
#### Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to investigate whether the pattern of sexual wage differentials among academics at the University of Lagos in 1980 was primarily die to overt sex discrimination on the part of university authorities, or rather, was a reflection of academic productivity differences. Information concerning economic and status characteristics of the University of Lagos Academic Staff for four faculties in 1980 was provided by the administration. The sample included the entire female staff of the Faculties of Science Social Science, Arts and Education, a total of thirty six women, and a random sample of every third male recorded by the administration in these faculties, a total of eighty two males. In 1981, fifteen of the thirty six women in the sample also were interviewed in depth.

Quantitative analysis of academic rank differentials by gender attributed 89 percent of the gross difference to a variation in average productivity characteristics by gender and only 11 percent to employer discrimination. Analysis of the qualitative data shoed how the social definition of women's roles and the structure of families affected the female scholars' productivity.


## Male and Female Career Ladders in Nigerian Academia

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## Women and International Development

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## INTRODUCTION

During the last fifteen years, social scientists in western industrial economies, perhaps under the impetus of the Women's Movement, have been concerned with the nature and consequences of sex discrimination and occupational segregation. In this context, academics have focused considerable attention on the sexual characteristics of their own profession. Generally, in countries such as Great Britain and the United States, female academics are relatively few in number, are concentrated in a limited number of departments, and are, on the average, at a significantly lower rank than their male counterparts. In addition, female academics receive significantly lower average salaries (Williams, Blackstone and Metcalf, 1974; Rossi and Calderwood, 1973). In an ongoing debate involving policy implications, scholars analyzing a variety of cross sectional and cohort data either attribute rank and salary differentials primarily to objective differences in male/female characteristics or to employer's discriminatory practices (see, for example, Johnson and Stafford, 1974; Reagan, 1975; Loeb and Ferber, 1973).

Within Nigeria and other West African countries, social scientists, partly because of data limitations, have done little empirical work on the nature and consequences of sex discrimination in the modern private sector or the modern public sector which includes the universities. Similarities exist, however, between the work experiences of Nigerian female academics and those in other countries. For example, women were only 6 percent of the Nigerian Academic staff in 1977 and were concentrated in a few faculties, primarily Education and Arts. Further, in these two faculties, women constituted more than 10 percent of the academic staff (National Manpower Board, Federal Ministry of National Planning, 1980).

As no published information is available about Nigerian academic salary and rank differentials by gender, the purpose of this paper is first to investigate the extent of wage disparity by sex at a particular Nigerian University. Then, regression analysis will be used to examine whether the pattern of sexual wage disparity is due primarily to overt discrimination on the part of university authorities or is rather a reflection of productivity differentials by gender. Finally, to supplement the quantitative data, the paper will investigate how the role of women and the structure of families in an African society at a particular stage of economic development affects the relative productivity of female academics by drawing on in-depth interviews with women scholars at the university. The University of Lagos, one of Nigeria's older universities, was selected as the case study since the proportion of women among its staff (over 13 percent) was much higher than the national experience. ${ }^{2}$

In 1980, information concerning economic and status characteristics of the University of Lagos academic staff was collected for the four faculties which employed 81 percent of all non-medical women academics in the university: the Faculties of Science, Social Science, Arts and Education. ${ }^{3}$ The sample of thirty-six women and eighty-two men included all females and a random sample of every third male in these faculties as recorded by the Faculty Welfare Office of the Registry. 4 The average salary of these women was significantly lower than the average male salary (see Table l).

Moreover, the average salary of females and males varied significantly by age group. The average male salary was substantially higher than the average female salary for each age group above 39 years. Further, female academics tended to be clustered in the lower academic ranks. Only 14 percent of the women were senior lecturers and none were associate professors. Forty-two percent of the males, in contrast, held such positions (see Table 2).

Thus at the University of Lagos, as in universities of industrialized countries, the average salary of female academics is significantly lower than their male colleague's. The lower average female salary has important implications not only for reasons of equity but because, within a Southern Nigerian context, women and men are usually co-responsible for family finances (Fapohunda, 1978).

## ANALYSIS OF AVERAGE WAGE DISPARITY BY SEX AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LAGOS

Three alternative explanations concerning the causes of pay differentials by gender for a given occupation may be drawn from Neo-classical Economic Theory (for a fuller discussion see Blau and Jusenius, 1976). Assuming a competitive labor market, factors on the demand or supply side can cause wage disparity. For example, employers who prefer or who derive a utility from discriminating against women will employ them only when the sex/wage differential is large enough to compensate for the experienced disutility (Becker, 1957).

Alternatively, the wage differential may objectively reflect that women and men are not homogeneous workers; that is, women's work productivity is indeed lower than their male counterparts. Although women may have, on the average, the same innate abilities and education as men, they accumulate, in the words of economists, less human capital through work-related experiences as they spend proportionately fewer years in the labor force due to their domestic and maternal activities. Moreover, since women know that their labor force participation will not be continuous, implying that the rewards from on-the-job training will be diminished, they rationally choose to invest less time in these activities. Thus, Johnson and Stafford (1974:889) have argued that academic wage differentials by gender are "generated by market reaction to voluntary choices by females with regard to lifetime labour force participation and on the job training."

A third approach is to assume that women are less responsive to wage changes in making employment decisions than men because of non-pecuniary considerations. For example, married women may feel that they must work in the same geographic areas as their spouse or women with small children may prefer to work near home. The supply curve of women, therefore, is less wage-elastic than that of men. As a result, employers knowing that women are less mobile and less responsive to competitive wage offers have the ability to offer them smaller salaries than their male colleagues (Reagan, 1975).

In considering the relevancy of these alternative explanations of wage disparity to Nigerian academia, it is important at this juncture to point out that the academic staff is paid according to the unified salary structure of the Nigerian Civil Service. ${ }^{5}$ The salary structure consists of a ladder of fixed salary grades with corresponding salary scales. Each of the academic ranks from Graduate Assistant to Professor are assigned a given salary grade from eight to sixteen. Each grade has a varying number of step increments that are awarded yearly based on satisfactory service. For example, associate professor, grade level fifteen, has a base salary of N 9,168 and three step increments of N320. An individual can proceed from salary grade eight (Graduate Assistant) to thirteen (Senior Lecturer) either by promotion or appointment. An individual in the university can only advance to grade level fifteen (Associate Professor) or to level sixteen (Professor) by appointment if there are vacancies. ${ }^{6}$

A candidate's suitability for promotion or appointment is determined by the University's Appointment and Promotions Committee with the advice of the concerned faculty's dean. Each academic is assessed according to an explicit weighting scheme totaling one hundred points (see Figure l). The major factors evaluated in the weighting scheme are a candidate's recognized publications, teaching responsibilities, and academic qualifications. Out of a total of one hundred points, publications and teaching responsibilities each carry thirty points, while qualifications carry a maximum of ten points (University of Lagos, Regulations Governing Service Senior Staff No. 5, March 1978:11). To be promoted or appointed to a post, a candidate must achieve the minimum aggregate number of points associated with the position subject to a minimum score under the category recognized publication for high ranking posts (University of Lagos, Regulations Governing Service Senior Staff No. 5, March 1978:14).

Because the salary structure for Nigerian academics is defined for rank, salary differentials by gender cannot reflect wage discrimination in the sense that men and women are paid different salaries for the same job. The average salary disparity occurs because women are clustered in relatively lower academic posts than men. This difference becomes accentuated in the higher age groups. A difference in the average academic rank by gender need not represent discrimination if women with the same characteristics as men have lower academic ranks. The question arises whether clustering occurs because of discrimination or as a result of productivity differences between the sexes. Are women being denied opportunities for promotion by male administrators and members of male-dominated committees who interpret and apply the criteria for promotion and appointment?

To explore this issue, it was first hypothesized that men's and women's academic rank can be predicted by the same structural equation, including as independent variables personal characteristics and productivity indicators. It was not possible to include all factors listed by the university as criteria for assessment because information on current research and contributions to the university by gender are not readily available. The absence of this information, however, is not likely to have a significant impact on
the results since under the university assessment criteria heavy weights are not associated with them. Moreover, for some of the factors included, such as publications, it was not possible to consider quality. The data available, then, were subjected to analysis using the following equation (Malkiel and Malkiel, 1973:703):

$$
S=a_{0}+a_{1} E X+a_{2} E X^{2}+a_{3} P u+a_{4} Q u+e
$$

where

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S = academic rank
EX = years of related experience
Qu = qualifications
Pu = number of recognized publications
e = error term
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The academic rank of a staff member depends on years of experience, number of recognized publications, and qualifications. The status of an academic can range from Graduate Assistant, Assistant Lecturer, Lecturer Grade II, Lecturer Grade I, Senior Lecturer, Associate Professor, to Professor. These ranks were given numerical values from 1 to 7. Qualification was measured by a dummy variable that took the value $l$ if the individual's qualification was less than the Ph.D. degree and 2 if the individual had the Ph.D. The independent variable recognized that publications are measured by a weighted dummy variable and took the value 1 if the individual had no recognized publications. Each journal article was weighted by the number 2, while each book was weighted by the number 3. Experience was measured by an individual's years of experience at the university or at a recognized equivalent institution. 7

The estimates of the equations to predict academic rank by sex are presented in Table 3. The results show that two-thirds of the variance in male academic status can be explained by productivity characteristics, i.e., experience, publications, and qualifications. The equation for women explains six-tenths of the variation. In addition, for the men the experience and publication variables are significant at the 99 percent confidence level, and the qualification variable is significant at the 95 percent confidence level. For the female staff, however, only the publication variable is significant at the 99 percent confidence level. The experience and qualification variables are not significant. Therefore, the hypothesis that the equations to predict academic rank by gender are the same can be rejected as they do not have the same coefficients for all variables. Structural differences in the rank predicting equations may be regarded as apriori evidence of discrimination.

As the status predicting equations for men and women are different, they can be used to estimate an upper limit for the extent of discrimination. The strategy is to calculate actual male and female average status from their respective equations. The gross difference in the average rank by gender can then be broken down into two components: (1) the difference in average
rank attributable to differences in average chacteristics; and (2) the residual difference not accounted for by variation in average characteristics and consequently attributable to discrimination (Malkiel and Malkiel, 1973: 700).

Since status discrimination exists only if women with the same characteristics as men tend to receive lower salaries, the estimated female status is calculated by applying the vector of the mean female productivity characteristics to the male status predicting equation (see Table 4). Thus, the gross difference in average rank (Male Actual - Female Actual) can be broken down into:
(a) Male Actual - Female Estimate/the difference in average rank attributed to differences in average productivity characteristics; and
(b) Female Estimate - Female Actual/the residual not accounted for by characteristics, thereby indicating discrimination.

The statistical analysis of status differentials shows that about 89 percent of the gross difference in rank between the sexes can be attributed to differences in mean productivity characteristics (see Table 5). The unexplained residual, ll percent of the gross difference, can be attributed to discrimination. Nevertheless, as some of the productivity variables were omitted or their quality unaccounted for, the adjusted residual should be smaller. The quantitative analysis, therefore, shows that discrimination plays a small part in explaining rank differentials by gender at the University of Lagos.

## NIGERIAN WOMEN'S ROLE, FAMILY STRUCTURE AND ACADEMIC PRODUCTIVITY

The results of the statistical analysis which show that discrimination plays a small part in explaining rank differentials by gender at the University of Lagos were corroborated by in-depth interviews with fifteen female academics drawn from the original sample. 8 Only four of these women felt that they had experienced sexual discrimination during an employment interview or a promotion exercise.

Underlying the final results of the quantitative analysis of the extent of sex discrimination was the fact that the mean academic productivity characteristics of males and females at the University of Lagos are quite different. The statistical analysis provides no explanation of the causes of these differences. In a fundamental sense, these differences reflect socioeconomic factors. Specifically, women's academic productivity is influenced by the social definition of women's roles in a particular country and by the structure of families at a given stage of economic development. Within a Nigerian context, the importance of these factors in explaining academic productivity differentials is brought out by the responses of the women interviewed in depth.

To understand these responses, however, it is first necessary to describe briefly traditional family organization in Southern Nigeria. In the subsistence agricultural economy of Southern Nigeria, the main institution for economic security was the extended family. The extended family communally owned the land, provided agricultural assistance, and guaranteed aid in time of adversity. Within the family, power and access to economic resources, including leisure time, varied by gender and age. The males of the family, particularly the aged, held respected and privileged positions. The male elders arranged for marriages to provide for the continuity of the family. Marriage was seen as a union of two extended families for the primary purpose of producing children.

In theory, upon marriage a woman became part of the husband's extended family. In reality, she was viewed as a member of a different family. Moreover, she actively maintained her ties to her own lineage by exchanging gifts and by attending ceremonial occasions. In times of marital dispute, marital disruption, or death, a woman would look to her own lineage for solace. Under this system, the emotional bond between spouses was deliberately depreciated in order to promote the solidarity of the larger family.

Spouses provided socially defined goods and services for each other. The division of labor within the conjugal unit was strictly defined by gender. A woman was expected to engage in remunerative activities as well as domestic tasks. She had the economic independence to undertake her work activities without hindrance and to use her gains freely at her own discretion. Women often engaged in trading activities that, at times, required long distance travel. Women were expected to provide for some of their own and their children's expenses. To support a woman's work effort, members of the extended family provided child care services. At times, children would be sent to live in the homes of relatives. Traditionally, women were encouraged to have, and desired, large numbers of children. Children provided a woman with a social position, care in old age or sickness, and an emotional happiness often missing in marital relations.

Nigerian female academics have been exposed to Western ideas about marriage and the family during their educational training, often at foreign institutions. Their expectations and behavior, however, are best understood as a continuation of traditional roles with some modification. In contrast to female academics in Western countries, almost all Nigerian female academics are married and have children. ${ }^{9}$ The interviewed Nigerian female academics had an average of 3.6 children and wanted an average of 4 children. By contrast, in Britain during the 1960s, only 42 percent of female academics were married. Nearly one-third of these married women had no children and very few of those who were mothers had more than one or two children (Williams, Blackstone and Metcalf, 1974:376).

Generally, Nigerian female academics have grown up expecting to work outside the home. As one lecturer succinctly stated, "You go to school to prepare for work. You are expected to work. Nigerian men do not earn enough to support the family." Nine of the fifteen interviewed women stated
that they worked for economic reasons, including the desire for economic independence. During their academic training and work experiences, many of the interviewed women gave birth to and reared their children. Eleven women were married while studying for a master's degree; seven of these women had children. Six of the fifteen were married with children while completing their Ph.D. degrees. Only two women ever took time off from their academic work to have or rear children. Both of these women left the academic labor force for a period of less than a year and both were foreigners married to Nigerians.

Within traditional society, the main culturally valued role for a woman was the maternal role. A woman without children to care for and train was considered to be a cursed individual and, in many ways, a social outcast. During the interviews, the academics were told that women have many roles in life--occupational, maternal and marital. They were then asked to rank these roles in their order of importance to themselves. Eight of the thirteen women with children ranked the maternal role first. Not one woman ranked the occupational role first. The majority listed maternal, marital, and occupational roles in descending order of importance. Subsequently, the women were asked to rank these same roles in terms of their ability to fulfill their respective responsibilities. The majority ( 62 percent) said that they were most able to fulfill their maternal role.

Although the majority of the interviewed women ranked the maternal role as being most important to them, they expressed high motivation in terms of their academic careers. Sixty percent of the women expected to become a professor within a delineated period of time. In contrast to these goaloriented individuals, 27 percent had no goal orientation in their academic career. Thirteen percent could not see themselves rising above the grade of Senior Lecturer because of family responsibilities. As one lecturer stated, "Originally I defined myself as a lecturer and I saw this as the most important thing. Now my image has changed, lecturing is only part."

As maternal activities involving many children are of great importance to Nigerian female academics, the women were forced to try to integrate these activities with their occupational activities. A traditional family division of labor in which the wife is primarily responsible for the home and the children persists in the homes of female academics, however. Nine of the thirteen married women interviewed claimed that their husbands did not help them at home. Many said that their status as a married woman adversely affected their research activities. Nine explained that their family responsibilities limited their ability to travel either to conferences or for research purposes. Nine also stated that family duties limited the time they had to devote to the professional literature.

In the past, Nigerian working women did not have serious problems of role conflict; given the nature of their work, they could bring their children with them to the fields or markets. At times, members of the extended family acted as mother surrogates. The child care support system


#### Abstract

of the extended family system, however, has been deteriorating with urbanization and economic development. Aged parents are unwilling to remain in Lagos for long periods of time to take care of their grandchildren. They find living accommodations in Lagos cramped and urban life strange. In the past, poorer rural relatives' children were sent to live and work in the homes of their Lagos kin. These working children helped with the care of their relatives' children while perhaps receiving some educational or vocational training. Because the Federal government initiated the Free Primary Education scheme in 1976, however, rural parents see new opportunities for their children and are reluctant to follow old practices (Fapohunda, 1982: 279-80).


At the same time, economic growth has generated better paying jobs that offer more freedom to youths who otherwise would have sought employment as household helpers. Women academics are, therefore, finding it increasingly difficult and more expensive to hire dependable female household help to care for pre-school children on a permanent basis. One lecturer, unable to find household help for a substantial period of time, explained, "I have a set of twins, twelve months of age. I carry them to work and ask one of the cleaners or messengers to stay with them in my office or in the common room while I teach."

Sick children posed additional problems for female lecturers. The vast majority of female lecturers with children claimed that it was their responsibility to take a sick child to the university health center. A visit to the health center is a time-consuming activity as the center is understaffed in relation to the size of the population it serves. This condition is not unique to the university but, rather, reflects the level of economic development of the country. Nine of the female lecturers claimed that they spent more than two hours each time they visited the health center. One lecturer stated, "It takes about two to three hours until I see the doctor. I usually go back or send somebody else to collect the drugs later." As the female academics have several children, they can make many trips to the health center in a three-month period. ${ }^{10}$

Given the persistent social definition of women's domestic roles, academic women experience greater time constraints than their male colleagues. The lack of dependable social infrastructures limits their household productivity. For example, a poor electric power supply forces the women to go often to the food markets. Further, they spend much time getting to the markets because of poor traffic control. The women, in addition, have to spend a great deal of time in the markets because they are poorly organized. As one woman explained, ". . . shopping takes a lot of time and tires me out."

At Nigeria's level of economic development, personal relations and connections through the extended family or friends are important in solving the problems of daily living as well as in dealing with emergencies. Academic women must invest time in solidifying social relationships by helping
with and attending the social ceremonies of family and friends. Such activities may entail a substantial investment of the academic woman's already limited time. Ten of the interviewed women attended at least one social ceremony during the three months prior to the interview. Of these women, three attended three or more ceremonies. Eight of these ceremonies involved traveling outside of Lagos. The women had to invest more than three hours at ten of these social functions; three functions involved an entire weekend. In addition, the academic women are involved in other activities to help members of the extended family. One female lecturer commented, "When relatives come to stay, I am involved in seeing that they are taken care of. Also, I ran around trying to get his brother (a member of the extended family) admitted into the university several hours for a couple of weeks."

In terms of academic productivity, the majority of the interviewed women felt that their male colleagues were more productive, principally because they had more time and less responsibilities. The goal-oriented women academics claimed that they had to develop strategies for setting aside the maximum time for their academic work. Four women stayed up late at night when their children were asleep or woke early in the morning to do their research. Four others established concentrated work routines with daily listed goals. One worked extra long work days.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS
In industrialized countries, recent research has focused on the causes of wage differentials by gender in various occupations, particularly in academia. Several theories have tried to explain these differentials either by focusing on demand-side factors of labor markets or by stressing supplyside variables. Some demand-side theorists have emphasized employers' discriminatory behavior with associated costs, while several supply-side theorists have stressed sexual productivity differences or variations in labor mobility.

This study examined salary differentials in one modern-sector occupation in a developing African economy. Specifically, the study investigated whether the pattern of sexual wage differentials among academics at the University of Lagos in 1980 was primarily due to overt sex discrimination on the part of university authorities or rather was a reflection of productivity differences. Quantitative analysis of academic rank differentials by gender attributed 89 percent of the gross difference to a variation in average productivity characteristics by gender and only 11 percent to employer discrimination. In other words, the statistical analysis attributed the main differences in rank by gender to factors on the supply side of the academic labor market.

Next, the study combined the quantitative analysis of academic rank differentials with qualitative data derived from interviews. This qualitative information showed how the social definition of women's roles and the structure of families affected Nigerian female scholars' productivity. Reflecting societal values, the female academics principally stressed their
maternal role and had, in contrast to their Western counterparts, many children. Yet, these women were socialized from early childhood to expect that their husbands would not provide all of their personal and children's financial needs. Since female academics shared responsibility for their children's expenses, they worked to support the children they so much desired.

Further, Southern Nigerian society continues to be essentially patriarchal, despite Western influences. There is, within the family, a strict traditional specialization of function by gender. Women are responsible for the care of the home and children. The female academics revealed that their husbands did not assist them substantially with domestic chores, despite the women's financial contributions to their family and their own level of education. Thus, while the quantitative analysis showed that academic rank differentials by gender were not due to overt discriminatory behavior by the university, the qualitative data suggested that within this patriarchal social system factors were operative which enhanced the position of males, thereby making it harder for females to compete on equal terms.

Moreover, in the past, the extended family system did provide working mothers with some support, especially with child care assistance. Female academics, however, found that this support system is crumbling with urbanization and increasing educational opportunities. At the same time, poor and undependable social infrastructure made it difficult for them to depend on or even adopt expensive labor-saving home technologies.

The qualitative information also suggested that social scientists, in developing supply-side theories to explain sexual salary or rank differentials, must explicitly consider how the social roles of women and the structure of families vary across societies. Johnson and Stafford (1974) attribute sexual wage differentials in United States academia to differences in productivity arising from varying investments in on-the-job training. They argue that since women know that they will leave the labor market to marry and raise children, they rationally invest less in on-the-job training. But in the Nigerian case, the responses of the women university teachers clearly established that they had a commitment to continuous labor force participation. They continued to have and rear children as they increased their education and training.

Finally, it should be pointed out that although female academics at the University of Lagos are not overtly discriminated against in terms of salary and rank, they do experience discrimination in the receipt of fringe benefits. The husband and parents of female academics, for example, are not entitled to free medical care at the University's health center as are the dependents of male lecturers. Moreover, male lecturers are entitled to free transportation for their families when they go on study or sabbatical leave. This privilege is not given to female lecturers. Underlying many of these fringe benefit provisions is the notion that the male is the primary income earner of the family and fundamentally responsible for the welfare of its members. Since Nigerian universities in their formative stage were modeled
after British institutions and often staffed with foreign nationals, university policies reflect underlying foreign concepts of the role of women and the structure of families. Although the Academic Staff Union of Nigeria has established a commission to investigate "Prejudicial Service Conditions Against Female Academics," change will be slow in coming unless the female academics, with a united, concerted voice, express their disapproval of such policies and force university policymakers, predominantly male, to alter the status quo.
-12-

TABLE 1
AVERAGE SALARY BY AGE AND SEX

| Age Group | Males |  | Females |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Number | Salary | Number | Salary |
| 25-29 years | 2 | N4014 | 2 | N4930 |
| 30-35 | 22 | *6088 | 12 | \$6057 |
| 35-39 | 19 | A7460 | 12 | *7622 |
| 40-44 | 19 | *8712 | 6 | *7228 |
| 45-49 | 15 | H8647 | 1 | N7115 |
| 50+ | 5 | H8592 | -- | ----- |
| Total Average Salary |  | *7584 |  | 46871 |

NOTE: Al = U.S. \$1.50 (approximate, 1981)
SOURCE: Sample survey data (1980) of the Faculties of Science, Social Science, Arts and Education, University of Lagos, provided by the records of the Registry.

TABLE 2
DISTRIBUTION OF ACADEMIC STAFF BY RANK AND SEX

| Academic Ranks | Males |  | Females |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Number | Percent | Number | Percent |
| Associate Professor | 5 | 6.1\% | -- | --- |
| Senior Lecturer | 29 | 35.4\% | 5 | 13.9\% |
| Lecturer I | 23 | 28.7\% | 13 | 36.0\% |
| Lecturer II | 20 | 24.4\% | 15 | 41.7\% |
| Assistant Lecturer | -- | --- | 1 | 2.8\% |
| Graduate Assistant | 5 | 6.1\% | 2 | 5.6\% |
| Total | 82 | 100.0\% | 36 | 100.0\% |
| SOURCE: Sample sur Science, Ar records of | of $t$ Univ | Faculti ity of | $\begin{array}{ll} \text { f Scie } \\ \text { s, prov } \end{array}$ | , Social <br> d by th |

-14-

TABLE 3
ESTIMATES OF EQUATIONS TO PREDICT ACADEMIC STATUS BY SEX

| Status | a | EX | EX2 | Pu | Qu | $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Males | 1.3206 | $0.2818^{* *}$ <br> $(3.1113)$ | -0.0067 <br> $(-1.3029)$ | $0.0300^{* *}$ <br> $(3.3097)$ | $0.4247 *$ <br> $(2.3870)$ | .66 |
| Females | 1.4666 | 0.2245 <br> $(1.8051)$ | -0.0093 <br> $(-1.2326)$ | $0.0636 * *$ <br> $(3.9584)$ | 0.4787 <br> $(1.9389)$ | .60 |

** $_{*}^{*}=$ significant at 95 percent confidence level
** $=$ significant at 99 percent confidence level
NOTE: Figures in parenthesis are $t$ values

TABLE 4
MEAN VALUES OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES IN ACADEMIC STATUS PREDICTION FUNCTIONS BY SEX

|  | Male Average | Female Average |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Qualifications | 1.65 | 1.39 |
| Experience | 8.13 | 6.69 |
| Publications | 10.30 | 6.42 |

TABLE 5
ANALYSIS OF STATUS DIFFERENTIALS BY SEX

| Status | Percent of Gross <br> Difference |
| :--- | :--- |
| M actual $=4.1785$ |  |
| F estimate $=3.6888$ |  |
| F actual $=3.6259$ | 88.76 |
| Gross difference $=0.5526$ |  |
| Difference due to characteristics $=0.4905$ |  |
| $(M$ act - F est $)$ | 11.38 |
| F est $-F$ act $=0.0629$ |  |

FIGURE 1
CRITERIA FOR ASSESSMENT OF ACADEMICS
Criteria

1. Qualifications
2. Teaching
(a) Length 15
(b) Relevant Load Experience 5
(c) Quality 10
3. Recognized Publications 30
4. References
5. Contributions to University or Country
6. Current Research
7. Academic/Professional Distinction
8. Interview Performance
(a) Associate Professor/Professor 5
(b) Senior Lecturer and others 10
9. Administrative Experience (Professor/ Associate Professor only) ..... 5
Total ..... 100
SOURCE: University of Lagos, Regulations Governing Service Senior Staff No. 5, March 1978, p. 11.

## NOTES

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the International Inter-Disciplinary Congress on Women, Haifa, Israel, December 28, 1981January l, 1982.
2. According to the University of Lagos Calendar 1979-81, 62 of the permanent non-medical teaching staff of 462 were women.
3. These data were gathered by Adesikeola Olateru-Olagbegi under my supervision as part of her senior essay in the Department of Economics, University of Lagos, from the Welfare Office and Bursary of the University.
4. The sample included only permanent, non-contract staff.
5. In 1982, a separate new salary structure for the universities was implemented by the Nigerian government.
6. Appointment involves an advertised open competition for the post. The candidate's academic papers are sent for evaluation by outside experts and they must present themselves for an interview.
7. Adesikeola Olateru-Olagbegi programmed the calculations.
8. These women were asked open-ended questions by the author in September 1981 concerning their occupational motivations and expectations, work experiences, family arrangements, and use of time.
9. Thirty-four women of the original sample of thirty-six were married. Two were divorced.
10. Seven women reported that they made two or more visits to the health center in the three months prior to the interview. Four reported more than three trips.
11. Of the eleven women who thought that men were more productive, eight attributed it to the fact that men had more time and fewer responsibilities.

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