UN-Habitat (2003b). *The challenge of slums: Global Report on Human Settlements*.
London, Earthscan Publications Ltd.

United Nations International Strategies for Disaster Reduction, UN-ISDR (2005). Hyogo
Framework for Action 2005-2015: Building the Resilience of Nations and Communities to Disasters. Hyogo: UN-ISDR.

Wilches-Chaux, G. (1989). *Desastres, ecologismo y formación profesional*.
Colombia:

SENA, Popayán.

Wim Naudé, Amelia U. Santos-Paulino and Mark McGillivray (2009). Measuring Vulnerability: An Overview and Introduction, *Oxford Development Studies*, 37(3), 183-191, DOI: 10.1080/13600810903085792.

Wisner, B., Blaikie, P., Cannon, T. and Davis, I. (eds.) (2004). *At risk: natural hazards,*
people's vulnerability and disasters. 2ⁿᵈ ed., London, Routledge.

World Commission on Environment and Development, WCED (1987). *Our common future*
(The Brundtland Report). Oxford University Press, Oxford. Available at http://www.worldinbalance.net/pdf/1987-brundtland.pdf. Accessed on November 7, 2011).

World Health Organization (WHO, 2020). Urban population growth. Available at https://www.who.int/gho/urban_health/situation_trends/urban_population_growth_text/en/. Accessed August 17, 2020.

Wratten, Ellen (1995). Conceptualizing urban poverty. *Environment and Urbanization,* 7(1),
11-37.

Yamin, F., Rahman, A. and Hug, S. (2005). Vulnerability, adaptation and climate disasters: a conceptual overview". *IDS Bulletin*, 36(4).

Cultural Capital as a Facilitator of Career Success for Women in Nigeria

Nwakaego Bernadette ELEJE, PhD

Department of Sociology, Lead City University, Ibadan, Oyo State
Corresponding Author's Email: egoeleje@gmail.com
Phone No: +2348039551122

Abstract

The study uses in-depth biographical interviews to explore meanings and perceptions in the lived experiences of women who achieved top leadership positions in various professions in Nigeria. Drawing from Bourdieu's cultural reproduction theory, the study highlights the unique contribution of cultural capital in individual women's career advancement strategies in their various professional fields in Nigeria. The findings reveal how the women in the study achieved top leadership positions in their professions by decisively leveraging on both bequeathed and achieved cultural capital. These they brought to bear in challenging and navigating through organisational (field) doxa and illusio, and the societal barriers that impede women's career advancement in Nigerian work settings. My argument is that women are positioned to break through career entry barriers by leveraging on bequeathed parental cultural capital, and that they push further up the career ladder by accumulating and leveraging on their own cultural capital. I, therefore, submit that cultural capital offers women the agency, resilience and voice in navigating the career landscape to break through the dominant cohort's hold on top leadership positions in professional fields in Nigeria and thus poses as a facilitator of career success for women in Nigeria.

Word Count: 194

Keywords: Career advancement, cultural capital, leadership positions, women Profession

Introduction

Globally, women lag behind their male counterparts in leadership ranks and senior level roles in the world of work. This is despite the narrowing gender gaps in educational attainments and workplace seniority between men and

women. Thornton (2019) reports that the proportions of women in management and board positions globally are 25%, and 17% respectively. This phenomenon stems from the prevalence of "the glass ceiling" effect, described as those transparent barriers that prevent women from moving past a certain point in the corporate ladder (Morrison, White & van Velsor, 1987; Reinhold, 2005).

Glass ceiling barriers against women are multi-dimensional; emanating from organisational, societal and internal barriers that women harbour in themselves. These are either manifesting at women's entry points into the world of work or portend as factors that militate against their rise in the top leadership pipeline (Oakley, 2000; Chovwen & Ivensor, 2009). Some of the noted glass ceiling barriers that impede women's attainment of leadership positions across different professions include; male-dominant organisational culture, patriarchal gender norms and values, as well as lack of self-confidence that women harbour internally.   Studies suggest that women's career advancements are strongly mediated by societal norms and values which are generally entrenched in traditional gender-roles prevalent in patriarchal societies. Literature has it that these factors coalesce and spill into organisations as policies and practices, transmuting into pervasive gender regimes that favour and give men unearned advantages over women. For example, one of the outcomes of traditional gender division of labour is the single sex structure disposition that regards the public world of work as customarily a male domain and the private world of childcare and home management as mainly a female responsibility. It is a culture that inculcates in women the tendency to de-select themselves in the public world of work while giving the prerogative of first choice to leadership positions to men. Scholars maintain that these are known to institutionalize the relegation of women to marginalized work roles, reduce them to subordinate positions, and exclude them from top leadership roles (Bobbitt-Zeher, 2011; Prescott & Bogg, 2011; Cha, 2013, Burke & Major, 2014).

Furthermore, Sandberg (2013) notes that woman are found to internalise negative sexism, gender stereotypes, and the double-binds that sexualize outspokenness, aggressiveness and the power dynamics that ordinarily act as drivers to career aspirations. Meanwhile, leadership attributes are couched on

such personal attributes as assertiveness, confidence, resourcefulness, creativity, loyalty and trustworthiness. Meanwhile, these are considered to be vital for women who aspire to achieve leadership positions in their professions (Singh & Shahabudin, 2000). Women are said to shy away from showcasing their talents and projecting the requisite visibility for leadership roles (Lam, 2006; Linge *et al.,* 2010; Sandberg, 2013). Sandberg reiterates that these are some of the major reasons why women do not overcome their challenges and achieve leadership positions in the world of work.

One key strategy believed to be impactful on women's career advancement in overcoming glass ceiling barriers is cultural capital as enunciated by Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1986). Bourdieu's (1977, 1986) cultural reproduction theory, used the notion of cultural capital to espouse the inequality in academic achievements between children from different social classes. The core premise in the theory is that cultural capital, transferred over generations and possessed by families and individuals, is a valuable resource that contributes to individuals' educational success (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Also, children inherit cultural capital from their parents, either passively via exposure to parents' cultural capital or actively via parents' deliberate efforts to transfer the same to them (Cheung & Andersen 2003; Lareau, 2003).

In addition, cultural capital is embedded in children's knowledge, language, and mannerisms; what Bourdieu calls their "habitus" (Swartz, 1997; Dumais, 2002). These manifest as a collection of symbolic elements like skills, tastes, posture, clothing, mannerisms, material belongings, credentials etc. that individuals acquire through being part of a specific family and social class. Bourdieu (1977) further submits that cultural capital is inculcated first-hand by families; being the primary agent of socialisation. Moreover, children are not just socialised into the "values of society", but are rather socialised into the culture that is valued within their social class. More often than not, the evidence of the value accorded to these cultural resources is in the social ranks or positions accorded to actors in the social hierarchy (Joy, Game, & Toshniwal, 2018). When these are accumulated, they not only become a source of social inequality; they can enhance one's social mobility and can also be traded or converted as economic (income) and symbolic (status) capitals (Bourdieu, 1977;

Longhofer & Winchester, 2012). In this regard, Bourdieu, (1986, 1992) recognise cultural capital in a way that exerts on a wide range of differing influences, and that it can be applied to explanations of achievement or under-achievement.

In women career studies, it has been suggested that both women and organisations must devise strategies for overcoming top leadership pipeline barriers in order to advance women to leadership positions. Although studies on leadership pipeline barriers against women's careers in the world of work are numerous, only recently has career capitals (social, human and cultural) been taken into cognizance, as influential facilitators of women's career success (Duberley & Cohen, 2010; Tracy & Kelsey, 2019; Jayashree, Lindsay & McCarthy,2020). In addition, while agentically constructed strategies implemented by women to achieve career success are extensively researched in Western cultures, few studies have focused on women who attained leadership positions in African societies and their contrived strategies of attaining same (Nkomo & Ngambi, 2009; Brychan, Anthony & Isaiah, 2013).

Moreover, while other career capitals like social capital and human capital have been extensively researched into in women's career development, especially in Western literature (Bilimoria, Joy & Liang, 2008; Dworkin, Maurer & Schipani, 2012; Sealy, & Vinnicombe, 2013), the invaluableness of cultural capital to women's career advancement has hardly been explored in the Nigerian context. Thus, in framing a contextual approach to the issue of women's career success and attainment of top leadership positions in Nigeria, this researcher draws on Bourdieu's framework of cultural capital and its components; *field*, *habitus*, *doxa* and *illusio*, in undertaking the study. This study brings into perspective how women can harness and leverage on cultural capital for career advancement and attainment of top leadership positions in their professions in Nigeria. This study thus adds to the pool of existing literature on career studies on women in top leadership positions in various professions in Nigeria.

In undertaking the study, the researcher was motivated specifically by the desire to determine how cultural capital is accumulated by women over the course of their lives, and how these are constructed and leveraged on by individual women for career advancement purposes. To achieve this, the

researcher set out to determine the following: (i) what constitutes cultural capital to the participants and their significant others in line with Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital. (ii) How the participants converted and leveraged on their bequeathed and accumulated cultural capital in advancing their careers successfully. (iii) The significant contributions of cultural capital to participants' attainment of leadership positions in their various professions in Nigeria.

Review of Literature

Bourdieu's Framework of Cultural Capital: Bourdieu's (1986) cultural reproduction theory conceptualizes cultural capital as constituting the attributes of white, middle and upper middle socio-economic classes, employed in the reproduction of social status. Bourdieu designates the concept as consisting of education and other cultural artifacts which are the result of the educational and cultural efforts, undertaken either by the actor or his/her progenitors. Bourdieu categorised cultural capital into three; *institutionalized state* (e.g. academic qualifications and credentials), *embodied state* (e.g. Previous work experience, ability to speak different languages, or relevant cross-cultural experiences), and objectified state (e.g. Through artifacts, dress, or other material manifestations).

In an embodied state, cultural capital is an integral part of the possessor, and is part of a person's habitus, and is usually interred in the individual. The two key attributes of embodied cultural capital are highbrow cultural participation and concerted cultivation. Highbrow cultural participation connotes familiarity with legitimate or dominant culture, engaged in by parents and children as part of their cultural embodiments. This includes such cultural activities like going to the museum, attending musical concerts or taking arts classes and engaging in organised leisure time activities. Concerted cultivation on the other hand is predicated on availability and access to a stimulating literary environment, including having libraries at home, and having access to such educational resources that inculcates reading culture in children. Concerted cultivation is also indicated in parents' efforts to foster children's talents through organised hobby time activities, or belonging to any organisation that encourages such activities like sports, arts, dance, drama, and

other extracurricular activities. Such activities have been recognised in literature as imbuing cognitive and non-cognitive skills and generally contributing to children's academic performance (Jæger, 2010).

Bourdieu also recognises institutionalised cultural capital as expressed in scholastic investment and the yield it generates for the individual or their scions. Institutionalised cultural capital is initiated first hand by families. The degree to which it is inculcated in an individual and how such an individual prioritises it, is a function of his/her social class. Different social class groups are noted to allocate different proportions of their resources to scholastic investments. Bourdieu notes that the middle and upper classes devote greater portions of their resources to their children's education than the lower class. By this, they bestow educational advantages on their children by educating them in Ivy League schools with which they maintain their social status. For example, a wealthy family can support their children and enable them to study abroad or get into exclusive schools locally in order to acquire sound knowledge and prestigious qualifications which are highly preferred in the job field thereby giving them competitive advantage (Košutić, 2017). Interpreting Bourdieu's concept of institutionalised cultural capital, Kraaykamp and van Eijck (2010) posit that it equally exists as an objectified state of human capital which can comprise of educational qualifications and work experiences and that these are not equitably distributed among different social class groups. Research further establishes that education and training are crucial to women's career advancement (Seibert, Kraimer, & Liden, 2001; Umbach, 2003). Umbach further affirms that parental involvement in their children's education is significant for women in the early stages of their career paths and choices. The contention is that women who possess a high degree of cultural capital are likely to have a higher degree of career aspirations.

Bourdieu's Concept of *Habitus*

Bourdieu considers *habitus* as 'a system of lasting, transposable dispositions integrated in an individual's cultural capital espoused in their past experiences, perceptions, appreciations, and actions' (Bourdieu 1977b: 82-83). *Habitus* is a way of understanding the world, an imbued 'mental structure' of self, inculcated first hand by families from early socialisation as well as through

other sources like educational institutions and the media (Bourdieu, 1989; Kelly & Lusis, 2006). Furthermore, Bourdieu submits that the upper and middle class utilize their *habitus* in class reproduction by providing a different kind of education to their next generation than lower class families do. Family habitus creates like-mindedness within the family unit and inculcates in children the inclination to invest time, effort, and money towards preserving and sustaining the family's capital and social status (Košutić, 2017).

The argument in literature is that the early life experiences (habitus) inculcated by the family provides foundational learning for women to develop a strong sense of self, gender identity and gender equality. In the career field, it endows women with the capacity to make conscious choices, and to actively negotiate and engage with other actors in the field as well as to take risks, all through their career trajectories (Jayashree, Lindsay and McCarthy, 2020). Habitus, with the capital development that it nurtures, thus helps to mitigate the barriers encountered by women in their career fields. This is because their habitus embodies a level of agency that serves women effectively in later career development stages (Jayashree, et al.).

For women, therefore, the family is the unit that inculcates the requisite habitus that enables them to develop a sense of identity and voice which can become a significant predictor of later agency in their lives (Jayashree, et al.). In addition, Bourdieu (1990) posits that habitus is durable, can be reinvented or transformed if the individual enters a new field where their existing habitus does not fit in. For example, cultivating a professional identity has been suggested as one of the ways habitus can be re-invented to fit into a new field. Tracy and Kelsey (2019) argues that women cultivate professional excellence by engaging their habitus. In addition, embarking on a conscious cultivation of knowledge, skill and dispositions is also a way of cultivating professional identity and is found to increase women's value and credibility in professional fields (Tracy & Kelsey).

Bourdieu's Concepts of *Field*, *Doxa* **and** *Illusio*

Field, as espoused in the Bourdieusian (1990) framework, reflects "a social space in which players are positioned with given resources' ' and shared rules that draw them together, by which they earn legitimacy (Glover, Champion,

Daniels, & Boocock, 2016). Equally, Bourdieu depicts *doxa* as the unwritten rules of a *field* while *illusio* is termed as the belief in the game being played in the field. Doxa are the taken-for-granted fundamentals of a field, and illusio is regarded as the extent to which actors in the field invest commitment in the stakes of the field. Literature affirms that *doxa* and *illusio* provide a deeper understanding of how dominant actors within a field control and regulate the rules of engagement within that field (Bourdieu, 1990; Golsorkhi, et al, 2009).

The concept of *field* as enunciated by Bourdieu has been extended to organisational research, especially in establishing its relevance and influence in bestowing values essential for success in professional fields. First is the assertion that fields are occupied by dominant members who define the implicit rules (doxa) and what is considered as valuable capital within that field. In the world of work, patriarchal norms regarding gender roles are consciously and unconsciously reproduced within organisational fields and tends to bestow legitimacy on the power structures of the dominant cohort (men). By this, they dictate what is considered as valued capital within organisations with which they exclude those who do not possess such capitals from leadership positions, and in most cases, women are the excluded group (Joy, Game, and Toshniwal, 2018).

Bourdieu, however, submits that the greater the capacity of an individual to align with the capital valued in a particular field, and to accumulate same, the greater the likelihood of the individual to attain leadership positions in that field (Fligstein & McAdam, 2011). Thus, when women accumulate capitals valued within their professional fields and understand and align with the doxa and the illusio prevalent in that field, they are very likely to overcome the pipeline barriers to leadership positions as the case may be. This is because both men and women value relevant field capitals and women who accumulate such valued capitals are able to operate and succeed even within traditional male "habitus-field-capital" professional settings (Jayashree, et al., 2020).

Bourdieu's framework of cultural capital has been recognised for its multi-faceted purposes among scholars and has thus been used in numerous and diverse ways in empirical research (Lamont & Lareau, 1988; Kingston, 2001, Kraaykamp & van Eijck, 2010). Most studies employ the concept in a part procedural sense, often adopting its embodied and institutionalised states,

though such researchers may apply it as if it represents the whole concept (Kraaykamp & van Eijck). Other researchers have sought to apply its components -*habitus*, *field*, *doxa* and *illusio*, either collectively or singly in empirical research (Dumais, 2002; Huppatz, 2009; Iva Košutić, 2017; Jayashree, et al., 2020).

Understanding women's careers requires a multi-contextual approach because of the multifaceted nature of women's living experiences. Cultural capital is hereby adopted in its multi-faceted components in undertaking the study. The study examined how the participants accumulated and leveraged on cultural capital, including parental cultural capital and their individually accumulated capitals in developing their careers in Nigeria. The study in this wise explored how professional women in Nigeria leveraged on their cultural capital in understanding the *doxa* and *illusio* prevalent in their professions (fields) in achieving top leadership positions in their professions. This agrees with the submission that cultural capital can be applied in empirical studies in reflecting it as "widely shared, high status cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviour, good education and credentials used for social and cultural exclusion" or inclusion, and as measures of achievement or under-achievement (Kraaykamp & Van Eijck, 2010: 211).

Research Methodology

The base data for this work was collected between 2015 and 2016 in South-West Nigeria as part of a bigger research project that interrogated the career advancement strategies leveraged on by women in executive management positions in the banking industry to build successful careers in the industry. The study was, however, expanded to investigate the influence of cultural capital on women's career advancement and attainment of top leadership positions in various professions in Nigeria.

In-depth biographical interviews were used to explore the meanings and perceptions that the participants attached to their live experiences and how these engendered the generation of volumes of cultural capital that impacted their careers successfully. This method helped the researcher to gain information pertaining to the personal life stories of the participants as well as a range of information on how they accumulated and leveraged on vital cultural

resources that impacted their career development. An understanding of the career experiences, challenges, successes and the meanings that these professional women brought to bear on their careers and the successes they achieved was thereby greatly illuminated.

Participants' Profiles and Selection

The participants in the study were a mix of women in leadership positions across various professions in Nigeria, located in Lagos and Ibadan, in South-Western Nigeria. The study investigated their experiences in building their careers in different professions, including banking, academia, health/medical, legal and other ancillary professions. The first level of the study was conducted with women in executive management positions in the Nigerian banking industry, in Lagos. The second level was undertaken after the researcher attended the March 2020 International Women's Day celebration organized by ABC Foundation and the former First Lady of Oyo State, Chief (Mrs.) Florence Ajimobi. Some of the key-note speakers in the conference were purposively selected for interview while more participants were recruited from women in professorial cadre in Lead City University, Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria.

Twenty-one women in executive management positions in the various banks in Nigeria were interviewed in the first level of the study. Seven additional women leaders in their professions were subsequently interviewed in the second level of the study. These include, 2 professors, 1 architect, 2 medical doctors, 1 legal practitioner and 1 information technology engineer. In all, a total of 28 women who have had considerable work experiences and attained top leadership positions in their professions were selected and interviewed. The researcher relied on the women to provide data on their career life experiences, addressing matters relating to them as individuals, including their childhood experiences, their experiences as women, the roles organisational policies and processes and societal norms played in shaping their career development.

The participants were within the age range of late forties to late sixties, and have put in an average of twenty five years in their careers. Apart from the architect, the lawyer and the InfoTech engineer who have established their own businesses in the private sector, all the other women have built their career in

the paid labour sector in Nigeria. All the women are married with children, except four who are single mothers.

Most of the participants had their post-secondary education abroad, either in the UK, Europe or USA while those of them who had their first degree tertiary education in Nigeria went on to earn second degrees and other supplementary professional certificates from Universities abroad. The minimal academic qualification obtained by all the participants is a Master's Degree. They have all in one way or the other augmented their academic qualifications with various professional qualifications and certifications valued within their professions both locally and internationally.

Data Analysis

The themes and concepts that emerged from the data were extracted using the coding paradigm process of open, axial, and selective coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The starting point in the analytic interpretation of the data was the open coding of the transcribed interview by inputting the transcribed interviews into NVivo qualitative software. The use of NVivo software did not only help in managing the complexity of the rich text of the documented interviews, but also helped in the adoption and integration of the participants' "telling terms" as part of the NVivo codes in the analysis (Charmaz, 2006). The generated codes were categorized and labelled with some of the emerged themes to unearth the meanings and actions they evoked in the phenomenon under study. Furthermore, the Nvivo codes that emerged were subjected to analytic and comparative treatments in the subsequent coding steps, and were only adopted where they made enough analytical sense to be integrated into the findings generated in the study (Charmaz, 2006).

Findings and Discussion

The findings generated in the study are framed within the Bourdieusian constructs of cultural capital in its embodied and institutionalised forms, with further emphasis on the interactions and relations among key components of cultural capital (field, habitus, doxa and illusio) in the participants' achieved career successes. The focus was on the outcomes of participants' parental cultural capital accumulation in its institutionalized states (educational attainment) and embodied states (cultural participation and concerted

cultivation) and how participants converted and leveraged on these for career accomplishments. Participants' accumulations of their own cultural capital and how these were utilized in navigating the doxa and illusio prevalent in their professions (field) to advance their careers successfully was further interrogated.

Parental Cultural Capital and Participants' Career Success

The findings show that parental cultural capital in its institutionalised and embodied states were both passively and actively transferred to the participants in their early lives through family socialization, education and other sources.

The participants had both parents accomplished in their professions by virtue of their academic and professional attainments. Most of their parents were among the first generation of educated elites in post-independence Nigeria who took over from the British colonialists. They achieved high level academic and professional qualifications, established and built careers in various professions and industries in Nigeria. Among their fathers are engineers, lawyers, diplomats, pharmacists and academics. Others were top government officials, top politicians, military officers, financial executives and top executives in blue chip companies in Nigeria. Most of the participants' mothers also were either professionals like nurses, lawyers, educationists, or were engaged in various forms of business. Only one participant came from a non-professional background. Her father was into commerce and her mother was a trader. Yet, she maintained that her father placed very high value on education and made sure that all his children got a good education.

.Chelsea said:

> My father partially had to propel me to this level. He was an engineer. He worked in the NEPA of old. He went to the University of Ibadan. He was the first graduate we had in my place! And he grew up in Lagos! Actually, he went to King's College which a few people attend.

Adesola also stated; "My mum comes from a family of engineers. She worked at the Nigerian Ports Authority herself, at the data processing management department. My father worked with the Nigerian Breweries. He was a sales executive."

Thus for the participants, both parents were accomplished professionals by virtue of their academic and professional attainments. They achieved career and business successes, and thereby attained middle and upper-middle class statuses; referred to as elites. Having achieved these high levels of educational qualifications and successes in their various professions, these were passively or actively transferred to their children in forms of institutionalised and embodied cultural capitals.

Firstly, participants' parents took advantage of their privileged statuses and acquired the economic resources to advocate and accomplish the highest levels of education for their children in reputable schools both in Nigeria and abroad. Corona private primary schools were among the major nursery and primary schools attended by those participants who grew up in Lagos. While those that grew up in Ibadan and other South-West states, attended other private schools of similar repute; including the missionary schools, Federal Government secondary schools and the university-operated international primary and secondary schools. These schools were known to offer the best of learning and grooming to children of the elites in Nigerian as at then. Secondly, these high caliber schools whipped up intellectual curiosity in the participants. They had role models and exposures that became the inspirational ideals that they modelled after, with regards to academic excellence and achievements.

From secondary schools, a good number of the participants went abroad for their A' Level studies and tertiary education. Some others started tertiary education in choice universities in Nigeria, including University of Lagos, University of Ibadan, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ife and University of Nigeria, Nsukka, among others. In all, the participants completed and achieved one or more levels of academic studies in schools overseas. Also, all the participants attained a minimum of second degree level in various academic disciplines before settling down into their professions.

The findings thus show that a strong educational foundation and value for academic excellence was laid for the women by their parents. As a result of the academic and professional credentials they acquired, they became employees of choice to employers. Thus they were able to break through the career entry barriers that militate against women in the world of work. They

also went on to achieve top leadership positions in various professions in Nigeria, including banking, medicine, architecture, academics, law and others.

Embodied cultural cultivation informed the habitus of both the participants and their parents. This is in forms of "cultural participation" in highbrow cultural activities, and "concerted cultivation." Participants and their parents from their early childhood were involved in deliberate or focused cultivation of legitimate or dominant cultural values reminiscent of their social class groups. Concerted cultural cultivation is also indicated in the availability and access to stimulating literary environments in participants' homes including having a library at home, reading resources, and other educational resources. This enforced a reading culture in the participants and entrenched an appetite for intellectual curiosity in them. Concerted cultural cultivation was also inculcated in the participants by their parents through engagement in hobbies and extracurricular activities. Participants narrated how their early childhood, which one of them termed as "charmed childhood", was a fusion of enriched habitus as reminiscent of the elite class in Nigeria. Loveline stated:

> I grew up in Shell Camp, Port Harcourt. Charmed childhood! Fantastic! Fantastic environment … It was well maintained, swimming pool, club house, you know. Going to primary school, there was Scottish dancing, there was ballet and music. I played hockey. Going to European girls' school was enjoyed. Classes were small, and also, the same school that the Nigerians went to, was the same school the expatriates went to. There wasn't a separate school for expatriate children or Nigerian children.

This practically sums up the growing-up experiences of most of the participants in the study who are scions of middle class and upper middle class parents. Participants' parents engaged and also encouraged the children to participate in such activities like sports, arts, dance, drama etc. Some of the regular clubs that participants and their parents used to visit for these activities include exclusive clubs like, Ikoyi Club, Lagos Country Club, and La Campagne Tropicana among others. These impacted on the development of their habitus, and also built up cognitive and non-cognitive skills in them. Such activities also

enhance learning and the general well-being that impact academic achievements in children (Jaeger, 2010).

Bequeathed Cultural Capital, Agency and Participants' Career Success

Leveraging on cultural capital imbues agency in women in career fields. Agency is a valuable asset for women in contending with those patriarchal norms which infiltrate organisational settings and legitimises the power structures of the dominant cohort (males). These are structures that draw legitimacy from societal gender roles that give men the prerogative of first choice in leadership roles and exclude women from such roles. Early childhood socialisation for the participants took forms that broke some of the structures associated with the typical African patriarchal system of raising the girl-child.

Firstly, they had fathers who were supportive in giving them equal opportunities like their male siblings. They were given as much sense of equality as their male siblings which ordinarily in the African context was not the norm as boys are socialized with a superior disposition while the girls are socialised with inferior mental and social dispositions. Angela noted that her father allowed her to learn driving at age 15 just like her brothers did and when she decided to study Architecture which was like a family tradition, her father gave her his whole hearted support.

Participants also related that growing up, they were not muzzled as kids in expressing themselves in their homes. They recollected that they were taught to be expressive, allowed to exercise some levels of responsible liberties, dialogue and even at times they disagreed with their parents in the educational and career choices they had to make. Many of the participants in the course of the interview would voice such phrases like "I am vocal"; "I say it as it is" "I am not afraid to air my views, no matter who." This was because of the culture with which their parents raised them. Moreover, even as their parents allowed them to have a voice, they also did not allow relatives who were a part of their family relationships to muzzle them either. Sosa stated:

> …The family relatives would come and say ah! Why are you talking? Sit and keep quiet!! And my father would say, No! She can speak, but she must speak politely. She must respect the people on the table and she must know that they are all adults on the table. So, she would not jump

into your conversation, but she will not keep quiet because you think what she says does not make any sense.

Funbi too stated that her father would always encourage her and her sister to speak up in their growing up years. She said, "My father tells you, never fear, say it! Say it! The worst they will do is slapping you but that's all."

Thus part of participants' habitus includes having a voice, which are ordinarily denied the girl child in patriarchal societies. The participants believe that this contributed to the boldness and self –confidence that they exude in their relationships with people, including in the work environment. Sosa stated that remarkably, she is never intimidated to air her views, even in instances she had found herself as the only woman on the table with men in the work environment. Consequently, in the work settings, the women could challenge norms and status quo that seeks to limit or demean them because of their gender. Being vocal and confident also enabled the women to embrace visibility in the workplace, showcase their talents and also put themselves up for leadership roles, when the opportunities were presented to them. They could engage in healthy debates on issues and also analyse situations and make appropriate choices. They learned and appreciated appropriate fields, valued doxa and illusio that eventually stood them in good stead to engage and compete with the dominant cohort in their later professions.

Also importantly, participants' early socialisation was undertaken from a concept that broke the strictures of domesticity as traditionally inculcated in the female child in Nigeria. This freed them from domesticity and marriage as the major life views of a woman. While marriage was recognised as a part of their living existence, it was not the major focus in their upbringing. They were trained to aspire and to achieve their best selves and represent their family values. So, the pressure was on them to excel in their academic pursuits and careers and not necessarily as homemakers or marriage. In that wise, participants were never under any pressure to marry, nor were they pressured to give up their careers for marriage. The participants married when they were ready to do so. In the overall, the women developed a balanced gender identity and have a balanced understanding of gender equity. In the world of work, they

did not see themselves as women, but as professionals even as they competed with the male folk for leadership roles.

Bequeathed Cultural Capital; Strong Female Role Models and Participants' Career Success

Another significant driver of capital creation for the participants was the presence and influence of strong and successful females in their families, especially their mothers. Quite a number of them admitted that when it comes to who was the fundamental inspiration to them to excel in life, there was no doubt about it in their minds that it was mainly their mothers.

The findings indicate that the participants were very early in their lives exposed to positive and visible women role models who were working outside the home and who made big differences in their careers and businesses. Most of their mothers were early recipients of education in Nigeria with some of them being educated abroad and later went on to build distinguished careers in their professions. This invariably inspired strong work ethics in the participants and they followed suit, determined to build successful careers like their mothers did in their chosen professions.

All the participants noted that they did not see their mothers slip into full time housewife roles even where their fathers had the resources to have kept them as one. They all either built careers in the public world of work or ran successful private businesses. For example, four of the participants lost their fathers early in their teens but their mothers picked up the responsibility of single-handedly educating them and their siblings without lowering the family's living standards. Loveline stated:

> …my father was in a wheelchair. We got to England; my mother was very, very strong. A very strong woman, who looked at the fact that she has six children, an ailing husband, and was like ahh! Time to step up! And she did. She worked very hard. Sometimes, at 2.00 am, you come out; my mother was still working….

These women equally saw their mothers make important career decisions in relation to conflicting career and family obligations. Toun's mother, for example, was in a training programme in Australia when her father died. After the funeral, she was torn between staying behind with her children or going

back to Australia and completing the training. Toun stated that her mother left her and her other siblings in the care of her eldest daughter and went back and completed the programme before coming back. Participants thus had mothers, who in many instances, did not allow family commitments to affect career choices in certain ways.

When asked, who inspired her the most and the values that drove her career pursuits, Rose said:

> I will say because my mother worked throughout my life. So, I was used to that environment of a woman working, understanding the challenges which honestly, I did not fully appreciate until I got married and became a mother as well. So, for me, maybe because she was working, because I saw someone who got to the top of her career, so I thought it's doable.

These strong women in their lives, especially their mothers, became the pillars they leaned on and learnt from. They developed resilience that stood them in good stead in tough seasons and helped develop their own dynamics and independence in their career pursuits. Gender was, therefore, not a limiting factor because they have examples of women who succeeded in their professions as role models.

Thus for the participants, cultural capital as bequeathed from their families enabled them to achieve laudable educational credentials and habitus valued and rewarded within their social class and within career fields. They developed balanced gender identity and worldview which stood them in good stead in understanding professional (field) doxa and illusio that guided them in their career trajectories. Their families opened for them the predisposition to develop a sense of identity and voice which was instrumental to their development of agency and resilience. With the imbibed and developed gender equity that emboldened their world views, the women were poised to discountenance with patriarchal gender norms that inhibit women's career aspirations in the world of work. They were thus well positioned to contend for top leadership positions with the dominant cohort (men) in their professional fields and excel.

Where Preparation Meets Opportunity:

Having been thus acculturated, shaped and endowed, participants became predisposed to build upon the strong foundation which their parents have laid for them. The participants went on to build on their bequeathed parental cultural capital by accumulating more capitals and converting these into career accomplishments. This proved to be the bedrock of the career successes that they achieved in their professions in Nigeria. Human capital proved to be the indisputable cultural capital basics that the women leveraged on in breaking through the barriers in the world of work and to build successful careers. The participants embarked on an extensive accumulation of human capitals in terms of academic and professional qualifications as well as basic professional field-valued knowledge and skills (doxa).

One of the participants, a banker by profession, who really went out of her way to accumulate various academic and professional qualifications in advancing her career, is Mtoks. At each level of her career growth, she would identify a vital qualification and certification that she needed for her upgrading and would go for it and obtain it. Declaring how these human capital accumulations aided her career advancement and enabled her to not only attain executive management position in her bank but to also achieve many milestones in her career, she stated:

> Then opportunities came up for the position of a Director, and I applied. I applied to be the Director of (ABX Department, because I had spent most of my career there. By the time the result came out, I was made a Director, yes! But the Committee of Governors decided that the ASD Directorate will be better for me. … Well, I was told that the reason they took that decision was because of the diversity of my background. I mean basically, having a First Degree in Economics, an MBA, and a Certified Information Systems Auditor. And then M.Sc. in Information Technology, a member of ACCA, a member ICAN, and I am also a Chartered Stock Broker, and another First Degree in Applied Accounting. So, they felt that the diversity of my background will really bring a lot of value to the ASD Directorate! So, that's how they decided that I should go to that Directorate instead of the ABX department.

Secondly, all the participants engaged in different forms of up-scaling of their knowledge and skills by attending short management courses in different

world class business schools in Nigeria and abroad. Inarguably, their cultural capital accumulations comprising academic and professional qualifications, knowledge and management skills enabled them to break through career entry barriers in their professions. It also qualified them for greater responsibilities and positions in their professions. They gained experiences and exposures to perform assigned jobs and responsibilities and thus gained visibility within their organisations. Thus, when opportunities came, they were already prepared for them and they claimed them. It was no longer a question of whether they are women or men.

One thing that is clear from the findings is that these women maximized the human capital aspect of cultural capital in taking their careers to higher levels. Toun, an executive director with one of the banks in Nigeria, explained that she, like most of the participants in the banking profession, came into banking when the industry was at the peak of its exponential growth because of the emergence of new generation banks in the Nigeria banking landscape then. However, there was a dearth of human talents to meet the skill requirements of the banks then. Thus most of the new generation banks began to discountenance with gender in their recruitments, and would rather place emphasis on educational qualifications, skills and competencies that individuals were to bring to their jobs. Inevitably, most of the participants, with their qualifications, did not only get recruited into the banks; they were equally qualified enough to take on leadership roles. They thus began to challenge the dominant cohort in the industry for leadership positions.

These findings uphold the core premise in Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction, asserting that cultural capital, transferred over generations and possessed by families and individuals, is a valuable resource which contributes to individuals' educational success (Bourdieu 1977; Bourdieu & Passeron 1990). More so, highly educated parents are known to provide their children with the resources to do well in school. Also, parental involvement in their children's education has also been found to be significant for women in the early stages of their career paths and choices (Umbach, 2003). The contention is that women who possess a high degree of cultural capital are likely to have a higher degree of career aspirations (Umbach, 2003). Research has ascertained that

education and training are crucial to women's career advancement (Seibert, Kraimer, & Liden, 2001; Umbach, 2003).

The findings also align with previous research findings that submit that women whose early habitus is engrained with agency, resilience and gender equity, develop egalitarian world views that discountenance with traditional gender norms and stereotypes in their career pursuits. The participants in the study developed rich cultural capital which enabled them to break through the career impediments in the public sphere, build successful careers and achieve top leadership positions in their various professions in Nigeria.

Conclusion

Although, women have continued to be underrepresented in top leadership positions in various professional fields in the public world of work in Nigeria (stemming mostly from societal, organisational and internal barriers that impede women in their career development), findings emanating from the study show that cultural capital enables women to break through both career entry barriers and top leadership limiting barriers in professional fields in Nigeria. Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction, with focus on cultural capital and its components including habitus, field, doxa and illusio was employed in exploring how women who attained top leadership positions in their professions leveraged on these in crafting their career success.

A key argument by Bourdieu (1977, 1986) is that those who obtain elevations to top management levels in organizations have had the cultural capital to do so by converting their educational credentials into professional accomplishments. The participants in the study were found to have leveraged on their parental cultural capital as bequeathed to them (habitus, and high level academic credentials), as well as accumulating their own cultural capital (academic and professional certifications, field-relevant knowledge, skills and work experiences) to advance their careers successfully. Moreover, cultural capital as inculcated in them from their families (especially from early childhood socialisation and education), bestowed on the participants enriched habitus, agency, resilience, voice and gender identity and equity they require to successfully navigate through professional fields and to especially contend with the dominant doxa for top leadership positions. Having been thus acculturated,

shaped and endowed with the rich cultural capital that they possess, the participants became poised to not only build successful careers, they were also able to attain top leadership positions in their various professions.

The study also found that cultural capital in the mould of human capital mixed with enriched habitus endowed the women used for the study with the professional identity and competence valued in their professional fields and thus enabling them to gain legitimacy, credibility and acceptability within the professions (fields) in which they plied their careers. They learned and appreciated appropriate field-valued doxa and illusio that eventually stood them in good stead to engage and compete with the dominant cohort in their professions. This is because they possessed the capitals that are equitable with the dominant cohort's prescribed doxa and illusio in their professional fields. They developed balanced gender identity and egalitarian world views to discountenance with traditional gender norms that militate against women in their career pursuits.

The findings, therefore, lend credence to the supposition that cultural capital is a key facilitator of women's career advancement in predominantly agentic-oriented professions.

In conclusion, the findings, as so far presented, indicate that enriched cultural capital accumulation, especially as related to the middle and upper-middle classes in Nigeria, is influential to the achievement of career success and attainment of leadership positions by women in their professions in Nigeria.

References

Bilimoria, D, Joy, S., & Liang, X. (2008). Breaking barriers and creating inclusiveness: Lessons of organizational transformation to advance women faculty in academic science and engineering. *Human Resource Management*, *47*(3), 423-441.

Bobbitt-Zeher, D. (2011). Gender discrimination at work: Connecting gender stereotypes, institutional policies and gender composition of the workplace. *Gender & Society, 25*(6), 764-786.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Reproduction in education, society, culture*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Bourdieu P. (1977b). Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–258). New York, NY: Greenwood.

Bourdieu, P. (1989). Social Space and Symbolic Power. Sociological Theory, 7(1), 14–25.

Bourdieu, P. (1990). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. (1990). *Reproduction in education, society and culture.* (Tr. Richard Nice, foreword Tom Bottomore, 2nded.). London: SAGE Publications.

Bourdieu, P. &. Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Brychan T., Anthony L., & Isaiah F.U. (2013). Women in management: Breaking the glass ceiling in developing countries: The case of Nigeria. *International Centre for Business Research*, *2*, 6– 18.

Burke, R. J., & Major, D. A. (2014). *Gender in organizations: Are men allies or adversaries to women's career advancement*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

Cha, Y. (2013). Overwork and the persistence of gender segregation in occupations. *Gender & Society, 27*(2), 309–329.

Charmaz, K. (2006).*Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cheung, S. & Andersen, R. (2003). Time to read: Family resources and educational

outcomes in Britain. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies,* 34, 413–433.

Chovwen, C. and Ivensor E. (2009). Job insecurity and motivation among women in Nigerian consolidated banks. *Gender in Management*, *24*(5), 316–326.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008*). Basics of qualitative research* (3rded.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Dumais, S. A. (2002). Cultural capital, gender, and school success: The role of habitus. *Sociology of Education, 75*, 44–68.

Duberley J & Cohen, L. (2010). Gendering career capital: An investigation of scientific careers. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour* 76, 187–197.

Dworkin, T. M., Maurer, V., & Schipani, C. A. (2012). Career mentoring for women: New horizons/expanded methods. *Business Horizons, 55*(4), 363–372.

Fligstein, N., & McAdam, D. (2011). "Toward a general theory of strategic action fields".
Sociological Theory, *29 (1)*, 1–26.

Glover, J., Champion, D., Daniels, K., & Boocock, G. (2016). Using capital theory to explore problem solving and innovation in small firms. Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development, 23, 25–43.

Golsorkhi, D., Leca, B., Lounsbury, M., & Ramirez, C. (2009). Analysing, accounting for and unmasking domination: On our role as scholars of practice, practitioners of social science and public intellectuals. *Organization,* 16(6), 779–797.

Hannagan, T. (2005). *Management: Concepts and practices*. (4th ed.). Great Britain: Pearson Education Limited. Halpert, J., Wilson, M. & Hickman, J. (1993). Pregnancy as a source of bias in performance appraisals. *Journal of Organisational Behavior, 14*, 649.

Huppatz, K. (2009). "Reworking Bourdieu's 'capital': Feminine and female capitals in the
field of paid caring work". Sociology, Vol. 43, No. 1, pp. 45–66.

Iva Košutić, (2017). The role of cultural capital in higher education access and institutional choice. *C.E.P.S Journal* 7(1), 149–169.

Jæger, M.M. (2010). *Does cultural capital really affect academic achievement? New*
evidence from combined sibling and panel data.Working Paper Series CSER WP No. 0001. Retrieved August, 20th, 2016 from: https://ssrn.com/abstract=1698751.

Jayashree, P. Lindsay, V. and McCarthy, G. (2020). Career capital development of women in the Arab Middle East context: Addressing the pipeline block. 1–53. Accessed September, 20, 2020 at https://ro.uow.edu.au/gsbpapers/587.

Joy, S., Game, A.M., & Toshniwal, I.G. (2018). Applying Bourdieu's capital-field-habitus
framework to migrant careers: Taking stock and adding a transnational perspective. *The*
International Journal of Human Resource Management. 1-24. Accessed September, 20, 2020 at
http://www.tandfonline.com/action/showCitFormats?doi=n 10.1080/09585192.2018.14 54490.

Kelly, P., & Lusis, T. (2006). Migration and the transnational habitus: Evidence from Canada
and the Philippines. *Environment and Planning*, 38(5), 831-847.

Kingston, Paul W. 2001. The unfulfilled promise of cultural capital theory. *Sociology*
of Education 77 (Extra Issue), 88-99.

Kraaykamp, G., & van Eijck, K. (2010). The intergenerational reproduction of
cultural capital: A threefold perspective. *Social Forces, 89*(1), 209-232.

Lam, M. P. H. (2006). *Senior women academics in Hong Kong: A life history*
approach. Retrieved July 16, 2016, from
https://lra.le.ac.uk/bitstream/2381/1498/1/MLam_ethesis.pdf.

Lamont, M. & Lareau, A. (1988). Cultural capital: Allusions, gaps and glissandos
in recent
theoretical developments. *Sociological Theory,* 6(2), 153-68.

Lareau, A. (2003). *Unequal childhoods, class, race, and family life*. Berkeley:
University
of California Press.

Linge, T. K., Van Rensburg, W., & Sikalieh, D. (2010). The role of visibility and
career advancement of women in Kenya. *Journal of Language, Technology*
& Entrepreneurship in Africa, 2(1), 351-359.

Longhofer, W., & Winchester, D. (2012). *Social theory re-wired: New*
connections to classical and contemporary perspectives (contemporary
sociological perspectives). New York: Routledge.

Morrison, A., White, M., R. P., & Van Velsor, E. and the Center for Creative
Leadership. (1987). *Breaking the glass ceiling*. New York: Addison-Wesley.

Nkomo, S.M., & Ngambi, H. (2009). African women in leadership: Current knowledge and a framework for future studies. *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies Multi- Inter- and Trans-disciplinarity, 4*(1), 49-68.

Oakley, J.G. (2000). Gender-based barriers to senior management positions: Understanding the scarcity of female CEOs. *Journal of Business Ethics, 27*(2), 321-335.

Prescott, J., & Bogg, J. (2011). Segregation in a male dominated industry: Women working in the computer games industry. *International Journal of Gender, Science and Technology. 3*(1), 205-227.

Reinhold, B. (2005). Smashing glass ceilings: Why women still find it tough to advance to the executive suite. *Journal of Organisational Excellence*, 24, 43-55.

Sandberg, S. (2013). *Lean in: Women, work, and the will to lead.* (1st ed). New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Sealy, R., & Vinnicombe, S. (2013). Female FTSE board report 2013: False dawn of progress for women on boards? *Cranfield University School of Management. Report number.*

Singh, J.K., & Shahabudin, S. H. (2000). Academic leadership strategies and skills for women in higher education. In *Asian women leaders in higher education: management challenges for the new millennium.* (pp. 69-93.) S. H. and Gill, K.S. UNESCO Malaysia and University Kebangsaan, Malaysia.

Swartz, D. (1997). *Culture and Power. The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Tai, A. & Sims, R. L. (2005).The perception of the glass ceiling in high technology companies. *Journal of Leadership and Organisational Studies*, *12*(16), 16-23.

Thornton, G. (2019). Women in business: Building a blueprint for action. Accessed September, 15, 2020 at https://www.grantthornton.global/globalassets/global-insights---do-notedit/ 2019/women-in-business/gtil-wib-report_grant-thornton-spreads-low-res.pdf.

Tracy L. and Kelsey B. (2019). That was what I had to use: Social and cultural capital in the careers of women broadcasters. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 96(1) 194–214.

Umbach, P. (2003). *Who wants to be a college president? Forms of capital and the career aspirations of senior college administrators*. Retrieved September 10, 2020, from ProQuest Dissertation and Theses Database. (No. AAT 3094550).

Legal and Ethical Issues in Nigerian Surrogacy Practice: A Comparison with South Africa and United Kingdom

Olu OJEDOKUN, PhD
(LL.B, B.L, PhD, Nottingham Trent)
Faculty of Law, Lead City University, Ibadan, Oyo State
Employlawone@aol.com +2348153344265

and

Matilda Adedoyin CHUKWUEMEKA
(BSc. LL.B, Lead City University, B.L (Yola), LL.M in view)