

Leadership and Crises in Nigerian Universities

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Leadership and Crises in Nigerian Universities

Can Women Make a Difference?

Caroline Okumdi Muoghalu



Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
DAKAR

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Website: www.codesria.org

ISBN: 978-2-86978-759-9

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Typesetting: Alpha Ousmane Dia

Cover Design: CODESRIA

Distributed in Africa by CODESRIA

Distributed elsewhere by African Books Collective, Oxford, UK

Website: www.africanbookscollective.com

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CODESRIA would like to express its gratitude to the Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY), the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), the Open Society Foundations (OSFs), UN Women, the African Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF), Oumou Dilly Foundation and the Government of Senegal for supporting its research, training and publication programmes.

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Preface

This book was inspired by the incessant crises in Nigerian universities and the fact that these universities are led mainly by men. The author believes that the gender imbalance in the leadership of these universities is a factor in the incessant crises which have become a barrier to the universities achieving their goals, thereby militating against Nigeria's effort towards achieving sustainable development. The absence of women in higher education management has been documented throughout the world in both the global North and South; an indication that it is a global phenomenon. Importantly, this phenomenon has been recognized as a loss of a vital part of human resource. Emeka Anyaoku (former General-Secretary of the Commonwealth) noted that "the under representation of women in higher education management is well documented and serve to demonstrate that the pool of managerial talent within each country is not optimally utilized". This realization has pushed many scholars to focus on women's representation in higher education management, including their barriers and challenges, while also highlighting women's qualities that can make a difference. The under representation of women in higher education in Nigerian Universities inspired the research proposal and project that ultimately resulted in this book. The book argues that it is men's autocratic leadership that causes crises in universities and that including women in leadership positions will facilitate a peaceful academic environment in Nigerian Universities.

This book is therefore a product of my stint at CODESRIA as a post-doctoral fellow under the Higher Education Leadership Programme. The research investigated stakeholders' positions on how women can make a difference in higher education leadership and crises in Nigerian universities. Obafemi Awolowo University and University of Ibadan were studied using both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies and relying on feminist and political economy conceptualizations. The book reports the findings of the research project and exposes the reader to the incessant crises and the wide range of issues that pertain to women and leadership globally and in Nigerian universities.

Due to the patriarchal nature of Nigerian universities and Nigerian society in general, women leadership potentials are rarely explored. This book has contributed to knowledge on university management in Nigeria by exploring and producing an alternative leadership model. More importantly, the book offers a

producing an alternative leadership model. More importantly, the book offers a solution that would facilitate the reduction of crises in Nigerian universities.

The book will be beneficial to students with interest in higher education management in Nigeria and even globally. Furthermore, teachers/scholars can employ the insights raised in the book to teach their students on the interlocking issues of gender, feminism and higher education management. The book will be of great benefit to managers of higher education in Nigeria and Africa. The book has five chapters comprising of an introduction, literature review, prevalence and causes of crises, the role of government in these crises and whether women can make a difference. The book ends with a discussion and conclusion.

Caroline Okumdi Muoghalu

Acknowledgements

With great thanks, I go to the Almighty God for favours and mercies received.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) for the privilege of a post-doctoral fellowship which has given me the opportunity of learning many new things which I did not learn during my PhD Degree Programme. God Almighty will reward you abundantly.

I also extend thanks to my numerous study participants and informants/interviewees. It was your cooperation and support that made it possible for the quantitative and qualitative data to be generated, I want to say that I am grateful.

My thanks also go to the people who assisted in the data collection, data entry and analysis; Dr Chiedu Abrifor, Miss Ozioma Izuogu, Mrs Nneka Abasilim and Dr Friday A. Eboiyehi. I am grateful to you all.

My sincere thanks also go to my senior colleague in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Professor Mabogunje Anthony Aluko for all his support, encouragement and direction. Professor, I thank you most sincerely for all your efforts to make me a good academic and I pray that God will reward you abundantly. This acknowledgement would not be complete without remembering my primary six teacher, Barrister Ben Muoghalu, for the significant role he played in my educational career. He made it possible for my education to go beyond primary six at a time when I thought it was over. I thank you most sincerely and pray that God will reward you immensely.

Finally, I will indeed ever continue to be grateful to my husband, Professor Joseph Ikechukwu Muoghalu, my anchor, my friend and my confidant, my great academic critic, my senior brother, the irreplaceable, the indefatigable for all his encouragements and support and for always being there for me and for giving me a comfortable, serene and peaceful home to carry out my academic work. Thank you for always reminding me that the sky is the limit. I wish to extend this thanks to my nice, ever supportive children who are always there for me with their hugs, smiles and encouragement in little strange ways. I thank you all for your labour of love.

About the Author

Caroline Okumdi Muoghalu received her PhD from the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. She is a medical sociologist who focuses on HIV/AIDS, gender and health, particularly women's health and governance issues. She was a research fellow at the Centre for Gender and Social Policy Studies of Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria before she joined the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of the same institution. Dr Muoghalu has been involved in the gender equity project of the university for several years. She has helped to process scholarships for female indigent students and fellowships for female academic and administrative staff to build their leadership skills and competences. She has published in the gender equity bulletin, organized playlets and TV shows on gender sensitization and provided counselling for victims of rape and sexual harassment. She participated in gender mainstreaming in organizations with the Simons school of management, Boston, USA, led training workshops on counselling skills and was a resource person in the UNICEF Gender analysis of health policy, and gender and HIV training of the AIDS Prevention Initiative, Nigeria.

Dr Muoghalu has published locally and internationally on urban poor women and governance in Nigeria. She also had the privilege of attending the 2012 edition of the Governance Institute of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) in Dakar, Senegal. She is an associate lecturer in the Centre for Gender and Social Policy Studies of Obafemi Awolowo University and is an alumna of the Advanced Research Institute of the prestigious Brown University, Rhode Island, USA. She is married to Professor Joseph Ikechukwu Muoghalu, a plant ecologist and they are blessed with children.

Introduction and Background

Women leadership in higher education has been implicated as imperative and alternative in the development of higher education in Nigeria (Akudo and Okenwa 2015). Women are virtually absent from leadership positions in Nigerian universities. The absence of women leaders in Nigerian universities is a result of the patriarchal values and practices in the larger society which Nigerian universities have imbibed. These patriarchal tendencies manifest in teaching, learning and aspirations for leadership positions. In the hidden curriculum, Mejuini (2013) pointed out that the nature of education received in higher education can even dis-empower women and that a combination of this learning process, religion and other socializations determine who women eventually become. Moreover, the micro-politics (networking, coalitions and other informal interactions) in higher education tend to exclude women (Morley 2006). Consequently, many senior academic women do not even think of vying for leadership positions. This is in addition to the fact that women are under-represented in enrolment, employment and decision-making in the universities (Afonja 2002). With this low level of representation, it is difficult for women to attain leadership positions in universities. The situation in the university is akin to what obtains in the larger society.

Historically, women were not socialized to become leaders at any point in their lives and women were not only perceived as inferior but are marginalized and are denied equal opportunity (Nwosu 2012). Leadership positions and other public spaces are the prerogative of men. Generally, the prevailing division of labour between the sexes has led to men and women assuming unequal positions in terms of power, prestige and wealth (Ogene 2011). In pre-colonial Nigeria, there were pockets of women such as Amina of Zaria and Moremi of Ile-Ife but these women were regarded as exceptional and extraordinary. As such, they were not regarded as normal because normal women are meant to be at home taking care of the children and husbands' needs (Nwosu 2012). As noted by Bier (1968 cited in Abduraheem 1996), under the customary law, women were generally regarded as beasts of burden: hewers of wood, carriers of water and baby making machines. It

was their childbearing that won them the closest attachment to their husbands. During the colonial dispensation, the Nigerian patriarchal tendencies then mingled with the stiffer patriarchal tendencies of the colonial administrators to edge Nigerian women completely out of public spaces. After independence in 1960, the Nigerians that took over from the colonial administrators continued in the same stead in both army and civilian regimes. This same tendency was carried into education, particularly at the university level as this space was meant for males. Subsequently, women were absent in Nigerian universities. When women entered the education space as students, they were mainly found in education and nursing; an extension of what they did at home (Muoghalu 2004). In the same vein, when women entered the university workforce, they were mainly typists and clerks (Afinja 2002).

In 1962 when Obafemi Awolowo University (OAU) was established, the workforce was mainly men. Eventually, the university felt the need to stabilize their staff to reduce the attrition rate. The university did this by employing the wives of staff who were privileged to have an education. These women were employed as clerks, typists, executive officers, assistant administrators and bursary officers. Since 1962, there has not been any female vice chancellor in OAU owing to the patriarchal nature of the university. As documented by Afonja (2002), women are missing in every facet of the university; in terms of enrolment, employment and decision-making. This has made women voiceless in the university. The focus here is on women and the difference it can make if they are brought into university leadership.

There are very few women in the professorial cadre making it difficult for women to have a critical mass from which to catapult themselves into leadership positions in Nigerian universities. It is noteworthy that there is no law that exclude women from the university space in Nigeria, however, there are unpronounced discriminations that tend to edge out women from university space Morley (2006). In the hidden transcript, Morley (2006), described the subtle discriminatory practices against women in higher educational institutions such as not nominating women to head committees, holding nocturnal meetings to select leaders, taking decisions in the staff club when women are at home cooking and looking after the children, not projecting the good academic achievements of women instead such women are given names that will discourage other women and unethical remarks. In-fact, a male colleague once told me that it was greed that troubled those of us who were both wives and lecturers. He believed that we should be contented and satisfied with having husbands and children and nothing more.

Importantly, OAU is the first Nigerian university to have a gender policy in place. However, the presence of this policy has not resulted in women occupying leadership positions in the University. The gender policy is a reformatory tool

but it has failed to bring about any transformation in the University in terms of women in leadership in the University. An indication that the University is paying lip service to the issue of gender equity. The absence of women in leadership positions in Nigerian universities provided a framework for this study. The study proposed that the absence of women leadership in the university resulted in the incessant crises in many universities.

At this juncture, it is important to identify the important positions that constitute the leadership of universities. These positions include the Pro-Chancellor, Vice Chancellor, the Deputy Vice chancellors (academic and administrative), the Registrar and the Bursar. These positions are achieved through elections and appointments. Interestingly, there is no written law that prevents women from attaining these positions. However, the hidden transcript and the hidden curriculum operates and debars women from attaining these positions. The fact that university leadership consists of mainly men is an indication that it is one model of leadership that is being used to administer these universities. This makes women’s leadership in these universities imperative.

Table 1.1: Principal officers in four federal universities in South west Nigeria

University	Vice Chancellor	DVC Academic	DVC Administration	Registrar	Bursar
Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife	Male	Male	Male	Male	Female
University of Ibadan	Male	Female	Male	Male	Male
Federal University, OyeEkiti	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male
Federal University of technology, Akure	Male	Male	Male	Female	Male

Source: Muoghalu 2016.

The information in Table 1.1 was generated from the planning and budgeting units of the various universities. This has substantiated the claim that university leadership is still the domain of men. In OAU, the per centage of females in academia is 18 per cent and in University of Ibadan, females also constitute 18 per cent of those in academia (OAU Budgeting Unit (2016). As such, women in university leadership remains tokenistic, sometimes by chance and sometimes by hard work. The fact is that those cultural factors that debar women from university management in the 1960s are still there in 2017. For instance, a respondent in a study by Eboiyehi *et al.* (2016) said:

Here, women are under-represented in senior management positions, out of the four principal officers, none is a woman. There is no female provost, no female

dean, and no female director except one female HOD in the faculty of education. If women are put in such sensitive position[s], they will not perform. Some of them reject such positions because they feel such positions are meant for men. This may be due to the way society socializes male and female children (Eboiyehi *et al.* 2016:192).

Also, in the same study another male respondent indicated that

There are many obstacles working against women's career advancement in the university. The major one is the socio-cultural belief that men are born leaders and women are their subordinates. This is why most women shy away from leadership positions. Furthermore, no one wants to work under a woman (Eboiyehi *et al.* 2016:192).

There is a need to explore the injecting of women into leadership of Nigerian universities. This generated the research interest to examine the stakeholders view of the question: Can women make a difference. It is believed that female leadership of universities can make a positive difference and reduce crises.

Over the years especially in recent times, leadership in Nigerian universities has been contending with crises. There are one hundred and twenty-four universities in Nigeria (Ogunraku) and most of these institutions have had crisis of one sort or the other. To give an idea of the magnitude of the problem, many of these universities have student population of 40, 000. One can then imagine the number of lives and the quantity of properties that are destroyed whenever there is a crisis. These crises are usually in the form of student riots and strike actions by staff. They often result in the closure of universities and the low quality of education and graduates. The problem of governance which Nigerians encounter in the wider society to some extent filters into university leadership.

The crises in Nigerian universities have made it almost impossible for these institutions to achieve their objectives (producing quality graduates, research, and academic excellence for development of Nigeria) and reach their full potentials. Crises in Nigerian universities mean the disruption of academic activities by student unrest/demonstrations or strike actions by the members of staff of Nigerian universities. University leadership is battling with these crises in the face of other pressures from within (the task of internally generated revenue) and outside (the global mandate to produce standard graduates that can compete effectively). However, it is believed that men's style of leadership which is autocratic, transactional and highhanded constitute a push to this problem. For instance, the University of Ilorin crisis that turned into a national crisis and the University of Port Harcourt crisis in August 2012 were all caused by autocratic leaderships. As such, bringing women as leaders in universities was proposed by this author as an alternative model. The leadership of women would make a difference and would result in attaining the desired change and bring about reduction in the incidents of crises in Nigerian universities. The leadership of

Professor Aize Obayan, former Vice-chancellor at Covenant University between 2005 and 2012 represents a model of female leadership and points to the fact that, if given the opportunity and an enabling environment women can actually make difference in leadership. When women are made Vice Chancellors, Deputy Vice Chancellors and Registrars of universities, they will bring their listening ears and participatory leadership qualities to bear on universities. It is believed that this model could bring the transformation necessary for Nigerian universities to achieve their objectives.

The situation in Nigerian universities is such that between 1995 and the present day, there is hardly any university among the one hundred and twenty-four universities in the country that has not had a serious crisis. This situation still holds true even now. Ajayi and Ayodele (2002) submitted that higher education in Nigeria is in travail, the system is riddled with crises of various dimensions and magnitude. Several problems have inhibited goal attainment and are raising questions, doubts and fears, all of which combine to suggest that the system is at the crossroads. The nature of these crises is diverse. It can take the form of demonstrations by staff or students, strikes by university staff, lock ups of university offices to debar others from working, write-ups in the form of leaflets and name calling and verbal and physical assaults on management personnel. Unrests could be between the university management and students, between academic or non-academic staff and university management. It could also be between the university administration or university staff/students and state or federal government of Nigeria. In fact, Alabi (2003) demonstrated that between 1995 and 2001, as much as 40 per cent of the crises in Nigerian universities were between the students/staff and federal government while the rest of the crises were between the students/staff and the university administration. For instance, between June and August, 2012, academic activities were paralyzed at OAU because of the strike action and antagonisms against university management by non-academic staff.

The crises prone nature of Nigerian universities reflects the challenges faced in the political and economic situations in Nigeria. The crises interlock with issues of globalization and the recent culture of materialism to create tension and conflict among stakeholders in tertiary education in Nigeria. Currently, there is revenue generation drive in universities which has resulted in increased school fees and increased cost of education for students and which has contributed to the crises in universities. Many factors and issues have been identified as the causes of these crises.

As per Sanda (1991), the goal of quality university education can be attained only when the following spheres have been satisfied: finances, students, academic programmes, committee systems, personnel, welfare, reward systems and physical facilities. Any lapse in any of these might lead to conflict. Furthermore, politics

on campus relating to appointments of key officers such as the Vice Chancellors can result in conflict (Alabi 2003). In fact, in August 2012, the academic staff union of Nigerian universities declared a nationwide strike action to sympathize with colleagues at the River State University of Technology who were on strike over the appointment of a new Vice Chancellor who they did not approve of. Additionally, funding of universities and curtailing the autonomy of the university constitute sources of conflict (Ekundayo and Ajayi 2009).

It is significant that much of these crises are caused by the government and the university leaderships. There are indications that many of these crises are caused by lack of amenities, welfare packages and highhandedness of the university leadership and the government (University of Ibadan-Guardian, April 29, 2012, Obafemi Awolow University – Guardian, November, 25, 2012). In Nigeria, there had been situations where students took to the streets due to lack of water and electricity, study facilities or an increase in school fees. Sometimes, when these students complained about these things, the response they got from the university management or government resulted in crises.

Many university properties have been damaged because of these crises. The lives of many students and staff have also been lost in such situations. In the face of serious protests, the university authorities usually bring in the police or army to quell the riots. The loss of lives result from police and soldiers shooting at protesters. The crises have escalated in recent times. In fact, in 2012 alone, there were several crises in these universities. There were crises in OAU, University of Ilorin, University of Port Harcourt, University of Lagos, Ebonyi State University, Abakaliki, Rivers State University of Science and Technology and many others. For instance, the most recent crisis in OAU (May to July 2016) was between the University staff and University management over non payment of arrears. The management insisted that there was no money to pay the workers' arrears and the workers insisted that there was money and accused the management of corruption. This resulted in demonstrations, disruptions in academic activities and attacks on some of the members of University management team. Also, the academic staff of Universities of the University of Ibadan is started an industrial action on 6 April 2017 over payment of half salaries instead of full salaries. In the same vein, the non academic staff of Federal University of Technology, Akure, Ondo State were on strike from December, 2016 untill mid-2017 over the Vice Chancellors corrupt practices. Thus, there is a high incidence of these crises in Nigeria universities and this disrupts the academic calendar and results in destruction of lives and properties. Alabi (2003), stated that conflict in universities usually results in the disruption of university programmes, boycotting of lectures, loss of lives and properties and the closing down of institutions. These activities have resulted in truncated academic programmes, leading to elongated university calendars. During these periods, academic activities are suspended, sometimes

for as long as a year. When the university reopens, the lecturers would struggle to finish their syllabus. This has serious implications for the quality of teaching and learning and often results in the low quality of education which produces half-baked graduates who do not have the skills to compete in the global labour market or carry out their duties without supervision.

Whatever the form of the crises, they are generally an indication that leadership in Nigerian universities needs to be revisited and re-engineered. According to Alabi (2003), though a university is an academic enterprise, consistent academic effectiveness rests on administrative machinery. Hence the management competencies of university managers greatly determine the severity of conflict within the university, whether internal or external. Leadership style can therefore determine, to some extent, the level of crisis in universities. Mgbeke (2007) suggested that university administration should avoid highhandedness. This style of leadership is associated with men.

In Nigerian universities, there have been several crises which can be attributed to highhandedness which had been men's leadership style. For instance, in August, 2012, the academic staff of Rivers State University of Science and Technology, Port Harcourt branch, went on strike to protest the imposition of Vice Chancellor, Professor Barikeme Fakae, without consulting the staff and other stakeholders. That strike lasted for several weeks and the academic union members throughout the federation threatened to join their Port Harcourt counterparts in protest if the matter was not resolved amicably. In the process, the chairman of the branch's academic staff union of universities was manhandled by the university management and was hospitalized. The Academic Staff Union of Universities' (ASUU) lawyer, Barrister Ken Arsuete described this situation as barbaric. In the same vein, it was highhandedness that made University of Ilorin to fire more than 49 lecturers from the University for participating in a national strike embarked upon by the Academic Staff Union of Nigerian Universities (Agbonna, Yusuf and Onifade 2009). All the Academic Staff of Nigerian universities went on rampage. This generated a national crisis in which all the universities in Nigeria were shut down for eight months. To buttress my point, that it was a result of highhandedness, the supreme court of Nigeria later restored the lecturers' appointments and awarded damages to them. Also, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria witnessed serious crisis during the tenure of Professor Ango Abdulahi in 1986. In May, 2012, students of University of Lagos started a protest over the changing of the name of their University to Moshood Abiola University by the federal government without due consultation with stakeholders (Punch, 29 May 2012). During that same time, students of Adeyemi College of Education began destroying properties worth millions of dollars over the mysterious death of some staff and students of the institution (Guardian, 15 May 2012). These incidents and many more paint the picture of the situation in most Nigerian universities.

The federal government takes major decisions on how Nigerian universities are administered and their decisions and actions often infringe on the university autonomy. This often makes the university administrators, lecturers and students react negatively, thereby creating crises.

The Longe commission of enquiry reported on the actual uses and misuse of power by the visitor (the president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria), the relation between the state and the university, and the absence of a democratic culture even under civilian rule. Directives come from the visitor to the university council, thereby eroding the university autonomy and unnecessarily interfering in the affairs of the university often creating crises. As the leadership of impunity has been instituted at the wider society level, in the same way, it continues at the university level; as the visitor does things that he is not empowered by the law to do in the universities (for instance, imposing a new Vice Chancellor on a university against the wish of staff and students), so does the university management do to the committee system, thereby rendering the committees powerless. This neutralizes the checks and balances mechanism and the democratic principles which the committee system represents.

Furthermore, of great importance is the role of government in creating these crises. Many of the crises in Nigerian universities were caused by reactions to the government's unpopular policies and decisions. Friction between universities and government is also a factor. For instance, the federal government established the national university commission to oversee the activities of the universities in terms of regulation of academic programmes through accreditation, streamlining of the minimum qualification for academic staff, and regulation of the number of academic staff required by a department. Also, it is the government that pays university staff salaries and pensions and other benefits. As such, tensions and conflicts ensue between the government and the universities. Moreover, it is important to note that some of the crises were caused by government trying to curtail the autonomy of universities and ASUU usually resists this with all their power, also resulting in crises (Ojeifo 2014).

Also of great importance in the issue of crises in universities is statutes or legal instruments and structures of the university system. The leadership structures of these universities is made up of the Chancellor who is a ceremonial head, who only comes during convocation and other ceremonies, the Pro Chancellor who is usually the chairman of the council and is always there for the council to take important decisions. He is the employer of everybody in the university including the Vice Chancellor. The Vice Chancellor oversees the day to day operations of the university and delegates academic and administrative duties to the deputy Vice Chancellors, (academic and administrative), the Registrar takes care of all secretarial duties delegating duties to secretaries in the day to day running of the university. The Bursar oversees financial matters in the university and the Librarian

takes care of the library. All the people mentioned above are called the principal officers of the university. The University is governed through the committee system. The committee system is a strategy through which leadership in the university is democratized. There are different committees for different aspects of the university operation. For instance, there is, among other committees, an examination committee, a postgraduate committee, a ceremonial committee, and a disciplinary committee. The committee system makes it possible for power to be decentralized and ensures checks and balances. The committees use the university statutes as framework for every operation in the university including disciplinary actions against erring staff and students. However, like other forms of governance in Nigeria, there are times when Vice Chancellors and other senior management members disregard the statutes and the committees and do things with impunity even to the extent of disobeying court injunctions. This shows that university governance is not different from the politics of intimidation, thuggery and violence that obtains in the Nigerian political space. This has caused many crises in many Nigerian universities. In many of these situations, it had been an all men affair making it important to bring in women with the view that they would make a difference.

Women have been associated with leadership of enabling others to act in ways that offer a feasible solution to the crises in Nigerian universities (Akudo and Okenwa 2015). This brings in the issue of women and leadership in Nigerian universities. Firstly, there are very few female professors in these universities (Pereira 2002). This problem stems from the fact that throughout the Sub Saharan African region of which Nigeria is a part of, it took women several years to enter higher education. Kwesiga (2002) documented the long trek Ugandan women had to make before they entered higher education even at the student level. The same thing applies to women in most African countries including Nigeria. The same factors that debar women from entering as students also debar them from becoming leaders in higher education. The permeation of hegemonic patriarchal values into the university culture and administration has made it very difficult for women to be in leadership positions in these universities. At the time of my research, there was only one female Vice Chancellor in Nigeria. The vice chancellors of most universities in Nigeria have always been men, while women are relegated to the background.

The first female vice chancellor was Professor Grace Alele Williams who was the vice chancellor of University of Benin from 1985 to 1991. She was the first person to show that a woman can be a leader in a Nigerian university. Another female Vice chancellor was Professor Aize Obayan who became the Vice Chancellor of Covenant University, Ota in 2005 till 2012. Under her leadership, the university was crisis free and made tremendous progress. These two women's performances indicated that if given the opportunity of university leadership,

women can make a difference.

Writing on higher education in Nigeria, Pereira (2002) observed that much of the literature has focused on issues at institutional, societal and family levels, ignoring the very important contextual and systemic issues. This has affected how the business of gender equity is pursued. As Morley *et al.* (2001) states, gender equity is frequently reduced to strategies for transforming quantitative representation and participation rather than an engagement with processes, power and dominant values. They emphasise the point that women's lack of access to power in higher education is a result of dominant patriarchal values. Bringing women into leadership in higher education can be a starting point for both addressing gender and development issues and neutralizing the male style of power domination which they bring to bear on the leadership of Nigerian universities.

Relying on the political economy and feminist perspectives, I argue that crises in Nigerian universities are caused by men's autocratic leadership and government interventions. I suggest that bringing women into these leadership positions would make a difference because women's style of leadership, both accommodating and participatory in nature, would produce a neutralizing effect and reduce these crises. This study aims to answer the following research questions: What are the causes of crises in Nigerian universities and Can women make a difference? In the same vein, the main objective of this study is to examine crises in Nigerian universities and the potential role of women's leadership and their qualities in minimizing these crises. Therefore, the following objectives were pursued: to examine the incidence and extent of crises in Nigerian universities; to examine the causes of these crises; understand the role of federal government in these crises, to examine whether women leadership in these universities can bring the desired change, to identify the women's qualities that can bring about this difference, to examine the two Universities statutes and governance structures.

Conceptual/Theoretical and Methodological Orientations

The concept of leadership in Nigerian universities connotes people being at the helm of affairs to direct others and direct the affairs of the university. University leadership is not a one-person affair. It is a team work performed by the principal officers of the university which includes the pro-chancellor, the vice chancellor, the Deputy vice chancellors- academic and administration, the registrar, the bursar and the librarian. These people coordinate different aspects of university life while the Vice Chancellor coordinates all of them in the daily operations of the university. The Pro Chancellor is the overall boss and the chairman of the university council. Women's leadership in higher education, therefore, is the issue of seeing women occupy the above positions in Nigerian universities. In this study, the problem of female leadership of universities is looked at from the angle of the absence of women in higher education leadership. The study will show that

the explanations for this absence was located in feminism.

Feminism, as a theoretical framework, was employed in this study to illuminate the path through which women and leadership in higher education was examined. Examining women and higher education in Nigeria is located in the patriarchal gender relations which denies women access to education generally and higher education in particular. Permit me to use my personal experience to situate the absence of women in higher education management in its origin. This is significant because it is the lived experiences of females and education in Nigeria. When I was in primary two, my mother gave birth to another child. The family held a meeting and agreed that I should drop out of school to help carry the baby while my mother continued her business. I dropped out of school and looked after the baby for three years. By the time I went back to school, all my mates had become my seniors. However, this was not the problem, the problem was that many girls that dropped out the way I did never went back to school. More importantly, after primary six, my father felt I now had enough education and was ready to get married. Consequently, my father refused to pay for my common entrance examination. At this point, my teacher, Barster Ben Muoghalu, (my teachers real name with his permission) played a significant role in my life. He paid for my common entrance examination. As such, women's absence in higher education management started from absence in primary, secondary and then to university. The higher the level of education, the fewer the women. This explains the pyramid being the global symbol for women.

In-fact, women's access to higher education in Nigerian is akin to Kwesiga's (2002) description of the trek Ugandan women had to make before they had access to higher education. As women entered higher education in Nigeria, they were confronted with exclusions, marginalization and intimidation. In a study of the University of Ibadan, Odejide *et al.* (2006) concluded that while gender is not explicit in the University agenda, university life is a gendered experience. The same thing applies to OAU. Acker (2012) reached similar conclusions that every aspect of university life is gendered. Though this gendered nature of universities is not written, it is very powerful and tends to determine women's lived experiences in higher education. Importantly, this gendered nature of universities did not begin at the leadership level. It generally starts from the first day a female enters the university as a student. Indeed, Odejide *et al.* (2013) captured the situation as they noted that while Nigerian society recognizes that higher education is the surest way to attain social mobility, it is also wary of the de-traditionalizing effect of further education on female staff and students. Mejuini (Mejuini is the surname) hidden curriculum (2013) is very relevant here as it explains the dis-empowering nature of the teaching/learning process and other forms of socialization that tend to exert influence on women's lives in the university. During the teaching process, the teacher gives more encouragement to males to answer questions and

express themselves over females and most class representatives are males. Also, the teaching itself sometimes, in subtle ways, borders on sex roles and what is expected of a good woman. All these combine to make many female students withdraw from active roles in (higher) education.

Liberal feminists have long argued for equal participation of women in public spaces (Ray 2012). This equal participation eludes women in higher education, particularly higher education leadership in Nigeria in general, and OAU and UI in particular, which at the time of my research, had not had a female Vice Chancellor since its inception in 1962. The scenario looks like what Morley (1999) cited in Odejide *et al.* (2006) referred to as the hidden transcripts; the hidden subterranean ways in which power is relayed in everyday practices within institutions. The power relations in OAU have been that men aspire to key positions, while women are mere supporters who rarely contest. This could be a result of the lack of support from the family and the institution. Infact, in OAU, some husbands asked their wives to choose between public office in the university and their marriages. This has been the surest way to curb women's leadership ambition because most women would not want to sacrifice their family on the altar of leadership position.

Furthermore, the micro-politics that Morley wrote about in the hidden transcripts (2006) operates in every university in Nigeria. Women hardly go to the staff club to be involved in networking and coalitions. After work, most men go to the staff club to drink and socialize. It is during this period that many important decisions (such as membership of committees, who should be the vice chancellor and other positions) in the university are taken. These processes tend to exclude women from higher education leadership.

Importantly, there is no law against women participation in leadership of the university but there are subtle ways of discriminating, excluding, blackmailing and intimidating, that are not blatant but are there just the same. This could explain why Friedan (1963) called it a problem without a name. Mejuini (2013) named this problem, the hidden curriculum and Morley (2006) named it the hidden transcript. This problem tends to make women's reluctance to participate in leadership in higher education look natural.

The barriers listed above result in university leadership being an all men affair. As noted by Adu-Oppong and Arthur (2015), there are several factors at the institutional level preventing qualified women from ascending to senior positions in higher education. They also observed that inspite of the policies aimed at increasing women's participation in university leadership, the position of women has made little change (2015). This is particularly true of OAU, the first university in Nigeria to put in place a gender policy. It has been more than seven years now since the university council approved the gender policy. At the time of my research, there had not been any visible impact of the policy. In terms of females in leadership positions in the University, it seems to be getting worse.

This kind of outcome makes one question the real intentions of the Universities' managements when they approve such documents.

Excluding women from leadership in universities is tantamount to losing half of the ideas that can lead to effective university organization. As noted by Akudo and Okenwa (2015), the application of more sustainable leadership styles would change educational leadership in Nigeria. They also found that female leaders are more assertive, persuasive, empathic and flexible, and are willing to take risks (2015). Fukuyama (1998) (cited in Hunt 2007) corroborated this by stating that women in leadership would bring about a more corporative and less conflict-prone world. Many male leaders do not have some of these traits. This is an indication that women can bring a different and more effective approach to University leadership and that women can make a difference in reducing crises in the universities.

Inspite of empirical findings such as this, the general feeling and perception among men and women in OAU is that women may not be able to perform well in the role Vice Chancellor. As noted by Adu-Oppong and Arthur (2015), descriptive and prescriptive stereotyping exerts significant impact on men's and women's organizational experiences. If a woman exhibits any of the traits that male leaders are applauded for, she is punished with discrimination or negative evaluation (Adu-Okpong and Arhtur 2015). For instance, women who fail to exhibit the nurturing qualities associated with their gender prescription also face formal discrimination (Adu-Oppong and Arthur (2015). There is therefore a need for stakeholders to get rid of this mindset and give women a chance in Obafemi Awolowo University and the University of Ibadan. Akudo and Okenwa (2015), observed that the issue of gender equality in the domain of management has been neglected particularly in Nigeria. This neglect may not be as a result of lack of research funding in leadership but due to the fact that many Nigerians, including women, do not see the absence of women in leadership in higher institutions as problematic. Generally, the patriarchal gender roles, values and practices prescribe that men are the leaders and women are the followers and should be good followers lest the society punish them with stigma or discrimination. Challenging this stereotype constitutes an uphill task.

Gender and development and gender mainstreaming represent the call for action and change. Gender and development theorists believe that the unequal relationship between the sexes hinders development. They seek to change the structure of power into a long-term goal whereby all decision-making and benefits of development are distributed on an equal basis (Collins 2013). The fact that women are virtually absent in university leadership constitutes a hindrance to the development of these universities because the incessant crises in these universities makes it difficult for them to record tangible development. As such, for these universities to make progress and be able to compete favourably with

their counterparts globally, the university leadership structure will have to change by allowing women to participate.

This would be made possible by taking concrete/practical steps, which is why gender mainstreaming is crucial. As noted by Afonja (2002), gender mainstreaming is the process of bringing gender issues into the mainstream of society. This was a global strategy for promoting gender equity in the platform of action adopted by the United Nations fourth world conference on women in 1995. It was a strategy used to bring the experience, knowledge and interest of men and women to the forefront of the development agenda (2002). In the same vein, the experience and knowledge of women should be brought into the university leadership in order to cancel out men's leadership shortcomings which is causing crises in the universities. For instance, the gender policy in Obafemi Awolowo University (OAU) was a way of mainstreaming gender into all facets of life throughout the university. As I mentioned elsewhere, the policy had not made tangible impact on the issue of gender equity, particularly in women and leadership in the university. Perhaps, close monitoring and implementation of the gender policy can yield more positive results. This again may be eaten or choked by Morley's hidden transcripts (2006).

Based on women's leadership qualities that have been indicated, it is argued that women can make a difference. As indicated by Bunwaree (2010), feminism is theory and method as well as advocacy and activism. Feminism, therefore, represent a clamour for change. As such, there is need to change the leadership terrain in Nigerian universities. Regarding female participation in university leadership in OAU and UI, my argument is that bringing women into leadership positions can actually make a difference. After all, Jadesola Akande (Dasan 2009), Obayan and Comfort Ekpo (Uyo Bulletin, 2010) all made a difference during their tenures as Vice Chancellors of their institutions. It is when this happens that Nigerian universities can begin to talk about making progress. In this study, I argue that crises in Nigerian universities is caused by government intervention/ political economy and by men's highhandedness, ego and corruption and that bringing in women into the leadership of Nigerian universities would make a difference.

Crises in Nigerian universities disrupt academic activities with unrests, strike actions and physical attacks on University management and Government officials by student and staff of Nigerian universities. Crises in Nigerian universities are usually triggered by feelings of anger, anxiety about the government's unpopular policies, disagreement between staff and government, disagreement between university management and staff and students, welfare matters, living conditions and salaries. In some cases, the university may be closed for a month, six months or even as long as one year. The crises in Nigerian universities was explained by the political economy of Nigeria. The wealth of the nation is in the hands of the

federal government and it is through this administration in which part of the wealth is allocated to universities that the federal government creates crises in Nigerian universities. University is a public service and the wealth of the nation should be used to fund it. The federal government is doing this but crises are usually generated when this objective interlocks with unfavourable decisions and policies, which are discountenanced by university teachers and students. According to Bullock (1993), the wealth of the nation is supposed to enable the members of the society to provide subsistence for themselves. At the time of my research, this could not be said to be true in Nigeria any more. This is because Nigerians were no longer able to provide for their own subsistence because there were many obstacles preventing people from providing their own subsistence. Many people were unemployed and this constituted a great burden on families. Nigerian government found it difficult to provide electricity, water and other social amenities for the people. As such, many people were not able to provide subsistence for themselves. To make matters worse, the distribution of wealth in the Nigerian society resulted in the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer. Government policies tended towards a more capitalist economy in which user charges were paid in hospitals and school fees and other services were paid more than ever before. All these created tension and hardship for the people, which extended to the universities, ultimately generating crises. For instance, many parents found it difficult to pay school fees for their children in universities and this explained why there were usually demonstrations and destructions of lives and properties any time there was little increment in school fees. All these were issues in the political economy of Nigeria and they exerted a great influence on university leadership and the crises being experienced in Nigerian universities.

Crises in Nigerian universities was also explained by Marxian views. As noted by Marx (cited in Ritzer 1996), the increasing exploitation of the proletarians by the capitalists may cause the workers to become increasingly dissatisfied and more militant. This is the situation in Nigeria where the federal government has become the capitalist and the workers/students are the proletariats. As such university workers and students always look at the government with suspicion and tend to react to any unfavourable policy with violent protests.

Importantly, the federal government is also battling with external influences which tend to shape its policies. For instance, the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) of 1986 unleashed hardship on Nigerians and an unfavourable policy of removal of subsidy from education made life unbearable for Nigerians (Nwagbara 2011). The SAP of 1986 in Nigeria came about as part of the stringent conditions stipulated by the International Monetary Fund in order for Nigeria to be able to repay the loan borrowed from the institution. As such, subsidies were removed from education, health and other basic services and Government spending was reduced drastically which resulted in folding up of companies

and retrenchment of workers. As observed by Nwagbara (2011), part of the consequences of SAP was retrenchment of workers, high cost of living because of the removal of subsidies, unemployment and inflation. An increase in school fees coupled with the fact that many parents were out of jobs and unable to pay caused tension resulted in crises in universities.

In this study, political economic theory was used to explain the factors that generated conflict situations in Nigerian universities such as an increase in school fees, an increase in number of students, non-payment of benefits, inflations, clamour for salary increase due to the high cost of living and the dwindling funding of universities as well as some governmental policies. In recent times, the political economic situation in Nigeria was such that many people were retrenched from work due to austerity measures. Additionally, there was the removal of subsidies from essential services. This situation coupled with the high inflation rate in the country made it difficult for many families to meet their basic needs (Nwagbara 2011). According to Periera (2007), academic staff used to live in penury. This pushed workers to demand a salary increase. These issues created tensions for people, which tended to effect their employers and organizations.

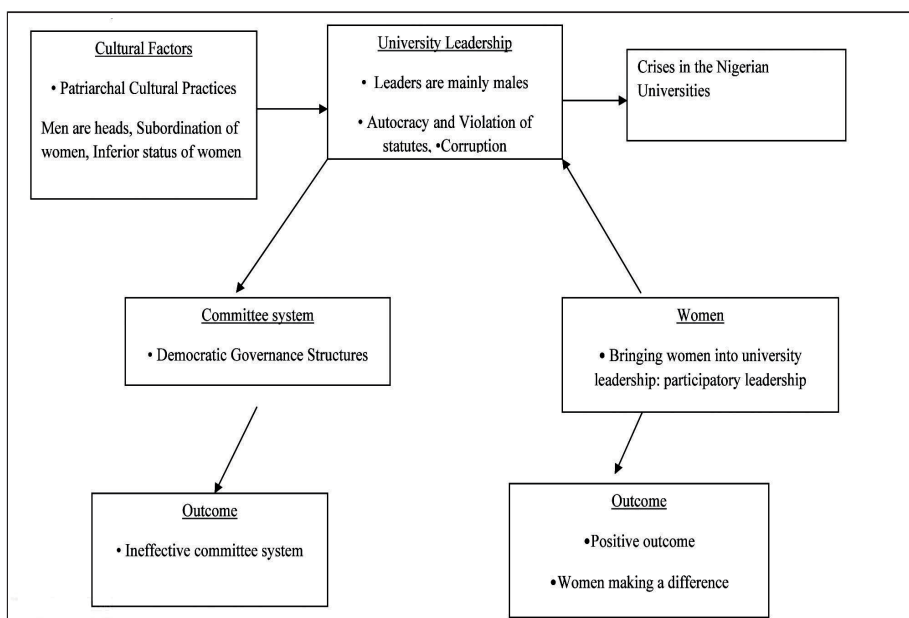


Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework

Source: Muoghalu 2013

The conceptual framework drawn above describes the issues in the leadership and crises in Nigerian universities. The direction of the arrows indicates the direction of relationships between the variables.

The patriarchal cultural practices in Nigeria brought about the subordination of women. Women having inferior status while men are seen as the heads both in the home and in public places. This resulted in the absence of women in the university leadership. Owing to men's autocratic corruption and violation of university statutes, they render the committee's system (which is a democratic governance structure) ineffective. Men, therefore, brought their autocratic and corruptive tendencies to bear on university administration, which are capable of causing crises.

If women were brought into university administration, they would bring in their attributes of participatory, empathic and cooperative leadership which is likely to produce a favourable outcome in Nigerian universities.

From this theoretical and conceptual position, the following hypotheses were postulated.

Hypothesis 1

Null Hypothesis (Ho): There is no significant relationship between women Vice-chancellorship and crises in Nigerian universities.

Hypothesis 2:

Null Hypothesis (Ho): There is no significant relationship between federal government activities and crises in Nigerian universities.

Hypothesis 3:

Null Hypothesis (Ho): There is no significant relationship between men's leadership styles and the incessant crises in Nigerian universities.

Hypothesis 4:

Null Hypothesis (Ho): There is no significant relationship between democratization/ implementation of the universities legal statutes, governance structures and crises in Nigerian universities.

Methodology

Context

This study was carried out among students and staff of Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife and the University of Ibadan, Ibadan. Ile-ife and Ibadan are both in South Western Nigeria. Yoruba is the national language. Much of the Yoruba land is on level plain terrain with thick vegetation, which is green all year round. As such, the people are traditionally farmers and fishermen, though some are civil servants while others belong to other professions. The Yoruba are known for their greetings/courtesy, hard work, and a strong belief in their cultural practices. It is therefore not surprising that this cultural orientation is carried into OAU and UI (Mejuini 2013). Obafemi Awolowo University has a population of thirty thousand students and one thousand, four hundred lecturers, administrators and other non-academic staff. The University is situated on a vast expanse of land totalling

11,861 hectares in Ile-Ife, Osun State, southwest of Nigeria. The University has a vibrant academic and social environment and a high international reputation. The University is known for its rich tradition of excellence, having produced several people of great importance including a nobel laureate, Professor Wole Soyinka. The University comprises the central campus, the student residential area, the staff quarters, a Teaching and Research Farm and a teaching hospital. The central campus comprises the academic, administrative units and service centres. OAU prides itself on learning culture. The slogan of staff and students is *Aluta Continua* meaning the struggle continues; a slogan that pushes the students and staff to action when issues or disagreements with university authority or the federal government arise. At the time of my research, this University had never had a female Vice Chancellor.

The UI was established in 1948 as an annex of university college, London. It is the first university in Nigeria and belongs to the first generation of Nigerian universities. The university boasts of a vast area of land with a large population of students, particularly postgraduate students. In fact, the university of Ibadan is known as a postgraduate university because it usually has large number of postgraduate students. The university of Ibadan has also had its fair share of crises. Like OAU, UI is a public institution that is being funded by the federal government of Nigeria. The leadership team of the university is made up of the Chancellor who is a ceremonial head and a Pro Chancellor who is usually the chairman of the council. The council is the highest governing body of the university. The Vice Chancellor oversees the day to day operations of the university and is answerable to the council because it is the council that usually employs the Vice Chancellor and all other staff in the university. The deputy vice chancellors (academic): oversees the academic operations and affairs of the university. The Vice Chancellor (administration) takes charge of administrative problems in the university). The Registrar is responsible for the secretariat of the University, the Bursar is in charge of the University accounts and the Librarian is the head of library services. The university is also governed through the committee system. Importantly, in both OAU and UI, no female had ever been the Vice Chancellor since their inception. Only very few women had held positions of Deputy Vice Chancellors and the same thing applies to Registrar, Bursar, Librarian and even chairpersons of committees.

Research Method

This study was anchored in a feminist perspective and sought to examine the causes of crises in two universities and to explore whether stakeholders thought that women leadership of universities could potentially reduce these crises. The study employed both quantitative (questionnaires) and qualitative (interviews) research methods. The essence of using quantitative methodology is to be able to arrive at concrete evidenced data, interpretation and conclusions. Also, quantitative research is useful for testing feminist theory (Jaratne 1989). Furthermore, the interpretation

of qualitative data is subjective and therefore open to the bias inherent in subjective assessment (Leibow 1967). Thus, a quantitative method is used to strengthen the findings and complement the qualitative data. The qualitative interviews were also used to overcome the theoretical and methodological shortcomings of the androcentric concept of science (Huizer 1973). Qualitative data conveys a deeper understanding and closeness to the person studied than a research report that gives statistical evidence of the struggles of any group (Kroeber 1969). Combining quantitative and qualitative research methods (triangulation). In this study, allowed me to strengthen the data, the interpretations of such data and the conclusions.

The self-administered questionnaire had 34 questions and was used to elicit relevant information from university stakeholders: lecturers, non-academic staff and students. The interview schedule was used to gather data from top university administrators, professors, leaders of the academic staff union, non-academic staff union senior staff association and student leaders. The methods used in this study enhanced the collection of data making this study thorough and coherent. The theoretical frameworks in combination with these methodologies represented a solid base for this research. For ethical considerations, informed consent was sought and obtained from the respondents before the commencement of the study.

Participants

The participants were management staff, academic and non academic staff and technologists and students in the two universities. The management staff (deputy Vice chancellors, directors of institutes, deans and Heads of Departments), professors, other staff, leaders of academic, and non-academic staff and student union. Participants were selected for the administration of the questionnaires purposively as bona-fide (people that were confirmed to be authentic) staff and students fit the purpose of the study. In selecting participants to be interviewed, emphasis was laid on their positions. For instance, professors, academic staff executives, non-academic staff leaders, senior staff association leaders and student leaders were purposely selected as their opinions represented the opinion of others.

Also, to support the data from the quantitative method, reports from the in-depth interviews are presented in each theme. For the qualitative data, the staff and student respondents were drawn from student leaders and staff administrators and people in top university management. The qualitative data helped to explore the research questions in detail and gave the research participants freedom to express themselves and their views in detail. The students that were interviewed were between the ages of 22 and 24 and they were student leaders. Also, they were three boys and one girl and they were all Christians. The staff that were interviewed were university administrators and people in top university management. They include university management staff, professors, leaders of academic staff union, non-academic staff union and senior staff association. The

staff who participated were within the ages of 50 years and 63 years. This is because it takes years of training and moving through the ranks before a person can become a professor. The same thing applies to headship of departments and deanship of faculties. Also, there were twenty males and six females. There were nineteen Christians and seven Muslims. The qualitative data helped to explore the research questions in detail and which also gave the staff the freedom to express their views in detail.

Sample Size and Sample Size Determination

A total of 2000 questionnaires were distributed among the participants; 1000 for staff and another 1000 for students. For the staff, 600 (OAU) and 400 (UI) questionnaires were administered, respectively. For the students, 615 questionnaires in OAU and 385 in the UI were also administered. These figures were derived from proportions based on the number of staff and students in each institution. The sample size of 1000 was derived using Nachmias and Nachmias' (1992) formula for deriving sample size in a population comprising 10,000 or more people. The formula for the standard error of the mean was used:

$$S. E. = \frac{s}{\sqrt{n}}$$

The study also utilized the qualitative method of in-depth interview. Thirty in-depth interviews were conducted on opinion leaders between the two universities. Fifteen in-depth interviews were conducted in OAU and fifteen were conducted in UI. The participants included fifteen men and fifteen women. These were top university administrators (10), professors (10), leaders of academic staff union (2), non-academic staff union (2), senior staff association (2) and student leaders (4).

Data Collection

The participants were reached in their institutions. The staff were reached in their offices and the students were reached in their classrooms and hostels. The questionnaire was self-administered and several visits were made to the participants to see that the questionnaire was completed and reduce the rate of attrition. The questionnaire was administered in such a way that most departments were represented. For the qualitative data collection, two persons were always doing it together, while the researcher asked questions and had discussions with the interviewees. Additional notes were taken by the research assistant. All interview sessions were conducted in English and each interview was approximately 60 minutes in length. The discussions were also recorded with audio media which were later transcribed.

Data Analysis

Analyses of quantitative data were both descriptive and inferential using SPSS software version 11.1. Univariate analysis in the form of frequencies and percentages were generated and contributed to the understanding of the distribution of each variable across survey respondents. Bivariate analyses were conducted using cross tabulations/Chi-Square to explore relationships in testing the hypothesis. Furthermore, comparison of means and one way analysis of variance were conducted to test the hypotheses of the study.

The qualitative data were analysed in themes based on the objectives. Categories were built around objectives as each objective formed a theme. The political economy and feminist theories were employed in the interpretation of these data and in drawing conclusions.

This chapter on background and introduction has dealt with the abstract, which is a summary of the entire book, an introduction which states the problematic – the problem of crises in Nigerian universities and the proposition that bringing women into university leadership will make a difference in reducing these crises. Also, the objectives of the book which were to examine the level and causes of crises and whether women's leadership of universities can make a difference. Furthermore, the theoretical and methodological orientations which were political economy and feminism were employed to explain the absence of women in university management and the incessant crises in the universities. This has laid the platform on which the entire book was built. Details of the issues raised in this chapter will be discussed throughout the book. Based on this platform especially as it pertains to the objectives of the book, the following chapter two focused on the literature reviews in which what we already know about women and leadership globally, women and leadership in Africa and Nigeria and crises in Nigerian universities were reviewed. The rest of the book focused on results from the study, the interpretation, discussion of findings and conclusions.

Known Works in the Field

In a book of this nature, it is important to look at the global scenario of women in leadership in universities, in Africa and in Nigeria. This scenario serves as a background to interpretations of and conclusions from the data. Literature reviews are also a vital tool for a discussion of the findings because the findings are weighed against the existing literature and places its contribution to scholarship into context. As such, the literature review is a vital aspect of the research process. In this literature review, women and leadership in higher education were reviewed at the global, African and Nigerian levels. The global level provided the perception of women and leadership in higher education around the world. The African level revealed the situation of women and leadership in African universities, and the Nigerian review showed the situation in Nigeria. With this data, the reader can evaluate the entire situation and see how far Africa and Nigeria has gone in this regard, and what still needs to be done. Also, best practices can also be copied from the literature to make things better in women and higher education leadership in Nigeria. The literature also reviewed the causes and consequences of crises in Nigerian universities. The literature therefore informed the study and gave it the needed direction.

Women and University Leadership Globally

The absence of women in leadership positions in public spaces has a long history and as noted by Kwesiga (2002), there are factors that edge out women at every step of their educational career. As noted by Adebayo and Akanle, cited in Olaogun *et al.* (2015), in the past, there were concerted and determined efforts to deprive women of employment opportunities. Olaogun *et al.* (2015) also posited that from 1841 until the outbreak of first world war in 1914, a combination of pressure from male workers and philanthropic reformers restricted female employment in industry. Infact, in 1841, a committee of male factory workers called for the gradual withdrawal of all female labour in the factory (2015). Men tended to use the wife/mother role of women to justify their exclusion from the work place. Thus, with

ideology, blackmail and lobbying by male workers, women were excluded from factory work (Olaogun *et al.* 2015). In our African and Nigerian context in which everyman was basically a farmer, women were not allowed to own tangible property as they work in their husbands' farms. In fact, women were inheritable properties in many cultures in Nigeria. This was made worse with the advent of Europeans in Nigeria. It was then that the situation of women became a double burden of being black and being a woman. These scenerios were made possible because in most parts of the world, societies were organized along patriarchal lines. This could explain the absence of women in leadership positions in most of these societies.

This trend was carried into the university system. Due to women's inferior social position, access to higher education did not come easily to women. As university employees, women are mainly at the lower cadre of university positions. As observed by Morley (2013), 80.9 per cent of professorial roles in the United Kingdom were held by men. In the same vein, Blandford *et al.* (2011), found that men comprised 72 per cent of academic staff in senior academic management positions. In Arab countries, Hammoud (1993), found that women are under-represented in higher education leadership and that women constituted 15.5 per cent of academic staff and 16.7 per cent of women in administrative positions. At top level management positions such as president, vice president and members of the board of trustees, there were no females.

Infact, in 70 per cent of the 54 commonwealth countries, all universities were led by men in 2007 (Morley *et al.* 2005). Morley (2013) also observed that women's absence in leadership positions in universities is a recurrent theme in the global North and South; an indication that the problem is everywhere. For instance, in Arab countries, Hammoud (1993) maintained that women's absence in higher education leadership cannot be examined in isolation from women's inferior social status in the larger society. The right to vote or be voted for, for example, was prohibited to women in Arab countries even though there are equal rights in the constitution. This gives one an idea of the situation of women in such a region. Gender inequality is found in the legal, political and social domains and has various impacts on the lives of women of different classes or educational backgrounds. Furthermore, this inequality limits women's access to education and employment as well as to effective integration in decision-making processes (Hammoud 1993). Many inequalities in higher education management are found in regions where the constitution stipulates equal rights for both sexes. One can only imagine what the situations are like in Arab countries where the inequality is legal. In such a region, women are still likely to be battling with women's access to higher education. As such, it would be difficult for a legally inferior human being (female) to be a superior officer and for a legally superior human being (male) to be subordinate. For women to be in management positions in this context, it is likely to be in an all-girl's schools. Not surprisingly, there is no concrete data

on women and higher education management in Hammoud's study as very few women were found in intermediate management positions and none were found in presidential and vice presidential positions.

In India, 5.7 per cent of Vice Chancellors and 3.6 per cent of other university managers have been women (Chitnis 1993). Chitnis (1993) also noted that not only was the representation of women in the management of higher education in India very small, it was highly skewed in terms of their discipline and geographical location. For instance, 55.5 per cent of these universities headed by women were exclusively for women (Chitnis 1993). This stemmed from the inferior status of women in the country which made it easier for women to head women only institutions than to head institutions that included male students. This was a case of separate space for women, a kind of parallel leadership which is an indication that women were not yet fully in the mainstream of leadership in higher education in India.

In America and Canada, Featherman (1993), showed that women enter higher education at the same rate as men. They also tend to complete their first degree programmes more than men but they do not fare well at the advanced degree level. They often do not pursue or complete their doctorate and post doctorate degrees. Females constitutes only 29 per cent of academics. Many of the associate and full professors are men. Women in academia are generally paid less than their male counterparts (Fapohunda 2013). In a country like America with liberal principles, this signifies the seriousness and ubiquitous nature of women's inferior social status.

In Nigeria, Williams (1993), found that all the 59 full professors in the University of Benin were males while only 4 out of 35 of the associate professors were females. The vice chancellor, however, was also a female at this period. In OAU, Afonja (2002), found that females constituted 13 per cent of academic staff while Eboiyehi *et al.* (2016), found that 18 per cent of the academic staff were female. They also found that the vice chancellor and the two deputy vice chancellors were males and that females made up 33 per cent of all deans, 38 per cent of all the directors and 14 per cent of all the HODs. In the same vein, Soetan *et al.* (2009) found that of the 19 statutory committees, male representation was approximately 90 per cent in six committees, and 80 per cent in five committees. The gender gap is widest in senate where males constitute 94.5 per cent. Furthermore, in recent data, Odeyinka *et al.* (2015), found that in the same institution, there were no significant improvements in the proportion of female academic staff which was 18 per cent. The data also revealed a reduction in the proportion of females in the professorial cadre from 10 per cent in 2001/2002 to 8 per cent in 2013. In the Nigerian context, particularly at OAU, professorial cadre appears to have moved backwards, indicating that all the gender equity projects and programmes are not yielding fruits. The gender situation in university leadership in OAU provides a window through which one can look at women in leadership positions in other universities in Nigeria.

The experience of women in academic leadership is also problematic and tends to reinforce the absence of women in higher education leadership. According to Hammoud (1993), some female university administrators mentioned that their relationships with their male colleagues were cold. They revealed that their male counterparts lacked confidence and harboured negative attitudes towards women and their abilities. In general, the men were reserved and felt uncomfortable discussing certain issues with women. Some women university managers said that men were sensitive to having them as superiors and did not trust her aptitudes even if she was more qualified than them. They would reject her leadership. This may not be solely a problem of trust but a problem with the male ego. Many men found it humiliating to work under a woman as is perpetuated the perception that he was not masculine enough to be called a man. This humiliation was not limited to the work place, even at home, there was a chance that his wife would taunt him for having a female boss. All this boils down to the inferior status of women which has become a dominant social status covering all others. Women university leaders, however, battle with both male and female subordinates. The relationships with female subordinates are rather negative due to competition, jealousy, lack of objectivity and interference of personal factors in the workplace (Hammoud 1993). It was often more difficult to deal with women subordinates because women are also products of patriarchal gender relations and tend to believe in it more than men. For instance, it is the *umuada* – (daughters born in the family) that prosecute widows who question harmful widowhood practices. As such, many women may not accept the leadership of fellow women and will show their rejection through disobedience and by trying to make things difficult for women in leadership. It was further noted that the positions of president and vice president are reserved for men. Women are given positions only when it is necessary.

In India, Chitnis (1993) found that women who enter the academic profession are well qualified but very few are able to acquire the relevant academic distinctions required to be elevated to management positions. Moreover, even those who acquired additional qualifications were not always willing to move from a purely teaching and research position to one involving administrative responsibilities because that involves more time on the job. The major exclusion that the women university managers faced was not being able to move around (going to Delhi for administrative matters, for example). They therefore socialize less and are less informed on relevant matters than their male counterparts. This problem is generally experienced by women expected to look after children and maintain the home. Consequently, they often do not have time to be involved in extracurricular activities that would provide opportunities of meeting and networking with new people. Also, women education leaders find it difficult to exercise authority over male and female subordinates who always stigmatize these female leaders (Lunyolo *et al.* 2017). This difficulty in dealing with male and

female subordinates has become a recurrent theme in most parts of the world, showing that it is a serious problem for women in leadership positions (Lunyolo *et al.* 2017). Women also find it difficult to withstand and fight corruption and political pressures, since those who exercise them do not hesitate to indulge in character defamation (Chitnis 1993). It is important to note that it is very easy to blackmail and defame a woman's character due to the sensitive nature of women's social status. In fact, what some corrupt people do to have their way is tell the woman leader's husband to tell his wife to back down or face the consequences.

Even when a woman manages to get to the top in Nigeria, she experiences many challenges. As a women university manager, you must work harder, face problems of insubordination from men and imitate male behaviour. The special qualities that distinguishes a competent woman manager in a higher education institution from the rest is being persuasive, assertive and flexible and which facilitates problem solving and taking care of diversity (Akudo and Okenwa 2015). Although male colleagues acknowledge that highly qualified women exist, they were not ready to offer support (Williams 1993). It is believed that men do not offer support they want the woman to fail to justify their exclusion of women from leadership positions in the universities. Trusting and delegating power to the right team can be an uphill task for women university leaders (Williams 1993). This is because with all the issues of conspiracy, lack of trust and jealousy raised above, the woman leader may be apprehensive about who to trust in order to avoid making mistake and ruining her tenure. In the same vein, Feather man (1993), found that there is still considerable bias against women as many male professors still believe that women are less qualified than men for academic careers. As such, women are better represented in lower rank positions, such as assistant professor than at the higher ranks of associate and full professors.

This lack of women in leadership positions in universities means that women are globally under represented across all decision-making organs including committees, boards, recruitment panels and the executive. This means that a significant part of the higher education workforce is being under-utilized (Morley 2013). In the same vein, Anyaoku (1993), noted that the under representation of women in higher education management serves to demonstrate that the pool of managerial talent within each country is not optimally utilized.

This assertion holds true in many public spaces in Nigeria and globally. Importantly, the society fails to appreciate this loss of skill and resource that has been sacrificed on the altar of patriarchal gender relations, values and practices. Infact, many people, even in higher educational institutions, do not know or have an idea that women can bring alternative leadership model to bear on leadership of universities. This is partly due to women's inferior social status which portrays women as second class and inferior, incapable of leadership generally, let alone leading in a sensitive space like the university system.

In this section, attempt had been made to look at women and higher education management around the globe. The situation in different parts of the globe (Europe, America, Arab, Asia and Africa) has been examined. This global review of what we know about women and higher education management has illuminated and revealed that everywhere one goes, the story is basically the same. Women are under-represented in higher education management which means that the world is losing some of its human resource potential in higher education management. It is also important to note that this problem has been recognized by many scholars and stakeholders which has resulted in affirmative action and gender equity projects and programmes in many universities around the world. Interestingly, this has not yielded much fruit in these universities..

Women and Leadership in African Universities

I wish to start this section by reemphasizing the fact that women are marginalized in academia globally. It is important to note that Nigerian women experience worse marginalization (Olaogun *et al.* 2015). This was reiterated by Egunjobi (2009) cited in Olaogun *et al.* (2015), that in commonwealth nations most of the low percentages of women in academia are found in African universities. This is to say that even as gender gap in academia is in most countries of the world, the cases in Africa are among the most serious. Women's low representation in academia also tends to be reinforced by the numerous discriminations and hostilities that women face as university faculty members. Infact, Sutherland (2008 cited in Olaogun 2015) observed that women face serious challenges in gaining access to their daily resources and bargaining power. Mabokela (2003) (in Njobvu (2014), asserted that women in academia experience hostilities such as subtle discrimination, psychological and other harassments and other inequalities based on gender. Apart from these experiences in the university, women are also members of a larger society which tends to reinforce and exacerbate women's poor quantity and quality representation in academia. As noted by Okeke (2004) (in Njobvu (2014), traditionally, Zambian women, as is the case in most Sub-Saharan African countries, are socialized to value marriage and motherhood so much so that non-conformity is derided by stigmatization. Njobvu (2014) talked about this societal pressure and posited that there is also pressure from socio-cultural gender expectations which impedes women's ambition. Prah (2002)) called this a socio-cultural conspiracy, which is detrimental to women achieving higher levels of education and senior leadership positions in Zambian universities. This could explain why Prah 2002 insisted that to write about gender and academic lide, they also need to see both the forest and the trees – the patriarchal structure and everyday forms of maintenance and control. In OAU, it is equally difficult for a woman secure a Vice Chancellor position because of these socio-cultural norms which are even stronger than laws. Infact, it is her fellow women counterparts here that will ask 'what is she looking for? They will assume that she is too greedy.

In the first place, academia is constructed as a carefree zone which assumes that academics have no commitment other than their professions (Lynch 2010). This description fits men better than women because women have as major commitment (as far as the society is concerned) to child bearing, rearing and the care economy and domestic work (Kiamba 2008). As such, the university space and leadership positions generally belong to men. This societal arrangement has generated a mindset that views men as university leaders. As captured by Kiamba (2008) the university workplace also has a way of promoting a certain perception among men and women, expecting and believing that universities are not the sort of places where women could excel as leaders. Kiamba (2008) further noted that women's contribution to development does not translate to equal representation and that culture and cultural expectations and women's own fear of success constitute barriers. In Nigeria, Odejide (2007) reported that male leaders were preferred as they were thought to be more suited to deal with student unrest. This implies that unrests have become a reason for choosing male leaders giving one the idea that Nigerian universities have become a home of incessant crises. Importantly, no one ever thought of the approach of leadership as being being the cause of student unrest. Women's absence in senior leadership positions is a recurrent theme in global South such as Nigeria (Odejide 2007) and Ghana (Ohene 2010; Morley 2013). Morley (2013) has noted that this phenomenon means that the expertise and skills of a significant part of higher education workforce are being under-utilized. Women vice-chancellors in African universities is quite low and can be counted in one's fingers. For instance, in Nigeria, there are approximately one hundred and twenty-four universities but female Vice Chancellors are not more than four signifying a significant absence of women in this position.

In the same vein, SARUA (2011) cited in Njobvu (2014) reported that women made up only 13 per cent of academic staff at the three public universities in South Africa and faced a very low probability of rising to senior academic positions. This same 13 per cent of female academic staff was also reported by Afonja (2002) in OAU. However, Eboiyehi *et al.* (2016) reported that females made up 18 per cent of academic staff in OAU; an indication that there has been a shift from 2002 to the present period. Furthermore, Guramatunhu Madiwa (2010) also reported that only 12 out of 117 universities in the South African development community were led by women. Importantly, these statistics are not stable, they sometimes fluctuate. For instance, Morley (2013) reported that the per centage of female professors in Nigerian universities in 2004 was 24 per cent, while in 2005, it was 15 per cent and 16 per cent and there was none in the Vice Chancellor position. Early on, one notices that the situation is the same throughout Africa with some universities being a little bit better than others. Importantly, most educated women in these universities accept the exclusion of women at the higher leadership level as given. Women who challenge this exclusion risk being labelled a bad influences and are stigmatized by fellow women. I remember when I joined a female feminist

Professor at the Centre for Gender studies in OAU in the late 1990s, husbands were warning their wives not to join the Professor because she will scatter their families. An erudite scholar was accused of destroying families because she questioned the status quo. This discourages other women from joining in the struggle. Indeed, Maluma (2013) captured this by saying that educated Zambian women may often not contest the status quo and tend to accept barriers like discrimination due to the same traditional socio-cultural belief system which has resulted in the exclusion of women from influential institutional positions. Maluma (2013) contended that patriarchal discrimination and intolerance continues to threaten women's enjoyment of their rights and fundamental freedoms. Hence, women suffer inequalities massively and are under-represented in senior leadership ranks (Njobvu 2014). It was also noted by Njobvu (2014) that the system rewards women's conformity to the values of the majority but punishes and even vilifies any portrayal of different independent behaviours and values that may not necessarily be harmful. What this scenario implies is that any woman who wants to be a leader in an African university must fight and be ready to endure humiliation. As noted by Njobvu (2014), if any woman is to rise and settle in these higher echelons, they must fight to create and utilize spaces within these workplaces. It is worth noting that the fight being referred to here is not an easy one because it is like moving against the tide. This could explain the reason for little advancement in gender equality after several years of advocacy and struggles by women and other stakeholders.

The on-going debate on the African continent reflects a consensus of higher education institutions continuing to be key sites to produce intellectual capacity that is both socially responsible and relevant to regional development agendas. Gender equity should be included in this understanding of the requisite capacities (Mama, 2003). Due to the strategic position of these institutions, there is need for effective leadership which requires the participation of both males and females. However, the reality is that women are virtually absent in the leadership of these institutions which could be the reason for the incessant crises ravaging the universities.

The dearth of women who are respected as accomplished thinkers, researchers and writers is one of the most intractable aspect of gender inequality in higher education systems (Mama 2003). As I have mentioned elsewhere, this dearth of accomplished women academia makes it difficult for women to have a critical mass from which to draw mentors and leaders from. As noted by Mama (2003), without a change in gender relations and sexual cultures that would allow men to participate in domestic responsibilities, women will continue to find it difficult to meet the complex and competitive demands of academic careers. As noted by Morley (2013), the under representation of women is reflected not only in the continued inequalities between men and women but missed opportunities for women to contribute towards the development of universities. One cannot be a full citizen of a country and at the same time be denied of attaining one's full potentials.

Importantly, higher education reform processes focus mainly on reducing the social and administrative cost and not on transforming human/gender relations or the human resources of the universities (Mama 2003). Regarding this issue of transformation, OAU was the first university in Nigeria to approve a gender policy which if implemented can address most issues of gender equity in the University. However, the implementation of this policy remains minimal or non-existent. This has buttressed the conclusion of Mama (2003), that while international, national and institutional statements reflect greater imperatives towards gender equality, the picture suggests that the demand of academic careers in today's African universities might well undermine the realization of policy commitments towards gender equitable transformation. Indeed, in the gendered institutions, Acker (1992) noted that gender is present in the processes, practices, images, ideologies and distributions of power in the various sectors of social life. In the same vein, the Nigerian universities are gendered in the sense that the patriarchal ideologies still dictate the image of university leader as male. As noted by Acker (1992), institutions are historically developed by men, currently dominated by men and symbolically interpreted from the standpoint of men in leading positions both in the present and historically and these institutions have been defined by the absence of women. Acker's assertion holds true for African/Nigerian universities where men reign supreme and women who attempts to raise their heads are regarded as untamed, wild and not good for marriage.

Women and Higher Education Management in Nigeria

To present a clear view of women and education in Nigeria, it would be pertinent to take into consideration the struggles that had to be made before Nigerian women had access to (higher) education. Christian missionaries and colonial administrators introduced formal education in Nigeria in the second half of the 19th century. At that time in many communities, free borns were not allowed by their parents to attend school due to skepticism about the motives of the white man (Muoghalu 2004). According to Fabiyi (2002), some level of attitudinal changes led to more males having access to formal education because the colonial administrators needed clerks, interpreters and teachers. Importantly, certain cultural beliefs and factors result to sex imbalance in educational sector and even limit opportunities thereby hindering development. As such, education was an investment capable of yielding dividends. Such dividends benefited the parents of the child in case of boys and husband's family in case of girls. This is in the sense that after graduation, the boy will stay in the family and bear the family name while the girl will get married and begin to bear the husband's name. As such, in patriarchal Nigerian traditional society, investing in a girl was seen as a waste of fund. The choice as to who should go to school considering the scarce family resources of those days had to be made in favour of the boys (Bankole and Eboiyehi 2003). This important decision as to who

should go to school was informed by the fact that girls were valued less than boys in most Nigerian cultures. In corroboration of this, Nwajiuba (2011) noted that families were reluctant to train girls because they will be married into another family. Also, women were first and foremost seen as mothers and wives who did not have much to do with public places. As such, the gender attribute of females was a master status that coloured every other status, life chances, and every other experience that a woman has as a human being including her experience of higher education.

In higher educational institutions in Nigeria, girls' enrolment is less than that of boys (Benneth 2001). The issue here is that girls are not suddenly missing in higher education. There are socio-cultural issues that militate against women participation in education in such a way that as they move from primary to secondary, their population becomes thinner. The school enrolment for girls at the primary school level is higher than girls' enrolment at the secondary school level and which is higher than their enrolment at the tertiary institution level. This means that as girls go up the educational ladder, their dropout rates increase. Indeed, the pyramid is the symbol for women (Risler 2014).

According to Pereira (2002), the female enrolment in Nigerian tertiary institutions constituted 33.1 per cent. The 33 per cent enrolment found by Pereira was the enrolment rate. When one begins to consider the number of girls who can complete their programmes, it becomes obvious that the number of girls that complete their programmes are far less than the number enrolled in these programmes. The numbers that are eventually absorbed as university staff are less than the number that completed their programmes. This scenario is typical to how cultural and social constraint eliminate women from educational institutions. The earlier disadvantages that Nigerian women suffered in education are still being suffered even in 2017 though to a lesser extent. It took quite some time before Nigerian women began to participate in higher education...

In Nigerian tertiary institutions, the drop-out rate is higher for girls than boys. According to Periera (2002), in many universities in Nigeria, the dropout rate for girls is as high as 60 per cent in some of the programmes. The implication of this is that many girls that enrolled into these university programmes do not complete their programmes. Importantly, there are institutional/cultural factors that constitute push factors to this problem. This problem of high dropout rate also constitutes one of the reasons for having few women in the university decision-making positions.

According to UNICEF (2001), the number of pupils decline from one class to the next. The gender disparity in education in Nigeria exists at all levels but it is especially glaring at the tertiary level. At the primary school level, 31 per cent of females and 23 per cent of males were not enrolled and 60 per cent of school children in Nigeria were girls (UNICEF 2015). Also, UNICEF (2015), noted that there was a difference in the completion of primary school which is 70 per cent for

boys and 65 per cent for girls. At the teaching level, the proportion of male teachers was consistently higher than that of female teachers for all levels of education but the gap increased more widely from primary school to universities. In primary school teaching, the male/female gap was about 5 per cent and over 80 per cent for colleges of education, polytechnics and universities. Among professors and associate professors, males constituted 94 per cent while females constituted 6 per cent. There were 88.1 per cent males and 11.9 per cent females among senior lecturers and research fellows in 2001. The trend is that the higher the level of educational institution and cadre within the professions, the lower the proportion of females (UNICEF 2001). According to UNICEF (2001), the problems that militate against girl child education in Nigeria include early marriage, son preference and poverty. In the same vein, UNICEF (2015) reported that 20 per cent of women (aged 20-40 years) were married before the age of 15 and that 40 per cent of women (aged 15-59 years) were married before the age of 18, with regional variations. For instance, in Northern Nigeria, 52 per cent of women (aged 15-19 years) were married (UNICEF 2015). The UNICEF findings corroborated the report of the commission on the review of higher education in Nigeria (National University Commission, 1992) which identified poverty, early marriage and unplanned pregnancy as factors that contributed to the low representation of women in higher education. In enrolment in higher education at the undergraduate level, females constituted 24.6 per cent with wider gaps in science and technology courses. At the post-graduate levels, females constituted 25.6 per cent and 10 per cent of these females graduated (Obafemi Awolowo university gender policy 2009).

This low representation of women translates to the low number of women in leadership positions in Nigerian universities. The number of female professors, senior lecturers and associate professors are usually low. For instance, Soetan *et al.* (2009) found that in the professorial cadre, males outnumbered females in the ratio of 19:1, out of 206 professors at OAU, 9 (4.3 per cent) were females. Also, there was no female dean of faculty, only one vice dean was a female and of 68 heads of academic departments only 12 were females (most of these females were acting heads of departments). In OAU, in 2014, women constituted 27 out of 279 professors which represented 9.6 per cent (OAU Planning and Budgeting Units 2014). Although this is an improvement from the 4.3 per cent recorded by Soetan (2009), women's representation at the professorial cadre is still minimal in the university. In other universities in Nigeria, Nwajiuba (2011) cited in Olaogun (2015) found low representations of women in academia with 27 per cent female at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, 17 per cent female at Federal University of Technology, Owerri, 34 per cent at Enugu State University, 13 per cent in Imo State University, 18 per cent at University of Ibadan, 18 per cent at University of Calabar and 12 per cent at the University of Port Harcourt. The low level of female representation in higher education enrolment and employment also has implications for female representation in the management of universities. This

showed that women's absence in higher education leadership is not accidental. From the hidden curriculum to the hidden transcript, it is a systematic, organized process that continues to exclude women and edge them out of leadership positions in higher education in Nigeria. These issues could explain why even when a woman gets to such top position, she is confronted with many issues that have to do with women inferior social status; and the fact that the society (including the university community) regards men as leaders and women as subordinates. To buttress this point, Eboiyehi *et al.* (2016) quoted a female Director in a university unit :

Even though OAU is one of the very few universities where women are holding key senior management positions, the total per centage of women in senior management positions is far less than 35 per cent. When you compare this with their male counterparts, you will find that they are under-represented in senior management positions. This may be attributed to the patriarchal nature of our society where men dominate in all decision-making processes. Until recently, women were to be seen and not heard. Most men saw working under a woman as degrading and tend to flout orders given by their female bosses (Eboiyehi *et al.* 2016:12).

The interviewee above was trying to say that OAU is better than other universities in Nigeria in terms of gender and leadership. However, even in the OAU, there are persistent unequal gender relations and micro politics that subtly discriminate against women and exclude them from leadership positions in the university. This also frightens many women and makes them shy away from university leadership positions. As such, the issue of women and higher education leadership is a very intricate and dicey issue which sometimes makes some women leaders confused and frustrated. Again, being confused and frustrated is regarded as a sign of weakness. These issues are so subtle that most people do not realize that they are gender issues which colour women's experience of leadership and influences women's leadership outcomes.

Can Women Make a Difference?

This question, *can women make a difference?* was investigated by the fact that I took interest in crises in Nigerian universities and found out that there are incessant crises anywhere one turns and that in all these universities, women were absent. This necessitated the question as having only men leaders implies that leadership of universities is left for one half of the population and which could be from the cause of the crises. In fact, Zinger and Folkman (2012) noted that female leaders excelled at nurturing competencies such as building relationships, exhibiting integrity and self-development. The study also found that women were better overall leaders than their male counterpart and the higher the level, the wider the gap (2012).

Below is the overall leadership effectiveness table by gender and position, adapted from Zengar and Folkman (2012) in a gender study of performance of top management officials. Leadership effectiveness in their study means building

relationships, exhibiting integrity, development of the self in terms of acquiring better skills/education, carrying other people along and achieving organizational objectives and result in terms of profits and other goals. This was measured using per centile scores (scaling).

In the table below, the items in the particulars section represent the managerial positions studied. The first item-top management, executives, senior team members means males and females who are in these positions. The figures represent their performance when measured for building relationships, exhibiting integrity, self-development and achieving results. These variables were subjected to scaling and the achievements of real practicing managers were measured. The numerical values represent the average score that males and females scored respectively along the per centile continuum.

Table 2.1: Overall leadership effectiveness by gender and by position(per centile scores)

Particulars	Male	Female
Top management, executive, senior team members	57.7	67.7
Reports to top management, supervisors, middle managers	48.9	56.2
Middle managers	49.8	52.7
Supervisor, frontline manager, foreman	52.5	52.6
Individual contributor	52.7	53.9
Others	50.7	52.0
Total	51.3	55.1

Source: Zenger and Folkman inc., 2011

From Table 2.1 above, Zenger and Folkman (2011) have demonstrated that women can be good leaders and even better leaders than men. Women exhibit special leadership skills that are very effective and different from men. Incredible though this may sound in patriarchal Nigeria, it is the reality and even Nigerian studies are beginning to confirm this finding. For instance, Akudo and Okenwa (2015) found that female leaders bring distinct personality and motivational strength to leadership. They have an open consensus building and collegial approach to leading. They suggest that the leadership skills that come naturally to women are now absolutely necessary for the education system (2015).

Similarly, Shervin (2014) found that women leaders are more effective in overall measurement. The women posited that to get the same recognition and reward, they need to do twice as much, never make a mistake and constantly demonstrate competence. According to a participant in this study “we must perform twice as well to be thought half as good” (2014). Women have demonstrated, among other things, that they are good leaders. In the same vein, Njobvu (2014) found that women in academia site family support, mentors, determination and agency facilitating their success. This is an indication that women can also perform very

well if given the same support as men by academic institutions, family and society. Also, including women in leadership brings in diversity which may better serve the goals of the organization. As noted by Groysberg (2013), having women on boards will give corporations the competitive advantage to create products and services that will better meet their customers' needs. This was corroborated by O'Connors (2008 cited in Nelson, 2012), in Iceland, women were called in to replace high profile male bank leaders and institute a new culture.

The implication of this is that women leadership can change the social landscape of the organization. This is because women have a different way of handling issues which plays out in the leadership outcome and the quality of life of some stakeholders. According to Bunwaree (2010), the symbolism attached to women legislators is very important because it conveys the message that women can contribute towards women's empowerment and agency as well as transform the human condition. Bunwaree went on to say that women are supposed to bring a different perspective and understanding which is informed by the different gender lenses and their gendered understanding of women's realities. In the same vein, it is my view that women's leadership of Nigerian universities would transform the universities and would bring about a reduction in the incidence of crises. This is because women have been known to bring their empathic understanding to bear on their leadership styles. Women are known to have a deeper and better understanding of aggrieved people because of their own experiences as subordinated people in society (Akudo and Okenwa, 2015). This quality suggests that women do possess a veritable tool that would quench the fire of crises in Nigerian universities. However, Morley (2004) does not subscribe to the assertion that women leadership style is different. Bringing women into the leadership of Nigerian universities is likely to usher in a new dawn. As noted by Chamberlain (1977), women tend to have a different point of view and sometimes a more practical point of view than men. It is this different and practical point of view that is missing in the leadership of Nigerian universities. These are qualities that are meant to complement and eliminate the overbearing and autocratic nature of men which could result in the reduction of crises in these universities. As men are doing it alone in Nigerian universities, the gap continues to show and due to the patriarchal nature of Nigerian societies, no one sees this gap as part of the problem.

The presence of women in leadership positions is expected to make citizenship more equal (Bunwaree 2010). Making citizenship more equal in Nigerian universities entails equal participation of men and women including students and other stakeholders. This would mean that the university leadership would no longer be a leadership that imposes its opinion on other stakeholders, that disregard the opinion of staff and students, that bask in corruption and greed, that do not observe the constitution of the university in doing things and that would generally become democratically disposed. When all these are absent in the university, it is most likely that there would be a drastic reduction in crises.

There is a great need to make university leadership more democratic because democracy means that every stakeholder in the university is included in decisions and policies. Can it now be said that Nigerian universities are democratic in the face of a tokenistic presence of women, particularly at the leadership level. Bunwaree (2010) wondered, if modern democracy has come to mean representative democracy, can a system where more than half of the population is severely under-represented said to be representative democracy? The answer to this important question is *no*. This implies that in the first instance, leadership in Nigerian universities is not democratic. This constitutes a big problem because women's needs, experiences and knowledge are different from those of the men. There is no way men can represent women's needs adequately (Bunwaree 2010).

This raises a very important question about the so called democratic orientation of many Nigerian universities. In these universities, the democratic structure that has been put in place is not functioning well. In some cases, the university authorities undermine or subvert the power of the committee and make the system ineffective. Furthermore, even if the committee system is working effectively, it is not clear how they address the issues concerning women. When the needs of some members of the university community are not met, it tends to create crises. All these suggest that having women in leadership positions would make a significant difference. For instance, Valance and Davies (1986) has demonstrated that women's increased representation has made a difference in the European parliament since 1979. Whether this difference can be achieved in Nigerian universities with women in leadership positions in Nigerian university is something that needs exploration. There is a great need for alternative leadership visions and styles which only women in leadership can inject into the university system. Nigeria needs this difference in her universities to reduce the high incidence of crises in these universities.

Also, women's practical orientation, emotional intelligence, empathy, quieter leadership (Etter 2011) and the fact that they are more down to earth and closer to the grassroots/marginalized groups makes them a veritable tool for dousing tension and resolving conflicts in organizations and the general society which is key to reducing crises in these universities. As such, women's leadership in Nigerian universities would bring about a transformation that would make the university system a place for equal participation of all stake holders. According to Etter (2011), women are a very important aspect of diversity and diversity is essential in preventing corruption and cultural reform. This was also the position of Akudo and Okenwa (2015). This makes women very important in university leadership because the major gap/problem in Nigerian universities is gender and cultural constraints experienced by women in these universities.

Women leaders are more concerned with the maintenance of interpersonal relations, task accomplishments and tend to adopt democratic and participatory leadership styles while men tend to adopt autocratic and directive leadership

styles (Moran 1992). It is also believed that there is a recent emphasis on the importance of moving away from hierarchical autocratic leadership to the more democratic and participative leadership styles which are more prevalent among women than men (Moran 1992; Akudo and Okenwa 2015). In the same vein, Grove and Montgomery posited that good school administration is more attuned to feminine than to masculine modes of administration, and that female attributes of nurturing, being sensitive, empathetic, intuitive, caring and accommodative are increasingly associated with effective administration. This is a strong indication that women would indeed make a difference in reducing crises in Nigerian universities. However, this would not occur without a fight. For instance, in Njobvu's (2014) study (the study explored through indepth interviews, how 8 female professors struggled to reach the peak of their careers inspite of the Zambian society's patriarchal tendencies), the successful women had to attain the highest level of education, challenge and change existing gender stereotypes, exploit spaces through resistances, be creative and work hard. I guess that Nigerian women need to do the same things to fill the gender gap in leadership of higher education.

Women Leadership Qualities and Crises in Nigerian Universities

These crises are connected to leadership styles and the patriarchal culture of the university system in Nigeria where only men are found in university top management. Among professors and associate professors, males constituted 94 per cent while females constituted 6 per cent. There were 88.1 per cent males and 11.9 per cent females among senior lecturers and research fellows as at 2001. The gender disparity in employment at OAU (Table 2.2 below) reflects that in other universities in the country. Female academic staff made up only 13.6 per cent of the academic staff in the University (Afonja *et al.* 2002).

Table 2.2: Obafemi Awolowo University Staff Strength 2001/2002 Academic Session.

	Male	%	Female	%	Total
Academic staff	951	86.4	150	13.6	1101
Administrative staff	587	62.3	355	37.7	942
Senior technical staff	425	90.0	47	10.0	472
Junior staff	1812	85.0	320	15.0	2132
Total	3775	81.2	872	18.8	4647

Source: Afonja *et al.* 2002.

The above table portrays female representation in academia. It is important to note that OAU is better than many According to Hunt (2007 quoting Fukuyama, 1998) women in leadership would bring about a more corporative and less conflict-prone world. Also, Wells and Tanner indicated that women's unique ability to work within and between organizations hastens the coming together of diverse interest

groups, which is needed to bring new vigour to university administration. Indeed, Akudo and Okenwa (2015), provided evidence that women leaders are assertive, persuasive, empathic, flexible, and practical and that women combine these qualities to create a leadership profile that is much more conducive to a modern diverse workplace. This finding makes women leadership of universities more necessary than ever before as it represents a new vigour and new approach.

This new vigour is what is needed in Nigerian universities. In corroboration of this, Eagly *et al.* (2012), submitted that women leaders tend to adopt democratic or participatory style and a less autocratic or directive style than did men. In furtherance of this, Alimo-Meltcaffe (1995), also indicated the transformational nature of women leadership and which is what is central to having effective and efficient leadership in Nigerian universities. It is believed that these qualities would enable female leaders to make a difference. From the literature reviewed so far, it is important to note that most of the literature on university crises in Nigeria were mainly on causes of the crises. Not much of the studies was on the gender dimension of the university crises either in terms of women’s involvement or women’s leadership. This study would therefore contribute to knowledge and fill the gap on the roles that female leadership styles and qualities can play in minimizing these crises.

Student Crises and Causes in Nigerian Universities at a Glance.

Table 2.3: Conflict situations involving university students and other groups between 1995 and 2001

Date	Students’ university	Grp to which the conflict is directed	Causes/effects
Dec. 1995	Most Nig. universities	Federal government	Judicial murder of Ken SaroWiwa and 8 others
May 1997	LASU, UNILAG, ABU, OAU, etc.	Federal government	Increase in school fees/ violent demonstration
June 1998	University of Ilorin	University administration	N1000 restitution fee on destroyed university property over power outage/ closure.
June 1999	Unilorin	Federal government	Kudirat Abiola’s rally
July 1999	OAU	Univ. admin.	Cultic activities
Aug 1999	Uni- Ilorin, OAU, UI	Univ. admin.	Increase in school fees

Jan. 2000	UNAD	Police	Accidental killing of part one law student
March 2000	UDU	Federal govt.	Sharia riot leading to closure
April 2000	Unilorin	Kuntu villagers, Ilorin	Shortage of water/ destruction of taxi cabs on campus
April 2000	IMOSU	State government	Govt. interference in student union election

Source: Table 2.3 was adapted from Alabi (2001)

Table 2.4: Conflict situations involving university staff and other groups between 1995 and 2001

Date	Staffs' university	Groups involved	Causes/effects
June 1995	UINLORIN	ASUU V Univ admin	Non-payment of excess workload
Dec. 1995	OAU	ASUU V Univ. admin	Mass failure in pharmacy
April 1996	All universities	ASUU V Fed. Govt.	Stalled negotiation on welfare package/ban of ASUU
August 1999	All universities	ASUU V Fed. Govt	Demand for improved cond of service
March 2000	All universities	NASU V Fed. Govt.	Non-payment of allowances enjoyed by academic staff.
April 2000	Edo state university	ASUU V Edo st. govt.	Demand for increased subvention
April 2000	LASU	ASUU V Lagos st. govt.	Opposition to reappointment of VC/ termination of 22 lecturers
Oct 2000	All universities	NASU V Fed. Govt.	Non-payment of exam admin allowance
Jan 2001	UNILORIN	ASUU V Univ. admin	Demand for reinstatement of retrenched lecturers

Feb. 2001	All universities	ASUU V Fed. Govt.	Need for increased funding of universities
Feb. 2001	All universities	SANU V Fed. Govt.	Non-payment of exam. allowance
March 2001	UNILORIN	ASUU V Univ. admin	Demand for reinstatement of retrenched lecturers
May 2001	UI	Lecturers v ASUU exec.	Non-joining of strike

Source: Table 2.4 was also adapted from Alabi 2001

Table 2.5: Crises in Nigerian universities in more recent times

Date	Staffs'/stud. university	Groups involved	Causes/effects
Oct 2007	OAU	Student V univ. admin	Arrest of 3 student leaders/ ban of stud. Union
May 2008	UI	Student v univ admin	Power outage and dead student unionism
July 2009	OAU	Student V univ. admin	Water shortage and poor student welfare
July 2009	OAU	Staff V Fed govt	Imposition of pro chancellor
Jan 2011	UINJOS	Student V villagers	Attacks on students
Aug 2011	UNICAL	Student V univ. admin	Insecurity and insensitivity on campus
Jan. 2012	All universities	Staff, stu V. Fed. Govt.	Increase in petrol prize
April 2012	UI	Students V Univ. admin	Power outage and water scarcity
April 2012	UNIPORT	Student V Univ. admin	Agitating for termination of HOD of sociology
July 2012	OAU	NASU V Univ. admin	Non-payment of arrears
Aug. 2012	River state Univ. of Technology	ASUU V Fed. Govt.	Imposition of unwanted Vice Chancellor
Aug. 2012	UNILAG	Student V Fed. Govt.	Change of Univ. name to Moshood Abiola

Oct 2012	UNIPORT	Students V villagers	Killing of 4 of their students by villagers
Feb 2013	UNI JOS	Student V villagers	Attacks on students
June 2013	UNIUYO	Students V Univ. admin	High fare of taxes and mgt. insensitivity
June 2013	UNIABUJA	Student V Univ. admin	Non-accreditation of some courses
July 2013	All universities	ASUU V Fed. Govt.	Funding of Univ. & payment of earned allowances

Incidence, Causes and Role of Government in these Crises

Education is widely accepted as a major instrument for promoting socio-economic, political and cultural development in Nigeria. Universities educate future leaders and develop high technical capacities that underpin economic growth and development (Odenkunle 2001). The relevance and purpose of university education in Nigeria, according to Ibukun (1997), is the provision of much needed manpower to accelerate the socio-economic development of the nation. The efforts towards the achievement of this much needed qualified manpower for Nigeria's development is being undermined by the incessant crises in Nigerian universities.

Unrests and demonstrations have become the order of the day in Nigerian universities. If it is not between students and administration, it is between lecturers and university administration or between lecturers and federal government or between lecturers and other non-academic staff of the university. This has made the incidence of crises in Nigerian universities high. This high incidence of crises has been highlighted by Alabi (2001), who stated that although conflict is inevitable in any organization, Nigerian universities have had many conflict situations in the recent past cutting across the major groups within the system and against the governments. In the same vein, Ekundayo and Ajayi (2009), maintained that in spite of the immense benefits of higher education to nation building, the potentials of these universities to fulfil its responsibility is frequently thwarted by long standing problems bedevilling the system.

The crises in Nigerian universities can be described as unprecedented ranging from mild conflicts to full blown violent demonstrations. Alabi (2001) provided an inventory of crises in Nigerian universities from 1995 to 2001. Within this period, there had been violent protests and demonstrations in all the universities in Nigeria. For instance, within this period, OAU had five serious crises (2001). The rate at which Nigerian universities experience crises is alarming and this makes it difficult for the university campuses to engage in sound academic enterprises. Fatile

and Adejuwon (2011) maintained that the incidence and severity of conflicts in the universities has and continues to destroy the basic environmental conditions required to provide a good environment for developing human resources in Nigeria. With this kind of situation, the university would be unable to make much progress towards realizing its set objectives. Apart from this, these crises cost Nigerian governments and people so much in terms of loss of lives and properties.

There are many factors that brought about these crises in Nigerian universities. They include conflict of interest between stake holders in the universities. Alabi (2001) indicated that conflicts were usually between students and university administration and between university administration and staff of many categories. Also, it could be between students and police over the killing of innocent citizens (2001). Furthermore, government intervention and policies perceived by students and staff of universities as bad can also cause crisis. Also, steps perceived by university community as bad governance such as the killing of Ogoni activists (Ken Saro Wiwa and nine others by the then military government) in which all the universities in Nigeria (both staff and students) indulged in very violent demonstration over some weeks are issues that cause crises in Nigerian Universities (Alabi 2001). (Alabi 2001) summed the causes of these crises as welfare services (wages, water, light, increase in school fees), campus and national politics and defence of human rights.

Apart from these, there are other issues that create tension and cause conflicts in Nigerian universities. The activities of state or federal government of Nigeria sometimes generate conflicts in the universities. For instance, in 2003, university students all over Nigeria rioted over the removal of subsidy from petroleum and allied products (Fatile and Adejuwon 2011). As a result, most universities in Nigeria were closed. According to Agbonna, Yusuf and Onifade (2009), there has been unresolved conflict between the federal government and academic staff union of universities which lingers till this day and which is capable of generating crises at any time. For instance, the unsettled industrial agreement between the federal government and the academic staff union of universities which started as a nine-month national strike in April 2001 and later degenerated into a more complex conflict of the 49 fired UniIlorin lecturers (ibid 2009). This issue is a clear sign of high handedness and the university authority taking laws into their own hands.

This issue of high handedness brings out the worst from students and staff of Nigerian universities. Importantly, the universities represent the conscience of the people and are always ready to fight any unjust decisions that impinge on human rights. In corroboration of this, Oloyede (1999), insisted that the most violent conflicts in Nigerian universities have been traced to contested basis of citizenship rights, greed, predatory rule, autocracy and unresolved grievances. It is important to note here that during these crises, the university authorities usually bring in the army and police who end up creating more problems by shooting students and destroying properties. Infact, scholars have attributed the crises in Nigerian universities to many diverse causes.

The crises in Nigerian universities are so pervasive and wide spread that it obviously hinders both educational and national development. Verspoor (1974), submitted that there are doubts to whether Nigerian universities under the present conditions will be able to continue to lay claims on being central to national capacity building, connect with the new international knowledge systems, adopt, adapt and further develop the new technologies needed in the wider society. Following this, Ibukun (1997), observed that university governance today is nothing but crises management. Apart from these, the issue of under-funding of higher education has been a source of crises between the federal government and other stake holders. According to Ajayi and Ekundayo (2006), over the years, Nigerian government has not been meeting the UNESCO recommendation of 26 per cent of the total budget allocation to education sector. This has been corroborated by other scholars (Oyeneye 2006; Ajayi and Ayodele 2002). Also, the report of the world bank (1994) indicated that the equipment for research, teaching and learning were in deplorable conditions. This was corroborated by the National universities commission (2004). These problems create tensions and conflicts. At the time of my research these issues were not seriously being addressed by the federal government and university authorities which made it difficult to predict better conditions in the future.

Importantly, the role of the federal government of Nigeria in creating these crises cannot be over emphasized. The issues of bad governance that bring about untold hardship on students and workers and the high handedness with which the federal government handles issues are all indicated in the crises in Nigerian universities. In April, 2012, the senate of the UI suspended the academic Calendar and closed the University due to student protests. The students were protesting over power outages and lack of water supplies which had made it impossible for them to cook, take their bath and do assignments on campus (Guardian April 29, 2012). One may blame the students but looking at the issues critically is very necessary because these students were always under pressure to perform less than desirable conditions. If the federal government had value for education, providing electricity and other facilities for universities would not constitute a problem. In the same vein, the Non-Academic Staff Union (NASU) of OAU disrupted the activities in the University for more than one week protesting over the non-payment of their arrears by the University management (Guardian, 1st July, 2012). Interestingly, this protest took place during the Harmattan semester examinations, a time when this group of worker are needed most. This brought untold hardship on students and lecturers who had to make do with whatever was available. Some had to trek for long distances before writing their examinations because the NASU members blocked the gates and prevented vehicles from entering or leaving the university. Also, in November 2012, serious water scarcity hit OAU. This was caused by a breakdown in the electrical transformer that pumps water and threw students and staff into panic and hardship (Guardian, November, 25, 2012). These are things that can be easily provided by the federal government but in most cases, they hardly pay attention to these issues which generate many crises in Nigerian universities.

Furthermore, in August 2012, the academic staff and students of River State University, Port Harcourt went on rampage over the imposition of an unwanted Vice Chancellor on their university by the federal government. The federal government did not consult them and ignored their disapproval and went ahead to appoint the vice chancellor. The academic staff swore that they would not accept the new vice chancellor. This generated so much tension in the university and other academic staff throughout the federation threatened to join the strike if the federal government failed to resolve the matter. That same month, the students of the University of Lagos protested vehemently over the changing of the name of their school to Moshood Abiola University, Lagos by the federal government of Nigeria. The students alleged that they were not consulted and did not want to bear the new name imposed on them. This generated a prolonged demonstration causing destruction of properties and hardship for students, staff and the entire residents of Lagos.

Indeed, the federal government of Nigeria has played significant roles in generating crises in Nigerian universities. According to Onyenoru (2006), the crises in Nigerian universities is historical and constitutes parts of a wider governance crises in Nigeria- mismanagement of public utilities and funds, poor policy execution, authoritarian rule and underfunding of social services. Even in so-called democratic regimes in Nigeria, infringement on peoples' fundamental human rights; the killing, maiming, kidnapping of oppositions creates crises and uneasiness among the polity. This crisis in the wider society has affected the universities in inadequate university funding, lack of respect for university autonomy and poor conditions of service (2006). These have generated a series of strikes and demonstrations in Nigerian universities. This implies that the university is not insulated from what happens in the wider Nigerian society where high handedness is the order of the day and which has impacted on the universities in such a way that they are no longer able to achieve their original objectives. In fact, Onyenoru (2006), maintained that these crises have tended to jeopardize the basic objectives of excellence in teaching, research and community development.

Academic Staff Union of Nigerian Universities and the Government of Nigeria

In the light of the above scenario, some interest groups and trade unions have emerged to fight, protect, and proffer solutions to the crisis in Nigerian university system and as such, the future of Nigerian youth, which is being jeopardized. Among these groups is the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) and National Association Of Nigeria Student (NANS). The ASUU grew out of the Nigeria Association of University Teacher (NAUT). NAUT was formed in 1965, covering academic staff in UI, University of Nigeria Nsukka, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, University of Ife, Ile-Ife and University of Lagos, Lagos. The

NAUT's orientation, according to Fasina (2010), was mainly for improvement in the conditions of service of its members, and for the socio-economic and political wellbeing of the country.

The ASUU was formed in 1978, at the period of the beginning of the decline in the oil boom when it was evident that Nigerian leaders had failed to use the oil wealth to generate production and a social welfare system. Nigeria, as a country, was in the grip of military dictators. Academic freedom and university autonomy became casualties of the military dictatorship. The funding of education, especially at the university level, became much poorer. This, situation led to a changed orientation of the union of academics from 1980.

Fasina (2010) traced the history of ASUU struggle in Nigeria. He noted that assault on academic freedom was the subject of resistance by the group throughout the 1980s. In 1980, ShehuShagary, the then president of Nigeria directed the council of the university of Lagos (UNILAG) to remove six senior members of the academic staff from their jobs following Justice Balonwu's visitation report. The ASUU protested this action and pressed for their reinstatement until in 1976 the Supreme Court gave judgment in favour of the UNILAG academics. In 1980-1981, the ASUU had a dispute with the Shagari Government. Its concerns were funding, salaries, autonomy and academic freedom, the brain drain and the survival of the university system. The ASUU also worked with separate industrial unions and Nigerian Labour Congress state chapters. It took on debates on the direction and content of national economic, educational and other policies.

Throughout the military period, ASUU waged its struggle for the survival of the university system with three components as the conditions of services. These include funding (salary and non-salary), university autonomy/academic freedom and the defence of the right to education. Their struggle also extended to broad national issues such as the struggle against military rule, privatization, Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), and the World Bank's attempt to take over the universities and the struggle against the re-colonization of Nigeria and debt peonage.

Academic Staff Union Universities organized the state of the Nation conference in 1984 and 2002. Their struggle during the Buhari-Idiagbon regime was based on the union's principled opposition to military dictatorship and ASUU's position on the nation's path of development. ASUU diagnosed the ills of the Nigerian economy and proffered solutions to them. They saw then that a process had begun in 1984, the process of disengagement of government from the economy, and predicted that this would generated crises in all sectors of national life.

Academic Staff Union of Universities was central to the resistance to Buhari-Idiagbon regime's termination of the cafeteria system and the withdrawal of subsidies on accommodation in the universities (Aluede, Jimoh, Agwinede and Omoregie 2005). It also struggled against the regime's authoritarian Decree 16 of

1985, which transferred the power of senate to determine, regulate and monitor academic programmes to the National Universities Commission (NUC). The Decree took the accreditation of academic programme from professionals and transferred it to the NUC. Babangida's regime imposed on Nigerians the SAP and the harsh conditional of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan. The result was an introduction of measure which caused crisis in the economy, education, health and all aspects of life. ASUU's opposition to SAP made it a target of destruction by the Babangida regime. The union took a principled position against the regime's economic and socio-political policies. In 1986, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria ABU students were murdered by the mobile police. Academic Staff Union of Universities joined the NLC and NANS in protest. Babangida's regime accused the NLC, NANS and ASUU of attempting to topple it. The effects of SAP conditioned the struggle of ASUU. The academic staff became impoverished. The Elongated University Salary Scale (EUSS) was not implemented. But even if it were, it would not have addressed the problem of brain drain. In 1988, ASUU went on strike on the following set of demands:

- i) Implementation of the EUSS;
- ii) Setting up of a joint negotiation committee between the federal government and the university staff union and;
- ii) University Autonomy.

The strike led to the proscription of ASUU on August 7, 1988 with Professor Jibril Aminu as minister of education. The federal government banned ASUU, seized all its property, and made announcements directing all universities to immediately pay the EUSS backdated to January, 1988. Academic Staff Union of Universities responded by forming a new body, the University Lecturers' Association (ULA). The proscription broke the back of the strike members who returned to work. The president, Dr. Attahiru Jega, and the immediate past President, Dr. Festus Iyayi, were detained and tortured. The passports of these officials were seized. The period following the 1988 proscription was one of deep demoralization among academic staff; yet, the leadership continued to organize the ULA on campuses. In 1990, the ULA organized an anti-world Bank conference as part of the resistance to Babangida regime's plan to take a 120million dollar loan from the World Bank. The conference took place at OAU with the participation of civil liberties organization such as the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights (CDHR), Civil Liberties Organization (CLO) and the NLC. In 1990, ASUU was de-proscribed. In 1991, following the delegates' conference in Badagry ASUU asked the Babangida regime for negotiation. There were two rounds of negotiations. The first under the chairmanship Mr. Senas Ukpama, broke down when, following a disagreement on government offer on salary, the chairman suspended negotiation (May 30, 1991).

The failure by the federal government to effectively negotiate the conditions in the universities led to the 1992 strike declared by NEC on May 14, 1992. It

was suspended after one week because of IAP's (Industrial Abiteration panel) order for immediate suspension of the strike. Although the IAP ordered both sides to the negotiating table, government did not resume negotiation. ASUU resumed its strike on July 20, 1992. It was banned for a second time on August 23, 1992. ASUU had the support of the public, the professional organization and NANS. When the tactics to end the strike failed, the government had to devise a way of negotiating with a banned union. This took place between the federal government's team led by Owelle Chikelu, the minister of establishment and management service and representatives of ASUU. The September 3, 1992 agreement was a product of this negotiation. This agreement was significant for the following reasons:

- a) The agreement showed that a determined, principled and organized citizenry can defeat a military dictatorship. ASUU's success also showed that a civilian resistance organization could defeat the military.
- b) It showed that there could be a rational approach to the development of universities. By providing a periodic review of the funding needs of the universities, the agreement allowed universities to plan based on expected funds.
- c) It re-affirmed the right of workers to collective bargaining.
- d) It enabled a more scientific approach to funding.
- e) It kept the aspiration of the people for democratic rights alive.
- f) It formed the basis for further struggle by the union for the defence of the university system and for education.

However, the 1992 agreement also led to some future problems. Firstly, the agreement led to what came to be known as the problem of party. ASUU had argued for and convinced the government negotiation team that creating a special scale for academic purposes would be necessary for resolving the brain drain problem. After the 1992 agreement, the government encouraged other unions to demand a return to a single salary structure for the university system. ASUU's position then was that each union should be able to articulate and defend its demands, while co-operating as and when necessary. Secondly, the party problem drove a wedge between ASUU and other unions in the university, carrying with it a cost in solidarity among union and workers.

The period of Abacha dictatorship presented a great challenge to ASUU. ASUU and the National Executive Council decided to join the democratic anti-military movement to end military rule/At that time, they set their struggle for the university system through the defence of industrial democracy, the right of education and for national development. ASUU knew that if it compromised on its anti-military position the Abacha's regime would grant the union considerable concessions. However, ASUU demonstrated its unwillingness to trade principles for concessions when it took an open, very strong and unambiguous condemnation of the murder of Ken Saro-Wiwa. A letter was sent from the minister of education,

Dr. M.T. Liman, to Dr. H.A. Asobie, the then president of the ASUU, saying that “ASUU was jeopardizing its relationship with the government”. ASUU did not change its position. Instead it began to strengthen its relationship with civil society organizations.

1994, ASUU went on strike demanding for Abacha’s government

- 1) Re-negotiation of the agreement
- 2) The re-instatement of over eighty lecturers whose appointments were terminated at the university of Abuja (UNIABUJA) by professor Isa Mohammed and
- 3) The de-annulment of the June 12, 1993 elections.

The strike was unsuccessful for Three reasons. Firstly, the political demand caused a disagreement within ASUU. While some saw the incident on June 12th as a broad democratic issue, some saw it as a broad democratic issue hijacked by ethnic interests. Given these readings, ASUU had to drop the political demand to pressure its unity. The struggle for the reinstatement of the UNIABUJA colleagues and the renegotiation of the agreement continued throughout Abacha’s regime. In 1996, ASUU declared another strike to press its demand for the renegotiation of the agreement and the re-instatement of the UNIABUJA colleagues. The struggle, a protracted one that lasted for six months, saw the unleashing by the government of various tactics, including tactics aimed at dividing ASUU on ethno-regional lines to end the strike. Salaries were stopped. ASUU had to suspend the strike in response to wide appeals from the public and students. The Abacha government had, of course, begun a negotiation. It set up a negotiation team with first time chairman Professor Umaru Shehu. The government negotiating team was constituted in accordance with the Cookey Commission recommendations.

The federal ministry of education unilaterally terminated negotiation a day after ASUU refused to accept the introduction of fees in the universities and to call off the strike. The government announced the dissolution of ASUU’s national executive committee and left the branch union to operate. ASUU did not accept this just as it did not accept Babangida government’s ban.

Government made another manoeuvre, the governing council invited ASUU branch executive to negotiate for their branch members. ASUU decided to deal with the problem in the following ways: No branch should negotiate separately from its governing councils. If any branch met with its governing council, it should present the same negotiating document that had been adopted by ASUU national and presented to government. Government’s effort to decentralize negotiation collapsed. In response to ASUU challenges, the Abacha government through the NUC secretary, Dr. MunzaliJibril, wrote vice chancellors to remove ASUU leaders from their jobs. At the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Dr. Assisi Asobie was fired. All members of the Dr George Amadi led branch were fired. At other campuses, ASUU officials were removed from their jobs without trial.

This was the position until General Abdulsalami Abubakar took over in 1998. The minister of education, Chief Olaiya Oni, made overtures to ASUU, as part of the efforts to win legitimacy for the new military government. He facilitated the re-instatement of the members of the union who were fired by Abacha regime for their role in ASUU 1996 strike and those who were dismissed by Decree 17 of 1984. A legal victory (in 1998) for ASUU was the judgment of an Enugu High Court that ASUU was not banned by the 1996 Decree. Abdulsalami's regime on May 25, 1999 signed an agreement with ASUU that was intended to be an interim palliative measure to enhance the income of academics, without prejudice to a comprehensive negotiation at a future date. The agreement did not cover basic salaries, funding and autonomy, it only adjusted allowances that existed.

When Obasanjo's civilian government took over in 1999, its response to the issue of the agreement was a committee led by Chief P.C. Asiodu. An agreement was signed between ASUU, represented by Dr. Assisi Asobie, President of the ASUU, and the federal government, represented by Chief P.C Asiodu on October 26, 1999. The agreement covered academic allowances, car refurbishment, housing loans and rent subsidy. It was agreed that negotiation on basic salaries, university funding and autonomy shall begin "within four weeks". It was not until July 31, 2000 that the federal government agreed to setup its negotiations which began on August 28, 2000.

The agreement reached on funding, basic salary, university autonomy and academic freedom was comprehensive. If implemented, it was capable of significantly addressing the brain drain. It also included a clause providing for the subvention of state universities by the federal government. It included federal assistance to the state to help establish universities. It provided for the restructuring of the Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB) and additional requirements were to be stipulated by the senate of each university for undergraduate admission. It also included an agreement on the restructuring of NUC. It was to be signed in December 2001 but the federal government did not sign the agreement. Dr. Babalola Borishade, then minister of education, disallowed the federal government team from signing the agreement and proceeded with propaganda to destroy it. He setup a committee on university autonomy and asked ASUU to discuss the implementation of an unsigned agreement. ASUU refused and in 2001 resumed its suspended strike. This led to the resumption of negotiation and the signing of the June 30, 2001 agreement. The 2001 agreement was also weaker in respect of salaried conditions of service. It offered a 22 per cent increase in basic salary. The provision on funding and university autonomy remained as it was in the first negotiated document.

The federal government, however, did not implement the agreement as required. It breached the provisions on salaries, funding and autonomy and the non-victimization clause of the agreement. This resulted in another strike in 2003.

Obasanjo's government had a different plan. It had a plan with the World Bank to cancel central bargaining in the universities. The goal was the repudiation of the June 30, 2001 agreement; the cancellation of collective bargaining, the introduction of fees, the 68 million dollars' loan, retrenchment, etc. were aimed at by the Nigeria University System Innovation Project (NUSIP)

Babangida's government had waged its war against ASUU by terminating the appointment of the president of ASUU, Dr. Festus Iyayi, illegally. Abacha's government had fired Dr. Assisi Asobie, also former president of ASUU and many branch officials (especially at University of Nigeria, Nsukka UNN). Among many unresolved conflicts in Nigerian higher education is the crisis of unsettled industrial agreement between the Federal Government and the ASUU. The prolonged nine-month national strike in 2001 was a typical example. The strike degenerated to a complexity conflicts that led to the termination of 49 Unilorin lecturers. All 49 lecturers refused to break ASUU's strike and return to work

The FG-ASUU agreement implementation committee (September 6, 2001), a reconciliation committee (December 2001), the international labour organization freedom of Association Committee and the Federal government committee on politically-motivated rustication in the tertiary institutions all found that the 49 were victimized and recommended their reinstatement. But the president had, at the Unilorin convocation, pronounced that the sacked UNILORIN ASUU members would never be reinstated.

On 29 December 2002, NEC declared the resumption of the strike. The issues were: the chronic under-funding of universities, the need to reinstate the unjustly fired 49 lecturers at University of Ilorin and the federal assistance to state universities in June 2003 on the order of IAP. All the issues are still alive. The federal government did not invite ASUU for renegotiation. In August 2005, the Ilorin High Court ruled in favour of the 49 lecturers and ordered their reinstatement. The injustice at University of Ilorin persisted despite the court's judgment reinstating the 49 victims. Universities are still grossly under-funded.

ASUU struggles have lived up to the union constitutional requirement that the union should defend the interest of its members, establish and maintain just and proper conditions of service for its members and protect and advance the socio-economic interests of the nation.

Overall, ASUU's only duties are to its members and of Nigerians. It can never be the goal of ASUU to please any government in power. The obligations are important for meeting the challenges of the twenty first century. The mission is to play the role of creating new values, producing knowledge for freeing our people from the systematic domination to which they have been subjected since through colonization to the present.

To enhance ASUU's struggle, the union needed to overcome several obstacles within, namely:

- i) The growing “economism” in the wrong appreciation of the goals of ASUU’s struggle
- ii) The problems of leadership include “tribalism” and opportunism.
- iii) The decline of discipline is important for understanding a possible degree of deterioration in the overall level of intensity of determination and credibility of union struggle.
- iv) Lack of education, trade union and political. Most of the members lack the historical knowledge required.
- v) ASUU’s link with the civil society organization are still not strong enough. This accounts for why in times of their struggles for the university system, they have sometimes been isolated.
- vi) ASUU’s link with student organizations have weakened and NANS is now run from the presidency.

ASUU’s struggles arose out of the necessity to build a country in which every citizen should be free, educated, well fed, and healthy.

Furthermore, the federal government sometimes does things in the university that are contrary to the statutes of the university. According to Awopetu (1998) and Asobie (1996), the arbitrary interference in university governance by military government and their authoritarian handling of university matters – often without regards to constituted statutory structures of the system creates crises in the universities. The issue here is that the civilian/democratic governments in Nigeria are not any different from the military regimes making one wonder what went wrong with the Nigerian democracy. This high handedness caused the ASUU to go on strike in 1973, 1988, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2003 and several times after (Onyenoru and Adeyinka, 2001). It is important to note that some of these strikes lasted approximately seven months. This gives a picture of the situation in Nigerian universities. These strikes and crises listed above were just ASUU strikes. By the time one takes account of the demonstrations and protests held by students, non-academic staff and senior staff associations of Nigerian universities, a full picture of crises in Nigerian universities can emerge. This means that these incessant crises debar universities from attaining the excellence for which they were established for. Interestingly, the same federal government is bemoaning the decline of standard of education in the country.

The impunity with which the federal government ignored the agreement it had with the ASUU, in addition to their threats and high handedness is noteworthy. For instance, the ASUU/Federal government agreement of 1992 brought much relief and stalled the brain drain ravaging Nigerian universities. According to ASUU (1996):

The agreement halted brain drain from the universities, at least temporarily. It raised the quality of teaching and research in the universities, at least for a

while. It kept the mobile police and soldiers out of campuses because student demonstrations and protests against poor conditions of hostels reduced drastically in number and frequency between 1992 and 1995 (1996).

However, this agreement was violated by the federal government. According to ASUU (1996), the federal government launched attacks on the academic staffs' salaries and merged them with the elongated university salary scale. The federal government also reneged on their agreement to fund universities adequately. Furthermore, they attacked university autonomy and academic freedom. This caused a series of protests and university closures. The federal government reacted to these by declaring that the agreement was a mere gentleman's agreement- a contract of imperfect obligations which would be implemented only so long as overriding public interest or other compelling circumstances did not make it impracticable or inexpedient to do so. The federal government previously agreed with ASUU but the agreement, resulting in a series of university crises. This reality was hard to comprehend. It has also created mistrust between federal government and ASUU and other university unions. As such, no union takes the federal government seriously and this can affect the achievements of universities. Onyenoru (2006) captured this and argued that the deep-seated problem that underlies ASUU/Government conflicts have remained fundamentally unresolved irrespective of approximately three decades of struggles by ASUU while the government has preferred cosmetic solutions and authoritarian approaches in dealing with the problem.

The funding of universities is particularly important due to its centrality in the universities' ability to carry out their activities. According to a two-time former Vice chancellor (University of Ilorin and Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria) Professor Akinkughe (2001), central to decay and desecration is funding and it does not need a gift of prophetic wisdom to surmise that unless this is addressed positively and aggressively, there can be no turnaround in the status of Nigerian universities. Interestingly, in the beginning, the universities were adequately funded (Ukeje 2002). Infact, in the case of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Ukeje (2002) observed that:

From the beginning in 1962 to 1975, there was no substantive difference between the amount requested by the University and the amount received from the regional government. It was even reported that there were years in which the amount received was slightly more than the amount requested (Ukeje 2002).

At this period the universities were functioning normally and there were no strikes and demonstrations the way we know them then, at the time of my research. After this period, the federal government established more universities and, with the addition of private universities, there are one hundred and thirty universities in Nigeria. These universities were established without giving serious thought to the funding and sustenance of these universities (Oyenoru 2006). Rather, there was a decline in the funding of the universities (Ukeje 2002). According to ASUU (1987),

by 1986, the funding of Nigerian universities had declined by between 30 and 35 per cent at a time when inflation had risen between 400 – 500 per cent. University funding dropped from 416 million in 1985/86 to 316 million in 1986/87. This caused arrears of salary payments. In a comparative analysis of funding of education (as a percentage of Gross National Product) in Nigeria and some African countries, Onyenoru (2006) stated that educational spending in Botswana rose from 6.0 per cent in 1980 to 10.4 per cent in 1996, Ivory Coast from 7.2 per cent in 1980 to 7.7 per cent in 1990, Ghana from 3.1 per cent in 1980 to 3.3 per cent in 1995, Kenya from 6.0 per cent in 1980 to 7.1 per cent in 1995, South Africa 6.0 per cent to 7.9 per cent in 1995 and Nigeria from 6.0 per cent in 1980 to 1.2 per cent in 1985 to 0.9 per cent in 1995.

This gives a full picture of funding of educational system in Nigeria by the federal government. Given these data, one would be inclined to agree with Akinkugbe (2001), who stated that the major problem with Nigerian universities is funding. This picture also gives a clear view of how the federal government regards education and how they aspire to attain sustainable development. Importantly, this decline in funding is accompanied by huge increments in student populations throughout Nigeria. Subsequently, facilities originally meant for few students are being used by many students. For instance, in many of these universities, a room which was generally occupied by two students is now being occupied by sixteen to twenty students. The same thing applies to bathrooms, laboratories, classrooms and other facilities.

The implication of this is that the universities' staff and students are affected negatively. A teacher that earns his salary in arrears may not give his students his best efforts. He is likely to be distracted while teaching his students, wondering how he can pay his children's school fees, how to feed his family, buy petrol for his car and for his generating set because every lecturer needs a power generating set in order to function through incessant power outages. According to Adegboyega (1996), these and other problems such as mismanagement of funds, corruption and wasteful spending by university authorities, destroy the Nigerian university system.

The role of external forces in all these cannot be over emphasized. In a bid to satisfy the conditions given by the international funding agencies to attract assistance, the federal government sometimes heeds to the advice of these agencies to the detriment of Nigerians. For instance, the World Bank and the IMF submitted that public sector in Nigeria was over bloated and they insisted on gross reductions in federal government expenditures as part of the requirements for financial assistance. They also asserted that African countries did not need universities since their brilliant students could always embark on their university training abroad, in Europe and America (Awopetu 1998). Indeed, the structural adjustment programmes brought so much hardship on Nigerians and the universities were not spared. There were protests by students, staff of universities and civil society against these stringent conditions.

Students' Unrest

At the time of my research, students' militancy in Nigerian universities had been recognized as one of the most visible perennial problems of significance. Ahmed *et al* (2005) noted that in the history of Nigeria, no group has established itself more in terms of frequency and intensity of such violent incidents as the student population. In Nigeria, as noted by Onwuejeogwu (1991), from the inception NUNS embarked upon deliberate campaigns of fostering national consciousness and inspiring a strong sense of militancy in the Nigerian peoples' liberation struggle. As such the students' union was emanated more because of colonial protest.

Hence student unionism was more of protest union rather than student union and was aimed at evoking changes in the society (Babatope 1974; Onwuejeogwu 1991). One of the students' unrest in 1960 was essentially due to students' dissatisfaction with governments insensitivity to national issues and its inability to address these issues appropriately. Being aware of the British government's intention to perpetuate a neo-colonial state by establishing a military base in Nigeria, Nigerian students protested the proposed Anglo-Nigerian Defense Pact in Lagos on November 14, 1960.

This was followed by another protest against the introduction of new policies in the Nigerian educational system in the 70s. Ehiamezor (1979) stated that withdrawal of certain services like laundry offered to students and the introduction of other fees in the universities which hitherto were not there triggered the 1978 students' protest tagged "Ali Must Go". Subsequently, students have used several opportunities to express their grievances both at individual university level and at national level.

Since the 80s, revolts, protests, unrests and violence as well as incessant closure of schools for months in the wake of unrest or protests became a regular feature of Nigerian universities (Aluede *et al.* 2005). The authors reported many incidents of students' unrest in Nigeria. In 1981 there was student unrest in Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria caused by religion and against the vice-chancellor over an alleged rice deal. It resulted in the death of many students and the removal of the vice-chancellor. In 1984 government proposed the introduction of school tuition fees and the scrapping of catering services. Many tertiary institutions in Nigeria protested violently and many universities were closed for months. In 1986 many university students protested the high handedness of the vice-chancellor of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. The government reacted by closing some of the universities and expelling some of the students. Additionally, some students of the institution were murdered by policemen (Fasina 2010).

Removal of subsidy from petroleum and allied products was another bone of contention between the federal government and the Nigerian people, particularly the student body. As expected students reacted by massive demonstration against

the government. There was wanton destruction of government properties. The government closed several universities for a period of six months when the Babangida Military Administration introduced SAP in 1989. Nigerian students in many parts of Nigeria protested. Many students lost their lives during the protest as open shots were taken by the military. The protest did, however, result in improved service conditions for Nigerian workers.

In 1992, there was another student protest against the deregulation of Nigerian currency and increasing hardship for the people of Nigeria. Several students died in the crisis, schools were closed for months. However, it also resulted in the improvement of workers condition of service.. Also, the annulment of the June, 12, 1993 presidential elections in Nigeria elicited, at various times, violent demonstration from students in several tertiary institutions and even gained support from other tertiary institutions around the world (Ojo 1995). In 1998 there was student unrests in Ambrose Ali University, Ekpoma, Nigeria, which was caused by cult activities. There was violence leading to the death of many students. The school was also closed for some time.

The increase in the prices of petroleum products led to more student unrests in many universities in Nigeria in 2003. There was peaceful demonstration in some campuses while in others the demonstration was violent. 2007 witnessed another ASUU strike for three months. There was follow up twice in May, 2008. In 2009, there was another strike for three months. In January, 2012, the removal of oil subsidy by the civilian government of Goodluck Jonathan was the source of another crisis in Nigeria. The Nigerian people, including the students, protested by staging a no work and sit out demonstration in every part of the country for approximately two weeks. Nwakunor (2013) reported that currently the ASUU was on strike again over certain conditions in the educational sectors that were gradually killing it. The author stated that since 1992, Nigerians have gotten used to ASUU strikes and the ominous ways that the hopes and fates of young ones are spun in the roulette wheel.

Aluede (2001) and Ojo (1995) opined that a cursory look at Nigerian universities revealed that several issues precipitated students' unrest in those times. These issues included students' non-participation in decision-making processes in the universities. Accordingly, they noted that the degree of students' involvement in decision-making processes has been recognized to be inversely related to the frequency of students' unrest. Aluede (2001) and Ojo (1995) concluded that granted involvement of students in decision-making processes will most likely reduce the frequency of university unrests as students are not likely to be seen working against policies that they participated in formulating.

Prevalence and Causes of Crises in the Universities and the Role of Government in these Crises

This chapter presents an analysis and interpretation of the data collected from students and staff of the university of Ibadan and Obafemi Awolowo University. In this section, a descriptive and inferential analysis of data from staff and student of both institutions are presented. The data analysis indicated four key themes based on the objectives of the study. Under each theme, the students and staff data are presented simultaneously and a critical analysis and interpretation of the data were included. In this chapter, the prevalence, causes and the roles of government in causing crises in the universities are presented and interpreted.

The analysis/presentation starts with exploring the socio-demographic characteristics of the study participants as presented in Tables 3.1 and 3.2 below.

Socio-economic and Demographic Characteristics of the Staff and Student Respondents

Table 3.1 below presents the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the students of both institutions.

Table 3.1: Socio-Economic and Demographic Characteristics of the Student Respondents

Variable	Frequency	Percentage	Mean
University			
Ife	567	59.6	
Ibadan	385	40.4	
Total	952	100.0	

Age			23
16- 20	252	26.5	
21 -25	437	45.9	
26- 30	112	11.8	
31 and above	40	4.1	
No response	111	11.7	
Total	952	100	
Sex			
Male	507	53.2	
Female	430	45.2	
No response	15	1.6	
Total	952	100.0	
Marital status			
Married	299	31.4	
Single	648	68.0	
Divorced	3	0.3	
Separated	2	0.2	
Total	952	100.0	
Religion			
Christianity	796	83.6	
Islam	110	11.6	
Traditional African	2	0.2	
Others	44	4.6	
Total	952	100	
Highest educ. status			
Tertiary	952	100.0	
Total	952	100.0	
Level in university			
Part 1	35	3.3	
Part 2	170	17.8	
Part 3	272	28.6	
Part 4	328	34.5	
Part 5 & 6	87	9.1	
Postgraduate	64	6.7	
Total	952	100.0	

Source: Field survey, 2013

According to Table 3.1, students of Ife constituted 59.6 percent of the entire student sample while students of Ibadan represented 40.4 percent of the sample. The table also indicates that the mean age of the student respondents was 23 years. Also, 6.7 percent were postgraduate students indicating that every group of students were captured in the study. The data indicated that most of the respondents were within the age of 25 years indicating that they are young and can be vulnerable.

Table 3.2: Socio-Economic and Demographic Characteristics of the Staff of Both Institutions

Variable	Frequency	Percentage	Mean
University			
Ife	461	57.5	
Ibadan	341	42.5	
Total	802	100.0	
Age			31
20- 29 years	386	48.1	
30 -39 years	248	30.9	
40- 49 years	142	17.7	
50 years and above	26	3.3	
Total	802	100	
Sex			
Male	325	40.5	
Female	475	59.2	
No response	2	0.2	
Total	802	100.0	
Marital status			
Married	260	32.4	
Single	462	57.6	
Divorced	64	8.0	
Separated	16	2.0	
Total	802	100.0	
Religion			
Christianity	585	73.0	
Islam	201	25.1	
Traditional African	10	1.2	
Others	6	0.7	
Total	802	100	

Highest educ. level			
Secondary	95	11.8	
Tertiary	707	88.2	
Total	802	100.0	
Occupation in the university			
Academic	172	21.5	
SANU	77	9.6	
Technical	127	15.8	
NASU	80	10.0	
No response	346	43.1	
Total	802	100.0	
Level of income			
10,000 – 50, 000	155	19.3	
51, 000 – 100, 000	275	34.3	
101, 000 – 150, 000	318	39.7	
151, 000 and above	54	6.7	
Total	802	100.0	

According to Table 3.2 above, 57.5 percent of the staff (respondents) were from OAU, while 42.5 percent of them were from UI. The table showed that 88 percent of the respondents attained tertiary level of education which is a push factor in generating crises as this group of people can easily carry out an uprising if their rights are trampled on. Importantly, this high level of education may not transform their having liberal views on women's leadership of higher education. In spite of this high educational attainment, there is still low representation of women in leadership positions in the Universities. Also, only 6.7 percent of them earn 151,000 naira (375 US Dollars) and above monthly which explains the constant agitation for salary increase, one of the major reasons for tensions in Nigerian universities. Moreover, women are usually at the bottom of the university echelon and as such, they receive less income than men. As a result, many women may not think of leadership positions because they may not have any money for printing pamphlets for campaigns and may also not have the network and clout that would support them. For instance, some Vice Chancellor aspirants are supported by state governors or other political leaders and women do not have the same privileges.

Table 3.3: Prevalence and Causes of Crises in Nigerian Universities (Students)

Particulars	Frequency	Percentage
No. of times university had crises in last 3 years (2010-2013)		
Once	134	14.1
Twice	274	28.8
Thrice	215	22.6
Four times	92	9.7
Five times & above	237	24.8
Total	952	100.0
How serious were the crises		
Mild	239	25.1
Serious	568	59.7
Very serious	145	15.2
Total	952	100.0
Causes of crises		
University management's highhandedness	73	8.9
Non-payment of staff salaries and arrears	163	20.0
Mgt. inability to carry student along in decisions	249	30.5
Increase in school fees	97	11.9
Govt. unpopular policies	234	28.7
Total	952	100.0
Students' opinion on Govt. contribution to crises		
By making bad policies	222	28.1
Non-funding of universities	151	19.1
Imposition of unwanted leaders	56	7.1
Increase in school fees	223	28.3
Increase in petrol price	135	17.4
Total	952	100.0

Source: Field survey, 2013

Table 3.3 above examined the prevalence and causes of crises in Nigerian universities. According to the table, 22.6 percent indicated that their universities have had crises four times in the last three years while 24.8 percent indicated that their university has had a crisis five times and above in the last three years and 15.2 mentioned that the crises were very serious. Also, the causes of crises as indicated by respondents were university management's high handedness, non-payment of staff salaries and arrears, university management's inability to carry students along, (to consult students and allow them to participate in decisions on matters concerning them),

government unpopular policies and an increase in school fees and petroleum by government or university authorities. High handedness and an inability to carry students along contributes to these crises and these are men's traits. In a situation where a university experiences four or more crises in three years, it is difficult for the university to achieve the goals of the organization. This makes it imperative to bring women into university leadership to minimize these crises.

Table 3.4: Prevalence and Causes of Crises on Nigerian Universities (Staff)

Particulars	Frequency	Percentage
No of times university had crises in last 3 years		
Twice	93	11.6
Thrice	147	18.3
Five times & above	562	70.1
Total	802	100.0
How serious were the crises		
Mild	205	25.6
Serious	508	63.3
Very serious	89	11.1
Total	802	100.0
Causes of crises		
University management's highhandedness	39	4.9
Non-payment of staff salaries and arrears	291	36.3
Mgt. inability to carry staff & students along in decisions	56	7.0
Increase in school fees	99	12.3
Govt. unpopular policies	82	10.2
Others	235	29.3
Total	802	100.0
Staff' opinion on Govt. contribution to crises		
By making bad policies	226	28.2
Non-funding of universities	90	11.2
Imposition of unwanted leaders	142	17.7
Increase in petrol price	344	42.9
Total	802	100.0

Source: Field work, 2013

In table 3.4 above, 70.1 percent of the respondents indicated that their university had a crisis five times and above in the last three years and 11.1 said that the crises were very serious. Highhandedness of university authority and government unpopular policies drove these crises in the universities.

The responses of the staff are not different from those of the students which is an indication that there is a kind of agreement among stakeholders about the causes of crises in the universities which makes it easy to address, that is if the university authorities will listen. My view about this is that if women become university leaders, their empathic and sensitive quality will mitigate some of the issues that cause tension, thereby reducing the high incidence of crises in these universities.

Furthermore, results of the interviews conducted among student leaders on the incidence and extent of crises indicated that there have been frequent crises in the university and that some of these crises were serious resulting in destruction of properties and lives. The incidence of crises in some universities can be so high that the number of months that the university is closed is more than when it is in session. A 23 year-old male student leader had this to said:

Crises has become the order of the day in this university and this breeds confusion and lack of continuity because by the time we come back from strike, it takes time to readjust to school life and this affects our academic performance (Cite your respondent).

In support of this, a 62 years old Dean of a Faculty said:

Crises is very rampant these days in the university. Sometimes, we record up to five or six different crises from different groups in the university- Academic staff, non-academic staff and, students with different grievances, sometimes at the same time (Cite).

This was exactly what a male professor said about crises in the university.

Sometimes even, there may be different forms of crises in a university at the same time such as between academic staff and university management, between university management and students. For instance, in Obafemi Awolowo University here, there was a time that academic staff, non-academic staff and technical staff were all on strike doing rallies together and fighting the university management and which resulted in the closure of the university for quite some time.

When a university is bugged by so many crises, it begins to affect the performance of the students as noted by the student leader above. The issue of performance also includes the performance of lecturers/quality of teaching. This is part of a major problem – the issue of a fallen standard of education. Lecturers have always been blamed for falling standards in education because when students return from a long university closure, the university management is usually interested in maintaining the university calendar and will give lecturers a few months to complete a semester (a normal semester of five months is sometimes reduced to three months). Lecturers try to cope by summarizing their lectures and management does not even think about these things.

On the causes of these crises, the student leaders generally agree that the main factors were negligence of students' welfare, lack of water, electricity and insensitivity on the part of university management. Infact a 24 year old female student leader (vice president of student union) said it this way:

Crises in this university in particular are caused by negligence on the part of university management towards students' welfare, slow response to students demands and lack of dialogue between students and university management.

In the same way, the staff pointed out that crises in the university were caused by government insensitivity to their needs. The respondents identified the government as not honouring agreements entered by it with university workers as a source of crises. Also, government's undue interference in university affairs causes crises in the universities.

Table 3.5: Activities of Government that Cause Crises in Nigerian Universities

Govt. activities	Frequency	Percentage
Change in institution's name	79	8.2
Petrol price increase	194	20.3
Govt. unpopular policies	142	14.5
Increase in school fees	98	10.2
Underfunding of universities	103	10.8
No response	336	40.0
Total	952	100.0

Source: Field survey, 2013

Table 3.5 above presents activities of government that cause crises in Nigerian universities which includes change in institution's name, petrol price increase, unpopular government policies, increase in school fees and the under-funding of universities. This result indicated that the federal government of Nigeria contributes to crises in universities through unpopular decisions and policies. Again, the same problem of highhandedness which men's leaderships are known for was found to be government style of leadership. This signals the importance of women in leadership positions to neutralize these tendencies.

Test of Hypotheses

Table 3.6: Cross Tabulation Analysis of Number of Crises and Government Contribution to Crises in Nigerian Universities (Students)

	Variable	Bad policies	No fund Univ.	Imposition of unwanted leaders	Increase in school fees & fuel price	Others	Total
	Variable	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	Freq.
	Once	46 (38.7)	30 (21.9)	8 (6.6)	35 (29.1)	4 (3.7)	123 (100)
	Twice	70 (29.7)	45 (18.1)	17 (7.0)	68 (28.2)	41 (17.0)	241 (100)
No of times university had crises in the last 3 years	Thrice	42 (22.1)	24 (13.8)	20 (10.7)	33 (17.4)	68 (36.0)	187 (100)
	Four times	31 (40.7)	6 (6.4)	6 (6.4)	16 (21.7)	19 (24.8)	78 (100)
	5 times & above	30 (21.7)	44 (29.7)	5 (3.3)	30 (19.3)	39 (26.0)	148 (100)
	Total	219 (29.1)	149 (15.7)	56 (8.2)	182 (24.1)	171(22.8)	777(100)
		X2cal		X2tab		df	Sig
Pearson's Chi –Square		122.390		36.415		24	.000
Number of valid cases		777					

Source: Field survey, 2013 significant at p <0.05

Test of Hypothesis 1

The Null Hypothesis (Ho)

“There is no significant relationship between federal government activities and crises in Nigerian universities”

The table above describes a cross tabulation analysis of number of crises and government contribution to crises in Nigerian universities. According to the table, 38.7 percent of the respondents that said their university had crises once in the last three years attributed it to government unpopular policies. 21.9 percent mentioned no funding of universities as the cause of crises. 6.6 percent indicated the imposition of unwanted leader, and 29.1 percent indicated an increase in the price of petroleum products school fees as the causes of crises. The Chi-Square result showed the calculated value of X^{2cal} 122.390 and X^{2tab} of 36.415 and df 24 which was significant (P < 0.000) at 95 per cent confidence interval

($P < 0.05$). From this statistical analysis, the null hypothesis (H_0) was rejected and the alternative hypothesis (H_1) was accepted. This meant that there was a significant relationship between government activities and crises in Nigerian universities. Government activities has always been a source of crises in Nigerian universities. ASUU and federal government of Nigeria has been at loggerheads over university autonomy. Government meddles too much into the affairs of the university including imposition of unwanted Vice Chancellors and anti-people policies which infuriates the university communities. This shows that autocratic leadership of men (most leaders in Nigerian larger society are men) also exhibited in the larger society making it necessary for women to be brought into leadership to reduce crises.

Test of Hypothesis 2: (staff)

Table 3.7: Cross Tabulation Analysis of Number of Crises and Government Contribution o Crises in Nigerian Universities

How does government n generating crises in the university						
	Variable	Bad policies	No fund Univ.	Imp of unwanted leaders	Increase in fuel price	Total
	Variable	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	Freq (%)	Freq (%)
	Twice	47 (50.5)	0 (0)	46 (49.5)	0 (0)	93 (100)
No of times university had crises in the last 3 years	Thrice	57 (38.8)	90 (61.2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	147 (100)
	5 times & above	122 (22.0)	0 (0)	96 (17.0)	344 (61.0)	562 (100)
	Total	226 (28.2)	90 (11.2)	142 (17.7)	344 (42.9)	802 (100)
		X2cal	X2tab	df		Sig
Pearson's Chi – Square		657.753	12.592	6		.000
Number of valid cases		802				

Source: Field survey, 2013. Significant at $p < 0.05$

The table above describes a cross tabulation analysis of number of crises and government contribution to crises in Nigerian universities. According to the table, 50.5 percent of the respondents that said their university had crises twice in the last three years said that government unpopular policies led to these to crises while 49.5 percent of them said that government increment of petrol price created

crises in the universities. The Chi-Square statistics analysis of number of crises and government contribution to crises in Nigerian universities showed a Chi-Square calculated value of X^2_{cal} 657.753 and X^2_{tab} of 12.592 and df 6 which was significant ($P < 0.000$) at 95% confidence level ($P < 0.05$). From this statistical analysis, the null hypothesis (H_0) was rejected and the alternative hypothesis (H_1) was accepted. This meant that there was a significant relationship between government activities and crises in Nigerian universities. The staff result was the same as the students result above, meaning that both groups representing all university community members believe that government causes crises in the university. This implies that Nigerian government officials should find a way of removing their hands from university affairs. Interestingly, academic staff members who find themselves in government also behave like other government officials who are not part of the university. It is as if as soon as they leave the ivory tower (this refers to the university where academic excellence is upheld, research activities are conceptualized and actualized and the highest level of thinking and initiative/discoveries take place., they forget their experience in the university and begin to treat their colleagues with scorn.

In support of the data from the quantitative method, student leaders and university management staff were interviewed on their views on government role in crises in Nigerian universities. The respondents felt that the federal government of Nigeria generates crises in Nigerian universities through the government non-inducement/no incentives to staff and insensitivity to students' problems and complaints and demands and through policies that worsen the situation of the university community. A 61 year old male Head of Department said:

Yes, government contribute so much to crises in Nigerian universities, look at what is happening presently, they signed an agreement with academic staff union of universities and have since not implemented it and it has brought about the closure of all universities in Nigeria.

Also, a 55 year female professor supported the head of department above and observed that:

Government contributes a lot to crises in the universities because the universities belong to them and so whatever decision they take has an effect on the universities and as such, the university community reacts violently to their negative policies.

This assertion is buttressed by the fact that the government feels that federal universities belong to the government and therefore, they into the affairs of these universities thereby causing crises. This is also why most crises in Nigerian universities happen in public universities and not in private universities. Interestingly, the federal government of Nigeria is in support of university autonomy in words but the government does the opposite in deeds. The system has been politicized and has become crises-prone and with continued insincerity

and corruption, the university system has become a replica of the larger society. The government enters agreements that it never keeps, treats university teachers with levity and refuses to leave the university system alone.

In concluding this chapter, it is important to reflect on the high incidence of crises in universities and the role the government plays in these crises. The study has established that government causes many crises through undue intervention and through actions that are undemocratic and which provoke the staff and students of universities. It has also been shown that these crises are numerous and have become a way of life in Nigerian universities with far reaching implications. Importantly, a university that had two serious crises within three years may not have the time and focus to pursue its objectives. This is part of the problem being experienced by Nigerian universities, It is the same government that causes much of these crises that blames universities for producing poor quality graduates.

Gender and Leadership and University's Statutes

This chapter focuses on men and women and leadership in the universities, women's qualities which they bring to leadership positions, and the constraints that women encounter when they aspire for leadership positions. Also, the role of the universities' statutes in leadership and crises were examined in this chapter. The views expressed in the tables below are based on the views of students and staff concerning female leadership qualities and the issues militating against women in aspiring or achieving leadership positions in the universities.

Table 4.1: Students' Views on Female Leadership Qualities and Constraints on Women Leadership Aspirations

Particulars	Frequency	Percentage
What are the female qualities in leadership?		
Carrying others along	17	1.8
Motherly/compassionate	23	2.4
Foresight	11	1.2
Provision of quality standard	11	1.2
Depends on individual	3	0.3
No response	887	93.1
Total	952	100.0
What are the constraints against women's leadership?		
Gender imbalance	4	.4
Religion	12	1.3
Culture	33	3.5
Believe that women are gentle and weak	15	1.6
No response	888	94.3
Total	952	100

What are the solutions to these constraints?		
Sensitization	20	2.0
Carry others along	12	1.2
No response	920	96.8
Total	952	100

Source: Field survey, 2013

In Table 4.1 above, the students indicated that women leaders carry others along in decision-making processes, have more compassion and care for others, have foresight and maintain standards and quality. The constraints against women's leadership aspirations were gender imbalance, religion, culture, and that women are gentle and weak. Furthermore, the respondents suggested sensitization of the university community as solutions. The patriarchal gender relations in the Nigerian larger society also operates in the university system. As such, culture is a major hindrance to women's leadership aspirations in the university. Culture includes family: husband, children, and significant others. The woman loves these people and looks up to them for support and often, when women aspire to leadership positions, they hardly get the support of these people which discourages many of them.

Table 4.2: Students' Opinion on Gender and Leadership

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage
Does men's leadership style cause crises?		
Yes	449	47.2
No	445	46.7
No response	58	6.1
Total	952	100.0
Would you support the idea of a female VC?		
Yes	538	56.5
No	340	35.7
No response	74	7.8
Total	952	100.0
Will a female VC reduce crises?		
Yes	349	36.7
No	476	50.0
No response	127	13.3
Total	952	100.0
Please Give reasons for your answer		
Women will carry students along in decision-making	111	11.6
It is possible because of women's motherly care.	88	9.2

Gender equality is good	28	2.9
It will bring a change in the way things are done	31	3.2
It is the system and individual leader that dictates decisions and not sex	4	0.4
No response	790	72.9
Total	952	100.0

Source: Field survey, 2013

Table 4.2 showed that 47.2 percent of the respondents indicated that men’s leadership style caused crises and most (56.5 percent) of them supported the idea of a female vice chancellor. Their reasons for this support was that women leaders usually carry others along in decision-making, women’s motherly care and that it would bring a change in the way things are done. This is an indication that the university community has become conscious of the difference in men and women’s style of leadership and its implications for reducing crises in universities. I believe this should be explored.

Table 4.3: University Staff Position on Gender and Leadership

Opinion	Frequency	Percentage
Does men’s leadership style cause crises?		
Yes	554	69.1
No	248	30.9
Total	802	100.0
Would you support the idea of a female VC?		
Yes	351	43.8
No	413	51.5
No response	38	4.7
Total	802	100.0
Will a female VC reduce crises?		
Yes	389	48.5
No	413	51.5
Total	802	100.0

Source: Field work, 2013

Table 4.3 above showed that most of the staff (69.1) believe that men’s leadership style cause crises and 43.8 percent of them supported the idea of a female vice chancellor. The staff result are the same as the students’ view above, implying that all university stakeholders were clamouring for change in leadership styles than can be found in women leadership.

Table 4.4: Staff's Responses on Whether Female Leadership Can Make a Difference

Particulars	Frequency	Percentage
Can women's leaders make a difference?		
Yes	515	64.2
No	236	29.4
No response	51	6.4
Total	802	100.0

Table 4.4 above showed that 64.2 percent of the respondents responded "yes" to whether female leadership of universities can make a difference. This is a sign that the universities are warming up to support female leadership of universities, a sign that they obviously need a change in the universities. The university community is ready to try an alternative leadership approach.

Test of Hypotheses

Table 4.5: Students' T Test Results Showing Whether Women Can Make a Difference

Part.	Sex	N	Mean	St. Dev.	T cal	T tab.	df	Sig at P < 0.05
Can women make a diff.	Male	469	1.64	0.482	3.983	1.96	813	0.000
	Female	346	1.50	0.501				

Source: Significant at $p < 0.05$

The students' view was further tested using the T test to examine if there was a significant relationship between gender and leadership styles and crises in Nigerian universities. The hypothesis was tested at 95 percent confidence level at $P = < 0.05$.

Decision Rule for testing the Study Hypotheses

The decision rule is to accept the null hypothesis (H_0) if the T tab (as in the statistical table) is less than the T cal. (calculated value) and if the p value is > 0.05 . This will indicate that there is no significant relationship between the variables. On the other hand, null hypothesis (H_0) would be rejected if the calculated T value is greater than the T table value; in this case, the alternative hypothesis (H_1) would be accepted.

Test of Hypothesis 1

The Null Hypothesis (H_0)

"There is no significant relationship between women Vice Chancellorship and crises in Nigerian universities".

In order to test this hypothesis, comparison of means was carried out.

Table 4.6: Comparison of Means of Students’ Sex and Support for Female Vice Chancellor

Sex	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Male	1.44	482	.497
Female	1.32	386	.466
Total	1.38	868	.487

Source: Field survey, 2013

Test of Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 was further tested with a comparison of means to compare between males and females who are more favourably disposed to support the idea of a female vice chancellor in their universities. To test this, a comparison of mean was conducted on sex and the question: would you support the idea of a female Vice Chancellor in this university.

Analysis of comparison of means showed the mean for males to be 1.44 and the mean for female to be 1.32. The mean for males was higher than the females. This was an indication that men support the idea of a female vice chancellor in their university more than women. This test has confirmed the fact that male students are more supportive of female leadership than females in universities. This is really food for thought for women in gender studies to know where to direct their advocacy and activism. This could explain why many women do not seek university leadership because they feel that it is the domain of men, a sign that women do not believe in themselves. Importantly, this is an offshoot of the patriarchal orientation in which both men and women see leadership positions as the property of men. This result showed that the problem is even bigger than I thought because the women themselves need to be worked on.

Also, the staff aspect of hypothesis 1 was conducted and it yielded the following results.

T test analysis to show between male and female, the group that has a more positive view towards the assertion that women can make a difference

Table 4.7: Sex of Staff and Can Women Make a Difference

Part.	Sex	N	Mean	St. Dev.	T cal	T tab.	df	Sig at P < 0.05
Can women make a diff.	Male	305	1.33	0.473	1.077	1.65	747	0.035
	Female	444	1.30	0.458				

Source: Field survey, 2013. Significant at p <0.05

This hypothesis was tested using the T test to examine if there was a significant relationship between gender leadership styles and crises in Nigerian universities. The hypothesis was tested at 95 percent confidence level at P = < 0.05.

The T test analysis was used to show the group that has more positive view that women leadership style can reduce crises in Nigerian universities. The descriptive statistics showed that majority of the respondents indicated that women leadership of universities can reduce crises in Nigerian universities and make a difference. Therefore, to know which sex is more favourably disposed to this assertion/finding, a T test was conducted. The result of the analysis in the above table showed that females had a mean of 1.30 (with a standard deviation of 0.458) while male had a mean of 1.33 (with a standard deviation of 0.473). These yielded T cal of 1.077 and T tab of 1.65 at df 747 which was significant ($P < 0.04$) at 95% ($P < 0.05$).

Therefore, from this statistical analysis, the null hypothesis (H_0) was rejected and the alternative hypothesis (H_1) was accepted. This meant that there was significant relationship between gender/women leadership of Nigerian university and crises in Nigerian universities. The staff result has indeed confirmed that men both young and old as represented by students and workers are more in support of female leadership of universities than their female counterparts.

Table 4.8: Staff Sex and Whether Women Vice Chancellors Can Make a Difference

Sex	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Male	1.33	305	.473
Female	1.30	444	.458
Total	1.31	749	.464

Source: Field survey, 2013.

Test of Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 was further tested with comparison of means to compare responses between males and females on the question: Do you feel that women's leadership style can make a difference in reducing crises in Nigerian universities. As shown in table above, the analysis of comparison of means showed the mean for males to be 1.33 and the mean for female to be 1.30. The mean for males was higher than the females. This was an indication that men support the view that women leadership of universities can make a difference in reducing crises in Nigerian universities more than women. It was also an indication that men would more supportive of a female vice chancellor than women.

Table 8.9: Males and Females View on the Idea of a Female Vice Chancellor in Their University

Sex	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Male	1.55	301	.498
Female	1.53	461	.500
Total	1.54	762	.499

Source: Field survey, 2013

Hypothesis 1 was further tested with comparison of means to determine who were more favourably disposed to support the idea of a female vice chancellor in their universities. To test this, a comparison of means was conducted on sex and the question: would you support the idea of a female Vice Chancellor in this university, was asked.

Table 4.10: Occupational Groups’ View on Whether Women Leadership Can Make a Difference in Reducing Crises in Nigerian Universities.

Occupation	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Academic	1.31	180	.488
SANU	1.32	99	.463
TECHNICAL	1.28	144	.470
NASU	1.36	95	.548
Total	1.32	518	.468

Source: Field survey, 2013

Hypothesis 1 was further tested with a comparison of means to compare the different occupational groups in the university on the question: Do you feel that women’s leadership style can make a difference in reducing crises in Nigerian universities? As shown in the table above, the mean for junior non-academic staff (NASU) (1.36) was the highest among all university workers which means that they believe that women can make a difference more than any other group. Interestingly, this group is the least educated in the university system pointing to the fact that western education has not made much impact on the traditional patriarchal values and practices of Nigerians. Also, NASU members are the people most likely to have enjoyed the leadership of women because many women leaders are at the middle level management.

Hypothesis 1 was further tested using staff religious affiliation

Table 4.11: Religious Affiliation and Can Women Make a Difference

Religion	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Christianity	1.31	544	.462
Islam	1.35	191	.478
Traditional	1.20	10	.422
Others	1.00	1	
Total	1.32	746	.465

Source: Field survey, 2013

Hypothesis 1 was further tested with a comparison of means to compare respondents based on their religious affiliation on the question: Do you feel that women’s leadership style can make a difference in reducing crises in Nigerian universities? As shown in the table above, the mean for Islam was 1.31.

Staff income level was further used to test hypothesis 1

Table 4.12: Level of Income and Respondents' View on Whether Women Leadership Can Make a Difference in Reducing Crises in Nigerian Universities.

Level of income	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
10,000- 50,000	1.00	155	.000
51,000 – 100,000	1.49	275	.501
101, 000 – 150, 000	1.38	267	.486
151, 000 & above	1.00	54	.000
Total	1.31	751	.465

Source: Field survey, 2013

The analysis of comparison of means as shown by the table above showed the means for income levels of 51, 000 – 100,000 to be 1.49, meaning that the people in this group (medium income) were the most favourably disposed to the view that women leadership can make a difference in reducing crises in Nigerian universities. This is an indication that the highest income level group who happens to be the major decision-makers (had mean of 1.00) did not support the idea of a female Vice Chancellor; a signal that it would be very hard for these universities to achieve the goal of having female Vice Chancellors. It is not surprising then that OAU and UI never had any female Vice Chancellors.

University affiliation was also used to test hypothesis 1

Table 4.13: University Affiliation and Can Women Make a Difference

University	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Ibadan	1.32	320	.465
Ife	1.31	431	.462
Total	1.31	751	.465

As shown in the table above, the analysis of a comparison of means showed the mean for UI to be 1.32 and the mean for OAU to be 1.31. The mean for UI (1.32) was higher than mean for OAU (1.31). This was an indication that the staff of UI were more favourably disposed to the view that women leadership can make a difference in reducing crises in Nigerian universities than the staff of OAU. This was also a sign that the staff of UI would support a female vice chancellor more readily than the staff of OAU. This was not surprising because UI is more cosmopolitan in nature and harbours more diverse people who are likely to be more liberal in their views. However, this difference is quite minimal so one cannot make any categorical statements. Also, the situation on the ground in the two universities does not show much difference in the gender situation in the universities.

Further analysis was also conducted among students to test hypothesis 3.

Test of Hypothesis 3

Table 4.14: Pearson Correlation of Opinion on Men's Leadership Style and Whether Women Can Make a Difference

		Do you think that men's leadership style causes crises in the university?	Is a female Vice Chancellor likely to bring about a reduction in crises?
Do you think that men's leadership style causes crises in the university	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2 tailed) N	1 894	208** .000 801
Is a female Vice Chancellor likely to bring about a reduction in crises	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2 tailed) N	208** .000 801	1 825

Source: Field survey, 2013. Significant at $p < 0.05$

To test hypothesis 3, a Pearson Correlation was conducted on the students views. The result in the above table showed that each variable is perfectly correlated with itself and so $r = 1$ along the diagonal of the table. Also, the table showed the opinion that men's leadership style causes crises in the university is positively correlated to opinion that a female Vice Chancellor would likely result in a reduction in crises in the university with a Pearson Correlation Coefficient of $r = .208$ and the significance value of $.000$ ($r = .208$, $P < .000$, $N = 801$) which is less than $P < 0.05$ (as indicated by the double asterisk after the coefficient). This significant value meant that the chances of the null hypothesis being true is very low. As such, there was a significant relationship between opinion that men's leadership style cause crises in the university and opinion that a female Vice Chancellor would likely bring about reduction in crises in the university.

Also, Pearson correlation was conducted among staff to test hypothesis 3.

Test of Hypothesis 3

Table 4.15: Pearson Correlation of Opinion on Men's Leadership Style and Whether Women Can Make a Difference

		Do you think that men's leadership style causes crises in the university?	Is a female Vice Chancellor likely to bring about a reduction in crises?
Do you think that men's leadership style causes crises in the university	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2 tailed) N	1 802	.358** .000 802
Is a female Vice Chancellor likely to bring about a reduction in crises	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2 tailed) N	.358** .000 802	1 802

Significant at $p < 0.05$

To Test hypothesis 3, Person Correlation was conducted among staff. The results in the above table showed that each variable is perfectly correlated with itself and so $r = 1$ along the diagonal of the table. Also, the table showed that opinion that men's leadership style cause crises in the university is positively related to opinion that a female Vice Chancellor would likely bring about reduction in crises in the university with a Pearson Correlation Coefficient of $r = .358^{**}$ and the significance value of .000 ($r = .358^{**}$, $P < .000$, $N = 802$) which is less than $P < 0.05$ (as indicated by the double asterisk after the coefficient). This significant value meant that the chances of the null hypothesis being true was very low. As such, there was a significant relationship between opinion that men's leadership style cause crises in the university and opinion that a female Vice Chancellor would likely bring about reduction in crises in the university.

Cross tabulation was further carried out among staff to test sex and the hypothesis that men's leadership style causes crises in universities.

Table 4.16: Cross Tabulation of Sex – Does Men's Leadership Style Cause Crises?

SEX			
Particulars	Male	Female	Total
Does men's leadership style cause crises	Freq.	Freq. (Perc.)	Freq. (perc.)
Yes	224 (68.5) (40.5)	330 (68.9) (59.5)	554 (100)
No	101 (31.5)	145 (31.1) (59.0)	246 (100)

Total		325 (100)	475 (58.4)	800 (100)
	X2cal	X2tab	df	Sig
Pearson's Chi-Square	.027	3.841	1	.868
Number of valid cases	800			

Source: Field survey, 2013. Significant at p <0.05

The above table showed that 68.5 percent of males said yes while 68.9 percent of women said yes. The result of the test/analysis in the table showed a Chi-Square calculated value of X^{2cal} .027 and X^{2tab} of 3.841 and df 1 which was not significant ($P < 0.868$) at 95% confidence interval ($P < 0.05$). From this statistical analysis, the null hypothesis (H_0) was accepted. This meant that there was no significant relationship between the sex of respondent and the question of whether men's leadership styles cause crises in Nigerian universities. The implication of this was that the sex of the respondent did not have any influence on his/her opinion on whether men's leadership style causes crises in Nigerian universities.

Cross tabulation was also conducted among staff to test hypothesis 3.

Table 4.17: Cross Tabulation of Respondents' University and Does Men's Leadership Style Cause Crises In Nigerian Universities?

University				
Particulars	Ibadan	Ife	Total	
Do men's leadership style cause crises	Freq.	Freq. (Perc.)	Freq. (perc.)	
Yes	236 (42.5)	316 (57.5)	554 (100)	
No	107 (43.1)	141 (56.9)	248 (100)	
Total	343 (42.5)	459 (57.5)	802 (100)	
	X2cal	X2tab	df	Sig
Pearson's Chi-Square	1.825	5.991	2	.402
Number of valid cases	802			

Source: Field survey, 2013. Significant at p <0.05

The table above showed that 42.5 percent of those who were of the view that men's leadership style cause crises in Nigerian universities were from UI while 57.5 percent of them were from OAU. Also, the Chi Square result showed a

Chi-Square calculated value of X^{2cal} 1.825 and X^{2tab} of 5.991 and df 2 which was not significant ($P < 0.402$) at 95% confidence interval ($P < 0.05$). From this statistical analysis, the null hypothesis (H_0) was accepted. This meant that there was no significant relationship between respondent's university and their response to the question of whether men's leadership styles causes crises in Nigerian universities. The implication of this was that the university in which the respondent was working did not have any influence on his/her opinion on whether men's leadership style causes crises in Nigerian universities. However, OAU staff have the belief that men's leadership styles cause crises in universities than their UI counterparts.

Staff marital status was also examined in testing hypothesis 3.

Table 4.18: Cross Tabulation of Marital Status and Does Men's Leadership Style Cause Crises?

Particulars	Marital Status				
	Married	Single	Divorced	Separated	Total
Does men's leadership style cause crises	Freq. (perc.)	Freq. (Perc.)	Freq. (perc.)	Freq. (Perc.)	Freq. (Perc.)
Yes	176 (31.7)	314 (56.6)	51 (9.2)	13 (2.5)	554 (100)
No	84 (33.9)	148 (59.6)	13 (5.2)	3 (1.3)	248 (100)
Total	260 (32.4)	462 (57.6)	64 (6.5)	16 (3.5)	802 (100)
	X2cal	X2tab	df	Sig	
Pearson's Chi -Square	4.984	7.815	3	.173	
Number of valid cases	802				

Source: Field survey, 2013. Significant at $p < 0.05$

The table above showed that 31.7 percent of those who were of the view that men's leadership style causes crises in Nigerian universities were married, 56.6 percent were single, 9.2 percent were divorced while 2.5 percent of them were separated. Also, 33.9 percent of those who did not share this view were married, 59.6 were single, 5.2 percent were divorced while 1.3 percent of them were separated. The Chi Square result showed a Chi-Square calculated value of X^{2cal} 4.984 and X^{2tab} of 7.815 and df 3 which was not significant ($P < 0.173$) at 95% confidence interval ($P < 0.05$). From this statistical analysis, the null hypothesis (H_0) was accepted. This meant that there was no significant relationship between respondent's marital status and their response to the question of whether men's leadership styles cause crises in Nigerian universities. The implication of this was that the respondent's marital status did not have any influence on his/her opinion on whether men's leadership styles cause crises in Nigerian universities.

The nature of staff occupation in the university was used to test the hypothesis 3

Table 4.19: Cross Tabulation Analysis of Respondent’s Occupation in The University and Does Men’s Leadership Style Cause Crises in Nigerian Universities

RESPONDENT’S OCCUPATION					
Particulars	Academic	SANU	Technical	NASU	Total
Does men’s leadership style cause crises	Freq. (perc.)	Freq. (Perc.)	Freq. (perc.)	Freq. (Perc.)	Freq. (Perc.)
Yes	140 (37.3)	68 (18.0)	106 (28.2)	62 (16.5)	376 (100)
No	58 (32.9)	33 (20.6)	44 (24.5)	41 (22.0)	176 (100)
Total	198 (35.9)	101 (18.3)	150 (27.2)	103 (18.6)	552 (100)
	X2cal		X2tab		Sig
Pearson’s Chi – Square	8.519		11.070		.130
Number of valid cases	552				

Source: Field survey, 2013. Significant at p <0.05

The table above showed that 37.3 percent of those who were of the view that men’s leadership style causes crises in Nigerian universities were in the academic profession, 18.0 percent were senior non-academic staff, 28.2 percent were technical staff while 16.5 percent of them were junior non-academic staff. The Chi Square result showed a Chi-Square calculated value of X^{2cal} 8.519 and X^{2tab} of 11.070 and df 5 which was not significant ($P < 0.130$) at 95% confidence interval ($P < 0.05$). This meant that there was no significant relationship between respondent’s occupation in the university and their response to the question of whether men’s leadership styles cause crises in Nigerian universities. The implication of this was that the respondent’s occupation did not have any influence on his/her opinion on do men’s leadership style cause crises in Nigerian universities.

In fact, a 24 years female student leader indicated:

I think women coming into power can reduce crises in Nigerian universities because women are calm and can be flexible. They know how to manipulate their way around and they are sensitive to people’s needs.

Being sensitive to the needs of people have been shown to be one of the qualities that endear leaders to their followers and university communities know that women possess this quality. Why then do they find it difficult to put women in leadership positions? The cultural orientation of the people is partly the problem as both men and women have been socialized to see men as leaders and this is irrespective of people’s level of education and one wonders the reason for citing

culture even among the most highly educated Nigerians who frequently travel to other parts of the world and have seen that women can also lead well. This prompts me to ask more questions including this questions: does it mean that our own culture is not dynamic? Does it mean that it cannot change? I believe that men are enjoying the exclusion of women and are, therefore, using culture as an excuse. Importantly, this continues to reflect in the way people think as shown in the response from a 58 year old female Head of Department:

I believe that women... cannot think of occupying because of cultural beliefs that women are weak and that men are born leaders while women are to be in the kitchen. I have also noticed that women do not support fellow women that come out to contest, they will rather vote for a man. It is important that women support each other (Cite).

This response shows that people cherish women's qualities but at the same time, these are qualities that people use as an excuse for excluding women from leadership positions. Men are deemed good for leadership positions because many of these qualities are lacking in men. The experience of crises in the universities have taught stakeholders that the so called hard qualities associated with men's leadership is not serving them well. It is obvious that people are beginning to see that women have something to offer. The respondents further indicated that women can make a difference because women have listening ear, they are approachable and they can bring their motherly care into play. Also, women show a lot of understanding to aggrieved people and they are more meticulous than men. This is because women have experienced subordination and exclusion firsthand and this gives them a deeper understanding of the plight of other people in such situation. In my view, all these should be brought to bear on the leadership of universities, particularly now that the university arena is becoming more diverse. As noted by the respondents, there is need for women to prove themselves, support each other and encourage women who pursue take leadership positions. However, there were participants who felt that women should not be in leadership positions in the university. For instance, a 61 year old male Head of Department observed:

Oh; qualities? Well I will say that women could really be sensitive, attentive to little details and empathetic but women occupying leadership positions may not reduce crises in the universities because the crises has nothing to do with gender at all. If the policies are bad or not favourable, crises will be inevitable irrespective of who is occupying the leadership positions. Also, women occupying leadership position can even create crises because there is still the belief that women should not be seen occupying certain leadership positions because such positions are strictly for men. But I believe that women can prove people wrong by coming out, contesting, winning and also performing very well, this would change people's mindset about women (Cite).

This is the problem associated with our orientation as a people. Why must women prove themselves as leaders before people will believe that they can be leaders. Importantly, this mindset is found among both men and women signifying that no one sees women as possible leaders. This is the reason many people are not seeing the fact that the sex of a leader can make any difference. Even people who believe that women have something to offer are still not sure if they will support female leadership in universities. For instance, a respondent noted that:

In spite of the fact that women are caring and they put themselves in other people's position (that is, being empathetic), but I do not think that women occupying leadership positions can bring about reduction in crises, leadership is not about the gender of the leader. Crises can occur irrespective of who is the leader. Also, the mindset of people is that women are weak and so they cannot occupy positions that are seen to be for the strong such as Vice Chancellorship (Cite).

This could explain why many people do not see the absence of women in university leadership as a problem. When the issue was raised, a male dean said:

women are too emotional and flexible and a leader should not be flexible and women are so easy to persuade and that is not a good leadership quality. So, their absence from leadership positions is good for the system (Cite).

This is part of the bigger problem of seeing the absence in university leadership as normal, despite the common perception that the university is a neutral place. Meanwhile the university has been shown to be the home of a variety of discrimination, exploitation, harassment and intimidation against women and these things are taken as normal by both males and females. This is where the problem is; that many women do not see anything wrong with these things. As such, many stakeholders believe that gender is not important in university management.

A 65 year old male professor (former head of department) also had similar views as the above views. According to him:

Sometimes, the crises in the university are caused by government inability to provide funding for activities and welfare of staff and students and in this case, there is little university leadership can do to avert crises irrespective of who the leader is. However, female leadership is capable of reducing crises in some instances due to women's motherly care, high tolerance level and participatory approach which make it easier for them to douse tensions and pacify aggrieved parties.

Many female leaders have effectively held challenging positions but it looks as if no one sees that and much has been said about women's qualities. One may question why female qualities are being talked about while no one scrutinizes or talks about male qualities. Men's qualities are accepted as natural. Therefore, many people believe that women cannot be (good) leaders. According to a male respondent:

Women cannot make a difference. Infact, women are even more highhanded than men. Women in leadership positions do not take nonsense. They are so difficult to work with. Infact, it will increase the crises. Women do not know how to handle difficult matters. They will just break down and start to cry. They are too emotional to occupy leadership positions. Moreover, traditionally, women are not meant to occupy leadership positions because of their flexibility. A leader should not be flexible and I do not think that it is a problem that women are not in leadership positions (Cite).

Women being difficult to work with might be because many men cannot work happily in a situation where a woman is the leader. It has already been established that men feel that they have wives at home who serve and obey them, so they should not have to obey women. Instead of seeing it as their personal problem, these men turn it into women being difficult to work with. What people call women highhandedness is just survival strategy in a male dominated world because women leaders encounter resistances and disobedience from both males and females. As such, the problem of not seeing women as possible leaders continues to haunt the few women who struggled to find themselves in such positions. Many of our men are unhappy about having women as leaders. The above respondent said that women leaders are highhanded. He also said that women are too emotional and cannot handle difficult situations. This shows that the general feeling is that nothing a woman leader does is good. As such, women in leadership positions face more obstacles and higher expectations from their followers. This makes it difficult for many women to even think of contesting for any leadership position.

Table 4.20: University Statutes/Structure and Crises in Nigerian Universities (Students)

Particulars	Frequency	Percentage
Do leaders not adhering to statutes cause crises?		
Yes	715	75.1
No	119	12.5
No response	118	12.4
Total	952	100.0
Your opinion on university leadership structure		
Good	454	47.7
Bad	120	12.6
In-between	264	27.7
No response	114	12.0
Total	952	100.0
Is the structure capable of causing crises?		
Yes	359	37.7
No	452	47.5

No response	141	14.8
Total	952	100.0
How effective is the committee system?		
Not effective	373	39.2
Effective	323	33.9
Very effective	13	1.4
No response	243	25.5
Total	952	100.0
Please give reasons for your answer		
They do not carry us along	2	.2
They don't have useful solution on issues	2	.2
No response	948	99.6
Total	952	100.0
Is the committee system a good democratic tool?		
Yes	264	27.7
No	232	24.4
No response	456	47.9
Total	952	100.0

Source: Field survey, 2013

The above table described respondents' views on the statutes and structures of the universities, the role they play in university administration and crises in these universities. Most of the respondents (75.1 percent) maintained that university leaders not adhering to university statutes cause crises in Nigerian universities. This still points to the undemocratic way male university leaders conduct the business of the university. While the statutes are democratic in nature with checks and balances, autocratic male leaders find it difficult to adhere to these statutes, thereby causing crises in the universities.

Table 4.21: University Statutes/Structure and Crises in Nigerian Universities (Staff)

Particulars	Frequency	Percentage
Do leaders not adhering to statutes cause crises?		
Yes	660	82.3
No	98	12.2
No response	44	5.5
Total	802	100.0
Your opinion on university leadership structure		
Good	543	67.7
Bad	213	26.6

In-between	46	5.7
Total	802	100.0
Is the structure capable of causing crises?		
Yes	280	34.9
No	522	65.1
Total	802	100.0
How effective is the committee system?		
Not effective	200	24.9
Effective	398	49.6
Very effective	70	8.8
No response	134	16.7
Total	802	100.0

Source: Field work, 2013

In Table 4.21 above, 82.3 percent of the respondents indicated that university leaders not adhering to the university statutes and structure causes crises in Nigerian universities. They suggested a change in approach to crises management. This means that both students and staff share the same view about the undemocratic nature of university leaders, an indication that it has become a serious source of tension in these universities. Furthermore, bringing women into university leadership represents a change in approach which was suggested by the university stakeholders (the respondents). Importantly, the statutes do not discriminate against women but there are subtle discriminations that are not written but which operate daily in the universities. For instance, when choosing committee members, it is widely overlooked that membership of these committees are all males. Furthermore, even when a woman is in a committee, she may be the only female there and men sometimes make comments to discourage her (Let the reader refer back to Morley's (2006) hidden transcripts. This tokenism also makes it difficult for the woman's presence in the committee to be felt because even when she raises an issue, there is no critical mass of women to support her.

Table 4.22: Students' Suggestions on How to Reduce Crises in Nigerian Universities

Particulars	Frequency	Percentage
Change in approach to crises management	12	1.2
Carrying students along	14	1.5
Funding of university	2	0.2
More proactive and effective leadership	2	0.2
No response	922	96.9
Total	952	100.0

Source: Field survey, 2013

Table 4.23: Staff’ Suggestions on How to Reduce Crises in Nigerian Universities

Particulars	Frequency	Percentage
Change all leaders	114	13.7
Carry followers along	201	23.5
Funding of university	261	36.3
More proactive and effective leadership	131	15.7
Remove inequality	95	10.8
Total	802	100.0

In table 4.23 above, the staff of the two universities suggested that the university should change all leaders, carry followers along, remove inequality and fund universities to reduce crises. The fact that some of them suggested that all leaders should be changed was a sign that they felt that the leadership approach of men causes crises in these universities, again pointing to the necessity of women leadership of these universities.

Test of Hypothesis 4

The Null Hypothesis (Ho)

“There is no significant relationship between democratization/implementation of university legal statutes, governance structures and crises in Nigerian universities”

Table 4.24: Descriptive Analysis of Variance (Anova) of Sex and Do You Feel That Leaders Not Adhering to Rules Cause Crises? (Students)

	Religion and Do you feel that leaders not adhering to rules cause crises?						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F-Val	F-tab	p< 0.05 Sig.
Religion	Between Group	1.708	3	.569	4.749	3.84	.000
	Within Group	98.760	824	.120			
Total		100.467	827				

Source: Field survey, 2013. Significant at p <0.05

The above table shows that the Mean Squares between Groups and Within Groups were 1.708 and 98.760 respectively (Msbg = 1.708, Mswg = 98.760). These yielded the F^{-val} of 4.749 and F^{-tab} of 2.60 which was significant at p<0.05 level of significance (F^{-val}=98.760, p<0.000). This means that there was a significant relationship between democratization/implementation of university legal statutes, governance structures and crises in Nigerian universities. From these results, we can conclude that leaders not adhering to rules causes crises in the universities and that this view was irrespective of the people’s religion.

An analysis of variance was used to examine the age of staff and their views on the absence of democratization and crises in the universities.

Table 4.25: Descriptive Analysis of Variance (Anova) of Age and Do You Feel That Leaders Not Adhering to Rules Cause Crises (Staff)?

	Age and Do you feel that leaders not adhering to rules cause crises?						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F-Val	F-tab	p< 0.05 Sig.
Age	Between Group	3.434	1	2.513	31.698	3.84	.000
	Within Group	81.896	756	7.108			
Total		85.330	757				

Source: Field survey, 2013. Significant at $p < 0.05$

The Null Hypothesis (Ho)

According to the table above, the Mean Squares Between Groups and Within Groups were 3.434 and 7.108, respectively ($M_{sbg} = 3.434$, $M_{swg} = 7.108$). These yielded the F_{val} of 31.698 and F_{tab} of 3.84 with df 1 which was significant at $p < 0.05$ level of significance ($F_{val} = 31.698$, $p < 0.000$). This message influenced people's views on whether leaders not adhering to rules caused crises in the universities. This was an indication that the younger generation may prefer full democratization of university processes while the older generation may prefer the paternalistic forms of governance. Importantly, democratization of universities is one of the key ingredients of modern university governance as Nigerian universities are not operating in isolation from other universities globally. Infact lack of following due democratic process had caused crises in many Nigerian universities.

Furthermore, Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) on the Relationship between Socio-Demographic Characteristics of students and staff and whether they feel that leaders not adhering to rules cause crises in universities was conducted.

Table 4.26: Descriptive Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) On the Relationship Between Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Students and Whether They Feel That Leaders Not Adhering to Rules Cause Crises

Socio-Demographic Characteristics	Relationship between Socio-Demographic characteristics of respondents and Do you feel that leaders not adhering to rules causes crises?						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F-Val	F-tab	p< 0.05 Sig.
Age	Between Group	21.952	1	21.952	1.408	3.84	.236
	Within Group	11600.697	744	15.592			
Total		11622.649	745				

Sex	Between Group	.107	1	.107	.434	3.84	.510
	Within Group	202.354	822	.246			
Total		202.461	823				
Marital status	Between Group	4.789	1	4.789	21.231	3.84	.000
	Within Group	187.207	830	.226			
Total		191.995	831				
Religious affiliation	Between Group	5.517	1	5.517	12.617	3.84	.000
	Within Group	361.203	826	.437			
Total		366.720	827				
Level in the university	Between Group	.717	1	2.291	.529	3.84	.467
	Within Group	1118.282	826	.717			
Total		1118.999	827	1.354			

Source: Field survey, 2013. Significant at p <0.05

The table above indicated that there was significant relationship between the marital status of the respondents and whether the respondent felt that leaders not adhering to rules caused crises in universities as the F^{tab} for this variable (3.84) was less than F^{Val} (21.231) and P value for the variable was ($P = .000$) $p.>0.05$. Also, respondent's religious affiliation and whether leaders not adhering to university statutes cause crises in the university indicated that there was a significant relationship as the F^{tab} for this variable (3.84) was less than F^{Val} (12.617) and P value for the variable was ($P = .000$) $p.>0.05$. All other socio economic and demographic characteristics (sex, age and level in the university) were not significant, meaning that respondents' views on this matter were not influenced by these characteristics.

Table 4.27: Descriptive Analysis of Variance (Anova) On the Relationship Between Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Staffand Whether They Feel That Leaders Not Adhering to Rules Causes Crises

Socio-Demographic Characteristics	Relationship between Socio-Demographic characteristics of respondents and Do you feel that leaders not adhering to rules causes crises?						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F-Val	F-tab	p< 0.05 Sig.
Age	Between Group	637.156	1	637.156	8.652	3.84	.003
	Within Group	55602.937	755	73.646			
Total		56240.092	756				
Sex	Between Group	.001	1	.001	.005	3.84	.943
	Within Group	184.077	754	.244			
Total		184.078	755				

Marital status	Between Group	.921	1	.921	2.059	3.84	.152
	Within Group	338.182	756	.447			
Total		339.103	757				
Occupation in university	Between Group	8.999	1	8.999	4.571	3.84	.033
	Within Group	1035.478	526	1.969			
Total		1044.477	527				
Level of income	Between Group	2.291	1	2.291	2.119	3.84	.146
	Within Group	817.362	756	1.081			
Total		819.653	757				
Religion	Between Group	.469	1	.469	2.136	3.84	.144
	Within Group	164.721	751	.219			
Total		165.190	752				

Significant at $p < 0.05$

The table above shows a descriptive analysis of One-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) on the relationship between socio-economic characteristics of respondents and if they feel that leaders not adhering to rules caused crises in OAU and UI. The result showed that Mean Squares Between Groups and Within Groups were 637.156 and 73.646 respectively ($Msb_g = 637.156$, $Msw_g = 73.646$). These yielded the F^{val} of 8.652 and F^{tab} of 3.84 which was significant at $p < 0.05$ level of significance ($F^{val} = 8.652$, $p < 0.003$). In the same vein, an examination of the relationship between occupation and do they feel that leaders not adhering to university statues caused crises was found to be significant at $p < 0.05$ level of significance. As shown in the table, the result of the analysis for occupation in the university showed that the Mean Squares Between Groups and Within Groups were 8.99 and 1.969, respectively ($Msb_g = 8.99$, $Msw_g = 1.969$). These yielded the F^{val} of 4.571 and F^{tab} of 3.84 which was significant at $p < 0.05$ level of significance ($F^{val} = 4.571$, $p < 0.033$). All other socio economic and demographic characteristics (sex, religion, level of income and marital status) were not statistically significant. Generally, the student and staff results indicated that socio-demographic characteristics did not exert influence on people's views.

To support the data from the quantitative method, many of the interview respondents said that the university structure was good while other respondents opined that it was not too effective. If leaders do not adhere to the rules and regulations, crises can occur. As noted by a 51 years old female professor:

There is a good structure in the university because it is hierarchical enough and there are checks and balances. However, the structure is weak in the sense that the vice chancellor does not have the power to sack staff.

Yes, the Vice Chancellor does not have the power to sack staff because it is believed that the university is a democratic space. However, the structure is

democratic on paper but what occurs in a real-life situation may not always be democratic. There have been cases of discrimination and intimidation, particularly against women and there is nothing democratic about this. Infact what happens in a Nigerian democracy in the larger society also happens in the university democracy. Therefore, it may not be the structure or statutes that are bad but the implementation. This was noted by a 61 years old male head of department:

The structure is good. Infact the committee system is very effective but there is a problem; it is partially not a good democratic tool in the sense that the committee members should be voted in by the teaching, non-teaching staff and if possible by students instead of by the usual selection process. The selection process makes it undemocratic.

Another respondent said:

I don't think that leaders not adhering to university statutes cause crises in the university, rather it is university management style of doing things that causes crises in the university. As for the structure in the university, though it is effective to some extent, it is not democratic, it is more autocratic than democratic. Every member of the university should have a say in whoever they want to be their leader.

University leaders not adhering to statutes and not responding to the needs of stakeholders are the same because if university leaders adhere to statutes, they will be democratic. It would seem, then, that this will solve most of the problems of highhandedness that causes crises in the universities. Instead of doing this, many university leaders engage in nocturnal meetings and it is in these meetings that they take major decisions. Generally, these meetings and decisions have nothing to do with democracy. This could explain why they enjoy excluding women from leadership positions because women do not like engaging in such meetings. As such, the problem is not in the statutes but in the mindset of university leaders who are mainly men. This was also the view of another respondent who said:

To the best of my knowledge, the university governance system is very effective and it is democratic too. I would not say it is not adhering to the rules that causes crises, it is the university not responding to the needs of its members that causes trouble and crises.

From the foregoing, the recurring theme continues to be that university leaders do not respond to the needs of the members. This insensitivity is associated with men's leadership making it necessary for women to be brought into university leadership to neutralize the shortcoming of men's leadership styles. This was also an indication that men's leadership styles are not always the best. However, about the university structure, a 58 years old female head of department opined that:

University statutes and structure is not good because it is not democratic. The committee members are selected instead of election and this makes it impossible

for every member of the university community to participate in deciding who will be the leader.

This was an indication that if the University statute is followed, the incidence of crisis will be reduced.

Emerging from all these was the fact that the characteristics, particularly the sex of the leader, is crucial in dictating the incidence and nature of crises in Nigerian universities. This is because insensitivity, nocturnal meetings, forming of nefarious groups, and highhandedness were associated with men. Therefore, it has become very important for women to participate in the university leadership because prevailing situation has shown that men cannot do it alone. The universities have become diverse and Nigerian universities are not operating in isolation, rather they are competing with other universities globally. Women, therefore, represent diversity as well as a different approach, which the university system needs to experience transformation.

The respondents further suggested that to reduce crises in Nigerian universities:

- Government should fulfil their promises whenever they sign an agreement with staff of universities and should increase funding of universities.
- Women occupying leadership positions can reduce crises in the university and the government should do their part in ensuring that there is good governance.
- Government should respond to and attend to university's demands promptly.
- Obedience to rules and regulations on the part of the students is not negotiable.

According to one respondent:

What can bring a halt to crises in the university lies in the hands of government. Government is responsible for any kind of crises any university is experiencing and if the government can step in and arrest any disagreement at the early stage, crises in the Nigerian universities will be a forgotten issue.

This view fails to see the role of the university leaders in these crises. Blaming everything on government was an indication that many stakeholders do not see anything wrong with men's leadership. This gender blindness is a sign that men being leaders is taken as given and many stakeholders do not see any need for an alternative approach.

This chapter has dwelt extensively on gender and leadership and the role of university statutes in the leadership and crises in Nigerian universities. The study participants believed that women's leadership of the universities could make a difference and reduce crises in these universities. Many of them were of the view that women should be given the opportunity to lead universities. Interestingly,

men were more favourably disposed to women becoming university leaders than women. The participants also believed that the university statutes are a good democratic tool, but that many university leaders do not adhere to these statutes thereby causing crises in these universities. In fact, men's high-handedness has been a contributory factor in crises in Nigerian universities. The leadership impunity being experienced in the larger society has crept into the universities. Most of the participants were in favour of women's leadership of universities. This was an indication that university stakeholders were tired of crises and felt that the answer to the problem was women leadership. It showed that they believed that women have something to offer to university leadership which is different from men's. This constitutes a shift in gender imagery which sees women as just mothers and wives. This I must say, is very significant, particularly in a Nigerian university with strong patriarchal tendencies. However, actualizing this dream will be an uphill task because of the enormous challenges that women who are aspiring for leadership positions in the university are likely to encounter. In as much as the belief in women's ability to reduce crises in the universities is a victory for feminism and a right step in the right direction, it does not remove the fact that there are numerous challenges. Also, this belief does not automatically remove the hidden curriculum and the hidden transcripts. Furthermore, it has not removed the inferior social status of women and issues of masculinity and femininity which make it difficult for men and women to cooperate with female bosses. The fact that some women were not in favour of women's leadership in the university is a sign that women leaders have a huge problem. All these constitute tall challenges for women and higher education management.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, the findings of the present research study are discussed. Here, I present my reflections on the findings as it relates to the objectives of the study in interaction with the literature.

Concerning the socio-demographic and economic characteristics of the respondents, the mean age for students and staff were 23 years and 31 years, respectively. The students' mean age was an indication that the students were very young. This has serious implications for crises in Nigerian universities. This is because when students as young as the participants were in this study, they are more volatile than more matured students. Young students can easily yield to protests and riots with little provocation. This may be a push factor in the prevalence of crises in Nigerian universities.

The study explored the incidence and extent of crises in Nigerian universities. The study found that majority (70 percent) of the staff of both universities indicated that their university have had crises five times or more in the last three years. This was an indication that the prevalence of crises in Nigerian universities is quite high and alarming and it is a sign that there is a serious problem in the universities. This finding correlates with the earlier findings and submissions of some Nigerian scholars. For instance, Alabi (2001) found that within 1995 and 2001, OAU had five major crises. Also, Fatile and Adejuwon (2011) maintained that the incidence and severity of conflicts in the universities has and continues to destroy the basic environmental conditions required to provide a good environment for developing human resources for Nigeria. The percentage of the respondents that indicated a crisis in their universities five times or more is an indication of how rampant they have become. Infact, in some universities in Nigeria, there have been crises more than seven times within the last three years. With these incessant crises, how then can the standard of education be sustained in the country? Verspoor (1974) stated that there were doubts as to whether Nigerian universities, under the present conditions, will be able to continue to

lay claims to being central to national capacity building and to connect with the new international knowledge system and adopt, adapt and further develop the new technologies needed in the wider society. Interestingly, it is the same federal government that causes many crises in Nigerian universities that blames lecturers for the fall in the standard of education. From the end of June, 2013 to early 2014, all Nigerian universities were closed due to the indefinite strike action declared by the Academic Staff Union of Nigerian universities over the federal government's unwillingness to honour the agreement reached with the lecturers in 2009.

Also, majority (63.3 %) of the staff of both institutions described the crises as serious. This finding is not very different from that of the students. The implication of this is that most of the crises in these universities resulted in the loss of lives and properties. In fact, there were instances of these crises in which as many as ten to twenty students were killed by the police or army. Indeed, conflict in universities usually results in activities such as disruption of university programmes, boycotting of lectures, loss of lives and properties and closing down of institutions (Alabi 2003). The seriousness of these crises was also a result of how the university management and government handled the problems and complaints of university staff and students. In some instances, instead of university management calling staff and students for dialogue to discuss issues, the management would go and bring in the police to force people to do what the people did not want to do. This implies the possibility of a fallen standard in education due to incessant closures and underscores the necessity of female leadership to curb these crises.

Also, the political economy of Nigeria in the form of government's unpopular policies, the increase in school fees, and the government's unwarranted intervention in university affairs causes crises in these universities. This finding is supported by Oloyede (1999), who maintained that the most violent conflicts in Nigerian universities have been traced to contested basis of citizenship rights, greed, predatory rule, autocracy and unresolved grievances. Agbonna, Yusuf and Onifade (2009), noted that there have been unresolved conflicts between the federal government and ASUU that often generated crises.

On the role of federal and state government in creating crises in the university, the study found that the government contributes to the generation of crises in the university by making unpopular and unacceptable policies (23 %), inadequate funding of universities (15.9 %), imposition of unwanted leaders (5.9 %), increase in school fees (14.3 %) and increase in price of petrol (5.1 percent). These were noted by Onyenoru (2006), that crises in Nigerian universities is historical and constitutes parts of a wider governance crises in Nigeria- mismanagement of public utilities and funds, poor policy execution, authoritarian rule and underfunding of social services. The implication of this

is that the federal government of Nigeria does things without consulting the people even in the so-called democratic regimes. I doubt if they care when their actions result in crises and loss of lives and properties. This has brought out to the fore the issues of citizenship in the Nigerian society and has made some of us wonder about the meaning of citizenship in Nigeria and what citizenship means to Nigerian government.

Also, the study found that the government's unnecessary intervention in the affairs of the university cause many crises in these universities. This is in line with Awopetu (1998) and Asobie (1996), that arbitrary interference in university governance by military government and their authoritarian handling of university matters – often without regards to constituted statutory structures of the system creates crises in the universities. At the time of my research Nigeria was no longer under the military regime but the universities were still experiencing unnecessary federal government interference which caused tension. The implication of this is that considering the number of these strikes, the federal government causes more than half of the crises in Nigerian universities. This should be a source of concern to the federal government and indeed all Nigerians should ask themselves: is it the duty of the federal government of Nigeria to destabilize the universities or to facilitate the development of these universities.

In Nigeria, the government and other stakeholders in education often talk about tensions and crises while their counterparts in other parts of the world are dealing with strategic development issues that have placed their universities in the forefront and in prominent positions in the rankings of world universities. As noted by Ibukun(1997) university governance is nothing but crises management. The implication of this is that Nigerian universities cannot achieve the major objectives for which they were established. This is in line with Onyenoru (2006), who maintained that these crises have tended to jeopardize the basic objectives of excellence in teaching, research and community development. This is indeed a very important area that the federal government needs to meditate upon and address if they are genuinely interested in making Nigerian universities competitive with other universities world-wide. This meditation is very important because the fundamental problem that causes crises in Nigerian universities has not been addressed and there is a strong need to do this as soon as possible.

This was subjected to cross tabulations. The chi square analysis showed a significant relationship between government activities and crises in Nigerian universities. Government has been known to contribute immensely to crises in Nigerian universities through unnecessary interference (Awopetu 1998; Asobie 1996). The incidence of crises in Nigerian universities should be food for thought for the federal government of Nigeria if they have the interest of education in Nigeria in their hearts. Government has not demonstrated this interest at all, rather what one sees is well-packaged chants and slogans about the Nigerian

educational system and the heights the government dreams it to attain but there are no meaningful practical steps being taken to bring this dream to fruition. This was what the ASUU submitted in their bulletin on the nationwide strike which started on the 30 June 2013. The implication was that in order to reduce crises in universities, full autonomy should be given to universities.

However, this is not to say that it is only the activities of the government that cause crises in Nigerian universities, there are so many factors that can cause crises in the universities. This study therefore went further to examine if women leadership of these universities can make a difference and bring about the desired change. Most of the participants believed that women could make a difference. It was clear from this result that both students and staff of OAU and UI and by extension, Nigerian universities were tired of these crises and wanted a change. They felt that this change could be achieved by bringing women into leadership of universities. Importantly, this is not without a problem because historically, women have been excluded from higher education leadership and the impact is still being felt. In higher educational institutions in Nigeria, there are traditions and other factors that exclude women from leadership positions.

Importantly, the embedded mindset in universities means that women need to fight this norm before they can breakthrough to higher education leadership. They must fight and create spaces within these universities (Njobvu (2014). This is because the contribution of women in leadership is being missed and, in this case, the result of the study has proven that women can make a difference. There have been other studies that support this result. For instance, Akudo and Okenwa (2015) provided evidence that women bring more effective and distinct leadership profile. I believe this would reduce crises in Nigerian universities. In the same vein, Zenger and Folkman (2011) and Shervin (2014) showed that women are even better leaders. This is to the extent that in some cases, women had been brought into leadership to clear the mess caused by male leaders (O'Connors (2008 cited in Nelson, 2012). This is in line with Bunwaree (2010) who said that women are supposed to bring a different perspective and understanding which is informed by the different gender lenses and their gendered understanding of women's realities. I want to point out here that it is not only the university community that would want a change. Parents and guardians and the general Nigerian public would also want a change because many people are bemoaning the situation whereby a student spends six to seven years for a four-year degree programme not because the student failed any examination but because of incessant strike actions by the university lecturers.

Women having a different point of view is natural and is meant to complement and be another face of the same coin. This natural instinct was noted by Akudo and Okenwa (2015), as they maintained that the leadership skills that come naturally to women are now absolutely necessary for the education system, particularly tertiary

education to thrive. This would enable the creation of a leadership profile that is much more conducive to today's diverse work places, where information is shared freely, collaboration is vital and teamwork distinguishes the best leadership.

Also, the respondents indicated that women qualities that they bring to bear on leadership include motherly care, emphatic understanding, foresight, compassion and inclusiveness. Similarly, Eagly *et al* (2012) who submitted that women leaders tend to adopt democratic or participatory style and a less autocratic or directive style than did men. It is also corroborated by Alimo-Meltcaffe (1995), who said that the transformational nature of women leadership and which is what is central to having effective and efficient leadership in Nigerian universities is greatly needed. Furthermore, Hunt (2007) quoting Fukuyama (1998) stated that women in leadership would bring about a more corporative and less conflict-prone world. This result indicated that women leadership of universities could make a difference in university leadership and reduce crises in the universities. This was envisaged by both students and staff of both universities. The implication of this is that the university community wants a change in approach which women leadership represents. It has also made it clear that the people know that women have something to offer in university leadership and in restoring peace by reducing crises in Nigerian universities. Therefore, women should be given the opportunity to lead the universities to minimize crises.

These are in line with the feminist perspective that women views are real and valid and represent a different point of view. It was patriarchy that turned their different point of view to weakness and perceived it as bad leadership quality. The women's inferior status has become a master status that tends to influence whatever women set out to do whether it is leadership, career, marriage or even religion. This is also carried into university education as noted by Mejuini (2013) and Acker (1992). Therefore, feminism, as a theory and action programme often clamours and advocates for change as feminists believe that until there is a substantial change in the status of women by changing gender relations, patriarchal values and practices, there will not be a transformation of the society in terms of women participating effectively in higher education especially at the leadership level. Until this is done, gender equality policies will continue to be what Mama (2003) referred to as reform, restore but do not transform. Bhasin and Khan (1999), therefore, called for conscious action by women and men to transform the present situation. This conscious action by women and men to transform the present situation has been the business of feminism for a long time and progress is being made, albeit gradually.

The empathetic quality of women, their democratic disposition and compassion are particularly important in the educational sector where the leader needs to interact effectively with the staff and students, particularly at a time when students ages in higher education is becoming lower. With the average

age of 23 years, it becomes more difficult to handle the students and women are more suited for such situations. Also, women's empathic understanding has the potential of reaching out to aggrieved people such as students and staff of universities in certain situations and the ability to settle disputes before they escalate into a serious crisis. This ability to build bridges among diverse people has become more important (Akudo and Okenwa 2015).

Furthermore, the study found that the factors militating against women leadership of universities include gender imbalance, religion, culture and the belief that women are gentle and weak. Odejide (2006) and Kiamba (2008) indicated these as major hindrances to female aspiration to leadership positions in the universities.

Religion was also found to constitute a hindrance to female leadership of universities. Nigerians have been shown to be highly religious, considering the number of churches, mosques and the diverse religious affiliations found in the country. All religions being practiced in Nigeria: Christianity, Islam and traditional African religion advocate women's submissiveness and upholds the patriarchal cultural values and practices.

With these injunctions, the woman is circumvented and there is hardly any escape route. Also with this high level of intimidation, how many women can still stand up to say I want to be a leader, to lead men and women and how many men who are already seeing their wives as foot mats would want a woman to lead them. Infact, many men voice this out to female leaders; I have a woman like you in my house and you cannot come here to boss me around. In some organizations, if the woman reports this to the board, to her chagrin, the board would be sympathetic to the man. These interactions tend to discourage women from vying for leadership positions. Importantly, these religious injunctions are fully supported by the cultural values and practices in everyday living.

It is equally important to point out that this intimidation would mingle with the socialization that women had received right from childhood and would deprive women of self-actualization, confidence and self-esteem, which are needed by every individual to be able to stand up in public and declare that she wants to be a leader. This is exactly the point Mejuini (2013) was making about the hidden curriculum in university training. The patriarchal gender roles and values deprive women of these qualities and makes it difficult for them to aspire to leadership positions. As such, gender imbalance, religion, culture and a belief that women are gentle and weak as indicated by the study are all products of the same problem; patriarchal cultural values and practices. This has clearly shown why the different strands and waves of feminisms are all pointing accusing fingers at patriarchy as the architect of the problem of women as noted by Friedan (1963).

Furthermore, the result of the test of hypotheses showed that men are more

positive about the fact that women can make a difference. The implication of this result was that men were more appreciative of the women's good leadership qualities which they can bring to bear on the university administration. Also, the result of the comparison of means of male and female views of the idea of having a female vice chancellor in their university showed that men were more favourably disposed to this idea. Why? One may be tempted to ask: this could be because in many cases women do not like women, they prefer men naturally. It could also be a result of the fact that women see fellow women as equals and incapable of being leaders and they would not want a fellow woman to be a leader. Our people use to say that when a woman becomes a leader or becomes powerful, she is no longer a woman, she has become a man. Another explanation for this was that women being a product of the patriarchal Nigerian society have been socialized to see men as the head and leaders. This was observed by Maluma (2013) that educated Zambian women may often not contest the status quo. This cultural orientation forces women to see other women who aspire to leadership positions as un-woman, deviants and insubordinates. With these labels, such women are hated by other women.

Thus, the system rewards women's conformity to the values of the majority but punishes and even vilifies any portrayal of different independent behaviours and values (Njobvu 2014). Importantly, women imbibe these cultural norms and practices more deeply than the men who have been favoured by the culture. Consequently, women carry out bad cultural practices on fellow women in the name of upholding the tradition. I believe that it is this phenomenon that is repeating itself in women and leadership in Nigerian universities. What then can one make of this? This result points to the fact that part of the problem of women and university leadership is other women. This has serious implications for women and leadership in Nigerian universities. In the first place, it was a signal that even when leadership positions are made available to women, many of them may not want to take up the position because they see leadership position as men's domain.

Also, the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the respondents on whether women can make a difference were subjected to comparison of means. The result showed that the Non Academic Staff Union (NASU), Muslims, people that earn between 51,000 to 100,000 and staff of UI were more favourably disposed that women can make a difference in reducing crises in Nigerian universities. It is interesting that it was NASU members who happened to be the least educated among university workers. This showed that formal education has little to do with patriarchal dispositions, gender roles, values and practices. The implication of this was that women leadership in these universities is not in sight because NASU members are not part of decision-making processes in these universities. Also, staff of UI were more in support of the assertion that

women can make a difference. This could be a result of the fact that UI is a more cosmopolitan university with more diverse groups and peoples who are bound to have more liberal views than the staff of OAU. Also, UI is in Ibadan township, a highly urban area and the town where the university is located is bound to have an influence on what happens in the university. The fact that UI is in urban area can make the staff more liberal in their outlook than OAU that is in a provincial town, Ile-Ife which incidentally is the seat of Yoruba culture and tradition, which is bound to influence the views of staff of Obafemi Awolowo University (OAU).

The very important aspect of this finding is that Nigerian universities are proposing and projecting a mission of building a world class university. How then do you reconcile this ambition of world class universities and low representation and marginalization of women in leadership positions in the universities? Is it only men that would build and achieve a world class university? This has serious implications for the development process. With the scenario presented in this study (wide gender gap in the university, particularly in leadership positions), the dream of world class universities and sustainable development are still far away from Nigeria.

Also, Pearson correlation of opinions on whether men's leadership style causes crises in universities showed that men's leadership style does in fact cause crises in the university. The authoritarian leadership style which has been demonstrated by Nigerian university leaders and even leaders in the wider Nigerian society have been shown to have caused many crises and hardships in Nigerian universities. It was this leadership style that brought about leaders not adhering to university regulations and statutes which was also indicated in the study by majority of the respondents as causing crises in the universities. It was also this same leadership style that brought about many police killings of students in Nigeria and caused loss of properties. This is more of a reason for a change of approach. This change can only be achieved by injecting a different perspective into the university leadership which women's leadership styles of compassion, inclusiveness, democracy and empathic understanding represents (Akudo and Okenwa 2015).

In furtherance of the discussion of the findings, the structure of the university as a system of governance was examined. The majority (82.3 %) of the respondents indicated that leaders not adhering to statutes cause crises in the universities. This was a sign that the university leadership was undemocratic. This is because the universities statutes were designed to be a democratic governance tool in such a way that all stake holders in the university participate in the decision-makings in the university. What this result implied was that this was not the case. Many university leaders administered the university as if it was their private company and treated other stakeholders autocratically which caused crises in the universities. For instance, 49 lecturers from University of Ilorin were fired without any hearing, which was against the regulation of the university. This was

why lecturers and other university workers who took their university to court in Nigeria usually won their case.

Sometimes, the university can ban academic staff union of universities in their university to ensure that the university teachers do not have any forum to express their grievances. Presently, the academic union in University of Ilorin which was banned since 2002 is still not back in place in 2017. In the same vein, some universities in Nigeria had banned student union which is the voice of the student body. The implication of banning the student body is to, to shut them up and to shut up the struggles for fairness and citizenship rights which means that they cannot air their views or demand anything and these universities still parade themselves as democratic organizations. All these practices show that some university leaders prefer to pursue their own selfish objectives instead of adhering to university statutes. Failure to adhere to university statutes by leaders explains the incessant crises in these universities.

Also, the opinions of the respondents were sought on whether the leadership structure of the university was good or bad. 67.7 percent of the respondents indicated that the university leadership structure was good and 65 percent of them said that the university structure was not capable of causing crises in the university. The implication of this is that the university structure is a good democratic/governance tool and as far as the respondents were concerned, not capable of causing crises. Also, 49.6 percent of the respondents said that the committee system is effective. This implies is that the committee system is a good democratic tool. However, during the in-depth interviews, some respondents said that even as the committee system is a good democratic tool, the corruption in the university system interferes with the functioning of the committee system. The high level of corruption in the Nigerian society makes it possible that a vice Chancellor can buy over a committee chairman and, in this way influence, the decisions of the committee. The vice chancellor can also become so autocratic that any committee chairman (as committee are answerable to the vice chancellor) that refuses to compromise his/her conscience and good judgement will be removed. All these practices reduce or undermine the efficiency and effectiveness of the committee system in the university.

As part of the findings of the study, the respondents suggested that to reduce crises in Nigerian universities, a change in approach to crises management was needed including staff and students in decisions, increased funding of universities and more proactive and effective leadership were needed. The implication of this was that the respondents still recognized the importance of a change in approach and I believe that this change in approach can mainly be brought into the university by women. Also, the issue of including staff and students was a topical issue in Nigerian universities because of the problem of autocratic leadership. It was not surprising that the democracy in the university was no different from the democracy

in the larger Nigerian society in which leaders became tin gods instead of being the servant of the people. Apparently, the traditional ruler-ship system in which the leader was seen as a representative of the gods (and as such commands reverence and respect without questioning) influenced the democratic system in Nigeria.

The result of the test of hypotheses showed that there was a significant relationship between democratization/implementation of the universities legal statutes and crises in Nigerian universities. This significant relationship implied that many Nigerian university leaders were undemocratic in their style of leadership, which most of the university stakeholders did not like. There had been many cases in which undemocratic administration of the university had caused serious crises in Nigerian universities.

Also, apart from the undemocratic nature of these universities, the university statutes circumvented the power of the committee system by placing the vice chancellor as the chairman of most committees. If the vice chancellor happens to be the culprit; a corrupt officer, who uses threats and intimidation to subdue other committee members, how then can such a vice chancellor be brought held accountable. In many of such cases, the committee members would suffer in silence because any overt action on their part against the vice chancellor may cost them their jobs, lives the lives of their family members. This raises the fundamental issues of citizenship and human security even in the university system which is supposed to be the conscience of the people.

With this undemocratic nature of many Nigerian universities, poor funding, poor facilities, incessant strikes and closures of universities and poor remuneration for staff, how do these universities intend to compete favourably with other universities in the world? The issue was that the Nigerian government was fond of telling universities that they should work hard to rank among the best in the world without giving the universities tools and facilities with which to perform. Also, giving full autonomy to universities was implicated. The university stakeholders knew that women had something to offer in university leadership and in restoring peace by reducing crises in Nigerian universities and should, therefore, be given the opportunity to lead the universities to minimize crises. The implication of these findings is that drastic concrete actions that go beyond policy are imperative and that all the stakeholders have to be involved so as to achieve the goal of transforming the universities and setting them on the right path for development.

In summary, in the last fifteen to twenty years, there was hardly any year or even month that there weren't crises in one or more of Nigerian universities. The high incidence of crises in Nigerian universities has become highly topical due to the detrimental effect it has on the growth of these universities, the quality of graduates produced by them and the loss of lives and properties caused by these crises. So many reasons had been given for this phenomenon ranging from lack of adequate funding, leadership of impunity in Nigerian universities, increment in

school fees, increase in the price of petrol, unwillingness of government to honour agreements reached with workers and a host of others. These crises took several dimensions. Some were between university management and staff or students or between university staff or students and the government. These crises were usually in form of strike actions, demonstrations, riots, heavy protests that involved much violence and tensions. The university leadership had been partly blamed for this problem. Most of the university leaders in Nigeria are men and men are noted for the leadership style of highhandedness, taking decisions without involving others and ignoring the university statutes and regulations.

The present study, therefore, set out to ask the following research questions: What were the causes of crises in Nigerian universities and Can women make a difference? The feminist and political economy theories/perspectives were used as explanatory tools for the study. Based on this orientation, I argued that bringing women into these leadership positions would make a difference because women's style of leadership would produce a neutralizing effect and reduce these crises. The following specific objectives were pursued: to examine the incidence and extent of crises in Nigerian universities; examine the causes of these crises; understand the role of federal government in these crises; examine if women leadership of these universities can bring the desired change; identify the women's qualities that can bring about this difference and examine the two Universities statutes and governance structures

The reviewed literature indicated that there was high incidence of crises in Nigerian universities and that these crises were caused by highhandedness of leaders, lack of funding, activities of government and others. It was also indicated that the federal government played a strong role in generating crises in Nigerian universities. Women leadership qualities were said to be different and capable of reducing crises in these universities.

The political economy and feminist theories were used as explanatory tools for the study: political economy theory was used to bring out the influence of government policies on the high incidence of crises. The feminist theoretical framework was used to explain the importance of bringing women into university leadership and to explain the reasons for women's absence in the university top management positions and to propose a change in leadership which only bringing women into leadership of universities can bring.

Before Nigerian universities can begin to boast of favourable rankings in this new scheme of things, the incessant crises in Nigerian universities has to be reduced to the barest minimum and as women's leadership style and qualities have been indicated as a veritable tool in reducing these crises, the issue of gender equity and equality should to be addressed. There is no way a university organization can grow to the needed standard in the world's new development agenda without including women and without harnessing the potentials of both men and women.

The book argues that bringing women into these leadership positions would make a difference because women's style of leadership is more accommodating and more participatory in nature and would likely reduce these crises. It goes without saying that women's qualities are also important. The God who created women differently has not made a mistake. He is wise enough to make women and men differently with different qualities so that these different qualities can complement each other. The labelling of women's qualities as weak and feminine and not good for leadership has constituted a big question since early feminist struggles. Was it the same God who created women and their unique qualities that suddenly realized that the qualities He created women with have turned sour for leadership. If not, who did this labelling? This is why feminists always point to patriarchy as the main culprit in creating the inferior social status of women, which has become a master status and follows women in everything they do including leadership in Nigerian universities.

How can government activities be causing crises in Nigerian universities? This is food for thought for Nigerian government because if it plays negative roles instead of positive roles in universities, it means that something is wrong somewhere. The governance in the wider society has replicated itself in governance in universities. The politics of do or die, putting round pegs in square holes, killing, maiming and money politics has been replicated in the university system and it continues to create crises because the university community is different from the general Nigerian society especially in level of education and their knowledge and conscious of fundamental human rights. As such, things that are condoned in the wider society may not be swallowed by the university stakeholders and crises are usually the result.

In concluding this book, a summary of major findings showed that government and university leadership cause crises and that the incidence of crisis is high. Also, it was found that women can make a difference in minimizing crisis in the universities and that men were more favourably disposed to women being leaders than women. Drawing from these findings, one can then conclude that crises in Nigerian universities is a leadership crisis and bringing in women into leadership of universities can provide an alternative leadership style which can minimize these crises.

Importantly, the university system is so colossal that it needs the input of both men and women for it to function efficiently and effectively. This is to say that patriarchy has robbed Nigeria of an effective university organization that would be able to withstand the challenges of globalization and compete effectively with its counterparts globally. With all the issues found/raised in this study, an alternative leadership has been found for Nigerian universities – women leadership of Nigerian universities has become the alternative leadership because women would bring a different perspective which is truly what the universities in Nigeria

need to achieve effective and efficient university organization. Reflecting on the findings of this study, there is need for guidelines for action. The gender policy (which addressed most of the gender issues in the university) is already in place in OAU but active and effective implementation of this policy is needed. Also, sensitization of women in women only workshops for women to realise that they have leadership potentials. Furthermore, workshops on mainstreaming gender into academic curriculum is needed to be organized for Heads of Departments in the two universities. Indeed, it has become imperative to fix the women, fix the curriculum and fix the university organization.

Recommendations

- As the study indicated that women can make a difference, university authorities must find a way of encouraging women into university leadership positions- call it affirmative action if you like. For instance, universities can start rolling their vice chancellorship, registrar, bursar, librarian on gender basis- that is male this time, next time it would be the turn of female.
- There is great need for education and sensitization of men and women for them to realise that women are equal partners in education and the development process.
- Government should be more open to her responsibilities. Instead of causing crises in university, government can do the opposite by providing adequate funding for the universities and stopping undue interference in the affairs of Nigerian universities.
- University authorities should adhere strictly to the university statutes and governance structures and stop undemocratic practices that tend to create crises in the universities and should try to imbibe due process in all their activities.
- The canker worm of corruption should be tackled by government and university management by starting among themselves and by allowing all committees and check and balances built into the university system to do their work freely without intimidation, molestation and threats.

Appendices

Plate 1 (Appendix 1):

Standstill at OAU as NASU: (Non-academic staff of Nigerian universities) blocks school main roads

Activities at OAU were grounded as members of the school's chapter of NASU blocked the main entrance of the University, stopping ingoing and outgoing vehicles. Students and other people were stranded as this was happening during the semester examinations. This unrest was caused by non-payment of the workers' arrears by the university management.

Source: Guardian July 1, 2012.

Plate 2 (Appendix 2):

University of Ibadan Senate Suspends Academic Calendar after Students Protest

Following days of protests by students of UI, which paralyzed academic and economic activities in the school, the school management shut down the school to forestall the breakdown of law and order and destruction of lives and properties. The students were protesting over epileptic power and water supply on campus. The school authority was angry with the students and submitted that the students should have lodged their complaints to federal government and Power Holding Company of Nigeria whose responsibility it is to provide these facilities.

Source: Guardian April 29, 2012.

Water Scarcity Hits Obafemi Awolowo University

In addition, OAU witnessed serious crises in water and power supply which created much hardship for students. According to the coordinator of works and maintenance division, the university community had to endure periods of water scarcity due to the breakdown of electrical transformer in the university water works. In the University, students are fetching water from tanks.

Source: Guardian, November 25, 2012.

The issues/problems in the figures/APPENDIX 1 and 2, are among the very important issues that create tensions and crises in Nigerian universities. For instance, in figures 2, when the students suffer and in some cases miss their lecture because of this lack of facilities, they usually begin to group themselves together and talk about the problem and from there, crises would result.

The Universities Statutes and Governance Structures

A review of the statutes and governance structures of Obafemi Awolowo University and University of Ibadan; sources from Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, 2008 – 2012 Calendar

At the highest echelon of the university leadership are the principal officers of the university. The chancellor is the overall head of the university leadership. He presides over ceremonies such as convocation ceremonies and very important occasions in the life of the university. He is the ceremonial head of the university (page 48).

The next in line of authority in the University is the Pro Chancellor. He is the Chairman of the University Council and chairs the major decisions by the university such as appointment of a new Vice Chancellor, termination of appointment of confirmed staff who has gone against the rules of the university, decisions on plans and progress of the university (OAU Calendar 2008-2012 page 48.).

The Vice Chancellor is the operational head of the university. He sees to the day to day running of the university. He chairs the senate and some other statutory committees that see to the daily operations of the university. He takes disciplinary actions against erring staff and students after considering the recommendation of the disciplinary committee (page 49).

The Deputy Vice Chancellor Academic assists the Vice Chancellor in academic matters of the university. He sees to the smooth running of academic programmes in the university and may be involved in other activities as deemed fit by the Vice Chancellor. He represents the Vice Chancellor in academic events if the Vice Chancellor is unavailable and the Vice Chancellor can also send him to represent him in other non-academic events (page 50).

The Deputy Vice Chancellor (Administration) assists the Vice Chancellor in ensuring that the administrative arm of the university is running smoothly. He supervises the allocation of houses to staff and students and ensures that all the administrative duties of the university are being carried out correctly.

The Registrar heads all the secretarial activities; correct and total recording of the university activities. He ensures that student and staff records are well kept. He communicates in writing all decisions of the management of the university to staff and students (page 51).

The university librarian oversees university books, the arrangements of the books, modalities for making them available to staff and students, aligns with local and foreign agencies and universities to bring needed books to the university (page 51).

The Bursar takes charge of all financial transactions of the university both the financial transactions within the university and other transactions the university has with the outside world (page 52).

The Council of the University

The university council consists of the Pro-Chancellor, the Vice Chancellor, the Deputy Vice Chancellors (academic and administration), four federal government nominees, one representative of the Federal Ministry of Education, four representatives of the University Senate, two representatives of congregation and the University Registrar who is usually the secretary of the council. The council is the highest governing body of the University and all important decisions of the university are taken at this level.

From the constitution of the council, all the stakeholders that make up the university system are fully represented in this governing body. This means that the interest of every group is protected in the operations of the university and the university can be said to be democratic (page 52).

The Senate

The University Senate is another very important governing body of the university. The Senate oversees the graduation of students, establishment and approval of results, academic programmes, administrative issues, university strategic/development plans, university awards, and other operational issues that concern staff and students. The Vice Chancellor is the Chairman of the Senate. The members of the Senate are the Vice Chancellor, the deputy Vice Chancellors; academic and administration, the provosts of the College of Health Sciences and the Post Graduate College, the Deans of Faculties, all the Professors in the University and the Registrar is the secretary of Senate, twenty-seven faculty representatives and twelve congregation representatives. Also in attendance are the Directors of units and all the faculty secretaries in the university.

The constitution of the Senate shows that every department and all groups in the university are represented and it means that all the decisions taken at the Senate would be democratic and fair. This says a lot about governance in the university (page 54).

The university is also governed through the committee system. There are several committees that oversee the different aspects of the activities of the university.

The first committees to be considered are the committees of council which are general purposes and finance committees and the tenders board. The members of these committees are the pro chancellor, Vice Chancellor, deputy vice chancellors, six members of the council, senate and congregation representatives and the executive secretary, National University Commission (page 61).

The functions of these committees are: to consider and make recommendations to the council on draft annual estimates of income and expenditure for each financial year; to approve rules and procedures for the control of expenditure and administration of other financial matters; to authorize the supplementary estimates of income and expenditure; to direct the form in which the annual estimates of income and expenditure shall be prepared; to consider and make recommendations to the council on the terms and conditions of service of the academic staff, the administrative staff, and other staff of the university provided that the terms and conditions of service of academic staff shall not be so considered except after a recommendation made by senate in that behalf.

The appointment and promotions committee is another important committee. The members are the Vice Chancellor (chairman), the two deputy vice chancellors, the registrar, deans of all faculties, and representatives of the university council, five members of senate appointed by senate and representative of non-faculty based academic units. It deals with the appointment and promotion of academic staff on behalf of the university council to appoint or promote members of the university staff designated by the council as senior academic staff provided that the vice chancellor may appoint a person to a post in this category for a period of not more than twelve months where he is satisfied that special circumstances so require, and all such appointment as soon as possible shall be reported to the committee. The committee also considers and decides the confirmation or extension of appointments of senior members of academic staff on the expiry of initial period of appointment. They perform such functions as may from time to time be referred to by the vice chancellor (page 60).

The administrative staff committee sees to the appointment and promotion of administrative and technical staff of the university (on behalf of the council). Other than those officers whose mode of appointment is specified in the statutes; provided that the vice chancellor in accordance with paragraph 9 of statute 18 may appoint a member of the administrative and technical staff of the university for a period of not more than twelve months where he is satisfied that special circumstances so required. All such appointments as soon as possible shall be reported to the committee for ratification. They also deal with all matters relating to entry point on salary scale, confirmation of appointment, leave, staff training and related matters. They also advise the Vice Chancellor from time to time on matters concerning the administrative and technical staff of the university. The members of this committee are the vice chancellor (Chairman), the deputy vice chancellors (academic and administration), the Registrar,

university librarian, the Bursar, three members of the council, the Director, division of work and maintenance services, Director, medical and health services and Director of personnel affairs (OAU University Calender 2008-2012).

There is also disciplinary board for student matters. This committees investigates allegations and recommends to appropriate disciplinary measures to be meted out on erring students to the Vice Chancellor. The members are the Dean, faculty of technology, one senate representative, and the Director of planning, budgeting and monitoring unit.

Concerning the appointment of university staff, according to statute 19 of the university calendar (2008-2012), a member of academic or administrative staff shall hold office on such terms and conditions of service as may be set out in any contract. This should be in writing between him and the university, such contract being signed on behalf of the university by the registrar or by such other person as may be authorized for that purpose by the university. Any such contract shall contain a provision that the terms and conditions of service herein specified are subject to the provisions of the law, the statute, ordinances and regulations of the university (OAU University Calender 2008-2012).

All these are from University calendar and I indicated it in the beginning of the section

The appointment of the Vice Chancellor (statute 20) shall be by joint committee of the council and the senate and the members are the pro chancellor (chairman), two members of council not being members of senate and two members of senate who are professor but who are not members of the search team. Also, the joint teams of council and senate board of selection appoint other principal officers; registrars, bursars, and librarians. The members of this board are the pro-chancellor (chairman), vice chancellor, two members of council not being members of senate and two members of senate.

In the same vein, the chancellor may be removed from office (statue 20) for good cause by the visitor (President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria) after consultation with the council. The Pro-Chancellor may be removed from office for good cause by the visitor after consultation with the council. The Vice Chancellor may be removed from office for good cause by the visitor after consultation with the council.

Furthermore, any member of the academic staff or administrative staff of the university may be removed from office for good cause (if the act is capable of hindering the University's ability to achieve academic excellence) by the council provided that the following is observed; a member of an academic staff who holds an appointment until retiring age shall not be determined by the council unless there has been an investigation relating to his case by a joint committee (page 62).

In the same vein, the appointment of an administrative staff who holds an appointment until retiring age shall not be determined by the council unless the person has been notified in writing of the grounds of which consideration is being given to the determination of his appointment. There will be an investigation relating to his case by a three man investigating committee (page 62)

In looking at the university statutes and ordinances that have been described above, it becomes obvious that many of the issues that causes crises in Nigerian universities stem from an inability on the part of university management to do things according to the university statutes. This is in the sense that many of these crises are caused by the fact that the university management failed to follow the statutes. For instance, when firing the forty-nine lecturers in UI 2002, UI management did not consult any statutes and fired the lecturers arbitrarily. This created unprecedented crises in IU and in other universities in Nigeria. Also, there had been situations in which universities fired staff who did not commit any offence other than being vocal and speaking the truth or for participating in union activities without a fair hearing.

In all these governing bodies, women are virtually absent or lowly represented. This is due to the fact that women are lowly represented in academics and the higher the position the fewer the women. Importantly, it is from these bodies and committees that vice chancellor, deputy Vice chancellors, principal officers and heads of establishments emerge. As women are not fully represented in these governing bodies, where would they come from to become the leaders of the university? For instance, in OAU, among the top officers, the chancellor, the pro chancellor, vice chancellor, the Deputy Vice Chancellors (academic and administration) and the Registrar are all men. It is only the librarian and the acting Bursar that are women. The same thing applies to Senate; the provosts of the college of health sciences and the post graduate college are men.

The issue here is that there is a great problem of having few women at the top and therefore not having a critical mass of women population from whom to choose these leaders from. This means that the critical/structural problem of having fewer women in secondary education translates to tertiary education and to leadership in these tertiary institutions.

In this chapter, issues concerning women and leadership that were found in the literature have been discussed globally, in Africa and in Nigeria. This chapter also discussed whether women can make a difference in university leadership and the qualities that can make a difference were reviewed. This has laid a good foundation for presentation of the results of the study which follows in the next chapter.

Plate 1 (Appendix 1)

Standstill At OAU, As NASU Blocks School Main Roads

• Cars, Okada Riders Ply Track Field

LAST Wednesday, activities at the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, were grounded as members of the school's chapter of Non-Academic Staff Union (NASU) blocked main entrance to the campus – Road One. Stopping incoming and outgoing traffic. This development is not unrelated with the on going internal strike of the union that has crippled salient work-engines of the university such as the Senate building and library complex.

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However, several students frowned at this development. One of them, a law student who pleaded anonymity, said "this is very uncalled for. It's examination period and blocking the road won't affect the management that they are fighting with. The management stay at staff quarters. It's the students that stay in town who make up 50 per cent of campus population that are now affected. Then what's the use of the action?"

Staff, students, workers and visitors were forced to walk down the long 'marathon' road one, while cars and motorcycle operators popularly called *okada* riders turned the track field and cricket pitch of the sports complex to 'road one'



Alutta moment

Plate 2 (Appendix 2)



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