaviours while in others, they are required to name traits of effective leaders or list traits associated with follower satisfaction or organisational commitment. Although these measures are likely to yield similar answers, there are slight distinctions among them. In addition, although many leadership studies use Hofstede's (2001) cultural categories, there may be slight differences in interpretation from one researcher to the next,

and some have altered or split the categories to some degree. Furthermore, larger studies encompassing many countries tend to focus on statistically significant divergences from mid-range scores, whereas smaller studies that include just a few countries tend to look at these countries or regions in relation to one another rather than divergence from broader global norms. As for differences between the findings reported by Hofstede (2001) and those of House et al. (2004), these may be attributable to slight differences between the two studies, such as the fact that Hofstede (2001) surveyed employees and managers while House et al. (2004) obtained their data from managers only. Also, House et al.'s (2004) study is more recent, and it is possible that cultural changes have taken place in some regions in the interim between the two studies.

2.6.2 Culture, Gender and Leadership

The following series of tables provides an overview of research exploring gender differences in leadership among various cultures. Findings are broken out based on the cultural clusters defined by House et al. (2004) for Project GLOBE, which include Anglo, Arab/Middle East, Confucian Asia, Eastern Europe, Germanic Europe, Latin America, Latin Europe, Nordic Europe, South Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa. Latin America was not included in the tables that follow due to the dearth of research in this region, and aboriginal cultures have not been included for the same reason.

Most research studies exploring the effects of gender on leadership have taken place in North America and Western European countries. Because most of the researchers who have incorporated multiple European countries into their studies have not broken the results out by country, the Anglo, Germanic, Latin European, and Nordic countries have been incorporated into a single group in Table 37 below. This overview shows that the majority of

studies undertaken in Western countries have found gender differences in leader behaviours

and overall leadership styles.

Table 37: Gender Differences in Leadership: Anglo and European Cultural Clusters

The few studies of gender differences conducted in Arab countries have yielded mixed results. Achoui (2012) found that culture influences gender differences in leadership; Al-Dabbagh (2008) found that female leaders tend to be more transformational, in keeping with some of the findings of Eagly et al. (2003); and Mujtaba et al. (2010) found no gender differences in leadership. The findings of Al-Suwaihel (2009) and Al-Lamky (2007) examined female leadership but did not compare it specifically to male leadership, and the study conducted by Farazmand & Danaeefard (2012) focused solely on negotiation style.

Table 38 Gender Differences in Leadership: Arab/Middle Eastern Cultural Cluster

Significant gender differences in leadership were found in Confucian Asia. However, the findings of Wu & Minor (1997) comparing Taiwanese and Japanese female managers to those in the United States suggest that such differences may be more a function of culture than nature. Singaporean research findings reported by Meng (2002, cited in Gill, 2006) and Morriss et al. (1999) yielded mixed results regarding female leader behaviours. However, it should be noted that the latter two studies used unknown and small sample sizes respectively. They have been included here due to the lack of research focusing on gender differences in leadership for this cultural cluster. Although there has been a significant amount of research undertaken to explore issues associated with female leadership in Confucian Asian countries, such studies have tended to focus on the experiences and challenges faced by women in leadership roles rather than aspects of their leadership styles.

Table 39 Gender Differences in Leadership: Confucian Asia Cultural Cluster

Research conducted in Eastern Europe by Bancheva and Ivanova (2012) found that female leaders tend to score higher on measures of transformational leadership and that men more likely to use management-by-exception leadership (not intervening until problems become severe) and laissez-faire styles, in keeping with the findings of the Eagly et al. (2003) meta-analysis. Fein et al. (2010) also found female leaders to prefer transformational leadership. A Russian study rated female leaders higher on integrity (Deshpande et al., 2000), in keeping with the findings of Fridkin and Kenney (2009) but contrasting with those of Kidwell and Bethke (1987), who found no gender differences in integrity. A Serbian study by

Hristic et al. (2011) supported some gender stereotypes while refuting others (see Table 40 below).

Table 40. Gender Differences in Leadership: Eastern Europe Cultural Cluster

The majority of studies in the Southern Asian region identified gender differences in leadership (Gunbayi, 2005; Pimapunsri, 2008; Wood & Jogulu, 2006), though Altintas (2010) found no gender differences. When differences were found, they tended to favour male leaders. It should be noted that half of the Southeast Asian studies included in Table 41 below took place in Turkey, which has a cultural profile that diverges somewhat from many other Southern Asian countries. Also, there have been few studies of gender differences in leadership conducted in this region, so results from the handful of studies that have taken place may not be generalizable.

Table 36: Gender Differences in Leadership: Southern Asia Cultural Cluster

As for the Sub-Saharan African cultural cluster, while Escandon and Kamungi (2008) found strong perceived gender differences in leadership, Manwa (2002) found that men and women tend to agree on the most important requirements for advancement in Zimbabwe, with a few exceptions (see Table 42 below). Manyak and Katono (2010) found no significant gender differences in the ways male and female leaders deal with various types of conflict in Uganda. In Nigeria, Shinaba (2006) found female leaders to be more collaborative than their male counterparts. However, this study was smaller in scale and made use of case studies rather than a large sample population. Overall, there has been little research conducted to

examine gender differences in leadership in African countries, so it may not be possible to drawn general conclusions from the results of the few studies that have taken place.

Table 42: Gender Differences in Leadership: Sub-Saharan African Cultural Cluster

A number of researchers have carried out large-scale global studies of gender differences in leadership encompassing multiple continents. Cavallo and Brienza's (2001) research found no gender differences on a broad array of leadership traits. Sonfield and

Lussier (2012) also found no gender differences in leadership styles. Paris et al. (2009) found that both genders place equal value on humane-oriented leadership but that female managers are more inclined to prefer team-oriented, charismatic, and participative leadership styles. The authors note that gender egalitarianism significantly moderates gender differences in leadership: In regions with high gender egalitarianism, the desire of female leaders to adopt a participative style increases. Van Emerik et al. (2008) found that women are more inclined to show consideration and initiate structure, but note that cultural effects are stronger than gender effects, and that gender differences in managerial leadership are more predominant in western societies.

Table 43: Gender Differences in Leadership: Global Studies

Tables 37 through 42 indicate that many studies have found gender differences in leadership, though results often conflict with one another. What accounts for this variation? Researchers use different methodologies, which can impact the results. Some rely on self-report by leaders themselves, others put their questions to subordinates, and some researchers

incorporate direct observation. Questions may be asked in a variety of ways, ranging from Likert-scale instruments to face-to-face interviews. Participants may be encouraged to speak freely in a narrative style or to quantify their beliefs and observations on a survey. Leaders are drawn from a variety of fields and industries, each of which may have its own subculture within the larger regional culture. Therefore, although smaller-scale studies of gender and leadership can yield interesting insights, it is the larger multi-country studies that are the most informative.

The results of global studies suggest that culture has a far stronger effect on leadership behaviours and styles than gender (Paris et al., 2009; Van Emerik et al., 2008). Achoui's (2012) multi-country Middle Eastern study also found gender differences to vary from one culture to the next. Looking at all the tables, it is also evident that in regions with low gender egalitarianism and a high power distance, female leaders appear to conform more to gender stereotypes, though this effect is not seen consistently in all studies. It is difficult to draw conclusions given the relative scarcity of studies in many regions compared to the abundance of research conducted in North America and Europe. The issue is further complicated by minimal representation of women in leadership positions in areas where gender egalitarianism is lower.

There do seem to be some gender-based near- universals. For example and Fein et al. (2010) in Eastern Europe, Al-Dabbagh (2008) and Al-Suwaihel (2009) in the Middle East, and Eagly et al.'s (2003) large-scale meta-analysis all found that women are more inclined to adopt a transformational leadership style. However, this trend was reversed in the South Asian cultural cluster, where Pimapunsri (2008) and Wood and Jogulu (2006) found that men are more likely to favour transformational leadership styles.

Overall, the meta-analysis indicates that there are strong regional differences in preferred leadership styles. However, there are also a number of cultural universals in

leadership ideals which indicate that the global majority prefer and aspire to certain leadership approaches and qualities while finding others detrimental. Gender differences in leadership have also been found in a number of regions by some researchers, though not others, but global studies of gender differences in leadership suggest that male and female leaders are more alike than different. Furthermore, when differences in the likelihood of adopting certain leadership styles do arise, evidence suggests that they are attributable largely to culture.

2.7   Nigerian Women Leaders

Since the main topic of this study is Nigerian women, it is important to consider what is already known about this class of leaders. There has been some research into female leaders in Nigeria, although the findings are conflicting and often confusing. However, as this brief discussion will show, most of this research has been focused on structural problems and difficulties associated with female leadership, rather than the experience of leadership itself. This is a significant research gap that will be filled, in part, by the present study.

2.7.1   Political leadership

One study has examined women's political leadership in Nigeria (Aluko, 2013). This study was an analysis of the 2011 elections and women's participation and access to political roles in this election. The study identified several structural barriers to participation in the election, including male-dominated, nepotism-driven parties (what she termed god-fatherism), labelling, violence, and access to funding, in addition to general sociocultural issues. In some cases, this took the form of ostentatious exclusion of women; for example, Mrs. Grace Ani of Enugu State, who won an election for local government councillor. Instead, this position was given to one of her losing male opponents. There are also reports of women facing challenges in merely participating in elections, including facing violence and

threats of divorce for going against their husband's wishes. Aluko (2013) interviewed several female political leaders to get their views on how women could gain increased political power. Suggestions included avoiding corruption, working harder than men, and mentoring young women leaders. As the author points out, affirmative action has been unsuccessful in overcoming challenges to women's political participation in Nigeria or elsewhere; instead, there must be cultural change in order to allow women to participate fully in the political process (Aluko, 2013). This research is particularly useful for identifying structural barriers to participation, but it has little to say about individual leaders. This is a weakness because it does not identify *how* Nigerian female leaders may actually differ from male leaders, or the perceptions of how they differ.

The findings of Aluko (2013) do generally support findings by Irabor (2012), who also states that there are high institutional and cultural barriers to women's participation in politics. Pre-existing colonial structures, as well as a long period of military rule, are some of the reasons why women continue to be systematically excluded from political roles (Irabor, 2012). However, as Irabor (2012) points out, Nigeria is hardly alone in political exclusion of women; in fact, many advanced democratic societies have similar rates of female political participation. Thus, this should not be considered as a particular failing of Nigeria or a factor related to underdevelopment, stagnation, or other out-dated concepts (Irabor, 2012). These findings are consistent with another study by David, et al. (2012). This study examined the specific case of participation in the Ofu Local Government Area (Kogi State). This study used a sample of 550 women from the general population to identify reasons why women did not participate in the political structure. Problems like lack of access to campaign funding, cultural factors (such as imbalance between the household responsibilities of men and women and cultural discouragement of women's political involvement), and no recognition of women in positions of political authority tended to discourage access. In contrast, few

participants reported they had no interest, and most reported a high level of political awareness and interest (David, et al., 2012). This study makes it clear that the problem is not that women are uninterested in politics, but instead that they face significant barriers to participation that have a strongly discouraging effect. This is likely related to the poor state of the women's rights movement in Nigeria (Ifemeje & Ogogua, 2012). As these authors report, Nigeria has not internalized requirements for women's equality or translated international agreements on women's human and civil rights into policies and institutions that support women's equality. Thus, there is no official institutional response to the need for women to have more of a political role.

2.7.2 Economic and business leadership

There have also been a number of studies on the role of women in economic leadership. Woldie and Adersua (2004) examined female entrepreneurs. They examined the economic contribution of women to the entrepreneurial economy, finding that it is significantly larger than expected. Furthermore, they examined motivations and barriers experienced by women. The main motivations identified included increasing earnings and gaining control over working life, which are generally similar to the motivations of male entrepreneurs. The research also showed that women continue to face barriers in their economic activities, especially being taken seriously by men. This study is useful in that it examines experiences of women in the working field, but it does not actually examine leadership experiences and roles in great detail.

A second study also examined the role of female entrepreneurs, especially market women (Shinaba, 2003). This study did examine characteristics of leadership within the framework of the market business and association. Shinaba (2003) found that market women tended toward a collaborative leadership style, working together to improve conditions, gain

access to materials, and overcome other barriers. She also found that leadership was understood in the context of family and subsistence in the small scale, with few taking a position that held a broader view. Most of the women in this study were involved in subsistence-level businesses, and did not engage in leadership beyond their local market women's group or family (Shinaba, 2003). This means that although this study does provide some insight into leadership styles, it is only on the small scale and thus is limited in how much information it provides.

A third study also examined Nigerian female entrepreneurs, this time comparing them to Chinese women in similar positions (Kitching & Woldie, 2004). This study had similar findings to Shinaba (2003), identifying problems such as making male counterparts take them seriously, age discrimination, lack of guidance, having to work harder, problems with family and childcare, and lack of access to training, capital, credit, and education (Kitching & Woldie, 2004). As the authors point out, these problems are certainly not unique to Nigerian female entrepreneurs, and are experienced by women all over the world.

2.7.3 Educational leadership

Another area where women's leadership in Nigeria has been studied is in the educational context. One study examined the problems and experiences of female leaders in schools of all levels in South-West Nigeria (Aledejana & Aledejana, 2005). This study was based on a questionnaire of 48 female school leaders and 615 students at a total of 262 primary, secondary, and tertiary institutions. The study found that primary schools were mainly female-led, but that this transitioned to male domination in the secondary level. Universities and other tertiary institutions were firmly male-dominated. The study found that women had a number of problems with leadership, including problems with subordinates, cooperation with male leaders of other schools, and problems gaining resources and access.

Despite these barriers, female-led schools were often perceived to be better managed and better performing than male-led schools, with reduced perceptions of corruption and improved student performance. This study provides convincing evidence that female leadership can be highly successful in Nigeria, though it also highlighted the challenges that female leaders face even in relatively welcoming leadership contexts.

2.7.4   Leadership perceptions

There have been some general studies on perceptions of women's leadership in Nigeria, which have focused on a particular issue or outcome rather than leadership in a particular industry or context. One study examined the perception of subordinates of female leaders in a number of industries (including banking, government, and manufacturing) (Okhakhume, 2008). This study found that attitudes toward female leaders varied widely. Men in general had extremely negative perceptions of female leaders. Islamic participants, younger participants, and less educated participants were more likely to have negative perceptions of female leaders than Christian, older, and more educated participants.

A second study in public and private organizations also found a (slight) negative perception of female leaders as compared to male leaders (Owolabi, 2007). This study contradicted the findings of Okhakhume (2008), in that men were found to have a more positive perception of female leaders than other women.

Another study compared actual leadership styles of men and women in Nigerian organizations, providing even more contradictory findings (Jolaosinmi et al., 2012). This study conducted a questionnaire of 115 managers in 20 private organizations. It found that there was not actually a perception that men and women used different management styles, had different management skills, or were more or less susceptible to corruption. It did find that female leaders had different aspirations, and also that they faced significant challenges

including institutional and personal sexism within the organization that prevented their advancement. Thus, institutional barriers, rather than personal traits, are once more than main focus of this study.

These studies do not, in general, provide any clarity about the actual leadership experiences of women. They also do not identify what leadership traits women demonstrate. Finally, the findings regarding follower perceptions are highly contradictory. Thus, there is still a significant research gap in the area of leadership perceptions and traits.

2.7.5 Empirical literature review on Women in leadership

Many researchers are interested in leadership styles in an effort to find out differences and similarities in the ways males and females lead (Coleman, 2004; Eagly & Johannessen-Schmidt, 2001; Grogan & Brunner, 2005; Hall, 1996; Morris, Low & Coleman, 1999; Pounder & Coleman, 2002). The findings of these studies are remarkably contradictory and at the centre of the controversy is the relationship between gender and leadership. For other researchers, female leaders' career paths and experiences have attracted their attention (Acker & Feuerverger, 1996; Coleman, 2002; Cooper & Strachan, 2006; Court, 1997; Davis & Johansson, 2005; Lyman, Athanasoula-Reppa & Lazaridou, 2009; Marshall, 1995; Neville, 1988; Strachan et al., 2010). This theme is important to show gender differences in leadership experiences since men and women's childhood, family and professional lives influence individuals differently (Oplatka, 2006).

The concepts of women and leadership are open to diverse interpretations by different authors. According to Obilade (1985), the terms are seen as two mutually exclusive and incompatible entities. As such, leadership is defined in accordance with normative masculinity, with maleness seen as a resource and femaleness as a form of negative equity (Binns and Kerfoot, 2011). Thus, the concept of women and leadership to an average

Nigerian will not mean women in leadership position but leaders of women. To this extent and to the ordinary Nigerian, a normal gender free word like leadership connotes a male subject (Obilade, 1990). Within this sort of context, leadership is perceived to be at odds with the demand of motherhood, domestic responsibilities and work-life balance (Morley, 2012). Because women are seen in most cultures as primarily housewives, the tendency is to treat the motif of leadership and women as two dichotomous themes of world of work and home. Given the moral imperative on women to care for children, the sick and elderly, this means that women have a form of negative equity in the workplace (Guillaume and Pochic, 2009; and Grummel, 2004). In this regard, leadership is perceived as demanding, aggressive and authoritarian and more fitting for male.

Fitzgerald (2011) described leadership as exhausting with unrelenting bureaucratic and institutional pressures. He argued that the focus on productivity, competitiveness, strategy and inalienable logic of the market renders senior higher education management a masculinity domain. The conventional view is that the skill, competence and the disposition deemed essential to leadership including assertiveness, autonomy and authority are embedded in socially constructed definition of masculinity (Knights and Kerfort, 2004). As such, femaleness is seen as irreconcilable with intellectual and leadership authority. However, traditional scholars like Vroom and Yetton (1973) and Stogdill (1974), viewed leaders alike and genderless.

Some scholars have also offered explanatory framework for absence of women from higher leadership position. Grummel (2004) reported that leadership position is constructed as a zero-load worker, devoid of familial and care responsibility. Runte and Mills (2004) claimed that it is women who pay the toll for crossing the boundary between work and family. According to Khram and Mc Collon-Hampton (2003), managing identity,

discrimination and other people's negativity can be an additional affective workload which deters women from applying for highly visible leadership positions.

Maitland (2005) observed that in developed countries for instance, more than two-third of male directors and senior managers feel they are not recognised or promoted on an equal basis as their male counterparts. Empirical research conducted among Caucasian community in U.S.A. by Allen, Jacobson and Lomotey (1995) revealed that male administrators discouraged women from pursuing career in administration because of the belief that women lacked the requisite leadership attributes. Females in positions that are male dominated indicated that there was a need to be better qualified than males with whom they competed. Summing all, it appears that a global gender gap still remains in leadership position (Singh, 2008).

However, there has been changing relations in the leadership behaviours of both sexes in organisations or societal settings. Modern forms of gender identity are more fluid, multi-faceted and varied than they were some couples of decades ago (Billing, 2011). No matter how the leadership behaviours of women are delineated, the fact still remains that women do possess the capabilities and skills to be excellent leaders. Transparency in the appointment process can benefit women as opposed to decision taken behind closed door (Rees, 2011). The dualism of leadership as masculinity or feminine activity notwithstanding, women are entering leadership positions and are being creative and innovative (Bagihole & White, 2011).

African leadership is visibly a male led field unsurprising like in many other parts of the world. The progression and analysis of leadership styles regarding opposite sexes has not been particularly conceived researched and documented in Nigeria and a large part of other African countries. In his book, poor numbers and how we are mislead by development

statistics, the author remarks on many of the challenges to gathering statistical data for economic and corporate research.

Research has shown how the statistical capacities of sub-Saharan African economies have fallen into disarray. The numbers substantially misstate the actual state of affairs. As a result, scarce resources are misapplied. Development policy does not deliver the benefits expected. Policymakers' attempts to improve the lot of the citizenry are frustrated. The same challenge can be applied to the general state of record keeping across multiple Nigerian social economic and political enterprises. Using a historical context it is safe to assume that leadership in Nigeria particularly with regards to women is primarily political based. Highlighting challenges on the path to political office and barriers of society, legally and culturally.

For example; only 35 percent of women run for elective office. In 2011, only one woman contested for the post of the president in Nigeria under the platform of the Peoples Democratic Party and she did not survive the primary election. In 2015, 5 women out of the 14 persons contested the vice presidential position while 14 men contested the post of president. Corporate leadership in particular has fared even less in the public eye due to the private nature of businesses. However, there has been an increase in recent times to politicize support and promote women in leadership positions.

In Nigeria for example the Women in Entrepreneurship conference annual gathers experts across industries to engage in panel discussions and networking avenues and provide environments for older women to mentor younger women in leadership. Another example is the SheleadsAfrica initiative which has a strong social media presence and engages in events across Nigeria providing a platform for small and large business owners and players and women leaders to mix and share experiences and learn from themselves.

An important factor to consider involves the internet revolution whose major side effect was disrupting many traditional models in business and politics, particularly with gatekeepers who till today is a primary demographic of men. The ease and freedom of social media use in a country like Nigeria has given the opportunity for people to collect followers and build influence. Of which a major example is what is now termed an influencer. This category consists of usually young people who have amassed large online following through numerous social media platforms across a range of interests like fashion and politics and entrepreneurship and most emerging, technology.

Several studies examined multiple leadership styles from different perspectives, and how gender influenced leadership styles; the studies showed various results. Some studies indicated differences with findings that supported various types of female leadership styles. For instance, Joyce (2005) found that the majority of female leaders tended to use more democratic than autocratic approaches of management, while Thompson (2002) stated that female leaders who used the democratic style were rare. In addition, from the college students' perspectives as future followers, they preferred to work with democratic leaders (Cellar, Sidle, Goudy, and O'Brien (2001).

Some researchers discussed the directive and the participative leadership styles and how leaders, followers, and organizations would benefit when these styles are implemented. There seem to be differences between women and men in terms of their leadership styles that sometimes predict a better fit for females or males. Furthermore, some research (Skinner, 2006) has indicated that female leaders tend to be more participative than directive in their leadership styles.

Generally, culture has had an impact upon leadership and gender roles, and every society has had its own definitions of effective leadership and its own distinct attitudes toward leaders. The culture has determined these attitudes (House, Javidan, Hanges, and

Dorfman, 2002). Lederach (1995) defined culture as "the shared knowledge and schemes created by a set of people for perceiving, interpreting, expressing, and responding to the social realities around them" (p. 9). He said that the shared knowledge and schemes were different in each culture, and that they influenced the expectations of leadership. The culture of Nigeria has been no exception.

Additionally, masculine and feminine orientations are related to cultures; but, in general, masculinity is more highly valued (Wiener, 2005). In cultures that value masculinity more highly, men dominate in relationships with women (2005). Some research validated the stereotypes that characterize masculine and feminine leadership; males were described more by aggressiveness, while female leadership was characterized more by assertiveness (Smith, 2006).

2.7.6   Summary of Research in Nigerian Women's Leadership

The existing research into Nigerian women's leadership identifies a number of structural and cultural elements that are consistent between leadership contexts, such as economic, educational, and political leadership. These include sexism and problems making men take them seriously, poor subordinate perceptions, and cultural barriers that prevent women from being considered as serious candidates. The barriers are perhaps most extreme in politics, with a lack of support for women's rights and no framework for women to challenge the denial of political voice. This has even extended to women who have won democratic elections being denied positions in favour of men. This provides a strong basis for understanding the cultural and institutional barriers female leaders face. However, research into follower perceptions is much less helpful, with some strongly contradictory findings about how Nigerians generally perceive female leaders. Additionally, there has been little research into how the female leader experiences her leadership role or the leadership traits, characteristics, or habits she demonstrates. This is part of the research gap this study will fill.

2.8   Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for this research study establishes the following constructs and their related parameters. The constructs include: elements of the existing field of knowledge, theoretical assumptions, identified gaps in present literature, contributions to existing fields of knowledge, results and concepts/applications of theory.

This framework has been deemed sufficiently robust for exploring the research question and substantiating or refuting the related hypothesis. The research study attempts to address a gap in the literature related to culture and gender as they interact to impact leadership styles and efficacy. The focal point of this exploration is Nigeria, which as a backdrop, directly also highlights cultural competency related to Nigerian human capital management.

The researcher recognizes that the conceptual framework could have been constructed in a variety of manners in order to accomplish the aims of the research in question. This framework and the methods selected to work within this framework were deemed to be a reliable and consistent mechanism for exploring the foundations of the study.

2.9   Conceptual Model for the Study

Organismic   Environmental Factors

s Cultural
enssions   - Personality

                                                    • Politics
                                                    • Economic
ler Differences   - Religiosity   and business
                                                    • Educational

Women
Leadership
Approaches

Stimulus (S) ⟶ **Organism (O)** ⟶ **Response (R)**
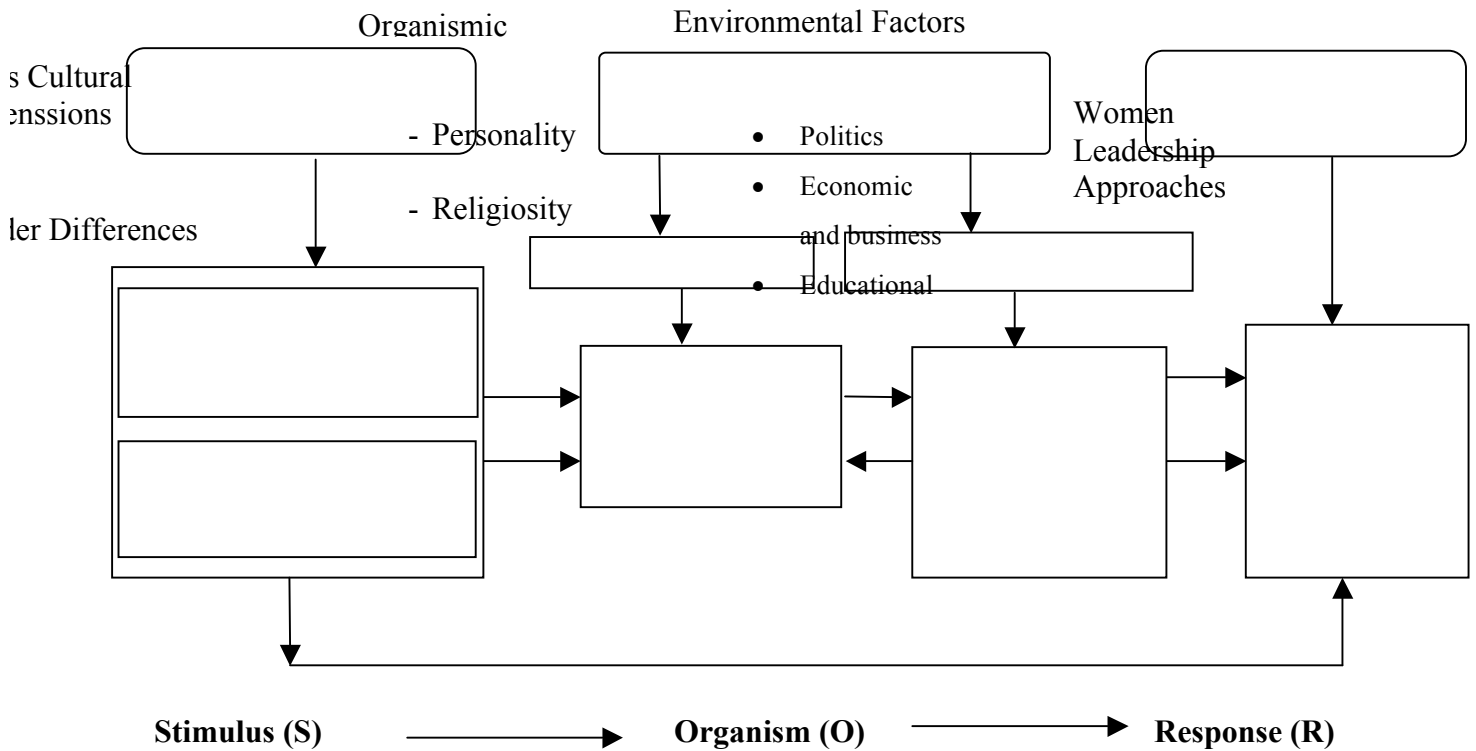
Explanation of Conceptual Model

The conceptual model for this study composed of the independent variables namely; cross cultural dimensions and Gender differences. These variables are to be examined by the researcher to see their interrelationships on the dependent variable (women leadership approach).

The intervening or mediating variables will be made up of organismic and environmental factors. The organismic factors are those factors which are resident within the individual such as gender and religiosity among others. The environmental factors are variables, which are resident outside the individual and could affect the outcomes of the dependent variable. Examples of environmental factors are political, economic or business, and educational among others. These variables intervene between the independent and dependent variable.

Though several intervening variables are capable of influencing the women leadership approaches in this study, the intervening variables of interest are religion and personality. This is because literatures have shown that these have significant influence in women leadership styles as discussed within the context of this study.

3.0 **Methodology**

3.1. Introduction

This chapter covers the aims and objectives of this study, the questions it seeks to answer, the research design rationale, information about the sample, data collection and analysis activities, validity and reliability of the instrument used, ethical considerations, and study limitations.

3.1.1. Aims and Objectives

A review of the literature indicates that there has been little attention paid to the issues faced by Nigerian women who aspire to leadership, and none that have integrated prior research on the intersection of culture, gender, and leadership. This study examined the interrelationships between culture, gender, and leadership issues specific to Nigerian women in advanced leadership roles.

3.2. Research Questions

Farrugia et al. (2010) summarise the FINER criteria for developing research questions, which specify that questions should be designed to ensure that the research is feasible, interesting, novel, ethical, and relevant. Feasible research questions are those that can be answered with an accessible subject pool in an affordable manner and within the bounds of the researcher's expertise. Interesting research questions explore phenomena that are intriguing not only to the investigator but also to the broader community, at least within the field of study. Novel research questions confirm, refute, or expand upon previous research findings. Ethical questions are those supporting research that would be approved by an institutional review board. Relevant research questions are designed to contribute to the collective knowledge pool, inform policy and practice, and guide future research. The

following research question, which was used to guide this study, was developed to meet the FINER criteria specifications:

Research Question: What barriers and challenges make it difficult for Nigerian women to attain high-level leadership positions?

This question meets the FINER criteria for the following reasons. First, it can be answered feasibly, given that the research can be completed by conducting interviews with a relatively small number of subjects. Second, the fact that this question is interesting is evident in the large number of studies that have been conducted on the topics of culture, gender, and leadership. This indicates that many researchers and readers find these subjects compelling. Third, this question is novel because prior researchers have paid little attention to Nigerian female leadership. Fourth, this question is ethical because interview participants had the option of remaining anonymous or opting out, and no work with underage or otherwise vulnerable populations was undertaken (see the Ethics section in this chapter for more information about how ethical standards were maintained for this study). Fifth, this question is relevant because there have been major changes in culture, gender role perceptions and expectations, and the nature of leadership over the past few decades throughout the world, and in Nigeria in particular. Therefore, the intersection of gender, culture, and leadership in Nigeria is a dynamic and exciting field in which to conduct research.

Because this research was exploratory in nature and broad in scope, it did not specifically set out to test particular a particular hypothesis. However, it did draw upon previously established theoretical frameworks to guide the analysis of the findings.

3.3. Research Design

This study adopted a qualitative research approach. However, secondary research was also conducted in the form of a comprehensive literature review in order to provide theoretical foundations, background, and context for the analysis of primary research

findings. Qualitative research was appropriate for this study because of the objectives and scopes of this study. This approach allows for deeper understanding of the gender and cultural issues faced by women leaders from their perspectives. The in-depth interviews provided a means to evaluate first-hand the impressions of women leaders in Nigeria for this exploratory study.

Population of the study

The actual method for the research study consisted of locating women in a variety of positions of leadership that were actively working in Nigeria. These women were selected based upon personal knowledge and from tips that were given to the researcher by colleagues.

Qualitative Research

Marshall (1996) outlines the differences between quantitative and qualitative research, noting that the former, which aims to test a pre-established hypothesis, tends to be deductive and reductionist. The researcher is objective and detached, and descriptive or inferential statistics are subjected to validity and reliability testing. The ultimate goal is to obtain generalizable outcomes. Qualitative research, by contrast, is a flexible, holistic method designed to explore complex phenomena not easily studied via quantitative methods. This inductive approach provides a richer, more nuanced data set and may be used to generate new hypotheses or develop a general understanding of the phenomenon of interest. With this approach, the researcher is integral and involved rather than detached, and quality assurance issues such as validity and reliability are more complex (these issues are dealt with in depth in the Validity and Reliability sections in this chapter).

According to Anderson (2006), while quantitative research focuses on generating hard numerical data for statistical analysis, qualitative research requires a different approach to interpretation. The quantitative researcher measures and counts, while the qualitative

researcher describes a phenomenon and seeks meaning from it. Qualitative research is typically open-ended and exploratory. Sample sizes are smaller but data gathering processes are more in-depth, seeking not only an objective summary of the phenomenon of interest, but also the opinions, perceptions, and feelings that subjects have with regard to it. Quality of outcomes depends upon the skills of the researcher rather than the accuracy of a person or programme that calculates results. Costs associated with this research approach tend to be lower than with the use of large-scale quantitative surveys, and the insights it provides will often more accurately reflect the perspectives of participating subjects.

Anderson (2006) notes that quantitative research is based on the assumption that reality is static and that its unchanging laws can be determined by the collection of numerical data and the performance of statistical analysis. Essentially, quantitative research is a search for fundamental universal laws. Qualitative research, by contrast, assumes that reality is dynamic and it does not seek to ensure that results are replicable because reality is subject to change and phenomena identified by the research are not assumed to be universal. Therefore, the ability to replicate the findings would not necessarily be critical to ensuring the quality of the research. Because of these differences, qualitative research tends to be broad in scope, while quantitative research is narrowly focused, with the former emphasising interpretation and the latter precise measurement.

Qualitative research has a number of strengths that made it suitable for this study. It is ideal for exploring complex issues in dynamic environments and it facilitates a greater understanding of subjects' perspectives (Manning, 1992). Furthermore, qualitative research does not require a controlled environment and can therefore take place in natural, authentic settings such as subjects' offices (Anderson, 2006). Perhaps most importantly, qualitative research facilitates a deeper understanding of the entire phenomenon of interest, rather than simply the statistical tendency of one of its component parts (Trochim, 2006).

Qualitative research is particularly useful for studies of leadership, given its ability to identify themes and patterns and provide insight into people and situations that could not be obtained via quantitative research (Klenke, 2008). For this study, the research comprised interviews with Nigerian women in leadership roles, guided by a research guide that covered trait, style, and contextual leadership factors. In this case, asking open-ended questions rather than simply administering a Likert-scale questionnaire provided a greater understanding of the issues faced by these women. Therefore, a qualitative, interview-based methodology was more useful than a quantitative approach.

3.4. Study Sample

The sections that follow describe how the sample for this study was selected and how the sample size was determined. Sampling methodology, selection criteria for participating subjects, and issues surrounding the determination of effective sample sizes for interview-based qualitative research are addressed.

3.4.1. Sample Selection Method

While quantitative research aims for generalizability and therefore seeks a sample most representative of a general population, qualitative research typically requires a sample specifically reflective of the phenomenon of interest (Marshall, 1996). Non-probability sampling is a sampling procedure not guided by randomness; rather, the sample population is selected based on specific characteristics, which means that this approach can be defined as purposive criterion sampling (Trochim, 2006). With purposive criterion sampling, rather than attempting to find the most random sample possible, researchers specifically seek out individuals who meet particular criteria (Trochim, 2006). It is a method commonly used in qualitative research in order to obtain a sample relevant to the phenomena of interest (Klenke, 2008). Non-probability purposive criterion sampling was used for this study.

3.4.2. Sample Selection Criteria

The sample for the primary research component of this study was chosen based on four criteria: race, gender, role, and location. Participants were all Nigerian, female, currently fulfilling leadership roles, and residing in Nigeria. This group was chosen because there have been few studies exploring issues surrounding female leadership in Nigeria. High-level leaders (as opposed to lower-level leaders) were recruited for participation in this study for a number of reasons. First, their high profiles made them well-known and therefore accessible. Second, all have extensive, long-term experience in leadership, and the fact that they have been able to ascend to high-level positions indicates that they possess the skills and attributes necessary for effective leadership. Third, women who have been in leadership roles for a significant length of time also have the experience of a variety of lower-level leadership positions that they held during their ascension to the top of their fields. Fourth, as well-known public figures, they have interacted with a wide variety of people and therefore experienced many different reactions to women in positions of power. Fifth, they all have broad-based knowledge of organisational and institutional issues impacting female leadership, given their long-ranging experience in their respective fields. Sixth, they have witnessed changes in the perceptions of women in leadership and the treatment of women in leadership positions over the years and therefore are able to provide longitudinal insights into the issues facing female leaders in Nigeria. And seventh, given their visibility, they will have developed an understanding of the ways in which their public personas must be managed in order to create the right impression.

The subjects are all well-known public figures and thus were easy to identify and contact. Letters were sent to target participants (via e-mail or regular post in some cases) requesting their participation. These letters outlined the study objectives and the contribution that this research could make, as well as their rights as subjects should they choose to

participate, the ways in which their privacy would be protected, and what their participation would entail in terms of time and effort. All subjects gave written informed consent. Data was collected and stored files were password protected. Nothing that would identify the interviewees was used. Coventry University guidelines for research using human subjects were followed.

3.4.3. Sample Size

Marshall (1996) asserts that quantitative researchers often do not understand how useful it can be to study relatively small samples. He argues that this failure to grasp the relevance of small-sample studies stems from the faulty assumption that generalizability should be the ultimate goal of any good study. However, broad generalizability is not always the goal of qualitative research, and in many cases it is more useful to focus on a small number of case studies (Gerring, 2004).

Sample sizes for qualitative studies cannot be calculated using simple numerical formulas as with quantitative research. There are no specific rules. Instead, the ideal sample size for a qualitative study is whatever number is required to adequately answer the research question or questions (Marshall, 1996). Some researchers have attempted to identify specific ideal numbers using various methods to arrive at recommendations of 12 to 20 subjects (Baum, 2002) or at least 10 (Atran, Medin, & Ross; Rubinstein, 1994) on average. Guest, Bunce, and Johnson (2006:78), after conducting a systematic analysis of data they had gathered for a study of health care that included 60 African women, found that when a population has a high level of homogeneity, as few as 6 interviews may be required to develop 'meaningful themes and useful interpretations'. As can be seen from the broad variance in these recommendations, there is little agreement among researchers as to what size of subject pool is required to reach the data saturation point when conducting qualitative research. However, because the focus in qualitative research is depth and detail rather than

reduction and the identification of theoretically universal laws, the majority of researchers and experts undertaking qualitative, interview-based research agree that ideal sample sizes are typically small (Marshall, 1996; Tuckett, 2004).

Crouch and McKenzie (2006) summarise the benefits of small-sample, interview-based, qualitative research, noting that it enables the researcher to have a closer association with subjects, which can enhance the validity of research that aims for in-depth, fine-grained inquiry into a particular phenomenon within natural settings (for more on the validity of this research and the survey instrument used, see the Validity section in this chapter). The authors note that because qualitative research tends to focus on the dynamic qualities of the phenomenon of interest rather than seeking to measure the proportional relationships of its components, sample size and representativeness in terms of a broader population that does not reflect the phenomenon of interest are largely irrelevant.

According to Tuckett (2004), the goal of qualitative sampling is to have a sufficient number of subjects to reach the point of information redundancy, which occurs when interviews cease to yield new information, with each new subject simply reiterating points that have been made by the others. In his comprehensive review of the literature, Mason (2006) explores the issues affecting ideal sample size in interview-based, qualitative research for PhD studies. He found that factors influencing sample size include whether the objectives of the study are large or modest in scope, whether single or multiple methods are used, and the overall practicality of conducting the study with subject pools of various sizes. A study's objectives can determine the sample size in that a study that seeks to answer many questions or generate a large number of insights will likely require more subjects than one that is more narrowly focused. Whether a study uses single or multiple methods is also important because fewer subjects should be required for mixed-methods studies than those that rely solely on interviews. Practicality, or feasibility, is also an issue in interview-based qualitative research

because such research requires detailed, in-depth analysis, which is time-consuming and therefore usually impractical to undertake with large samples. Keeping these considerations in mind and working within the specified constraints, the subject pool selected for the primary research component of this study comprised ten Nigerian female leaders in total. This group included five top business managers, three politicians, and two religious leaders, all of whom had been in their current positions for at least five years.

Procedure for data collection

The interviews were conducted either in person or through telecommunications methods including telephone interviews using an interview schedule. Emails and written messages were eschewed as they did not allow for the researcher to accurately do follow up questioning. After the interviewees were selected and agreed to do an interview, the sessions were recorded and a basic semi-structured format followed. The semi-structured format was employed because it allowed for follow up questioning as well as the interviewee to create their own frameworks or considerations that the researcher may not have proposed if a rigid framework was provided. The details of the interviews were collected and categorized thematically so symmetry and asymmetry could be highlighted in their responses.

3.5. Data Collection

According to Polkinghorne (2005), data gathering activities in qualitative research are designed to facilitate the study of experience, which means that the data takes the form of perceptions rather than numbers. Because experience has depth, the Likert-scale questionnaires so often used in quantitative research are inadequate to capture its fullness and richness. Interviews are usually a far better option for qualitative research. For this study, data was gathered via interviews with Nigerian women in leadership roles. These interviews

were conducted in the subjects' places of work and an interview guide was used to guide the interview process. This guide covered leadership traits, behaviours, and overall styles, as well as issues relating to the intersection of gender, culture, and leadership that create challenges and barriers for aspiring female leaders in Nigeria (for information on the interview guide, including the ways in which reliability and validity were supported, see the Instrument section of this chapter).

The method that was used was narrative, since the instrument used in this study sought information about specific issues surrounding female leadership in a narrative manner, where the respondent was given the opportunity to reflect on her answers and add to them if she chose to. It was the researcher's intention to allow the subjects to discuss their thoughts as they related to the questions. Although this method is very useful for obtaining information that has depth, the researcher must be careful not to bias the subject by asking leading questions or making leading comments, it is important in this type of interview to allow the subject time and an opportunity to express thoughts that the questions may bring to mind. After the interviewee responded, the researcher would state the response back to the subject in a summary manner being careful as much as possible to use the same tone with all subjects both in order to confirm that the answer was properly interpreted by the researcher and also to allow the subject to reflect on the answer that she gave in case she might like to continue her train of thought. This facilitates obtaining information that is rich in depth because it allows for continuation of thoughts which may or may not relate back to the subject's life experiences. The interviewer must take care not to lead or prompt the subject to answer in a particular manner. A drawback in this method as stated by Jovchelovitch, Bauer, and Martin (2000), can be that some research subjects may overproduce narrative particularly if they are nervous. Neurotic behaviour and anxiety can lead to excessive story telling which

may lead the subject way off topic or, alternatively, the answers that she gives may not reflect the interviewee's actual experiences very closely.

Because these interviews were cross cultural and cross gendered (since the researcher is male and the interviewees are all females who are older than the interviewer it is important to keep cultural differences in mind in attempting to make sure that the subjects are calm and relaxed. It is also important that the researcher be aware of his cultural attitudes since these will be the lens through which the data will be interpreted. My cultural background values manners and formality and respect. The researcher preferred the face to face interview because this provided the richness of watching the facial expressions and body language of the subjects. It allows for a deeper understanding of the nature of the answers. I came to the interviews well dressed and on time.

My expectation of reciprocal punctuality was not met and I was kept waiting for 2 hours by one research subject and 8 hours by another one. While these are important women with busy agendas I felt disappointed in this behaviour. I made every effort not to show this as it could alter the perceptions of these women and their answers. I encountered a problem with one research subject who had accepted the invitation but was reluctant to meet in person. This was because she was facing corruption allegations at the time and so she agreed to do the interview over the telephone. This did not work out because I couldn't hear her clearly enough to be able to include the data.

Additional problems arose as a result of poor internet and cell phone service. This made in person interviews the only viable option. When meeting these women in Nigeria, there were sometime problems involving transportation and restriction of movement within Nigeria because of safety issues related to movements of the boko haram sect within the country.

As an example of how restating the summarized response leads to continued reflective discussion, I have included an excerpt from one interview. The name has been removed to ensure the confidentiality of the subject.

QUESTION I: In your opinion ma'am, what qualities, personalities, and behaviors are associated with poor leadership?

Respondent: Poor leadership is transparent. If you see a bad leader, straight away you know. You know, I don't like calling names, because we are discussing issues. Poor leaders…they are not satisfied with what they have. And this monetary aspect of life has no end. When I was working with the bank, my salary was 18,000, and I built a house with my husband. We are very comfortable. So if you are greedy, and they give you three million, you will be searching for more. So you see that you will never be content. Lack of contentment. You could be living in a very comfortable house, that most people would be happy to have. But you want, you want, you want. You are not tired of wanting. You know, at times people scare me. I don't know what I want at this time in my life. Where I'm working now, is better than where I've worked. But if you are not content, you want this, you want that, you want this. That is the poor leader. Poor leader, you can see it in his eyes. If I look at people now, I'm gifted, if I look at you properly, I will tell you what you are. Naturally. If you can't finish one thing…life is step-by-step…that is poor leadership. You never finish what you are doing. You are always having problems at the same time. You want to do this, and you cannot finish your work. But if you carry people along with you…when I started my leadership, I was like, I want everybody to do what I'm doing. But it doesn't work like that. Because my father taught me…I was brought up by my father…if you want to do this thing, finish it well, but I see some people are not eager to move, so I want to drag them by force. But not everybody is the same, and some people need to take their time. So I decided to learn how to tread slowly…

QUESTION I: So there is poor leadership by many people who are not satisfied, and in the essence of wanting more, will do certain things that are inappropriate and bad, and will also carry people along?

Respondent: Exactly. For example, one person is not a government. Government is for everybody, democratic government is for everybody. But when you decide to have your own government, you become a government. You become a ruler. You rule, and people will not like it. You don't rule over people indefinitely. Like this man in Libya. He wanted to rule the people indefinitely. People will get tired. Don't you see what Mandela did? Rule, then give other people a chance. That is the problem with African leaders. They die in office. How can you be a ruler for 42 years? 50 years?

Interviewing, which generates detailed, full accounts of human experience, is the method most commonly used to collect data in qualitative research (Polkinghorne, 2005). Opdenakker (2006) notes that the interview approach to data collection offers two important advantages. First, it eliminates the delay between posing a question and getting an answer that occurs with the use of online or mailed questionnaires, so participants provide more spontaneous and honest responses. Second, if subjects give their informed consent, researchers can record face-to-face interviews for later playback to review the data. Although responses are recorded in writing on the interview guide, audio playback provides context in the form of tone of voice, hesitation, and other additional elements that would be missed with a paper-based or Internet-based questionnaire. Such nuances are particularly useful when working with a small number of subjects because it is important to extract as much as possible from the interviews in such cases.

It is worth keeping in mind that subjects may use metaphors or other symbolic language, and the researcher's assumptions about the meanings of such symbols may differ

from those of the subject when conducting qualitative research using open-ended questions (Polkinghorne, 2005). Therefore, it is important to request clarification from participants when subjective, symbolic language forms are used. Onwuegbuzie et al. (2010) note that there are two additional ways in which bias may be introduced during the data collection process in qualitative research: researchers may influence study subjects and study subjects may influence researchers. In the first case, the research may be compromised if participants perceive the researcher as critical, antagonistic, or intrusive. The second type of bias may be introduced if the researcher becomes simply another participant and loses his or her objectivity completely (the latter type of bias will affect not only the data collection process but also the interpretation of results). Therefore, it is critical for researchers to be aware of their own biases before beginning data collection activities to reduce the impact of those biases on the data collection and analysis processes.

According to Polkinghorne (2005), the skill of the researcher is also important when gathering qualitative data during interviews. In particular, the researcher must be able to gain the trust of subjects, move conversations along, and encourage recall to help interviewees remember and share all aspects of their experiences and perceptions. Equally importantly, the researcher must take care not to consciously or subconsciously influence the responses of subjects by conveying expectations or suggestions. This aspect of interviewer skill overlaps with researcher integrity, a topic that is addressed in the Ethics section of this chapter.

Hancock (2002) notes that there are several interview methods that can be used. In a structured interview, the interviewer asks each participant the same set of questions in the same manner and these questions are designed to limit responses. Such interviews are a good way to obtain answers to specific questions but they may exclude important details and context. Semi-structured interviews (also known as focused interviews) make use of open-ended questions that reflect the topic areas of interest. This method allows for responses to be

explored in more detail while still maintaining the required degree of focus. In particular, it gives researchers the option of encouraging subjects to elaborate upon certain answers. Unstructured interviews (also known as in depth interviews) have little if any guiding structure. The interviewer encourages subjects to discuss a particular topic or set of topics, but questions are framed in response to the previous responses of the subject rather than proceeding in a pre-set structure. Such interviews typically involve only one or two topics and can therefore glean a significant amount of detail.

This study used a semi-structured interview methodology, as a number of specific questions were asked of each subject, but these questions were open-ended, leaving room for subjects to provide detailed answers. This flexibility was deemed necessary to obtain more comprehensive and context-rich answers to the questions posed. Although detail was sought, an unstructured interview methodology was rejected due to the need to maintain a relatively tight focus on gender, culture and leadership. Answers to the interview questions were recorded both in writing and audio to facilitate later playback.

3.6. Data Analysis

According to Onwuegbuzie et al. (2010), the quantitative research paradigm reflects logical positivism and seeks to make generalisations that are free of time and context. It is theoretically value-free, assumes a single static reality, and is based in a process of deductive logic. Qualitative research, by contrast, rejects logical positivism in favour of subjectivism, relativism, value-bound interpretation, and rhetoric rather than the straightforward comparison of numbers. Anti-positivism, a common position in qualitative research, requires interpreting reality from the perspectives of research participants rather than using strict external guidelines. This position assumes a complex, multifaceted reality that is open to multiple modes of interpretation, unlike quantitative research approaches that assume a static,

single reality (Dash, 2005). Because the research conducted for this study sought to interpret reality from the perspective of participating subjects, the analysis was conducted within an anti-positivistic framework. Anti-positivism is compatible with induction, the system of logic typically used in qualitative research.

Shepherd and Sutcliffe (2011) outline the strengths and weaknesses of deductive and inductive research approaches. The authors note that while quantitative research typically makes use of a deductive logic system whereby the researcher seeks specific data to confirm or refute a particular hypothesis, qualitative research often favours an inductive approach. Induction, a bottom-up method of inquiry, starts with empirically derived data and uses it to arrive at generalisations or create new theories. Deductive research is beneficial when precision is required, but it lacks the capacity to yield a broader understanding of a particular phenomenon. Induction, by contrast, offers a more holistic picture but it is more vulnerable to researcher bias in the form of theoretical preferences or preconceptions.

The researcher was a Nigerian male who was much younger than the research subjects. The fact that he was much younger than they were would likely explained why they appeared to feel comfortable talking openly with the researcher. They didn't appear to feel threatened by the researcher at all. This is consistent with Nigerian culture which emphasises respect for members of an older generation. The research subjects realized that because of this significant age difference the researcher would listen to them without any objection even if he did not share their views. This generational respect is part of the fabric of Nigerian culture. It is highly likely that the research subjects would have been reluctant to express themselves so openly had they been interviewed instead by a male of their own age. This is because many Nigerian men feel that it is a woman's duty to take care of children and be submissive to her husband. The opinions of such accomplished women would not be readily accepted by many Nigerian men. In addition, many Nigerian women believe that their

opinions mean little to older men; older men will not alter their perception of a woman's place in society.

This research was not guided by a specific hypothesis; instead, its goal was to develop a broader understanding of the issues facing aspiring female leaders in Nigeria. Therefore, this research made use of an inductive approach to data collection and analysis. This inductive strategy included the use of thematic analysis to move beyond a simple description of the findings. Thematic analysis, a flexible method that facilitates detailed interpretation of study findings, involves the identification of patterns within the data. Thematic analysis does not necessarily focus on prevalence, but rather on the identification of important themes allowing the participants' voices to be heard (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Content analysis can be considered a precursor to thematic analysis because it provides a means by which to categorise behavioural and verbal data so that it can be classified, summarised, and tabulated. Content analysis can be conducted on two levels: a basic descriptive account of the phenomenon of interest and higher interpretive activities (Hancock, 2002). To conduct a higher-level, interpretive analysis requires organising data into comparable units (Patton, 2002). In this study, data was drawn from the beliefs, perceptions, experiences, and knowledge of high-level female Nigerian leaders using a coding strategy that is described in the section that follows.

3.6.1. Coding Strategy

Coding is a common strategy used by qualitative researchers to derive meaning from the data they have collected. One way to do this is to associate various types of responses with corresponding numbers, which enables the researcher to quickly determine and tabulate the frequency of particular responses (Hancock, 2002). For this study, coding was used to

analyse the research data. Although the interview questions were open-ended, certain themes emerged that could be coded. Once coding was complete, the results were analysed using the frameworks of recognised leadership theories, including trait theories, leadership style and behavioural theories, and cultural theories.

The codes used for analysis in this research are summarized in Tables 1 through 4 below. Codes were divided into three categories to reflect the focal interests of this research: leadership traits and styles, cultural influences on leadership styles and opportunities, and challenges and barriers to female leadership in Nigeria.

The interviews included a series of questions regarding the traits and overall leadership styles that have been associated with effective leadership by prior researchers:

- Adaptability (Stogdill, 1948; Bass, 1990)

- Adjustment/emotional stability/emotional maturity/stress tolerance (Bass, 1990; Hogan, Curphy & Hogan, 1994; House & Aditya, 1997; Judge et al., 2009; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991; Mann, 1959; Yukl, 1998; Yukl & Van Fleet, 1992)

- Aggression/dominance (Bass, 1990; Mann, 1959)

- Agreeableness/cooperativeness (Hogan, Curphy & Hogan, 1994; Judge et al., 2009; Stogdill, 1948)

- Conscientiousness (Arvey et al., 2006; Hogan et al., 1994; Judge et al., 2002; Judge et al., 2009; Tagger, Hackett & Saha, 1999)

- Creativity (Bass, 1990; Daft, 1999)

- Drive/ambition/achievement motivation/achievement orientation (House & Aditya, 1997; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991; Yukl, 1998)

- Extroversion/sociability (Hogan, Curphy & Hogan, 1994; Lord, De Vader & Alliger, 1986; Judge et al., 2009; Mann, 1959; Northouse, 1997; Stogdill, 1948)

- Integrity (Bass, 1990; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991; Northouse, 1997; Yukl, 1998; Daft, 1999)

- Intelligence (Bass, 1990; Lord, De Vader & Alliger, 1986; Simonton, 2006)

- Openness to experience (Judge et al., 2002; Judge et al., 2009; Kickul & Neuman, 2000)

- Self-confidence/self-efficacy (Bass, 1990; Daft, 1999; Foti & Hauenstein, 2007; House & Aditya, 1997; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991; Northouse, 1997; Smith & Foti, 1998; Stogdill, 1948; Yukl, 1998; Yukl & Van Fleet, 1992)

Trait questions were included to determine whether the interviewees felt that female leaders possess traits associated with effective leadership, and if women typically manifest particular traits that contribute to their exclusion from positions of power. For each trait, a series of positively and negatively associated terms was identified based on prior research and expert definitions (see the literature review in Chapter 2 for more information about these traits, the ways in which they have been defined, and their associated descriptors and behaviours). These codes were used to identify the traits that interviewees associate with good leadership in general and with leaders of each gender in particular. Original trait terms, sub-trait terms, close synonyms, and antonyms were used for the purposes of coding, and the interview transcripts were read with a focus on identifying these keywords (see Table 44 below).

Table 44: Coding for Leadership Traits (Stogdill, 1948; Bass, 1990)

Common leadership styles have also been identified by past researchers. Popular styles include autocratic, democratic, laissez-faire, transformational (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2007), and transactional (Northouse, 2009), and there is some evidence for gender differences (Eagly et al., 2003) and cultural differences (House et al., 2004) in the likelihood of adopting particular leadership styles. The democratic and transformational styles share some

overlapping traits. However, the former emphasises consultation while the latter emphasises motivation, inspiration, and transformation (Northouse, 2009). Codes for leadership styles were derived from commonly used leadership style descriptors and associated behaviours, as well as their synonyms and antonyms (see Chapter 2 for more information about these leadership styles). Table 45 summarizes the coding for leadership styles.

Table 45: Coding for Leadership Styles (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2007; Northouse, 2009)

| Transformational/ charismatic | • Carry people along
• Charismatic
• Consultative/approachable
• Copes well with/promotes change
• Dynamic
• Emotionally intelligent
• Empowering
• Good listener
• Guiding
• Innovative
• Inspirational
• Intellectually stimulating
• Leads by example
• Motivational
• Participative
• Passionate (love of work)
• Persuasive (through communication rather than coercion)
• Reforming
• Supportive
• Transformational
• Visionary | • Authoritarian
• Autocratic
• Change-resistant
• Dictatorial
• Does not motivate followers
• Lacks emotional intelligence
• Lacks vision
• Laissez-faire
• Transactional |

The interviews also included a number of questions that focused on cultural influences. These questions were asked to determine whether the interviewees believe that culture has any bearing on the issues and challenges faced by aspiring female leaders. The set of cultural codes used in this research was drawn from the cultural models of respected researchers in the field such as Hofstede (2001), whose framework includes the cultural dimensions of individualism vs. collectivism, long-term vs. short-term orientation, masculinity vs. femininity, power distance, and uncertainty avoidance, and House et al. (2004), who conducted a global study using Hofstede's dimensions plus a number of additional ones. These added dimensions included humane orientation, which was used in the current study because research has shown that African leaders are more likely to favour humane-oriented leadership styles (House et al., 2004), and performance orientation, which reflects the degree to which awards are made based on merit or connections (Javidan et al.,

2006). The latter dimension is particularly relevant to nations such as Nigeria that still tend to select political leaders based on popularity rather than what they intend to achieve (Irabor, 2012). House et al.'s (2004) performance orientation dimension overlaps with Hofstede's (2001) uncertainty avoidance dimension in terms of the ways in which positions of power are likely to be attained. The cultural dimensions, their associated traits and behaviours, and their synonyms and antonyms were used to identify cultural leadership references within the interview transcripts in response to questions specifically related to cultural effects on leadership approaches and opportunities (see Table 46 below).

Table 46: Coding for Cultural Leadership Dimensions (Hofstede's (2001; House et al.'s, 2004)

The interviews also included a number of questions about the barriers and challenges faced by Nigerian women who aspire to leadership positions, as well as ways in which to overcome them. Therefore, the final set of codes related to barriers and challenges affecting the prospects for female leadership in Nigeria. These codes included a series of keywords drawn from prior literature on the problems women experience in Nigeria and from the transcripts of the interviews conducted for the current research. They were used to determine what the interviewees consider the most significant deterrents or obstacles to female leadership in Nigeria, and how these problems might be addressed (see Table 47 below).

Table 47: Coding for Barriers and Challenges to Nigerian Female Leadership

Barrier Type	Terms
Culture/tradition/society/ religion/practice	• Attitude • Awareness • Belief • Convention • Culture • Customs • Early marriage • Expectations • Family/domestic responsibilities • Gender role (women's role/men's role) • Inequality • Male-dominated • Practice • Religion • Rules • Society/societal • Submissive/subservient • Superior/inferior • Tradition
Lack of education	• Academic • Degree • Education • Enrolment • Knowledge • Learning • Literacy • Qualifications • Schooling • University
Direct and indirect exclusion from career opportunities/discrimination within careers	• Ban • Barrier • Blackmail/coercion • Different standards • Discrimination • Exclusion • Failure to instil confidence/empowerment • Failure to invest in women/lack of funds or other resources/poverty • Fear • Jealousy • Lack of encouragement • Lack of relevant experience/exposure • Lack of respect

	• Lack of support
	• Lack of workplace opportunities
	• Lower expectations of ability/performance
	• No networking opportunities or access to exclusive existing networks
	• Prohibition
	• Questioning women's ability
	• Questioning or challenging women's authority
	• Refusal to hire women
	• Refusal to take direction from women
	• Refusal to vote for women
	• Segregation
	• Unequal representation
	• Women not taken seriously

Code words were identified in the transcripts and incidences of each relevant term were counted in order to discover recurring themes within each of the three categories. See Chapter 4 for the analysis of findings based on these coded categories.

3.6.2. Reducing the Risk of Bias

According to Ogwuebuzie et al. (2010), there are a number of factors that may introduce bias during the analysis of study findings. First, if a researcher has little prior experience in interviewing subjects, he or she may inadvertently introduce bias during the interviewing process that will then be incorporated into the analysis unbeknownst to the researcher. Second, the researcher may simply fail to understand what participants are attempting to convey. Third, the researcher may lack talent for interpreting nonverbal communication, leading to misinterpretation of spoken statements. Fourth, the researcher may hold biases that influence the interpretation of interview data. Fifth, the researcher may be influenced by subjects during the interviews to the point where he or she loses objectivity. Sixth, the researcher's concerns about how the interpretation of findings may affect participants can influence the analysis process consciously or subconsciously. Seventh, political or ethical issues associated with the research may lead to a biased interpretation.

And eighth, problems stemming from the interviews (as identified by the researcher) may affect how the findings are interpreted.

The eight issues noted by Ogwuebuzie et al. (2010) were addressed in this study as follows. First, the interviews were guided by a pre-established interview guide rather than spontaneously by the researcher, which reduced the likelihood that the researcher would inadvertently influence the results. Second, audio data was used in conjunction with the written findings to provide verbal context and subjects were asked to clarify any responses that could be perceived as ambiguous in order to reduce the risk of misunderstandings. Third, the safeguards used to address the second issue also reduced the risk of the third type of bias: misinterpretation of body language. Fourth, the use of strict coding strategies reduced the risk of researcher bias during the analysis. Fifth, the risk of reduced objectivity due to identification with subjects during the primary research component was mitigated by conducting a literature review of relevant sources to provide a broader overview. Sixth, the outcomes of this research were unlikely to significantly affect participants in any way; therefore, concerns regarding the potential impacts of this research on subjects were unlikely to influence the analysis process. Seventh, although this research was fraught with socio-political issues, adherence to strict coding procedures reduced the likelihood that any political biases held by the researcher would affect the analysis. And eighth, there were no problems associated with the interviews that could potentially influence the results of the analysis.

3.7. Instrument

An interview guide was created specifically for this study. This instrument contained 15 open-ended questions (see Appendix A for the full interview guide), which encompassed five topics:

- Traits and styles associated with effective leadership

- Gender differences in leadership traits and styles

- Cultural influences on leadership approaches and opportunities

- Barriers and challenges to female leadership in Nigeria

- Ways to create more opportunities for aspiring female leaders

Questions regarding the traits and styles of good leaders were included to determine what the interviewees consider to be effective leadership. Questions about gender differences in leadership were incorporated to determine whether the interviewees felt that female leaders have traits or adopt styles that could potentially act as barriers to their attainment of leadership positions or their success within those positions. Questions addressing cultural influences were included to identify particular features of Nigeria's culturally sanctioned approaches to leadership that present challenges to aspiring female leaders. And questions that focused on barriers and challenges to female leadership in Nigeria and the ways in which they could be overcome were asked to gain insights that could be useful for implementing positive changes. Reliability and validity concerns surrounding this instrument and qualitative research in general are addressed in the sections that follow.

3.7.1. Reliability

The concept of reliability is somewhat different in qualitative research than in quantitative research, and when applied to the former, it can be difficult to define. However, a number of experts have tackled the question in order to provide some workable definitions. Lewis (2009) cites replicability as a reliability criterion and this applies to the current research, given that another researcher could use the same interview guide with a similar group of subjects. However, it should be noted that no two subjects will have the exact same experience and even the same individual may change his or her opinions, attitudes, behaviours, and other responses over time, so the ability to replicate case studies is limited.

According to Golafshani (2003), the fulfilment of validity requirements has been put forth by many experts as evidence of reliability in qualitative research, given that there can be no reliability without validity. The ways in which validity concerns have been addressed in this study are outlined in the following section.

3.7.2. Validity

Validity can also be difficult to determine for qualitative research. Trochim (2006) associates validity with credibility, Golafshani (2003) with trustworthiness, and Lewis (2009) with freedom from bias. The linkages between these three definitions are obvious, given that bias threatens both credibility and trustworthiness. How can bias be avoided in qualitative research? First and foremost, the researcher must avoid imposing his or her own personal meaning onto the responses of subjects. Lewis (2009) suggests a number of strategies for avoiding the sort of bias that will compromise validity, such as:

- Using open-ended questions

- Avoiding directional or misleading questions

- Providing opportunities for subjects to elaborate upon their answers

It is also critical that the chosen research instrument truly capture the experiences of subjects accurately and entirely (Polkinghorne, 2005). The interview guide used for the primary research component of this study was designed with these precautions in mind. To increase the likelihood of meeting these criteria for validity in qualitative research, questions were designed to be open-ended, allowing the interviewees plenty of leeway to express their feelings and beliefs and describe their experiences in detail. None of the questions included attempts to mislead or guide responses in a particular direction.

3.8. Ethics

Ethics approval was obtained prior to data collection from Coventry University Research Degrees Sub-Committee (RDSC). The nature of the research and its purpose was explained to all subjects prior to interviewing them. Research subjects were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time. Signed informed consent was obtained from all research subjects prior to interviewing them. The research complied with all ethical standards and protocols for Coventry University. Researchers must strive to maintain the highest levels of integrity and honesty. To meet these standards, they must ensure that their data collection and analysis procedures are transparent to anyone who might review them and apply such findings within their own research or practice (Polkinghorne, 2005). To ensure transparency, the research approach, rationale for the study design, the ways in which findings were coded and organised, the theoretical frameworks applied to them, and the means by which conclusions were drawn have all been clearly specified in this thesis.

The most important aspect of research ethics is protection of subjects. The welfare of participants can be ensured not only by maintaining confidentiality (unless subjects give informed consent for the publication of identifying information), but also by treating subjects with sensitivity and showing concern for their needs and feelings (Polkinghorne, 2005). To ensure that the interviewees understood why this research was being undertaken, their rights as participants, how their privacy would be protected, and what would be required of them should they choose to participate, they were provided with letters requesting their participation that explained all of these issues. Participants chose to provide informed consent after they had the opportunity to review this information. Furthermore, they were treated with the utmost respect and consideration during the interview process.

Although there were interviews conducted with live participants, no identifying information was collected. Instead, numbers were used to denote subjects, and their positions

were described in generic terms (for example, 'top manager', 'religious leader', or 'politician'). In addition, all data gathered for this study was stored and password protected.

3.9.   Limitations

There are a number of limitations inherent in the use of self-report approaches to data collection. As noted by Polkinghorne (2005), human experience, unlike human behaviour, is not directly observable. Instead, it must be conveyed via linguistic symbols and further filtered through the narrow lens of the research instrument used. Given that some research participants are better able than others to convey their feelings and experiences accurately using language, the effectiveness of self-report methods can be variable. Race, ethnicity, social class, and other factors also influence the ways in which personal experience is conveyed. Furthermore, participants do not have full access to their own experiences due to problems with recall and limited personal insight or awareness of their own intentions or actions. In addition, reflecting on one's experiences changes them by creating emotional distance.

Honesty is another issue afflicting self-report studies. Whenever self-report measures are used, it is impossible to ensure that participants will provide an honest accounting of their feelings, beliefs, behaviours, and experiences. According to Donaldson and Grant-Vallone (2002), research participants are inclined to provide responses that they consider socially desirable when given the option of self-report, which can threaten a study's validity.

In addition to the problems associated with self-report data collection approaches, the fact that the subject pool was quite small and specific to a particular country limits the overall generalizability of the findings. Furthermore, the study was limited to a particular timeframe, whereas the socio-political landscape that impacts gender and cultural issues in leadership is

rapidly evolving. However, this limitation would apply to any research in the field that is not

longitudinal.

4. **Findings and Analysis**

Eighteen subjects were approached for the study. Of these, ten women in high-level religious, government, and corporate leadership positions, including directors of large government parastatals, were interviewed for this research. One woman declined to be interviewed unless she was allowed to see the interview guide. One subject was unable to be interviewed as she was outside of the country at the time.

The research subjects ranged in age from 40 to 65 and all had a minimum of 5 years in their current roles, with some having 16 years or more of experience in a variety of leadership positions. Most of the women interviewed were in their 50s. One business leader was in her 60s, one in her 70s, and the youngest woman interviewed was a political leader her 40s. Some of the 18 subjects who were approached did not respond. This chapter, which details the findings from these interviews, is divided into six sections that cover the following topics:

- Traits and styles associated with good leadership

- Gender differences in leadership

- Cultural influences on leadership approaches and opportunities

- Barriers and challenges to female leadership in Nigeria

- Ways to create more opportunities for aspiring female leaders in the nation

- Summary of findings

Highlights from the interviews that reflect these issues have been included in the appropriate sections. It should be noted that in some cases interviewees went off topic with regard to particular questions, repeated information they wished to emphasise using slightly different wording, or provided responses that were difficult to interpret. Because of these issues, full responses to every question are not included in this chapter. Coding frequencies

based on the entire interview transcripts are provided at the end of each section. Interview transcripts are not included for confidentiality reasons.

4.1. Traits, Behaviours, and Overall Styles Associated with Good Leadership

Participants were asked to name the traits, behaviours, and overall styles they associate with good and bad leadership. Common themes associated with good leadership included the need to be a good listener and communicator, to maintain high standards of integrity, to lead by example, and to be visionary. Selfishness and lack of integrity were commonly equated with poor leadership. Many of these themes arising from the interviews, such as integrity and a visionary approach to leadership, have been identified as universal leadership ideals by other researchers (Javidan et al., 2006).

Individual responses to the question of what makes a good leader are provided as follows:

Participant A, a business leader, emphasised the value of a visionary outlook, as well as the ability to communicate it to others.

> A good leader needs to be visionary. You need to be able to have an ideal that you are aspiring to. Then hand in hand with that you need clarity, because you need to be able to articulate this not just for yourself but for the people you are leading. And you need to be able to develop a, you know, a plan of action, to lead your team to this vision. So you need to have a vision – you need to be visionary – you need to define it, articulate it, you need to be able to, you have to have good planning skills, to be a good, project manager to the team to achieving that vision.

Participant B, a religious leader, stressed the ethical aspects of leadership.

> First of all, there has to be a transparency. You must be trustworthy. You must be diligent. You must be a hard worker, and lead by example.

Participant C, a religious leader, emphasised the importance of guiding followers and working toward a mandate, as well as the long-term ideal of leaving a positive legacy.

> An ability to guide the people along. An ability to achieve, to have a mandate it mind, and advocate it. And to ensure that at the end of your tenure, you have achieved what you were supposed to at that position. To be able to reflect, to be

able to leave a good legacy, of whatever you have achieved so that it won't be eroded by time.

Participant D, a business leader, also stressed the ethical aspects of leadership, particularly transparency.

> A good leader should be transparent first of all, so that people can follow you. And you should also demonstrate transparency in your life. In whatever you say. Transparency doesn't mean your behaviour. It means your utterances. You can talk [falsely] and behave [falsely], so people will never trust you. Leadership needs to be trusted.

Participant E, a political leader, argued on behalf of servant leadership while rejecting the concept of autonomous leadership.

> A good leader must be a servant. And in saying so I mean you cannot lead in isolation of the people you are leading. So, supposedly you are a servant as their leader. A leader shouldn't be a ruler.

Participant F, a business leader, stressed listening skills and the ability to accommodate the diverse needs of followers.

> First of all, it is a leader that has a good ear. A leader that is ready to accommodate everybody. Because when you are ready to accommodate everybody, and have a listening ear, you will be able to know people's problems. You will be able to know, those people are hurting, what can I do for them? How can we move forward in our organisation?

Participant G, a political leader, named specific traits associated with good leadership, such as confidence, integrity, passion, assertiveness, emotional stability, emotional intelligence, fairness, empathy, and compassion.

> Well I think some of the traits that make a good leader, is first of all you have to be passionate that is you have to believe in yourself. You have to be confident. You have to have integrity, honesty. As I said you have to be confident, because if you don't know where you're going you cannot lead anybody. You have to be goal oriented. You have to be assertive. Generally, you have to have emotional stability also . . . Yes, emotional stability, maybe emotional intelligence, you know because you have to be able to lead people from some position of understanding. You have to be fair. You have to be even. All these you cannot do if you don't have emotional intelligence. You have to also have empathy, because

you have to have feelings for people, you have to understand them, and stuff like that.

Participant H, a business leader, stressed the importance of transformational leadership, as well as communication and listening skills.

Well for you to be a good leader, you must be able to have the skills that allow you to lead, not to manage. One of those skills you require is how to be able to carry yourself alone. How to be able to communicate the corporate strategy to them. Are you able to play your own role, and also give feedback to management? Another skill is for you to be a transformational leader. That is bringing in a lot of ideas that can reform the system where you work. Where you can bring in new changes. New approaches to the way things usually are done. And achieve those set objective of the organisation...you must be a good listener.

Participant I, a political leader, associated selfishness with poor leadership, an association that appears to be universally endorsed (Brodbeck et al., 2000; Javidan et al., 2006). She also expressed the belief that sympathy, a stereotypically feminine attribute, is critical to good leadership.

Well, poor leadership, I will say one of the first issues related to poor leadership is selfishness. If a leader lacks the ability to carry everybody along, and is self-oriented, believes only in himself, you have one of the critical aspects that will bring about bad leadership. And then, where you have a leader that does not sympathize with his followers, you will also likely have bad leadership.

Participant J, a religious leader, unsurprisingly emphasised moral integrity, as well as insight, self-discipline, and listening skills, and showed a preference for consultative leadership.

Well, a good leader of course must be, in my opinion, someone who is upright by general societal standards. One who is insightful. One who is, he or she, disciplined, of course. And has those traits which are considered to be leadership qualities generally. You should be a people's person, one who listens to others, one who can take advice, one who is learned in certain fields of course, and so on.

When asked about traits associated with bad leadership, Participant J asserted that a dictatorial style, lack of flexibility, lack of integrity, and failure to deliver on promises indicate a bad leader.

Well of course, if a leader is not, for instance, carrying the people along. If he's too dictatorial for instance, or too stiff and is not flexible in his or her approach, you can consider such a person a poor leader in some aspects. Also if the leader is not delivering on his or her promises for instance. If there are certain expectations, and he or she is not meeting them, of course he would be considered a poor leader. Also if he is exhibiting some obvious defect in his own moral conduct or his character. Yes, he will be considered a poor leader.

Although the interviewees provided a variety of responses to the question of what constitutes a good leader, certain themes were evident. Throughout the interviews, many of the women stressed the importance of integrity, which is a universally preferred trait in leaders according to the findings of international research (Brodbeck et al., 2000; Javidan et al, 2006; Resick et al., 2006). They also emphasised the importance of listening skills, leading by example, and adopting consultative (non-dictatorial) and transformational leadership styles. It was also evident that a strong education was important. Several of the participants had international educations (especially at the universal level), which some mentioned had influenced their perceptions and views. This was not a strong enough trend to be included as a significant shared characteristic, but it is worth considering what impact this had on the outcomes.

Code frequencies for ideal leadership traits and styles are provided in Tables 48 and 49 below. As can be seen from the response frequencies in Table 48, all of the interviewees stressed the importance of sub-traits and behaviours related to the overarching trait of agreeableness/ cooperativeness, and a large majority also emphasised the importance of conscientiousness, drive/ambition/motivation/achievement orientation, and integrity. Several also mentioned terms related to intelligence; two noted the importance of adaptability, adjustment/emotional stability/emotional maturity/stress tolerance, and aggression/dominance; and one mentioned self-confidence/self-efficacy as an important element in good leadership. None of the respondents referred to creativity, extroversion/sociability, or openness to experience as key leadership traits.

Table 48: Traits Associated with Good Leadership

Trait	Terms Used	Frequency
Adaptability	G. Able to adapt J. Flexible	2
Adjustment/emotional stability/emotional maturity/stress tolerance	A. Reactionary (bad leaders) G. Emotional stability	2
Aggression/dominance	G. Assertive, strength, courage; weak (bad leaders) J. Strong	2
Agreeableness/cooperativeness	A. Consultative B. Appreciate people D. Humble E. Servant, good listener F. Good listener ('good ear'), accommodating, consultative ('All others to bring their own ideas for you'), respectful, caring G. Understanding, empathy H. Listens I. Team player, sympathy, humble, humility J. Consultative ('listens to others', 'can take advice')	10
Conscientiousness	A. Ill-prepared (bad leaders) B. Diligent, hardworking, follow through, reliable; negligence, unfit leaders (bad leaders) C. Focus, diligence; inept (bad leaders) D. Finish your work (follow-through) E. Hardworking, dogged H. Hardworking I. Reliable J. Disciplined	8
Creativity		0
Drive/ambition/motivation/achievement orientation	A. High expectations B. Love your mission C. Achieve, initiative D. Deliver according to expectations E. Passion F. Love of work G. Passionate, goal-oriented I. Goal-oriented ('keep your eyes constantly on the goal so that you achieve what you intend to achieve')	8

Extroversion/ sociability		0
Integrity	A. Corrupt (bad leaders) B. Transparent, trustworthy; insincerity, corruption (bad leaders) D. Transparent, honest (not false), trusted; greedy (bad leaders) F. Self-interested (bad leaders) G. Integrity, honesty, fair; hypocritical, lie, steal (bad leaders) I. Selfish, self-oriented (bad leaders) J. Upright, delivers on promises, moral conduct and character	7
Intelligence	E. Intelligent G. Emotional intelligence J. Insightful, learned	3
Openness to experience		0
Self-confidence/self-efficacy	G. Believe in yourself, be confident	1

Table 49 shows the response frequencies for leadership styles and their associated behaviours. Nearly all of the interviewees (nine) said that elements of the transformational leadership style are critical to good leadership. Aspects of the democratic leadership style, which shares elements with the transformational style, were endorsed by six of the research participants. Four participants referred to aspects of the autocratic style, associating it with bad leadership, and two mentioned terms related to the laissez-faire style as evidence of poor leadership as well. Only one referred to a reward-based approach, which is associated with the transactional style of leadership. Overall, the transformational style was widely supported as the leadership ideal, which is in keeping with past research showing this style to be the most effective (Bass & Bass, 2008).

Table 49: Styles Associated with Good Leadership

Leadership Style	Terms Used	Frequency
Autocratic	D. Dictator (bad leader) E. Ruler (bad leader) H. Dictatorial, one-way direction (bad leader) J. Dictatorial (bad leader)	4
Democratic	B. Delegate authority, consultative D. Democratic, consultative ('Let everybody bring their own ideas') E. Good listener, not a ruler F. Good listener ('good ear'), consultative ('all others to bring their own ideas for you'), approachable H. Listens, not dictatorial or directive J. Consultative ('listens to others', 'can take advice'), involves others	6
Laissez-Faire	A. Ineffective H. Failure to mentor, push, or establish any relationship with followers	2
Transactional	H. Reward-based ('Find ways of rewarding them')	1
Transformational	A. Visionary, good communication skills, motivational skills, inspire, lead by example, approachable B. Lead by example, love your mission C. Guide, change a system positively, dynamic E. Good listener, passion, supportive ('carry along my people'), inspiration F. Good listener ('good ear'), love of work, approachable G. Passionate, inspire, lead by example, motivate, emotional intelligence H. Communicate corporate strategy, transformational leader, reform the system, bring in new changes, listens, mentors (supportive) I. Supportive ('carry people along'), make a change, transformational J. Consultative ('listens to others', 'can take advice'), supportive ('carrying people along'), visionary	9

4.**2.** **Gender Differences in Leadership**

When the interviewees were asked about gender differences in leadership and women's particular leadership styles, responses varied, though most perceived some gender-based leadership trait, behaviour, and style differences.

Participant A suggested that women are more adaptable, empathic, ethical, and better at multitasking.

> We're more pliable. So we can adapt to situations for the best... I mean that we women multitask better than men. Women are more empathetic. We see what problems are, and I think because we empathize more, we can come up with more successful realistic and sustainable solutions. And if we could do that, then with being able to multitask, and I believe we are also less likely than men to cut corners and bend rules to achieve a result. And I think that has been an empirical proven in things like breaking the law. There are more men in jail than women, so I think that it is proven that we tend to break the law less.

Her observations are in keeping with the finding of O'Connell, McNeely & Hall (2008) that women are more adaptable in the workplace and that of Fridkin and Kenney (2009) that female leaders are more honest. However, other researchers such as Kidwell et al. (1987), Cavallo and Brienza (2002), and Reingold (1996) have found no gender differences in integrity among leaders.

Participant B also felt that female leaders have greater integrity due to lack of bias. She said that men are more likely to reward followers based on favouritism, whereas women tend to base their decisions on merit, and are thus more fair-minded.

> It is said that women are the weaker sex, but I believe men in this are the weaker sex. Because if you work in an office, you will see two workers who work very hard. If in an office, the woman works to 60 per cent, which is higher than average, and the man works harder than the woman at 70 per cent, if the man is in charge he will likely associate with the woman then. But if a woman is in charge of the office, she will take the percentage that is higher, regardless of whether it is male or female. They are not really biased. Men are more biased in how they choose things than women.

Participant C believed that women are more excitable, but said that this is a positive attribute because it makes women respond better. However, she also thought that men are more insightful in leadership roles.

> Because women are more excitable. And that affects their leadership style. And men have a lot of foresight. And that makes women respond better, but men are more insightful.

It is worth noting that a prior study examining gender differences in excitability among leaders found no significant gender differences for this trait (Berry et al., 2008).

Participant D also expressed the belief that men and women lead differently. She associated courage with male leaders and felt that most women lack this trait. However, she also noted that women are good leaders because they do not take things for granted, and related this to women's roles as caretakers and managers of their own households.

> Women and men adopt very, very, very different styles. Men have courage. Women don't have courage. Very few women are courageous. A man can take things for granted. Women don't take things for granted. A woman is a good leader…a good manager. If a woman happens to get money, you know that it will go down to the family. Because before you think of anything, if you're a woman, you think of your family. Before I leave my house . . . even my houseboy, even my security . . . I make sure there is enough food for them before I go. Men don't care about that . . . at times they may forget.

The assumption that men are more courageous is in keeping with popular stereotypes of men as tougher, which have been identified by prior researchers examining public perceptions of gender differences among leaders (Escandon & Kamungi, 2008; Johnson et al., 2008; Pew Research Center, 2008).

Participant E disagreed that male leaders are always stronger, noting that men and women do not always conform to gender stereotypes, an assertion that is supported by the leadership research of (Kabacoff, 1998; Musson, 2001). However, she also said that women tend to be more cautious and to think more deeply about the long-term impacts of their decisions.

> There are some women leaders that you realize they are sometimes tough, tougher than some men. There are some male leaders that are weak leaders, they cannot make firm decisions. It's like that. But basically, as far as the woman is

concerned, because of her nature, the woman is more cautious sometimes as far as the impact of some of her steps in the near future. Before a woman takes certain decisions, she looks beyond that time that she . . . okay in a few years what will it look like? We look beyond where we are, much more than the men.

Participant F contrasted the more direct, unilateral male style with the gentler approach of women, noting that women maintain the flexibility to revise their decisions if necessary. This is in keeping with the findings of Berry et al. (2008) that men are more likely to favour a command-and-control leadership style.

But if it is a man, he would just go straight ahead and do it. Women are just gentle, gentle, gentle. They don't have that harshness. If a woman makes a decision, she is ready to revise it immediately. But if it is men, they don't revise immediately like that.

Participant G asserted that many women tend to be more emotional than men, and noted that this attribute can be either a strength or a weakness, depending on the context. Her observation contrasts with the findings of Berry et al. (2008) that there is no significant gender difference in emotional stability among managers.

Yes, a lot of women are emotional. We are more emotional than men, and we tend to invest our emotions in a lot of things we do . . . using emotions, sometimes is a strength, other times it's a weakness. Because if you invest emotions in what you do, you are able to empathise better. But sometimes it's a weakness, because you tend to overlook a lot of things because you are being sentimental. So it's not always a weakness. Sometimes it is, sometimes it's a strength. It depends on the situation.

Participant H rejected the idea that men and women adopt different leadership styles, though she did say that the two genders have different approaches to leadership, with men more inclined to demand immediate results and women more likely to take other factors into account when setting goals. She attributed this difference to greater tolerance among female leaders, though she also considered female leaders to be more level-headed (a trait related to emotional adjustment) and transparent (a trait related to integrity), and thought that women are more inclined to push for excellence.

Well, I would not say that their styles would be different. I would just say their approaches are different. A man may want results now. I want my results now. A woman may look at other factors. She may say, okay, I want my results now but because of so and so factors we may take it gradually till we get to a set goal. So, I think the woman is more tolerant. And also pushes for more excellence, and is more transparent. She is level-headed.

Participant I said that women are more sympathetic and emotional, in keeping with gender stereotypes. She also stated that women are inclined to strive harder because they are approaching leadership from a disadvantaged position.

I think women tend to be more sympathetic. They tend to be more emotional, they tend to be more passionate about the things they do. And the first women come from mostly disadvantaged positions. They are not looked at as leaders, they are not regarded as leaders. They are not groomed in most settings, in most situations, to become leaders. So they strive more, they want to achieve, they want to ensure that they do things well. Men take it for granted. They have always been leaders. It is from men that leaders are selected, so it's not a new thing for them. ...They feel if they fail, it will be seen as we always expected you to fail, we never expected you to succeed. So they give that extra push, but the men don't go that extra length.

Also in line with popular gender stereotypes, **Participant J** expressed the belief that men are more authoritative and women are more consultative due to the different spheres of authority each assumes in their non-professional lives.

Let's look at it from the home front for a change. A man is a leader in his home, and his general style would be to give the certain rules or regulations, which everyone in the family has to follow. He dictates the pace at which things move, for instance, while the woman is also a leader in her own department, you know, in the kitchen, and in child care and in all that. And definitely their styles would be different. The man is more authoritative, let me say less consultative than the woman. The woman is a bit softer, she wants to consult, so yes, I would say so.

Some of the interview participants noted that different standards are often used to judge male and female leadership, and that beliefs about women can negatively affect perceptions of female leadership.

Participant A: If I was a harsh woman who said go do it don't ask me why, then I'll be labelled a bitch. Whereas if a man said it exactly the same way, they'll just say he's a good leader.

> **Participant C**: Well the public view is that women are weak, and they are malleable, they can change their mind, they are emotional. And of course, it's more like this in Africa. So perception is different.

This is in keeping with the findings of other researchers that the same behaviours may be judged differently depending on the gender of the leader (Avolio et al., 2009; Brackert, 2004; Kolb, 1999; Smith, Matkin & Fritz, 2004).

Tables 50 and 51 below show the code frequencies for terms used to denote gender differences in leadership traits and styles. As can be seen in Table 50, half of the interviewees said that there are gender differences in adjustment/emotional stability/emotional maturity/stress tolerance. Of these, four considered women to be more emotional or excitable, while one thought that women tend to be more level-headed. Half of the respondents also perceived gender differences in aggression/dominance, typically considering men to be more aggressive or dominant, though one expressed the belief that some women are tougher and some men weaker in leadership positions.

Five of the research participants considered women to be more agreeable and cooperative, with key indicators including sympathy, empathy, consultation, consideration, and tolerance (this latter term is also related to the openness to experience dimension). Gender differences in integrity were noted by half of the respondents as well, all of whom believed that women have more integrity. Three of the interviewees made references to indicators of adaptability in favour of women (in two cases due to women's greater ability to multitask). Although three also cited differences in drive/ambition/motivation/achievement orientation, two considered women to be more achievement- or excellence-oriented, while the third felt that women tend to be less ambitious. As for conscientiousness, two respondents asserted that men are more likely to cut corners, suggesting that women are more conscientious. In addition, one interviewee expressed the belief that men are more inclined to

take risks, a trait that has been associated with both extroversion and self-confidence, and another considered men to be more insightful, an aspect of intelligence. No respondents used descriptors referring to gender differences in creativity or self-confidence/self-efficacy.

Table 50: Gender Differences in Leadership

Trait	Term	Frequency
Adaptability	A. Multitask, adapt (women); rigid (men) F. Adaptable (women) G. Multitask (women)	3
Adjustment/emotional stability/emotional maturity/stress tolerance	C. Excitable (women) G. Emotional (women) H. Level-headed (women) I. Emotional (women) J. Subject to emotional influences (women)	5
Aggression/ dominance	A. Direct, harsh (men); stronger (women) D. Courage (men) E. Tough (some women), weak (some men); cautious (women) F. Weaker, soft, modest, gentle (women); harshness (men) J. Less aggressive (women)	5
Agreeableness/cooperativeness	A. Empathic, consultative (women) G. Empathize (women), egotistical (men) H. Considerate, tolerant (women) I. Sympathetic (women) J. Consultative (women)	5
Conscientiousness	A. Cut corners (men) E. Cut corners (men)	2
Creativity		0
Drive/ambition/ achievement motivation/ achievement orientation	H. Pushes for excellence (women) I. Passion, strive, want to achieve (women) J. Less ambitious (women)	3
Extroversion	A. Risk taking (men)	1

Integrity	A. Bend rules, break the law (men) B. Biased (men) D. Corrupt (men) G. Honest, integrity (women) H. Transparent (women)	5
Intelligence	C. Insightful (men)	1
Openness to experience	H. Tolerant	1
Self-confidence/self-efficacy	A. Risk taking (men)	0

Comparing these findings to those of past studies, some researchers have found similar gender differences for adaptability (Sexton & Bowman-Upton, 1990; Caliper, 2005; Cavallo & Brienza, 2002; Van Keer et al., 2009), adjustment/emotional stability/emotional maturity/stress tolerance (Fietze et al., 2009; Van Keer et al., 2009), agreeableness/cooperativeness (Al-Dabbagh, 2008; Berry et al., 2008; Caliper, 2005; Fietze et al., 2009; Fridkin & Kenney, 2009; Groves, 2009), conscientiousness (Cavallo & Brienza, 2002; Fietze et al., 2009), and integrity (Deshpande, Joseph, & Maximov, 2000; Fridkin & Kenney, 2009).

However, other studies have found no significant gender differences for adjustment (Berry et al., 2008; CDR Assessment Group, 2008; Envick & Langford, 2003), aggression/dominance (Melamed & Bozionelos, 1992), agreeableness/cooperativeness (Cavallo & Brienza, 2002), intelligence (Melamed & Bozionelos, 1992), or integrity (Cavallo & Brienza, 2002; Kidwell, Reingold, 2009; Stevens, & Bethke, 1987), and additional studies have found gender differences that contradict the assertions of the interviewees for adaptability (Kabacoff, 1998), adjustment (Cavallo & Brienza, 2002), aggression/dominance (Kabacoff, 1998; Musson, 2001), agreeableness (Kabacoff, 1998), and conscientiousness (Berry et al., 2008; Envick & Langford, 2003; Musson, 2001, Van Keer et al., 2009).

Regarding openness to experience, most prior research indicates that females tend to be more open to experience (Caliper, 2005; Envick & Langford, 2003; Fietze et al., 2009; Kabacoff, 1998; Magee & Hojat, 1998; Musson, 2001; Van Keer et al., 2009), while men score more highly on measures of cautiousness, adherence to established routines (Caliper, 2007), and general conservatism (Kabacoff, 1998). However, one study found that male leaders were more likely to consider new approaches and be comfortable with change in general (Kabacoff, 1998).

Although the interviewees did not comment on possible gender differences in creativity, past research has found gender differences among leaders for this trait (Berry et al., 2008; Caliper, 2005; Van Keer et al., 2009). A number of researchers have also found gender differences among leaders for self-confidence/self-efficacy (Berry et al., 2008; Caliper, 2005; German Consulting Group, 2005; Escandon & Kamungi, 2008; Van Keer et al., 2009). Also, looking specifically at risk-taking as an indicator of confidence rather than extroversion in leaders, Masters and Meier (1988) found no significant gender differences, Sexton and Bowman-Upton (1990) and Carland et al. (1995) found that males tended to score higher on this measure, and Berry et al. (2009) found in favour of female leaders.

As for ambition, in keeping with the findings of the current study, past research has yielded mixed results. Clark et al. (1989) and Fulton et al. (2006) found male North American political leaders to be more ambitious and the Institute of Leadership & Management (2010) found male managers to be more ambitious. However, both sets of researchers attributed this gender difference to the fact that the women had more childcare responsibilities. Other corporate leadership studies have either found females to be more ambitious (Berry et al., 2008; Van Keer et al., 2009) or no significant gender differences (Catalyst, 2004; Cavallo & Brienza, 2002). The sole international study conducted by Cavallo and Brienza (2002) found no significant gender differences in ambition.

The only reference to extroversion sub-traits made by the interviewees focused on risk taking. Past research on gender differences among leaders for this trait has yielded mixed results, with some finding no significant differences in extroversion (Envick & Langord, 1988; Kabacoff, 1998; Masters & Meier, 1988; Melamed & Bozionelos, 1992), others finding men to be more extroverted (Fietze et al., 2009; Musson, 2001; Sexton & Bowman-Upton, 1990), and still others finding in favour of women for this trait (Berry et al., 2008; Caliper, 2005; Cavallo & Brienza, 2002; Craig et al., 2004; Van Keer et al., 2009).

Table 51 below shows the frequency with which gender differences in leadership styles and their associated behaviours were indicated by interview participants. Overall, four interviewees referred to the autocratic leadership style, with three considering men to show more tendencies associated with autocratic leadership and one considering women to be stricter in leadership positions. Several of the participants felt that women are more inclined to have the skills and engage in the behaviours associated with transformational leadership such as persuasiveness and communication skills, a visionary outlook, and passion, and two thought that women tend to be more democratic due to their naturally consultative style. None of the interviewees referred to gender differences in the traits, behaviours, or skills associated with transactional or laissez-faire leadership. A meta-analysis conducted by Eagly et al. (2003) also found that women are more likely to adopt transformational leadership styles, and other research has found that men are more likely to favour a command-and-control style akin to autocratic leadership (Berry et al., 2008). Therefore, the findings from Nigeria are in keeping with those of research conducted in other nations.

Table 51: Gender Differences in Leadership Styles

Leadership Style	Terms	Frequency
Autocratic	A. Strict (men) E. Strict (women) G. Directive (men) J. Rules or regulations, dictates, authoritative (men); softer (women)	4
Democratic/consultative	A. Consultative (women) J. Consultative (women)	2
Laissez-Faire		0
Transactional		0
Transformational	A. Persuasive communicate better (women) E. Visionary (women – 'We look beyond where we are, much more than men') I. Passion (women)	3

4.3. Cultural Influences on Leadership Approaches and Opportunities

When asked about the role culture plays in leadership, some interview participants expressed the belief that it has a strong influence, whereas others asserted that leadership styles and behaviours tend to be the same everywhere. Participant A noted that what might be considered good leadership in a developing nation such as Nigeria may not be up to the standards of certain other nations.

> What might be considered good leadership here would not necessarily pass muster in some other countries. What might be considered good leadership here would not necessarily pass muster in some other countries. What we think of as being good. And I'm just now trying to think of examples. The other side to that question is should that be the case? In reality, good and bad leadership should be the same everywhere. If you have a good leader, you know it is a good leader. Whether it is in Nigeria, whether it's in the UK, in Japan, whether it's in Australia. It should be clear that this is a good leader, and it should be clear that this is a bad leader. Wherever, on the planet. However, is that the reality? In Nigeria do we have people who are considered good leaders, but abroad would be considered bad leaders? I always quarrel with my mom when she says things like "This person is good, this person is trying." And I say no, there's nothing that says trying makes the person good. But because we're so used to bad, anytime we see something better, we get confused and say it's good. It's not necessarily good,

it's just better than bad. Now is that a cultural thing, or is that what developing countries go through? Because the fact that Nigeria is a developing country…the bar is set a bit low. So anybody doing relatively better than we're used to we hail as a good leader. But take that performance to a developed country. And the person will fall very far short. Probably because of where we are, in our stage of development, we consider that good. Does that answer the question? So maybe that's not cultural, but stage of development. But there could be cultural things. I do think culture does come into play; there are things that are accepted in one culture that aren't accepted in another. So those would be benchmarks. I'm trying to think of an example…

She also noted that although her organisation rewards based on merit, that is not the case throughout the nation, which suggests a low performance orientation based on House et al.'s (2004) leadership dimensions or a high level of uncertainty avoidance according to Hofstede's (2001) cultural leadership model (however, Hofstede gave Nigeria an intermediate score on this measure).

Overall, though, women are head of four of the six departments. But we're a small technical agency, where merit is rewarded. It's acknowledged, it's recognized. Now if that could be carried to everywhere else based on measures, based on deliverables. If people are delivering, forget about if she's a woman with seven children, but does she deliver? Yes! Because it doesn't matter if she has seven children. Actually one of us does have seven children. But she doesn't let it affect her job. So if there would be the acknowledgement that based on competence, based on merit, based on successful deliverables, irrespective of gender, it can only be for the betterment of everyone. Like I said, affirmative action shouldn't be necessary if that was being done. If that could be expanded across the country. Cultural and religious perceptions play a large role. How do you change that?

Participant B expressed the belief that Nigerian leaders are less likely to keep their word or implement changes as promised, suggesting a lack of integrity.

In other countries, when a leader says something he stands by his word. But in Nigeria, there is no change, there is do as I say, not as I do.

Participant C noted that Nigeria still maintains a traditional monarchy, and adherence to tradition indicates a short-term orientation within Hofstede's (2001) model. She also said that awards are not merit-based in the nation, which suggests a high level of uncertainty

avoidance under Hofstede's (2004) model or a low performance orientation within the categories specified by House et al. (2004).

> I know that it is unique in Nigeria because we have this traditional monarchy, this traditional leadership . . . So these are the things that make a difference between us and many Europeans. Also here, you get things on appointment. You didn't just get it based on merit, but you got it because you are from this place. So eventually the culture affects where you are from.

Participant D, when asked about culture's effects on leadership, cited a specific example of cultural practice but did not refer to its influence on leadership directly.

> In Nigeria, for example, in my village, it is haram for a woman to eat liver. If you eat it in my village, they remove you from your husband's house.

Participant E noted that democracy is still relatively new in Nigeria, and that Nigeria's government is evolving in response to the pressures of democracy, which can create checks and balances due to greater public awareness of the roles and responsibilities of government and the ways in which it is currently operating.

> I want you to be conscious of the fact that the democracy that we have in Nigeria is still very, very young. Absolutely young compared to a lot of developed countries. And if you cast your mind back to when this republic started in 1999, you realize that things are taking better shape now, than it used to be than several years ago. Because governments are developing in terms of their awareness, and with the advent of social media a lot of people have keyed into knowing what role government should play. Government at all levels. Government from different parts should play in day to day activities in the country. So a lot of things are coming now to the fore. So if, for instance, the leadership is not doing so very well in the country, the checks and balances afforded by social media, the exposure people have as far as government is concerned, is putting checks. You understand? It's sort of checking what delivery of governance is on the part of our leaders. If the followers do not check their leaders, and the leaders are exhibiting bad leadership, it takes two to tango. You see when we started talking, I was talking about the expectations of people. And the expected responsibilities of a leader, it's far different.

Participant F commented on the effect of culture on women's leadership opportunities, arguing that culture did influence women's opportunities in the past, but that it does not in the present.

Yes, culture doesn't affect women these days. You see if you look at our present cabinet, you see women . . . In Nigeria, you know we are now advancing in technology. It's the same generally. My grandmother used to tell us that women, before, that once we are married, we will be kept in the house for some time. There is something, they call it [unintelligible] wedding. You will be kept somewhere for some time. You don't come out. But in these days, you see a woman, she has just finished her school, she's working. So, women are now more excused, unlike before.

Participant G said that while other countries award based on competence, Nigeria does not. Therefore, leadership positions are not attained based on merit, which suggests uncertainty avoidance under Hofstede's (2001) model. However, she referred to appointments based on socio-political characteristics rather than connections, so this is more reflective of a low performance orientation (House et al., 2004).

I think so. Because in other countries, the focus is on competence. Here it's not competence. When you want to include, you find an organization that will say we'll give 20% to competence, 20% to certain political issues, why, because we must take Muslims, we must take Christians etc. You understand? So that is the difference and that is why we are where we are.

Participant H felt that good leadership is universal rather than culturally influenced, stressing the importance of transparency and the global problems of corruption.

Culture has a role to play in leadership. Culture and religion have a role to play. So that would not be different for Nigeria. But when it comes to what it takes to be a good leader, I think it's a general thing. When you talk of issues of transparency, it's all over. It's not only just in Nigeria. You talk of issues of corruption, it's all over. It's not just in Nigeria. The only thing is the approaches. That is what is affected by culture and religion.

She also referenced the humane orientation of Nigerian leadership, noting that Nigerian leaders are inclined to be benevolent toward their followers. This is in keeping with the findings of House et al. (2004) that African leaders are more inclined to adopt a humane orientation.

Like during the time of fasting they come and say, ma'am this is the time of fasting, we need money to buy this, to buy that, I say fine. I look for little things to give to them…[Unintelligible]. So if you have people who have the same needs

you give to him. In fact, that's a cultural thing that affects decisions. The quantity to give . . .

Participant I also expressed the belief that good and bad leadership are the same throughout the world, though she did think that culture might bring out particular qualities.

> I think it's the same everywhere, I don't think it's really influenced much by culture, maybe in some aspects. Because where culture places some value that people hold culturally. And when they hold leadership, they bring out or they exercise those qualities, whereas those who hold different values will do it differently. But I think whether Nigerian, whether Asian, whether American, or wherever, in terms of leadership, culture does not significantly influence good or bad leadership.

However, she felt that leadership positions were being awarded based on gender rather than merit in Nigeria, suggesting uncertainty avoidance under Hofstede's (2001) model or a low performance orientation according to the dimensions specified by House et al. (2004).

> So I have had males of mine who have attained higher positions earlier in life, not because they were more competent, or more deserving, but because they were male and it was expected that they would get those positions

Hofstede (2001) ranks Nigeria on the collectivist end of the individualism-vs.-collectivism spectrum, but Participant I argued that collectivism is not unique to Nigeria, and instead can be found in every society.

> Well, it is not unique to Nigeria. I think in every society, there is a principle of integration. Of collectiveness. You have to carry everybody along, and that is what it means. If you have a country that has different tribes, different ethnic groups, obviously if you say that leadership must consistently come from only one ethnic group, you are not carrying everybody along.

Participant J, in keeping with the findings of Hofstede (2001) and House et al. (2004), expressed the belief that culture does influence leadership, and asserted that Nigerian culture acts as a barrier to aspiring female leaders because women are not expected to challenge the opinions of men.

Well you cannot completely divorce culture from leadership in Nigeria. You cannot. Because we have our ways, which are peculiar to us. In many cases, you just have to conform . . . for instance I know that in Nigerian culture, the woman should, generally, not speak above the men. And also, in many cases, she's expected to go along with what the men are saying. If she has a contrary opinion, it's even a challenge to put it forth.

Looking at the findings for culture's influence collectively (see Table 52 below), five of the interviewees cited cultural traits reflecting a high power distance and four referenced a particular aspect of Hofstede's (2001) uncertainty avoidance dimension, the tendency to award based on factors other than merit, which overlaps with the performance orientation dimension used by House et al. (2004). In addition, single respondents mentioned characteristics associated with a humane orientation, collectivism, and a short-term orientation. None of the participants directly referred to the masculinity dimension of leadership when responding to questions about culture's influence. For the purposes of comparison, it is worth noting that Hofstede (2001) gave Nigeria relatively high scores for power distance and masculinity, an intermediate score for uncertainty avoidance, and low scores for individualism and long-term orientation.

Table 52: Cultural Influences on Leadership Opportunities

Dimension	Terms	Frequency
Humane	H. Benevolent ('Like during the time of fasting they come and say, ma'am this is the time of fasting, we need money to buy this, to buy that, I say fine. I look for little things to give to them…[Unintelligible]. So if you have people who have the same needs you give to him. In fact, that's a cultural thing that affects decisions. The quantity to give...')	1
Individualist/ Collectivist	I. Collectiveness	1
Long-term vs. short-term	C. Traditional monarchy	1

orientation		
Masculinity vs. femininity		0
Power distance	A. Inequality ('They say that a woman is not equal to a man'), male dominance B. Inequality (belief that men are superior) H. Inequality ('We have not been able to overcome that here, to say we have equal rights') I. Male dominance J. Hierarchical ('in Nigerian culture, the woman should, generally, not speak above the men')	5
Performance orientation/ uncertainty avoidance	A. Not merit-based, conservative C. Leadership positions based on appointment rather than merit G. Not merit-based (not based on competence) I. Not merit-based (awarding based on gender rather than competence)	4

4.4:   Challenges and Barriers to Female Leadership in Nigeria

When asked what they felt were the most significant barriers to leadership opportunities for women, a number of interviewees noted that Nigerian culture tends to relegate females to a subordinate role and promote the assumption that women are less capable than men. As a result, women are less likely to be educated and granted opportunities to rise to positions of power.

Participant A noted that gender stereotypes of male strength and female weakness in particular continue to act as a barrier to female leadership.

> Ok. I think there's a public perception. I think that, that age old about men are stronger, women are weaker, still obtains in the public perception. The assumption that if you are a man you're more successful, you'll be stronger,

you're more able to deliver, and if you're a woman, it's harder to do so. Which is why there's still the glass ceiling for women in every arena, be it private sector be it government.

She also emphasised the role of religion in denying women opportunities to lead.

Culture, like we said. Society, the culture one is in. That's not just in Nigeria that is like that, there are countries around the world where women are not considered equal, so if we are not equal women cannot be leaders. In fact, it's not just Islam. Even the Bible says that the man is the head, and the woman should be submissive. Western education has kind of given the Christian woman in places like Nigeria the ability to claim their rights. But in typical adherence to the scriptures of the Bible, the man is the head and the woman should be submissive. So there are those that say that the leadership role should automatically go to the man in a Christian home.

Participant B said that male fears about women obtaining higher positions than men and inherent assumptions about male superiority serve to block women's ascension to leadership roles.

Another impediment is that most men, they would not want their wife to have a higher position than themselves. . . . Yes. Generally, yes. Because in Africa, and Nigeria is part of Africa, they believe that the men are superior. That men are higher than women.

Participant C cited the cultural belief that women belong in the home and are only fit for caretaking roles as a significant barrier to female leadership.

Number one is the public perception, which is based on our culture. Because we have this cultural belief that the woman should be home, taking care of the children. And in Africa, it's a challenge to say there's a difference between your home, and your job. Most people still impose a rule on our jobs . . . It takes women a longer time to prove that they can do what a man can do. So there is extra effort.

Participant D identified a number of barriers to women's leadership, including lack of support and general discrimination. She noted that Nigerian people refuse to vote women into high-level government leadership positions.

Nigeria will never ever vote for any woman, even as a governor. They can vote for mayor or a councillor, but we have not civilized enough to go beyond local government.

In addition, she said that men often use social pressure to block women's leadership opportunities, with some even going so far as to attack an aspiring female leader's reputation.

A man will blackmail you. If he doesn't blackmail you personally, he will instigate those around you to blackmail you. For example, there was a woman who was very good in this town. You know what men did to bring her down? Men went around telling other women, you want to put this woman in? Look at her dress. Small little things to bring her down.

Participant E also cited a number of barriers to women's leadership in Nigeria, identifying culture and tradition as particular impediments, and attributing these problems to misinterpretation of religious doctrine. She emphasised the effects culture has on educational opportunities for Nigerian girls, which in turn affect their future leadership prospects, noting that girls tend to be married off at an early age, eliminating any prospects for leadership they might have had. She argued that because women have been relegated to the domestic sphere in Nigeria, they are denied opportunities to gain the work experience needed to excel in the corporate or political world, a key prerequisite for leadership.

So many [barriers]. They could be cultural. Tradition. To some certain level, the interpretation of our religion. I say interpretation, because some of our religious leaders interpret our religion sometimes to suit what they think should be at that point in time. But generally, impediments are cultural, because some women didn't have the opportunity to even excel educationally, because it is just in current times that in our part of the country, most women are being given opportunity to study beyond some certain level of educational qualifications. Before now, after secondary school some women will just be married off, they will not be able to go further than that. So, those are basically impediments. But if you talk generally about the performance of women here and there, aside from the opposition of some academic levels, even in politics where I can talk much more as an experienced person, when it comes to politics and politicking, women are being disadvantaged, because we don't have the access to money, funds, as much as the men do have. Because by the time you want to come out to vie for an office, you possibly haven't been exposed to a job out there before, you haven't been inside before, you have not been in proper business. You have been a housewife, and that's tough.

Participant F expressed the belief that many women are not sufficiently tough-minded to lead. She argued that women are more likely to be swayed by compassion and act in a more gentle manner, whereas men tend to be harsher and more decisive. Her assertions are in keeping with gender stereotypes identified by a prior study, which found that male political leaders are perceived as tougher and therefore better able to deal with issues such as crime and foreign policy (Pew Research Center, 2008).

> The things that stop women from becoming leaders are so much. Because, women, as I said before, don't have strong mind. And women are always thinking back, they have a soft mind. Because like you now, if they say yes I should take this guy to court immediately, once I look at your face, I would be touched. That's how modest I am. But if it is a man, he would just go straight ahead and do it. Women are just gentle, gentle, gentle. They don't have that harshness. If a woman makes a decision, she is ready to revise it immediately. But if it is men, they don't revise immediately like that.

However, in keeping with the assertions of the other interviewees, she also viewed lack of education as a significant impediment to female leadership because those who do not receive an education do not gain the knowledge and experience required to lead effectively.

> Really if they are not going to school, because in going to school there is some knowledge you are applying. How to lead people. How to associate with people. When you do not go to school, when you are just staying in your house, you cannot do those things. So in school, you are being taught a lot of things.

Participant G noted that some men in Nigeria do not want to take instructions from a female leader. As a result, female leaders in Nigeria may lose followers, which can also act as a barrier to effective leadership.

> Some find it really, really difficult to take instructions from women. And I have let two people resign in my office, because they won't report to women. So all these things come into play.

According to **participant H**, family responsibilities can be a major impediment to female leadership as well. A significant amount of Nigerian women's time is devoted to the care of their families, and they must also face the challenge of culturally sanctioned gender roles. In

order to help a husband better accept his wife in a leadership role, a Nigerian woman must display humility and be generous toward her family. She must also ensure that her family responsibilities are met, which may mean sacrificing sleep.

> Challenges, yes, we do. Because like I told you, now, most times, one of the main challenges at wok I face is having to put in so much time. Sometimes I feel like I need 36 hours, not just 24. I know what that means. If you are putting in all the time, something is going to give way. Like I said, you need balancing. You have to make your husband understand that this is the role you have to play. And for him to know that, he has to give you his support, because like the duke he has to support the queen. And then, the woman has to be humble. Really, really humble. So that the man can really appreciate her and give her the required support. And not just only that. You say that to give something back, to your husband, to your children, to your family. You can't keep it all to yourself, you have to share. To family people, to those around you, to those that have helped you succeed. So I have challenges. Sometimes, Saturdays, I have to come to work, but all the same, I make sure that my role at home . . . if there's a way, I have to make up for it, so most of the time it is me who has to sacrifice a lot. If I get home, I don't go to bed until around eleven o'clock. Because I have to go around to see what I can do, chat with everybody, before I go to bed.

Participant H also said that although women in Nigeria have been held back by the assumption that they should assume subservient roles, this has been changing in recent years, largely due to education and exposure to cultures that promote the ideal of gender egalitarianism. She argued that well-educated women are better able to contribute to their families, a factor that has also helped to encourage progress toward greater gender parity.

> In Nigeria, when you talk about a woman becoming president of Nigeria, people say 'Aaaah, no, no, no!' We should just be subservient. That is part of our culture here that the woman should always be under the man... It's changing . . . It used to be in those days when the level of understanding, of exposure, of education was very low, poverty was everywhere, and the families were very large . . . the man has about three to four wives. And all he would do is look out for the male child, so the male child could come and assist him with the larger family. With more education, with more exposure, people have travelled more widely, they have seen the kind of progress other countries have made with women contributing, and the fact that if you train the girl child, the girl child is able to contribute monetarily to the family. Even though she has her own family, she still helps the mother or the father. So you try to encourage the girl child educated. I think it's getting better compared to how it used to be.

Participant I also emphasised Nigerian culture as an impediment to female leadership, pointing out the relationship between cultural attitudes and allocation of resources for aspiring leaders. She noted that attaining political leadership positions is particularly resource-intensive, and that Nigerian women, who tend to be economically disadvantaged due to aspects of culture, lack the resources required to achieve these positions.

> Oh, definitely. First of all, there are cultural. In a lot of cultural environments, particularly at home. And most specifically in Nigeria, coming from northern Nigeria, because of religious and cultural impediments women are not expected to become leaders. In some societies they are not given the chance at all. Also in terms of resources, a lot of times now, particularly in political leadership you need a lot of resources to be able to make it to the top. And women are at the bottom of the line. They don't have resources. They are economically disadvantaged. So it's a big impediment.

Participant J expressed the belief that impediments to female leadership in Nigeria are both internal and external. She felt that although women tend to be good leaders, they are more emotional than men. However, she also noted that culture, which relegates women solely to the domestic sphere, plays a significant role in blocking women's leadership aspirations. She said that women are married off as soon as they reach a certain age and once they have a husband and children to take care of, the degree to which they can participate in the workforce and in leadership roles are limited due to family responsibilities. A Nigerian man has the option of traveling for work; a Nigerian woman cannot leave her domestic responsibilities so easily, which makes it difficult for her to fill certain positions.

> Definitely, definitely. The nature of a woman, is one, I would say. Because as much as we are good leaders in our own right, we are subject to emotional influences. Also, the physical aspect is there. If the woman is of a marriageable age, she gets married, she has children, she has the husband, there is a limit to her amount of participation, because of these other things. A man, for instance, can be called at any time to come and perform some duty, anywhere in the world. For the woman, it's a bit slower than that, it's not so automatic. So I would say so.

Despite these challenges, she believes that things are changing for the better in Nigerian culture. Although people in many societies continue to expect little from women in

terms of career achievement and leadership ascension, Nigerian culture is becoming more enlightened and perceptions of female leaders more positive, though gender stereotypes suggesting that women are unfit for leadership continue to act as barriers.

> Definitely, like I said. Their nature, their general situation, yes. And the fact that in many societies, women are not expected to excel past a particular point. Even now when there is this enlightenment, and people are more sympathetic towards women leaders. You still find that on a personal level, many cannot get past that idea that women shouldn't excel beyond that . . . So I would say so, yes.

Although some progress that has been made toward improved gender parity, **Participant A** asserted that culture still acts as a significant impediment to female leadership so that even women who have the ideal qualities for leadership are not permitted to exhibit them in many cases.

> I've said the cultural one. In a country like Nigeria, where Nigeria is a, men are considered the stronger sex, the dominant rule. In Nigeria we have that in terms of culture in most parts of Nigeria. 90% of Nigeria it is the man that is considered the more important sex, and the women take a secondary role. . . . So obviously in Nigeria you have that way. Women cannot take a leadership role because of the inferences of the society, the culture, that does not permit her to come forward and take on a leadership role if there's a man present. Especially the Islamic religion I think does not permit her to do that. So whether she has the leadership traits or not is irrelevant. She can't exhibit them, she's not allowed to exhibit them.

The observations of the interviewees are in keeping with the findings of Woldie and Adersua (2004) that the most significant challenge for Nigerian businesswomen is getting their male counterparts, and society as a whole, to take them seriously.

The cultural perception of women as inferior and subordinate in Nigeria leads to disadvantage that begins in childhood. Many of the interviewees stressed the failure to educate female children as a significant barrier to future success.

> **Participant A:** The girl child is not considered the first priority in terms of education, especially when there is a limit in resources. If a family has limited resources and has to choose between education a male child and a female child, those resources will go towards educating the male child. It's linked with the culture, and linked with the religion that the male child should be educated,

should be exposed, because he's going to be the leader of tomorrow, whereas the woman child, the female child is supposed to stay at home and take care of the man. So she's not educated.

Participant C: Yes. They often don't get a fair chance. Because the woman doesn't bear the name of the father, why waste resources on her? With time, she bears the name of another person, so it's like an investment, you don't invest on a person that doesn't bear your name. Because your name eventually vanishes with her. So that is one of the things that hasn't given women a fair chance. If you begin to change attitude, and know that it's not the name that matters, you begin to change.

Participant G: And I think another thing is they think that women can't give it their all. Especially women who take time out to have kids, who have kids and therefore cannot devote a lot of time to the workplace. But generally, before you get there they will make sure you are qualified and can commit. So you are done with child rearing, and stuff like that.

Participant J: It's a problem that we're still fighting till today. I don't know why we still have communities where they feel the female child shouldn't be educated, and the male child should be educated. We're all equal in the eyes of god, so if one deserves to be educated, the other deserved to be educated. In that way they will have a fair playing field, and equal opportunities to excel.

However, the culture in Nigeria is not completely detrimental to aspiring female leaders. It also enables them to benefit from an extended family system that makes it easier to obtain childcare, giving Nigerian women an advantage over their counterparts in the UK.

Participant A: Now, in a culture like Nigeria, we are lucky to have an extended family system, combined with relatively cheaper labour. But if you want to have a child, to take maternity leave, and have somebody look after your child while you go back to work, it's much easier here than in the UK. Now I've experienced both. I have three children; I had my first one in the UK, and I had my second one here. Now in the UK, yes, it was limiting, in that childcare is a challenge in the UK, which is why you find that lots of British women, once they have children, they leave the workplace. And, if and when they ever decide to go back into the workplace, they can't catch up with their peers anymore. So, that's an automatic glass ceiling for them.

Many interviewees also noted the tendency of men (and in some cases women as well) to actively exclude women from positions of power even when they have the required qualifications. These modes of exclusion may be direct (for example, refusing to vote for women) or indirect (excluding them from the networking opportunities required to advance).

Participant A: In Nigeria, I still feel it's that same sort of old boys' network that stifles things here, as it does in the UK... They do the networking, they go out and go golfing together, or take their clients to nightspots, right? Which a woman would not do. So, the fact that you're bonding together, the men with the clients at two in the morning, in a dance spot, or that you go to the pub together, and that you're sitting and drinking together after work hours . . . it's that boys network.

Participant B: If a woman is running for political office, and every woman voted for her she would win. But women tend to vote for men.

Participant D: Nigeria will never ever vote for any woman, even as a governor. They can vote for mayor or a councillor, but we have not civilized enough to go beyond local government. It will take time.

Participant E: And then because the system does support men more, you see that before you get people to even assist you, your male opponent has gotten sponsors here and there. Because they will possibly have the perception that you may not get anywhere, so why should we waste our money on her? She may not get anywhere. So funding for the woman is certainly an impediment to her getting there. But basically, most importantly is the perception that the place of a woman should not be out there, but in the house

Participant F: In most organizations, they don't like to put women so forward, because we are seen as weaker vessels . . . What happens during elections is that there are some wards that do not allow women to contest. It is only the men. We have not been given that freedom into leadership.

Participant G: Well first of all, in Nigeria, women are not given so many opportunities. But it's changing. Where I work we have about nine directors, and four are women. But still when a position of leadership becomes available, men try to fill it with men.

Participant I: For example, [when] nominations are going to be made. It's only recently that our names can come to the forefront. In the past, they will not even feature at all. So I have had males of mine who have attained higher positions earlier in life, not because they were more competent, or more deserving, but because they were male and it was expected that they would get those positions.

Participant J: When you are talking about the treasurer, everybody wants to nominate a female. And when they're talking of presidents, everybody wants it to be a male, unless there are females that have outstanding qualities.

Moreover, even when women do achieve positions of leadership, they may not receive the same respect as their male counterparts.

Participant G: The major challenge is a lot of men not wanting to take instructions from women, but as I said, gradually we are also moving away from

that. . . . you have to prove that you are not a token. That you have earned your position.

This observation is in keeping with other research showing that female leaders tend to receive less respect, regardless of their performance (Rothwell, 2010).

Looking at the responses to questions regarding barriers and challenges in full, a number of themes emerge:

• Issues related to culture, tradition, societal practices, and religious interpretation

• Lack of education for girls

• Direct and indirect modes of exclusion within the workplace and with regard to leadership opportunities

Sub-themes within the first category included the belief in male superiority or dominance, the greater domestic responsibilities of women as a result of culturally sanctioned gender roles, and men's dislike of women rising to higher positions. Sub-themes within the second category included high illiteracy rates and the belief that girls do not need to be educated. Sub-themes within the third category included lack of respect for female authority, the tendency to question or challenge female ability and performance, blackmail, refusal to vote for or support aspiring female leaders, rules that directly prohibit female participation in leadership contests, lack of prior experience due to fewer career opportunities, and lack of resources (particularly financial).

Table 53: Barriers and Challenges to Female Leadership in Nigeria

Category	Responses	Frequency
Culture/ tradition/ practice/ society/ religion	A. Culture, religion, society, inequality, male dominance (expectation of female submissiveness) B. Belief that men are superior, men don't want women to have higher positions than themselves, men are scared of women	10

| | C. Culture, rules | |
| | | |

	C. Culture, rules	
	D. Culture	
	E. Cultural impediments, belief, fear of women taking over, tradition, interpretation of religion, early marriage, assumption that women should be in the home (gender role expectations)	
	F. Family and other domestic responsibilities	
	G. Family responsibilities	
	H. Societal issues, expectation that women should be subservient, inequality	
	I. Cultural, religious, male dominance, need to empower girls	
	J. Early marriage, family responsibilities that limit participation, belief that women should not speak above men or challenge them	
Lack of education	A. Education	8
	B. Need to allow girls to go to school	
	D. Women should go to school; illiteracy, lack of education is the problem	
	E. Lack of education, lack of opportunities to study beyond a certain point, lack of qualifications	
	F. School	
	H. Lack of education	
	I. Education, study, enrolling girls	
	J. Belief that girls shouldn't be educated	
Direct and indirect exclusion from career opportunities/ discrimination within careers	A. Question authority, question ability, discriminatory, different standards ('if I was a harsh woman who said go do it don't ask me why, then I'll be labelled a bitch'), lack of workplace opportunities, lack of networking opportunities	10
	B. Refusal to vote for women (by women), jealousy (women jealous of women)	
	C. Lack of investment, support, assumptions ('It takes women a longer time to prove that they can do what a man can do')	
	D. Refusal to vote for women, blackmail, exclusion	

	from decision making ('They told me that I should wait outside, and when they were finished they'd let me know')	
	E. Lack of funds, lack of prior job exposure, system supports men more	
	F. Lack of opportunities in general, wards that do not allow women to contest	
	G. People respect men more, men have trouble taking instructions from women, men fill available positions with men, low expectations of women ('people may be sceptical'); need to encourage, build confidence, provide opportunities for exposure to career-related experience	
	H. Poverty	
	I. Starting from disadvantaged positions, not considered leadership material or groomed for leadership, economically disadvantaged, lack of resources, not taken seriously, refusal to nominate women, need for career opportunities	
	J. Failure to nominate women for high-level positions, women not expected to excel beyond particular points, low expectations ('Sometimes when you speak, people are kind of surprised. They are surprised that you can come up with that kind of idea, maybe, or they are surprised that you can actually speak.'), general lack of equal opportunities	

In keeping with the findings of this study, prior research has identified early marriage for women (National Population Commission, 2009; Nigeria Labour Congress, 2003), unequal division of domestic labour (National Coalition on Affirmative Action, 2009; Nwakeze, 2012), the belief that women have traits that make them less fit for leadership (Maliki, 2000, cited in Nwakeze, 2012) or are generally inferior (Nigeria Labour Congress, 2003), and culturally mandated gender role expectations (Nwakeze, 2012) as barriers to women's leadership in Nigeria. Past researchers have also identified lack of education for

girls as a major obstacle to female leadership in the nation (Akinboye, 2004; David et al., 2012; National Population Commission, 2009).

Regarding modes of exclusion, preference for hiring men (Nwakeze, 2012), relegation of women to workplace roles considered feminine (Nigeria Labour Congress, 2003), patronage networks dominated by men and party systems that rarely nominate women (British Council and the UK Department for International Development, 2012), refusal to vote for women (Ifemeje & Ikpeze, 2012), and lack of resources (David et al., 2012; Irabor, 2012) have been identified as obstacles to female leadership in Nigeria. However, the current research identified additional modes of exclusion such as men's refusal to respect the authority of female leaders, low expectations of their performance or ability, and social pressures in the form of jealousy or blackmail.

4.5.   Strategies to Create Leadership Opportunities for Nigerian Women

When the interviewees were asked what could be done to increase leadership opportunities for women in Nigeria, educating girls was the most commonly cited recommendation, followed by working to change overall cultural perceptions that act as barriers to female leadership and creating a system that provides more opportunities for women to ascend to leadership roles.

According to **Participant A**, ensuring basic education for female children will be the key to creating more egalitarian leadership opportunities, but it will require changing societal and religious traditions.

> . . . educating the female child, allowing that to happen. Especially not just in the urban areas, but in the rural areas. Going out and ensuring that the female child is given equal opportunities to the male child. It starts from there. It starts from the cultural beliefs that women are second class citizens and that has to change with the female child and the male child. Both the female child and the male child should be able to go to school, have the same opportunities, have the same exposure, rather than just concentrating on the male child, because then that will continue. It has to start at that grassroots level. Basic education for the female

child. Exposure and opportunities for the female child. Because once they're given those opportunities and that exposure, from the very beginning, of merit, then hopefully they should be able to just grow. But then the educated female child is not given the same opportunities in the workplace as men, not just to become leaders, but everywhere. It's changing societal and religious norms.

Participant B attributed the failure to educate female children to misinterpretation of religious texts, and asserted that all children should have equal opportunities for education.

And [denying girls an education] is injustice against humanity. God did not say so, it is not written in our Bible or the holy Qu'ran that women should not go to school. All female and male children should be given a whole opportunity. You have to allow them to go to school… Everybody should be given an equal opportunity.

Participant E emphasised the need for women to perform at a high level within positions of leadership to show parents that educating female children is worthwhile.

In my area, the role of a woman in education has been further appreciated by our parents, and that is why some of us that have attained positions, talk to ourselves and say look, for parents back home to see reason in supporting their girl child, we that already acquired such positions have to exhibit a high sense of responsibility. In that way, we'll be able to convince them and they'll realize that yes, it's important for them. And they will see that it's not a waste, educating their female.

Participant C recommended a two-pronged strategy that includes changing the entrenched cultural attitudes of Nigerian men and empowering women to believe that they can be successful in leadership roles.

We have to build up . . . umm . . . an enlightened male. That should begin to have a new attitude. And then there should be an awareness, and a focus of support. I believe that now, women are making their marks. So I believe, that with time, it will be sorted out. But for now, it's just to have a good attitude. And women just have to believe in themselves.

Participant D also emphasised female education and the problem of illiteracy, noting that many female children in Nigeria do not believe that they have any options other than marrying and having children.

Women should go to school. There are so many illiterate women. They don't go to school. Women don't know; they think it's a good thing to go marry and have children. If you see a girl that went to school, the ones that went to school are very intelligent. They should send all girls to school! In my village, my father was the only man who sent girls to school. They don't send women to school, and so many girls are very intelligent. Education is the problem. If Nigeria can learn to educate women, the sky will be the limit.

Participant I asserted that education for female children is the most important element for promoting career success and leadership opportunities.

Education, education, education. Particularly in our own environment there is nothing like education. You give women equal chance to go to school, to study to reach the highest levels in their careers, they stand a very good chance to come out as leaders.

In addition to providing educational opportunities, some of the participants suggested implementing quota systems. For example, Participant E recommended enforcing more egalitarianism quota systems within the government's constitution, as has been done in other nations, to ensure more equal representation, particularly at higher levels of leadership. She noted that in Nigeria, affirmative action has gone some way toward increasing female attainment of leadership positions, but not in the government where it is left to elections and people are not as willing to vote for female leaders.

Deliberate efforts have to be taken by governments at all levels. Even the quota system has been used in certain organizations. But even in government, where you come from should be extended to accommodating percentages of women. There are countries that have put it in their constitution, some certain percentage of elected offices has to be given to women. So that the gap could be breached. In Uganda they have it at fifty per cent, and I think they have even exceeded fifty per cent. Uganda is not doing badly as far as that deliberate effort is concerned. In Nigeria affirmative action only got realized in the appointive positions. When it came to elections we suffered.

Participant F stressed the need for men to become more enlightened about the potential for female leadership so that they allow competent women the opportunity to lead. She also said

that it would be beneficial to implement rules designed to increase leadership opportunities for women.

> Participant F: First we have to make sure men give us that opportunity. Because I know there are women in this country, that are ready to render good services to this nation. To move our nation forward. Rules that bring women into leadership, will be good.

Not all of the female leaders interviewed supported the implementation of rules and quotas to increase gender parity in the realm of leadership. Participant G expressed concerns that a quota system would lead to the hiring of less competent female leaders, recommending instead that women should be supported through empowerment. She argued on behalf of building women's confidence through encouragement and exposure to the types of situations they will need to master in order to lead effectively.

> No I don't support [quota systems]. They will just pick women who are not competent, because they are just trying to fill up percentages . . . I think they should just be encouraged . . . I think it's all about confidence. I think maybe encouragement and exposure. You have to expose people, you have to be exposed to become confident. Because confidence, as we know, is built on a firm foundation. And you need to built on that to know what you are doing, to be competent. So first of all, confidence, when people say you can't learn it, prove you can learn it. You have to be exposed to situations

Participant H expressed support for a quota system, but only if women receive the necessary training and experience to fulfil their leadership roles competently.

> They should be given more opportunities. Like what is happening now, at CBN about 40% of the staff at the managerial level should be women. So they've done that but they also get more women at the top . . . I'm in support, but at the same time they must be trained. You can't just put them there, because for us, we went through everything, and going through everything really brings the best out of you.

The need to create opportunities for aspiring female leaders was also mentioned by the interviewees. For example, participant J argued that women are less aggressive and ambitious, but that they would choose to become leaders if opportunities were offered.

I think they should be given the chance to do something. If the opportunity is not there, many women do not have spine, you know? Ordinarily, we women are less aggressive. We are less ambitious, so to speak. Rather, there are fewer women than men that are ambitious . . . But if they know that the opportunity's there, I think they will opt to be leaders.

She also noted that there are still communities in Nigeria where families see little value in educating female children, so changing these attitudes will be critical to levelling the playing field in terms of leadership opportunities.

It's a problem that we're still fighting till today. I don't know why we still have communities where they feel the female child shouldn't be educated, and the male child should be educated. We're all equal in the eyes of god, so if one deserves to be educated, the other deserved to be educated. In that way they will have a fair playing field, and equal opportunities to excel.

Despite the many barriers women currently face, some of the interviewees asserted that the situation for Nigerian women has been changing for the better in recent years.

Participant I: And I believe as situations keep on improving, in our country, in our region, more and more women are coming out and aspiring, and they're making it. . . . It's improving. I believe it's improving. A lot is happening now. Some time ago in northern Nigeria, the enrolment of girls in schools was very, very low. But now, after the government took critical steps and strategies to ensure that the girl child is empowered, you will see in almost all communities now, girls are enrolled in school, the instances of dropping out have reduced, and then even typical northern women with Muslim backgrounds are coming out to serve as ministers, to serve as parliament secretaries, to serve as senators, to serve as house of representatives. Which would never have been dreamt of a couple of decades ago.

Participant E: But not even in Nigeria, but in the whole world you can see that it is just gradually now, that the role of women is being appreciated. And men are gradually realizing, that women being placed in leadership positions are doing a very good job.

Participant G: . . . in Nigeria, women are not given so many opportunities. But it's changing.

Examined collectively, responses focused on the three problem areas identified as presenting barriers and challenges to aspiring female leaders:

- Culture, belief, and practice

- Lack of education

- Modes of exclusion

Although changing beliefs and practices, increasing educational opportunities, and reforming workplace and government systems would all be beneficial, increasing female educational enrolment and completion would likely have the most impact on labour force participation, and by extension, leadership opportunities (Nwakeze, 2012). However, the findings of this research indicate that the three problem areas are interconnected, so addressing any of them would require addressing all of them simultaneously.

4.6. Summary

In Nigeria, a country that maintains a high power distance and a stereotypically masculine outlook (Hofstede, 2001), female leaders perceive many differences between male and female leadership, and their beliefs regarding the attributes and behaviours that are associated with good leadership are largely aligned with what they perceive to be female leadership styles. Despite this perception of women's myriad leadership strengths, aspiring female leaders in Nigeria must overcome many obstacles.

Barriers to women's leadership in Nigeria are attributable largely to culture. The belief that women are inferior and that their place should be in the home ensures that many families do not educate or otherwise invest in their female children. Even when women are fortunate enough to receive the same educational opportunities as their male counterparts, they may be actively excluded from leadership positions (companies refusing to promote them, citizens refusing to vote for them) or passively excluded via existing systems (for example, old boys' social networks). Those who do manage to achieve leadership positions may receive less respect than equally competent men in the same positions. There is evidence that the situation

is changing for the better as Nigerian families are increasingly seeing the value in educating girls and more women are succeeding in leadership positions. However, Nigeria still has a long way to go toward gender egalitarianism in providing the opportunities and support required by aspiring leaders.

Table 54 provides a summary of the coded finding, listing the factors that were cited by at least three interviewees in each category. Regarding leadership traits and styles, participants identified a number of traits as critical to good leadership.

Some of the interviewees expressed the belief that female leaders are more adaptable, while some considered women to be more emotional or excitable. A number of the study participants felt that female leaders were less aggressive while some of the women interviewed also expressed the belief that female leaders tend to have higher integrity. A significant proportion of the interviewees said that women favour elements of transformational leadership over an autocratic style, an assertion that is supported by a prior meta-analysis (Eagly et al., 2003).

Although the women identified gender differences in leadership, they tended to be associated with positive attributes of female leaders in most cases, which indicates that leadership traits, behaviours, and styles probably do not contribute significantly to the lack of female representation in top Nigerian leadership positions. However, some noted that there is often corruption in Nigerian leadership and asserted that female leaders are more ethical, which may contribute to women's exclusion from certain leadership positions, as may the perception that they are more emotional and therefore less well-adjusted.

As for cultural factors, some of the interviewees made reference to indicators of uncertainty avoidance/performance orientation and power distance. The assertion made by a number of interviewees that Nigerian leadership positions are not awarded based on merit suggests a relatively high level of uncertainty avoidance based on Hofstede's (2001) model of

cultural leadership and a low performance orientation based on House et al.'s (2004) dimensions. This cultural factor creates barriers to female leadership because appointments are more likely to go to men. Moreover, high uncertainty avoidance is unlikely to be incompatible with a transformational leadership style that seeks to introduce positive change and is favoured by women. The other cultural dimension referenced by the women, power distance, is reflected by the inequality and hierarchical nature of Nigerian society, which relegates women to inferior roles and acts as a barrier to female leadership.

The findings for direct barriers and challenges to female leadership are in line with prior reports, which have found that cultural beliefs and practices are barriers to female leadership in Nigeria. However, this research provided more in-depth, detailed information about particular modes of exclusion, as well as suggestions for overcoming them, which focused largely on changing cultural attitudes, ensuring that girls receive an education, and implementing new rules and regulations to counteract institutional discrimination.

Table 54: Summary of Findings

Traits/Styles Most Critical to Good Leadership	Women's leadership	Cultural Influences	Barriers and Challenges	Solutions
Agreeableness/ cooperativeness	Adaptable	High power distance (unequal, hierarchical society)	Culture, tradition, practices, beliefs	Change societal attitudes
Conscientiousness	Emotional/ excitable, (indicators of adjustment)	High uncertainty avoidance/low performance orientation (tendency to award based on factors other than merit)	Lack of education	Increase education for girls
Drive/ambition/ motivation/ achievement orientation	Less aggressive/ dominant		Direct and indirect modes of exclusion (including refusal to nominate, vote for, support, respect the authority of, or fund women, or include them in pre-existing networks)	Put new rules and regulations in place to increase female representation in high-level leadership positions
Integrity	More agreeable/ cooperative			
Intelligence	Higher integrity			
Non-autocratic (non-dictatorial) style	Less autocratic			
Democratic/ consultative style	More transformational			
Transformational style				

5.0   Evaluation

This study used a qualitative approach, interviewing Nigerian women leaders based on the outcomes of an extensive literature review. This chapter provides a comprehensive evaluation and review of the study approach and outcomes. Strengths and limitations of the methods used for this research are examined in the sections that follow.

5.1.   The Use of a Qualitative Approach

Qualitative research enables the identification of themes and patterns and provides insights that could not be obtained using quantitative methods (Klenke, 2008), but it does not provide numerical data. Adopting a mixed-methods approach would have enabled the researcher to supplement qualitative analysis with statistical generalisations based on large volumes of numerical data that can be used for comparative purposes (Trochim, 2006). However, it would also have caused problems with integrating and managing data and creating meaningful findings (Trochim, 2006). Instead, the decision was made to focus on qualitative research and develop extensive context for the findings. Context is particularly important for studies of gender, culture, and leadership because leaders are selected and promoted in different ways in various cultures (Klenke, 2008). Thus, a qualitative methodology provides more informative data for leadership studies than a simple quantitative description of leadership traits, while retaining clarity in its direction rather than becoming confused as may have occurred using mixed methods.

5.2.   The Inclusion of a Secondary Research Component

Secondary literature was used in the literature review as well as in discussion and critique of the findings. The secondary research component of this study incorporated both small-scale qualitative and large-scale quantitative studies of gender and cultural differences in leadership. Adding the secondary research component provided an enormous amount of quantitative data in the form of national and regional scores for various cultural and

leadership-associated traits as well as qualitative insights into differences in less-studied nations and information specific to Nigeria. Having access to a regional leadership profile for Africa, a national leadership profile for Nigeria, and contextual information about aspects of Nigeria that influence gender disparities in leadership was particularly useful for providing a framework to interpret the results of the interviews.

Secondary research draws upon past works by other researchers and therefore is subject to the strengths and limitations of all the prior studies it incorporates, as well as the limitations of secondary research in general, which include the fact that that secondary data has been collected for other purposes and therefore will not necessarily answer research questions directly. However, it has the strength of being freely available, which is critical for studies that must be conducted using limited resources, which was the case with the current study. Moreover, secondary data is useful for expanding upon the findings of primary research to cover a broader geographical and topical range.

The use of secondary data can be problematic due to a number of issues, such as the potential incorporation of irrelevant or out-dated information and the risk of including sources that are not authoritative. These potential problems were addressed in the current study by using inclusion criteria for the literature search to ensure that sources were recent, relevant, and published by authoritative sources such as peer-reviewed academic journals and reputable organisations. Applying this selection criteria ensured that the data included in the secondary research component of this study were useful and of good quality. However, some secondary data was included because it is seminal and required to understand and integrate the research findings.

In addition to issues associated with secondary research in general, there were a number of issues particular to the studies cited in this research. These issues are examined in the following sections.

5.2.1. Strengths and Weaknesses of Past Research on Cultural Differences in Leadership

Although the field of cross-cultural leadership research is relative new, there have been some large-scale global studies undertaken, most notably those of Hofstede (2001) and House et al. (2004). As a result, there is a significant amount of data available on cross-cultural leadership differences, and given that the results of these studies have, with a few exceptions, been similar, it can be assumed that the categories used to define cultural traits have validity. However, there are also a number of problems associated with this prior research that will have influenced the results of the current study.

Although Hofstede (2001) and House et al. (2004) used the same categories for some cultural dimensions such as power distance, individualism, and long-term orientation, the latter added additional dimensions such as humane orientation and assertiveness, making direct comparisons between the two sets of study results difficult. There was also a gap between the two studies, and many nations experienced profound socio-political and sociocultural changes in the interim. Furthermore, both studies used a cross-sectional rather than a longitudinal design, which means that they were unable to identify the dynamic qualities of cultural differences in leadership. Such differences are bound to change over time in tandem with sociocultural and socio-political changes in various nations, but these shifts will not be captured by cross-sectional studies that look only at a single point in time. Finally, the findings particular to Nigeria for both of these studies were difficult to interpret, because both researchers aggregated findings from several African countries (some of which varied widely in individual characteristics).

An additional issue worth noting is that some may consider Hofstede's (2001) masculinity category to be sexist and out-dated, given that it is built upon gender stereotypes. Moreover, categorising cultures as masculine or feminine based on stereotypical traits may be

inaccurate, given that a review of gender and leadership research indicates that many studies do not support traditional gender stereotypes, particularly among leaders.

Another problem associated with prior research on cultural differences in leadership is the tendency to lump multiple subcultures within single nations and multiple nations within larger cultural clusters. These amalgamations are likely to mask regional differences within and across nations, in some cases averaging out more extreme tendencies that characterise particular cultural groups. Even within a single nation, there may be multiple subcultures operating simultaneously, each with their own preferred leadership styles. However, when conducting global studies, it is not feasible to collect data at such a granular level.

One of the most significant problems afflicting prior research on cultural differences in leadership is its Western bias. Measures and instruments used in such studies have typically been developed in Western nations and a review of the literature indicates that the majority of studies other than Hofstede (2001) and House et al. (2004) have focused on North American, European (particularly Western European), and Australian populations. Eastern and Southern nations have received little attention from prior leadership researchers. It is possible that studies using non-Western measures or focusing on non-Western regions might have yielded different results overall. Problems associated with the Western bias were addressed in the current study by including as many non-Western studies as possible in order to provide data from other nations and regions. Unfortunately, these studies tended to be relatively small in scope, but they did provide some insights into cultural influences on leadership in less-studied nations and regions.

Despite the limitations associated with the cultural leadership differences component of this research, there were two very large, thorough, and recent global studies to draw upon and many of their measures overlapped, facilitating comparison for a number of cultural

dimensions. Also, the findings from these past studies provided context to support the analysis of the findings from the primary research component of this study.

5.2.2. Strengths and Weaknesses Associated with Past Gender Research

The primary strengths of prior gender research are volume and recentness. There have been a large number of studies conducted on gender differences in leadership, some of them global in scale, and many of them have taken place in recent years so they reflect the current situation. Furthermore, widespread interest in both gender and leadership have encouraged researchers to explore the subject in many different nations, allowing for cross-cultural comparisons. There have even been a number of large-scale meta-analyses, such as that of Eagly et al. (2003), which provide good overviews of gender differences across multiple fields and regions. Moreover, many of these studies were undertaken quite recently, which is important given that sociocultural changes over the past half-century have had profound impacts on various issues related to gender.

Prior research on gender differences in leadership has also suffered from a number of weaknesses, the most significant of which is that the majority of studies were conducted in Western nations, and these studies have completely ignored particular subcultures such as those of aboriginal peoples. In addition to the inability of such studies to provide direct evidence of gender differences in leadership (or lack thereof) in nations other than those studied, the use of measures developed for Western studies may also create problems because gender norms for certain traits or tendencies vary from one culture to the next (Fischer & Manstead, 2000).

Another problem afflicting past research on gender differences in leadership is the fact that researchers have typically looked at entire nations or regions rather than individual cultures, thus subsuming different subcultures within these regions. Even studies of individual nations are problematic, given that a nation may have multiple subcultures. When

studies have taken place in single nations or smaller regions, sample sizes have tended to be very small, particularly for studies conducted in non-Western cultures. As with the secondary research on cultural differences in leadership, this study included as many non-Western sources as possible in order to provide some data from less-studied nations and regions. However, these past studies tended to be small in scope, so their results are not generalizable.

An additional limitation of this study component was the notable lack of research on the intersection of culture and gender. A review of the literature indicates that researchers have tended to focus on one or the other. However, a small number of studies examining both cultural and gender differences were identified during the literature search, and these studies provided valuable insights into the interacting effects of culture and gender that were useful when conducting the analysis of the primary research findings for this study. Collectively, their findings indicate that culture has a moderating effect on gender differences and that its effects appear to be stronger than the effect of gender on leadership behaviours and styles.

5.3.   The Strengths and Weaknesses of the Primary Research Component

The primary research component of this study used a semi-structured interview methodology. Strengths of primary research include the fact that it provides current data tailored toward a particular set of research questions and it is useful for exploring phenomena that have received little interest from past researchers (Onkvisit & Shaw, 2009). This was the case with the current study, which examined a population that has been largely ignored by prior researchers so that there was very little past research to draw upon.   The strengths and weaknesses of particular elements of the primary research component are examined in the sections that follow.

5.3.1.   General Strengths of Qualitative Research

Qualitative research methods may not be as well-respected by policymakers as quantitative methods that provide hard data, but they enable the study of phenomena that

would be difficult or even impossible to study using quantitative methods and they provide a much richer, more comprehensive data set that facilitates a deep understanding of the phenomena of interest (Marshall, 1996). Moreover, qualitative methods also enable the researcher to develop an understanding of the perspectives of those studied (Manning, 1992).

Another strength of qualitative research is that controlled environments are not needed. Studies can take place in natural settings (Anderson, 2006). This is likely to yield more authentic responses from participants and enables research to be undertaken even when there are few resources available to support it. It also allows research to be conducted with participants such as the high-powered female leaders interviewed for this study who would not likely have volunteered to participate in a controlled laboratory study.

5.3.2. Ethical Concerns of the Study Approach

When working with human participants, there are also a number of ethical issues that must be addressed. This study methodology posed no social, physical, or financial risks to subjects and no vulnerable individuals were included in this research. Participants were fully informed as to the nature of the study and its purpose, provided informed consent, and maintained their confidentiality. No information that could potentially identify them, such as names, places of work, or contact information, was recorded. Therefore, the methodology of this study fulfilled the ethical requirement to protect subjects from harm.

5.3.3. Strengths and Limitations of the Interview Approach

This research made use of a phenomelogical approach whereby data was collected during interviews. Case studies provide rich, nuanced data and context (Fiedler, 2004) and insights into causal mechanisms (Gerring, 2010). This was critical for the present research, which sought to develop an understanding of the complex issues facing Nigerian female leaders as well as the causes of these problems and possible solutions for them.

Interviewing is a good way to generate case study data because it can provide full, detailed accounts from the perspectives of participants (Polkinghorne, 2005). The interviews for the current study were conducted face-to-face using a semi-structured approach. This allowed for the use of an interview guide to provide some structure but also offered some flexibility to follow up on points of interest and seek clarification as needed.

Interviewing carries a risk of bias, which may be introduced by the researcher either during the data collection process if he or she lacks objectivity or influences participants in some way. It may also be introduced during the analysis process if the researcher does not interpret the study results objectively (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2010). However, the methodology for the current study incorporated approaches designed to reduce the potential for bias, including the use of an interview guide to maintain structure during the interviews and the application of a coding scheme to the interview data to standardise the process of interpretation.

An additional problem associated with interviews is that they rely on self-report for the collection of data. Using self-report methods is necessary when studying phenomena that cannot be directly observed, such as human experience. However, the perceptions of human interviewees are subjective; their perceptions are filtered through the lenses of social status, culture, and other factors; their memories are imperfect; and some subjects will be better able to convey their insights and feelings than others, which can limit the accuracy of the data collected. Moreover, even the act of reflecting upon one's experiences can create distance from them, thus altering perceptions of original experiences (Polkinghorne, 2005). Self-report methods are also limited by the honesty of the research participants. There is a high risk of introducing social desirability bias whereby participants do not respond honestly to interview or survey questions, instead providing answers they believe will make them appear more socially desirable (Donaldson & Grant-Vallone, 2002). This may be a particular problem

during face-to-face interviews, as subjects will not feel as safe disclosing sensitive information as they would on an anonymous survey.

5.3.4. Strengths and Limitations of the Sample Size and Selection

The primary research component of this study used a relatively small sample size, which could be considered both strength and a weakness. Using a sample of 10 individuals enabled more in-depth questioning and analysis. However, small samples do not facilitate generalizability, so it is impossible to determine whether or not a different sample might have produced different results. However, there is agreement among experts that relatively small sample sizes are ideal for interview-based research (Marshall, 1996; Tuckett, 2004).

The sample for this study was selected using a purposive approach. Participants were recruited based on their positions as leaders in various fields. The female Nigerian leaders recruited for this research were drawn from religious, political, and corporate fields in order to examine female leadership from multiple perspectives and to determine whether or not particular issues were field dependent. Additional strengths of this approach to sampling were that it provided representation for all key leadership domains and ensured that all participants were experienced leaders who could provide insights not only into current issues affecting Nigerian female leaders but also changes in these issues over time. The primary weakness of this approach was that it did not provide a random sample. Non-random samples are subject to selection bias because they comprise those willing to participate in the research and these individuals may differ in some way from those who refuse to participate (Fowler, 2009). Eighteen research subjects were approached. Several of the 8 that did not participate did not respond to the invitation.

An additional issue with the sample for this study was the fact that it included only female leaders. This can be considered both a strength and a weakness. Because the goal of this study component was to examine the perspectives of female Nigerian leaders, it enabled

the collection of in-depth data from this group. However, all of the data collected regarding the characteristics of good (and bad) leaders and gender differences in leadership reflects the perspectives of female leaders only. A sample of male leaders might have yielded different results.

5.3.5. Limitations of the Cross-Sectional Design

Like past research that has been conducted to examine cultural and gender differences in leadership, the current study used a cross-sectional design. This was necessary given the limitations posed by time and resource constraints. However, due to its focus on a particular point in time, this research was subject to the same limitations as other cross-sectional studies of this nature, the most notable of which is the inability to examine changes over time. This is a problem, given the significant sociocultural changes that are currently taking place in Nigeria. Although the results of this study are relevant now, in a few years they may not be. For example, if the Nigerian government is successful in dramatically increasing educational enrolment for girls, other issues may become more critical to aspiring female leaders in the nation.

5.3.6. Reliability and Validity Issues

It is more difficult to meet the requirements of reliability and validity with qualitative research. Replicability is a key criterion for reliability (Lewis, 2009), but qualitative studies cannot be replicated exactly because situations and perspectives change over time. This means that even a study conducted with the same population using the same research instrument could yield different results at different points in time. This affected the replicability, and by extension, reliability of past research on cultural and gender differences in leadership and it was also an issue with the current study. However, replicability is not critical in qualitative research because qualitative studies are premised on the understanding that reality is dynamic rather than static and thus is constantly changing (Anderson, 2006).

Therefore, even if all aspects of a study could be replicated, the outcome would be different due to changes over time. An interview guide was developed to standardise the interview questions and overall format for this study, which would enable another researcher to conduct similar research using the same questions. However, if the new study focused on different interview participants or there was a significant time gap between interviews, the results would likely be different. Because establishing reliability is challenging with qualitative research, experts have suggested using validity as a measure of reliability for qualitative studies (Golafshani, 2003).

Prerequisites of validity include credibility (Trochim, 2006), trustworthiness (Golafshani, 2003), and lack of bias (Lewis, 2009). A number of measures were taken in the current study to reduce threats to validity. These measures included the use of open-ended questions that allowed interviewees to answer using their own words and elaborate upon their answers in order to make their meaning clear, thus reducing the likelihood that their responses could be misinterpreted by the researcher. In addition, the use of directional or misleading questions was avoided to ensure that participants' were treated ethically and that their responses were valid. Threats to validity during the analysis phase were reduced by establishing codes for thematic analysis in order to standardise the qualitative analysis process as much as possible. While these measures would not have eliminated threats to validity entirely, they did significantly reduce them, thus increasing the overall validity, and by extension, reliability of the study.

The other significant threat to validity in this study was the risk of social desirability bias whereby respondents provide dishonest answers to interview questions in order to represent themselves in socially desirable ways (Donaldson & Grant-Vallone, 2002). The risk of social desirability bias was reduced in this research by ensuring the confidentiality of subjects and using multiple methods to provide additional data beyond that collected during

the interviews. However, it was impossible to entirely eliminate the risk of social desirability bias.

5.4. Suggestions for Future Research

There are a number of studies that could be undertaken to address the limitations of the current study and to build upon its findings. These future research possibilities fall into three categories: cultural differences in leadership, gender differences in leadership, and issues affecting female leaders in African nations such as Nigeria.

5.4.1. Cultural Differences in Leadership

What has been missing from past global leadership studies is a pragmatic focus. The results of such studies have been interesting and they have provided insights that may be useful for helping managers lead cross-cultural teams within an increasingly globalised economy. However, it would be beneficial to conduct research that would have practical applications in terms of increasing leader effectiveness throughout the world.

Research exploring the cultural attributes that lead to the greatest success in particular fields would be useful. For example, does an individualist or collectivist approach to leadership lead to better team performance, follower satisfaction, and company success in high-technology industries, and does this finding apply across cultures? If a particular cultural style of leadership is found to be more effective for this field, it would be beneficial for high-technology managers and business owners in other cultures to adopt this approach.

Conducting such studies on a global scale would be very resource-intensive, and thus would not be feasible without significant funding. To make the process more manageable, it would likely be necessary to conduct a series of smaller studies. Researchers could examine particular cultural traits individually for each study rather than attempting to cover them all within a single study. They would also need to establish metrics for corporate success and give them appropriate weighting, which would be challenging. While financial success is

important, this metric may obscure other important elements such as whether or not the company fosters a climate of innovation, the loyalty and happiness of those who work there, and issues surrounding corporate social responsibility (which are becoming increasingly important in the modern world).

Another shortfall of prior research on cultural differences in leadership has been the tendency to lump numerous subcultures into single national or regional categories. In many cases, large-scale studies have yielded average rankings for a region or nation for a particular trait, but are these regions and nations actually uniformly mid-range, or does the averaging of subcultures obscure significant differences throughout the area of interest? Where mid-range rankings have been given, it would be interesting to conduct more in-depth studies that examine differences among subcultures, because a mid-range ranking for a trait is useless in terms of practical applications if what lies underneath that ranking is a chaos of polarised extremes among subcultures.

An additional limitation of prior research on cultural differences in leadership is the fact that measures have typically been developed in Western nations. To create a more balanced overview, it would be necessary to conduct global research using measures developed in non-Western nations. Such research could potentially yield fresh insights and new research directions.

Also worth addressing is the cross-sectional nature of past research on cultural differences in leadership. Cultures operate in a state of flux and many of the world's cultures have been experiencing rapid, large-scale sociocultural and socio-political changes as a result of globalisation and other forces. It would be of academic interest to examine these changes over time to observe how they trigger corresponding changes in the leadership approaches favoured by various cultures.

5.4.2. Gender Differences in Leadership

Prior research on gender differences in leadership has been even more significantly limited by a Western bias as well as the use of a wide variety of measures that have made cross-study comparisons difficult. Given that gender differences have tended to be larger in Western nations, this may have also created a false impression that gender differences in leadership are universal. To address this shortfall would require global research using sufficiently large sample sizes and standardised measures to facilitate cross-cultural comparisons. It would also be informative to conduct research applying measures developed in non-Western nations.

Another largely unexplored area of research in this category is gender differences in leadership by career field. The findings of the current study suggest that gender differences in leadership do vary by field, but a review of the literature indicates that although a few studies in Western nations have made cross-field comparisons of gender differences, no large-scale global studies have examined this issue. Conducting research to examine gender differences from one career field to the next could provide insights into glass ceiling effects and other barriers to female leadership in particular fields, as well as general insights into possible causes of gender differences. For example, if a particular gender difference is found across fields and nations, this could be considered a universal difference, whereas gender differences that vary from one field to the next are likely to be social rather than biological in origin.

An additional shortfall of prior research on both gender differences in leadership and cultural differences in leadership is a failure to integrate the two fields. The few studies that have been undertaken indicate that there are interactional effects. Therefore, studying the interaction of cultural and gender effects on leadership could yield fresh insights into each. The current study sought to address this gap in the literature by conducting a large-scale review of prior studies and some small-scale primary research in a single nation. However,

resource limitations prevented the undertaking of a larger study. It would be informative to conduct a global study of gender differences in leadership using standardised measures of both cultural and leadership-associated traits. Such a study would help to determine the relative influence of culture and gender on the tendency to adopt particular leadership styles and behaviours. The findings of this research could also provide insights regarding barriers to female leadership in specific cultural contexts and inform strategies aimed at increasing female opportunities for leadership in nations where female representation in positions of power is low.

5.4.3. Female Leaders in African Nations

Africa is a particularly challenging place for aspiring female leaders and the continent has received very little attention from prior researchers. Reports produced by international organisations have examined many of the barriers to female leadership in African nations such as Nigeria. However, few studies have sought to understand the perspectives of existing female leaders and women who aspire to leadership positions in African nations despite the fact that these women can provide useful insights not only into obstacles to female leadership but also the ways in which they could be overcome.

The current study identified three important barriers to leadership for Nigerian women: cultural attitudes, lack of education, and direct and indirect modes of exclusion, each of which is worthy of study. Although much is known about the Nigerian cultural attitudes that relegate women to subordinate roles, there is no information about how to change these attitudes. Researchers could simply ask Nigerian men and women what would be required to shift their beliefs toward a more egalitarian way of thinking. Would having more successful female role models be beneficial? Would a shift to egalitarianism require the endorsement of religious leaders? Or perhaps better education for girls would increase their competence and self-confidence so that they would be seen as potential leaders. Problems have been

identified, but solutions for changing long-held beliefs have not. Therefore, it is critical to develop an understanding of what would be required to promote change in order to develop effective strategies for doing so.

Reports by various organisations have identified some of the barriers to female education in Nigeria. However, researchers have not asked girls and their families how to increase female enrolment and keep girls in school until they earn their qualifications. What would have to change in Nigerian society and within Nigerian families to ensure that female education becomes a priority, even in poor rural areas? What changes are necessary in Nigerian schools to create a better climate for Nigerian female students? Answering these questions could inform policy and help governments and non-governmental organisations allocate educational funding more effectively.

A pragmatic focus could also be applied to the study of women's exclusion from positions of power. Researchers could ask aspiring female leaders, followers, and those with the power to hire and promote what would be required to prevent women's exclusion from leadership roles. Would incentives for changes in company policies be beneficial? How could the nation develop networks of existing female leaders to provide support and mentoring to aspiring female leaders? What else could be done to reduce women's exclusion from the realm of political leadership? The answers to these questions could inform practical solutions for increasing female participation in management, politics, and religious leadership in African nations.

Longitudinal studies of particular African nations would also be useful for developing strategies to increase female leadership opportunities. Some African nations have been more successful in increasing female representation in leadership positions than others and it would be worthwhile to examine how these nations have differed over time. What socio-political changes have taken place to create more favourable situations in some African nations? What

caused these changes? And how could nations with poor female representation in positions of power promote similar shifts toward more egalitarian societies? This research would be qualitative and it would require researchers with strong interviewing skills and the ability to conduct astute socio-political analyses. In addition to a review of secondary historical sources, primary research in the form of interviews with politicians, citizens, and groups that have played key roles in recent socio-political changes would be required to explore the situation from multiple perspectives. The findings from this research could potentially help other nations create equal opportunities for men and women to attain positions of leadership and to lead more effectively.

6. Conclusions

The goals of this study were to examine the intersection of culture, gender, and leadership, with a particular focus on Nigerian female leaders. This research was guided by three questions:

1. What are the cultural differences in leadership styles across nations and regions?

2. Are there universal differences in male and female leadership approaches?

3. Do the experiences of female leaders in Nigeria support popular leadership theories or suggest cultural or gender differences in Nigerian leadership?

These questions were answered using a qualitative methodology, drawing on interviews with ten high-level female Nigerian leaders in religious, business, civil, and political organisations as well as extensive secondary research. Conclusions drawn from the findings and analysis of this research are as follows.

6.1. Culture and Leadership

The literature review indicated a number of significant differences between cultures that affect leadership practices. These differences include differences in power distance preferences (because of its impact on preference for leadership styles (Dorfman, et al., 1997)), individualism and collectivism, masculinity (as well as related characteristics like assertiveness and humane orientations), and uncertainty avoidance. There was also literature support for universally identified good leadership characteristics (like integrity, charisma, and team-building), as well as universally disliked characteristics (such as dictatorialness, autocratic attitudes, face-saving, self-protection, and malevolence). These findings provided a starting point for the analysis of the impact of culture and leadership.

6.2.   The Intersection of Culture, Gender, and Leadership

Previous research in the intersection of gender, culture, and leadership has been very mixed, and the findings are not conclusive. For example, Berry et al. (2008) found that female leaders are more insensitive, Caliper (2005) found female leaders to be more assertive, and Kabacoff (1988) found that female leaders are more dominant and assertive. However, other studies (or in some cases, the same studies) have yielded findings in keeping with gender stereotypes (Berry, et al., 2008; Reingold, 1996; Van-Keer, et al., 2009). This situation makes it difficult to understand the relationship between gender and leadership, although it could point to differences in trait expression among leaders. However, there is also not as much evidence for this supposition as there could be.

The literature on cultural and gender differences are also complex. There have been few studies in non-Western nations, but those that do exist show conflicting results. For example, even the greater likelihood that women will adopt transformational leadership styles, identified in numerous worldwide studies (Al-Dabbagh, 2008; Al-Suwaihel, 2009; Eagly et al., 2003; Fein et al., 2010) is reversed in South Asian nations where men are more likely to lead in a transformational manner than their female counterparts (Pimapunsri, 2008; Wood & Jogulu, 2006). Thus, it appears that gender differences in leadership styles vary in response to culture, which supports situational theories of leadership. Global studies have found no significant gender differences in key leadership attributes, though they have found interaction and moderating effects between culture and gender (Cavallo & Brienza, 2002; Sonfield & Lussier, 2012; Paris et al, 2009; Van Emerik et al., 2008). This suggests that culture influences leadership more than gender, as well as serving as an intervening variable between leadership and gender.

6.3.   The Intersection of Culture, Gender, and Leadership in Nigeria

Africa is a region that has received little attention from prior leadership researchers. The handful of African gender and leadership studies that were identified during the literature search encompassed only a few nations, and although some of their findings suggest the existence of gender differences in leadership in Africa, they do not support any clear, overarching conclusions given their small scale and lack of replication. The findings on female leadership in Nigeria were sporadic and extremely contradictory. Hofstede (2001) and House, et al. (2004) both clustered several African countries, despite acknowledged differences in culture around the region. This makes their generalized findings relatively ineffective for understanding Nigeria specifically. Hofstede (2001) did state that Nigeria has a strong preference for masculinity and high power distance, as well as a low long-term orientation score. It is uncertain what effect LTO has on leadership, but high power distance and masculinity would logically result in high barriers to female leadership. The primary research did find that to be the case, although it also identified a number of successes of female leadership.

The current study sought to address a gap in the literature by providing insight into the issues facing Nigerian female leaders, elements of good leadership in Nigeria, and perceived gender differences among leaders in the nation. The selected interviewees for this research spanned several leadership fields, including religious, political, and corporate, in order to determine whether or not gender differences in Nigerian leadership are field-dependent.

The findings from this research indicate that there are a number of attributes associated with good leadership in Nigeria, from the perspective of female leaders. Although a broad array of attributes were mentioned, certain traits and behaviours were cited by multiple interviewees and thus were deemed particularly important and universal to Nigerian

leadership. These include the stereotypically male traits of strength and assertiveness as well as stereotypically female attributes such as sympathy and empathy. Emotional intelligence and indicators of this attribute such as understanding, good communication skills, and emotional stability are also critical to good leadership, as are behaviours indicating a solid work ethic such as diligence, discipline, dedication, goal and achievement orientation, and the tendency to work hard. Additional attributes that are important to leadership in Nigeria fall under the category of transformational or visionary leadership. These factors include leading by example, inspiring, motivating, and guiding. Good leadership also requires listening skills, emotional stability and consistency, integrity, honesty, transparency, humility, and unselfishness (or even a tendency toward self-sacrifice). Traits associated with bad leadership, by contrast, include greed, lack of integrity, and a dictatorial leadership style. This focus on attributes as critical elements of good (or bad) leadership is in line with popular trait and behavioural theories of leadership.

Based on the findings from the interviews conducted with the participants in this study, it could be inferred that there are significant differences between men's and women's typical leadership styles in Nigeria. Women are inclined to be stronger in many of the attributes associated with good leadership in general, such as communicative and persuasive skills and integrity. They also tend to be more consultative and to maintain a lower power distance, which makes them more approachable for their followers. Additional strengths of female leaders in Nigeria are that they tend to be gentler, more tolerant, and not as inclined toward harshness or authoritarianism. However, the interviewees also described female leaders as more passionate, excitable, and emotional, which could be seen as indicators of lower emotional stability or a reactionary nature, tendencies considered problematic in leaders. Overall, the findings suggest that if Nigeria were to adopt a lower preferred power distance and a less masculine orientation, the nation would be more favourable to female

leadership styles. On the other hand, the gentler female leadership style is in keeping with Africa's current humane leadership ideal and the female tendency toward integrity is in line with universal leadership ideals.

Nigerian female leaders face a number of barriers to leadership. However, the three most significant are aspects of religion and culture that cause females to be perceived as weaker and less capable of leadership than males, the various ways in which women are directly and indirectly excluded from assuming positions of power, and the failure to educate and invest in female children and adult women who seek leadership positions.

Aspiring female Nigerian leaders face significant barriers in terms of societal attitudes. In Nigerian society, women are relegated to subordinate roles. They are perceived as weaker and less capable than men, fit only for domestic duties, and the home is seen as their natural sphere. Furthermore, they are expected to defer to men, which makes participation in political debate or effective corporate management difficult, creating situational effects that negatively influence the ability of women to lead effectively in the nation. When women do manage to attain positions of power they have to work very hard to prove themselves and they are less likely to receive the same respect as male leaders. They must overcome assumptions that they are less competent or will be less able to fulfill their leadership duties due to childcare responsibilities and other domestic requirements, as well as the difficulty many Nigerian men have taking orders from women, given the prevailing cultural assumptions about female inferiority and subordinate status.

However, there is evidence that Nigerian culture is starting to change, moving in a more egalitarian direction, though it still has a long way to go before women will be considered equally capable of leadership as their male counterparts. Change may be particularly difficult in Nigerian society because the nation has a high level of uncertainty avoidance and a short-term orientation. The nation's masculine orientation also works against

aspiring female leaders because they are perceived as lacking the stereotypically male traits that traditionalists associate with effective leadership. Aspiring female leaders are also blocked from ascending to positions of power, particularly in the political sphere, by various methods of exclusion. For example, men (and even some women) refuse to vote for women regardless of their qualifications or competence. Furthermore, aspiring female leaders are not provided with the networking opportunities necessary for advancement in various fields because there is an old boys' network in place to support their male counterparts but no social support and few role models for the women.

Thus, most Nigerian women lack the in-group status required to advance in a collectivist society. However, in some cases the mechanisms of exclusion are more direct. For example, in certain organisations, women are not even allowed to seek leadership positions. They may also be prevented from ascending to leadership positions by social manipulation or lack of resources. Nigerians tend not to invest in or otherwise sponsor female leadership candidates. As a result, Nigerian women are forced to seek positions of power with fewer resources to draw upon, which acts as a significant disadvantage. Gender stereotypes may work in women's favour for certain positions (women are believed to be more honest, so are favoured for treasurer positions), but when it comes to positions of power, male candidates are favoured.

Education is critical to the attainment of leadership positions, and lack of education is the most significant barrier to female leadership in Nigeria. This problem can be traced back to gender inequality in Nigerian culture. Because it is expected that girls will be homemakers only, investing in their education is seen as a waste of money, particularly for impoverished families that can only afford to educate some of their children. In such families, boys will be prioritised, and this trend is evident in the fact that female school enrolment rates are much lower than those for boys in Nigeria. Moreover, it is exacerbated by widespread poverty in

the nation. Even when girls do have the opportunity to attend school in Nigeria, early marriages and problems associated with the schools themselves often force them before they receive any qualifications.

All of the barriers to female leadership in Nigeria are interrelated. Aspects of culture influence attitudes toward female prospects for economic achievement and leadership (or lack thereof), which in turn influence the likelihood that girls will be educated, and uneducated girls are unlikely to develop the skills required to ascend to leadership positions. Cultural attitudes also influence the likelihood that aspiring female leaders will receive the financial and social support required to achieve leadership positions. Changing attitudes toward women and ensuring that girls receive a good education have been identified as key elements in shifting the balance toward equal leadership opportunities, and there is some evidence that Nigeria is moving forward in terms of educational opportunities. The Nigerian government has recently implemented changes to increase the enrolment and retention of female children in Nigerian schools.

6.4. Contributions to Academic Knowledge

This section seeks to provide a comprehensive overview related to how the findings in this research study contribute to academic knowledge and how those contributions can potentially be applied to further research or real life organizational adaptations. Leadership is a multifaceted phenomenon and tradition views on leadership were generally focused on the "born leader" that has to be located within an organization and put in a position of power. It has long been accepted that leadership is not a stagnant phenomenon. In addition, most academic theory suggests that leaders are both born and created (Newman, 2008).

In consideration to the spectrum of what creates a leader, this study suggests both by content analysis of existing research and by semi-structured leadership response that culture is one of the elements that create leadership styles for better or worse depending on that

particular style and its applications to a respective situation. While it cannot be stated that culture and gender are the only contributing factors to leadership style or leadership efficacy, this study has to an extent substantially established that this is true using the Nigerian cases as an example. However, culture essentially eradicates any stereotypical or exclusionary patriarchal principles of leadership being influenced by gender. As a result, it advances leadership theory as a unified principle rather than a gender divided construct. In addition, it contributes additional knowledge to global organizational studies in terms of multicultural competency in which it advances regarding how leadership is facilitated, viewed and constructed in Nigeria. This is important for those conducting business in Nigeria as well as globally focused organizations who may be working with Nigerian human capital either in Nigeria or abroad.

In terms of a unified theory of leadership, there are many approaches to leadership that can all produce loyal followers and efficacious results. There is no singular leadership style that is best for all situations. It is more commonly established among leadership theorists that those leaders who can adapt themselves and their leadership style to fit a particular situation will be those who are most successful (Newman, 2008). For example, in an emergency situation where quick decision making is the difference between success or failure, the leader that can be decisive and authoritative will reign supreme. In an ailing organizational culture where classic models of organizational operations in terms of top-down decision making are present, the leader that can facilitate staff ownership through participative leader will likely be most efficacious. Being able to move between these styles is advantageous to only embracing a single style for all situations. By critical inference, if the female gender was found to occupy primarily a singular leadership style and they are bound by that style, it would have to be concluded that they would be less effective leaders in many situations. This notion, which typically takes the place of a passive and weak female leader is

product of patriarchal gender stereotyping. Academic literature, however, does not support this.

According to the past studies, women can occupy any of the leadership types without a gender propensity to congregate toward any singular style. This implies that there is no propensity for a woman to be a better or worse leader than a man based on gender. However, this current study demonstrates the danger of stereotyping on a cultural level. If there is widespread institutional patriarchal constructs present, this can affect the way in which females view themselves and the way in which organizational members view the female leader. This in turn can impact the style in which the female leader employs and subsequently the degree of efficacy that they will have in a leadership position. In areas like Nigeria, where patriarchal constructs reign supreme, when a female leader is less efficacious than their male counterpart, this is used by the dominant patriarchal though processes as proof that women are inferior to men. In reality, the implications of this academic research suggest that problems with females in leadership positions in Nigeria and beyond are more likely due to patriarchal cultural norms rather than actual ability.

Furthermore, if females view themselves as having to occupy a certain leadership style or if females think they have to overcompensate a leadership style to be accepted, the result is a selection and development of a leadership paradigm that is not based on which style would be most efficacious for the situation, but instead would be based on which style is necessary for navigating a particular culture. Culture can empower or hinder the making of a female leader. Females occupy half of the world's population and it is established by leadership and organizational theory that leaders make the difference between the success or failure of an organization (Ancona, et al., 2005). For organizations who are seeking leadership development paradigms to enhance their ability to compete and succeed, understanding which culture elements are present that help or hinder gender leadership development is of

the utmost importance. Armed with that particular knowledge leadership development can be adapted accordingly.

It can be stated that the 21st Century is a multicultural paradigm. The modalities of successful 21 st Century organizations include: global focus, diversity focus, flattened tiers of management, increased flexibility, 360 degree communication and flexibility (Ancona, et al., 2005). This differs from the classic organizational model, which was favored in the 20 th Century that favored rigid work structures, local focus, highly tiered management structures, top down communication and singular reward systems (Ancona, et al., 2005).

In addition, it can be stated that singular perspectives on an entire gender would be something more akin to a classic organizational model than the 21st Century model. Based on the material presented, if both men and women were raised without cultural influences in a some type of vacuum, the way in which their inborn personalities evolved into leadership techniques would not have a propensity any one way over another according to the literature presented. As culture impacts our lives, however, it too impacts self image and other constructs that will impact the way in which a person chooses to lead. Variation in gender leadership protocols, therefore, is more often a cultural product than inborn product.

Furthermore, the findings from this study extend our understanding of how the gender and culture influences human relations and human capital development in Nigeria. As organizations seek to extend their operational boundaries and markets to far regions of the world, understanding the cultures in which one is interacting is a critical element for success. During recruitment processes and relationship building with staff from Nigeria these cultural norms are a critical part of cultural competency. Not being cognizant of such variances or elements can be the success or failure of a given scenario on one or multiple levels.

Since there has been a noted link between leadership efficacy and emotional intelligence (EQ), as noted by researcher Newman (2008); it can be stated that EQ can be

developed in any situation. Rather than conventional intelligence, EQ can be improved upon with training. It is possible, therefore, that in areas where cultural obstructions to leadership development in gender are present, the development of EQ in those populations can potentially be used as a force to counteract those negative constructs. While this notion holds true in theory, it cannot be fully substantiated without further academic research and a way to measure such improvements. This also remains another potential area recommended by the researcher for further academic exploration. Working within positive cultural norms for leadership development and working around negative cultural norms related to leadership development is the key to applying the information presented in this research study.

Overall, these constructs related to the study put for the following contributions to academic knowledge:

(1) Culture rather than gender is a more significant predictor of women leadership style

(2) Cultural norms can impact women leadership style and efficacy positively or negatively

(3) Highly patriarchal environments limit the efficacy of female leadership paradigms by forcing females to adapt leadership mechanisms related to culture rather than to efficacy.

(4) Having an understanding of the cultural elements can make an organization better equipped to nurture and select leadership talent.

(5) Women leadership is a complex phenomenon that has cultural predictors for success

(6) Women leaders could both be born or made in

It is important to note that most of these elements have been re-echoed considering the outcomes of this qualitative study. They are, however, notions that have been supported by previous and more popular recent academic research. This suggests that the universal principles put forth by such notions are supported within the Nigerian framework. There is no

reason to suggest that these dimensions would not hold true in other case studies. In order to facilitate future research on the subject and to continue advancing these protocols, it would be advantageous to apply the same study to another group of women to determine the degree to which culture rather than gender impacts their leadership style and efficacy.

6.5   Significance of Findings and Recommendations

In conclusion, there is an influence of Nigerian culture on females in leadership, and this influence has two different directions. The first direction is the influence of culture on Nigerian female leadership. On one hand, the positive influence is the support that the Nigerian female leaders experience from their families, especially their male relatives such as fathers, brothers, and husbands.

Also, the Nigerian female leaders are supported by their male colleagues because those males believe in equality of work opportunities between males and females in higher positions, and they also believe in the females' capabilities to hold such positions. On the other hand, there is a negative influence of the Nigerian culture on female leadership. The stereotype remains in place that women are fit for positions such as teaching but not for leadership positions in either governmental or nongovernmental organizations.

The other direction is the influence of the Nigerian females on the culture. These female leaders have influenced the Nigerian culture in different ways. First, they have positively influenced males' perspectives toward females as leaders. Some males now see Nigerian females as capable to hold higher positions in various fields. This development of female leadership in Nigeria has come with some cost. At times, female leaders experience a backlash against females in leadership from males and other females as well.

The findings of this study support previous studies that highlight the influence of culture on gender and leadership (Atiyyah, 1992 and Gibson, 1995). Different cultures have

different influences on gender and leadership, as suggested by other studies. It is obvious that the Nigerian culture has an influence on female leadership in a distinctive way that is characterized by cultural aspects. Additional research could focus on issues related to the influence of culture on gender and leadership in either West Africa or international locations. The aspects of the study that relate to the Nigerian culture should be used as positive motivation for females to improve their status and recognize that nothing can limit their ambitions to increase their contributions within society. As they developed their leadership skills, most all participants struggled with difficulties and hardships, either from their families or their male colleagues; but these circumstances couldn't prevent them from accomplishing their objectives.

Similarly, other qualified females in Nigeria need to receive substantial encouragement to develop their capabilities in leadership. They also should be motivated through offers and more opportunities to lead various organizations, especially governmental organizations. Properly preparing junior employees to develop their abilities and improve their skills to hold leadership positions could be helpful. Most participants indicated that leaders should help making significant improvement in juniors' skills and abilities by motivating them to share thoughts, attend meetings, and benefit from professional courses.

Leaders should encourage the new generations by sharing with them their own strengths that might benefit the organization. It would be effective for leaders to understand junior employees' needs, ambitions, and way of thinking, and to encourage and motivate them by sharing their thoughts and ideas, and being supportive, especially during the initial period in their jobs. Also, opportunities to participate in national and international conferences that discuss leadership are, based on the current research, important for enhancing employees' experiences.

Based on the cultural norms of Nigeria, a major role for mothers is to raise their children appropriately with respect to morals and religious principles that will enable youth to fully develop their personalities as future leaders. Mothers also should naturally direct their energies toward scaffolding their children's experiences toward an intellectually stimulating future. More acknowledgment should be focused on the organization's culture in terms of making collaborative efforts toward modifying the organizational structure and developing strategies that include female leadership for the benefit of the organization. Thus, leaders should first understand the existing organization's culture, and then evaluate and modify its strategic objectives in a way that enables the leaders to develop actions that will improve the organization's productivity and accomplish its objectives.

I suggest that future researchers might benefit from the personal and professional experiences that these Nigerian females gained from their work and leadership responsibilities. I also suggest that future researchers focus their efforts on issues relating to female leadership styles and the influence of culture in the context of recent developments in female leadership in Nigeria and the West Africa. Future researchers also should focus on the similarities and differences between male and female leadership styles and leaders' behaviors in Arab countries, especially the Arabian Gulf and the State of Nigeria I recommend that people learn more about female leadership styles and thus benefit from female leaders' experiences in these countries.

Because this research provides results that point out the interactions of Nigerian culture with gender and leadership, future studies should focus on the phenomena of cross-cultural female leadership and the cultural influence on leaders' characteristics (Smith, 2006) in other African countries.

Another point of research should focus on conceptualizing the Nigerian female's accomplishment in governmental and private sectors. At the same time, evaluation and

judgments of female leadership experiences in higher positions should be postponed until further female contributions in the political, social, and economic arenas have been made.

Future research could be placed on the relationships between those in leadership positions and their followers, to consider the various backgrounds of followers, the influence of this relationship on the organization's environment, and to improve these relationships. In addition, research also should pay attention to the followers who have experienced multiple leadership styles and dealt with several different leaders' behaviors. This type of study will support and improve leadership behaviors and styles for both males and females.

6.6   Summary

Overall, the findings from this research provide strong evidence for cultural influences on leadership. However, evidence for gender differences in leadership is mixed. A review of past research indicates that there are interactive effects for cultural and gender differences in leadership, and that the influence of culture is probably stronger than that of gender. However, evidence from Nigeria itself is sparse and the findings often conflict. Findings from the interviews indicate that culture also has a potent influence on leadership opportunities for women in Nigeria and that there are gender differences in Nigerian leadership as well.

However, there are still significant organizational barriers that could obscure any major differences in leadership style, or create differences in perception where no difference exists. Thus, this research significantly expanded on what is known about leadership in Nigeria for women.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE

THE EFFECTS OF CULTURE AND GENDER ON LEADERSHIP STYLES AND OPPORTUNITIES: META-ANALYSIS AND CASE STUDIES

Leadership sphere:

- Political

- Religious

- Business

1. In your opinion, what are the personality traits and skills that make a good leader?

2. In your opinion, what qualities (personality and behavioural) are associated with poor leadership?

3. How would you characterize your leadership style? What type of leader do you strive to be?

4. Which leader (anywhere in the world) do you admire the most? What makes that person so impressive?

5. Do different leadership settings require different sets of traits or behaviours? For example, would the qualities of a good leader be different for a company manager, a politician and a church leader?

6. Do you think the public believes that male and female leaders have different strengths and weaknesses? If so, what are the assumed gender differences?

7. Do you personally believe that women and men typically adopt different leadership styles? If so, how does their leadership differ?

8. Do you believe that there are specific impediments to women becoming leaders? If so, what are they?

9. Did you receive support in becoming a leader (i.e., mentorship, leadership develop programme, etc.)? If so, how critical was this support to your achieving a leadership role?

10. Do women face unique challenges in leadership roles?

11. Are there any advantages to being a female leader rather than a male leader?

12. As a female leader, have you experienced any gender-based prejudice (for example, people believing that you will be less competent, strong, decisive, etc.)?

13. What could be done to ensure that more women have the opportunity to ascend to leadership roles?

14. Do you believe that there is a unique cultural style to leadership in Nigeria? Or do you feel that good (and bad) leadership are the same everywhere?

15. If you deal with people of different cultures, have you ever had to address any sensitive issues related to cultural conflicts or misunderstandings? If so, how did you resolve them?

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Informed Consent Form

Gender Culture and Leadership	
1. I confirm that I have read and understood the participant information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.	
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at anytime without giving a reason.	
3. I understand that all the information I provide will be treated in confidence	
4. I understand that I also have the right to change my mind about participating in the study for a short period after the study has concluded (4 weeks).	
5. I agree to be recorded as part of the research project	
6. I agree to take part in the research project	

Name of participant: ....

Signature of participant: ....

Date: ....

Witnessed by (if appropriate):   ....

Name of witness:...

Signature of witness:...

Name of Researcher:..

Signature of researcher: ....

Date: ....