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THE NEW BLACK MANAGER IN CONFLICT:
PROBLEMS OF ADAPTATION IN BLACK ADVANCEMENT

by

Sylvia Thandekile Wella

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UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

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Sylvia Thandekile Wella

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of the requirements for the degree of
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ABSTRACT

The seventies witnessed the entry of blacks into managerial ranks. With increasing skilled manpower shortages (i.e. of whites with skills), outside pressure from international companies, internal pressure such as strikes, the continued need for economic growth and for social as well as political reforms (e.g. Wiehahn Commission) in South Africa, the "advancement" of blacks to managerial positions became inevitable. Although on the social, political and educational levels, discrimination against blacks remains (it is still a fact that) on the economic level blacks are gradually becoming integrated.

Positions open to blacks in commerce and industry are, however, limited. Employing blacks becomes more and more essential as the market expands and more blacks are absorbed into such fields as personnel, advertising and marketing. What this research has uncovered is that these managerial positions are perceived as no more than window dressing by incumbents. This is so because the economic needs and pressures for reform have outdistanced the training of blacks permitted by discriminatory social institutions.

The increasing acceptance of blacks into positions traditionally occupied by whites has led to attention being given to the problems black managers encounter. The context of these problems may largely be informal, due to the actual and perceived substantial resistance on the part of some whites to the employment of blacks in "white skilled" jobs as well as the experienced relative deprivation on the part of black aspirants.

This study was conducted in the greater Durban area, in commercial as well as industrial organisations. In this report, the black managers' needs, aspirations, areas of frustration, and perceptions of and attitudes toward the organisational climate are explored.

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Management is the process of allocating an organisation's inputs (human and economic resources) by planning, organising, directing and controlling. This is for the purpose of producing outputs (goods and services) desired by customers so that the organisation's objectives are accomplished. In the process, work is performed with and through organisation personnel in an ever-changing business environment. (Thierauf *et al.* 1977.)

The above definition fits in with Brech's observations on the tasks of management. Brech (1963) views the tasks of management to centre on decision for planning and guiding the operations that are going on in the enterprise. He further mentions the motivation and supervision of the personnel component of the enterprise as other tasks for management.

Since control and supervision of personnel is only one aspect of a manager's tasks, it is evident that the term manager can be applied to those positions in the organisations (such as staff positions) which emphasise other aspects such as planning and organisation.

It is in this context that the term manager was used in this sample.

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THE NEW BLACK MANAGER IN CONFLICT: PROBLEMS OF ADAPTATION IN BLACK
ADVANCEMENT

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This section will outline the socio-political background to problems encountered in regard to Black Advancement both in relation to reported South African research findings and to the experiences of black managers in the United States.

The position of the black manager is known to be a difficult one because he effectively occupies the no-man's-land between the great mass of the black workforce and the upper ranks of white management. The position is therefore one of strain and tension caused by conflicting expectations.

Denis Beckett (1981, p.9) maintains that "on the face of it, the new breed of black managers have fallen with their backsides well and truly in the butter. Expense accounts, fancy cars, fat salaries...and half of the time all they have got to do for it is to look distinguished for the benefit of visiting very important people. But, beneath the surface, things look different. In fact, to say that black managers are having a tough time is a gigantic understatement...."

Mike Rantho (1981, p.15)* maintains that the four-figure cheque becomes hollow after a while when one is constantly nagged by the thought that it is being paid for reasons of tokenism. The company car becomes slim compensation for the cold shoulders and the backs that are turned by the friends and neighbours, who think a black manager is a traitor. He perceives a black manager as being in a "crying syndrome", afraid of the neighbours and afraid of his bosses.

Looked at in this way, it is evident that there is a factor

* Quoted by Beckett, 1981.

at work here which is frequently overlooked — the on-the-job experiences of the black manager, which may contribute substantially to his underperformance. Against this background, this thesis will concentrate more on the on-the-job experiences of the black manager than on his actual behaviour.

1.1 SOCIO-POLITICAL BACKGROUND

In 1976 and 1977, several employment codes were established for South African companies. These were manifestos for change. Examples of such employment codes were:

- British Companies Guidelines;
- Sullivan Principles;
- Canadian Code;
- Saccola (South African Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs);
- European Economic Community Code of Ethics, and
- South African Council of Churches Code.

The first code to appear was the British employment code. Later, the Sullivan Principles, the European Economic Community and Canadian codes of fair labour practices were developed. These foreign codes spurred South Africans on to developing their own codes under the aegis of the Urban Foundation and the South African Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs. Companies subscribing to these employment codes were to commit themselves to a policy of total and genuine non-discrimination within the provisions of the law. This policy was to apply to selection, employment, training and promotion of staff, among other things. Myers (1979) maintains that the principles were not to be regarded or used as a camouflage or something for business to hide behind. All companies signing the principles were expected to implement the plan, abide by the guidelines and report progress on a regular basis.

General acceptance of codes, however, did not necessarily imply real commitment to carry them out. For instance, when the

Investor Responsibility Research Centre (IRRC) visited South Africa, it was told by one official that "we did not sign the principles, the home office did..... some South African companies, even saw the British as well as American codes as outside interference" (Myers 1979 p.84).

General acceptance of principles also did not mean agreement on the pace at which they were to be carried out. For instance, some managers in South African companies told the IRRC that implementation would take five years, while others said they simply could not see the time when blacks would supervise whites.

The economy was another important incentive for companies to develop opportunities for blacks. Shortages of skilled labour, inflated wage and salary-demands by whites, high absenteeism, high labour turnover and low growth in productivity among white workers prevailed at the time. All offered sound economic reasons for South African managers to make the effort to recruit and train blacks, and place them in positions traditionally occupied by whites (Myers, 1979).

Most companies were aware of projections showing that South Africa would need one to two million skilled workers by the year 1980. Other companies were concerned by projected shortages in specific areas, such as engineering for instance (Myers, 1979).

During the labour vote in 1977, the Minister of Labour Mr. S.P. Botha announced the appointment of a commission of enquiry to investigate the country's labour legislation, (South African Labour Bulletin Volume 5 No. 2, August 1979). The commission was under the chairmanship of Professor Nicholas Wiehahn and was instructed to make investigations into the following:

- Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956;
- The Black Labour Relations Regulation Act of 1953;
- The Wage Act of 1957;
- The Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act of 1941;

- Shops and Offices Act of 1964;
- The Apprenticeship Act of 1944;
- The Training of Artisans Act of 1951;
- The Black Building Workers Act of 1951;
- The Electrical Wiremen and Contractors Act of 1959;
- The Workmen's Compensation Act of 1940;
- The Unemployment Insurance Act of 1966; and
- The Registration for Employment Act of 1945.

The investigations were to be made with reference to:

- The adjustment of the existing system for the regulation of labour relations in South Africa with the object of making it provide more effectively for the needs of the changing times;
- The adjustment, if necessary, of the existing machinery for the prevention and settlement of disputes which changing needs may require;
- The elimination of bottle-necks and other problems which were at the time being experienced within the entire sphere of labour; and
- The methods and means by which a foundation for the creation and expansion of sound labour relations may be laid for the future of South Africa.

Later in the year (1977) the government appointed a second Commission of Enquiry into labour matters to cover omissions from the terms of reference of the Wiehahn Commission. This Commission, under the chairmanship of Dr. Piet Riekert was to enquire into, report and make recommendations in connection with the following legislation and related regulations and administrative practices:

- The Development Trust and Land Act of 1936;
- The Black (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act of 1952;
- The Black Labour Act of 1964;
- The Group Areas Act of 1966;
- The Environmental Planning Act of 1967;

- The Black Affairs Administration Act of 1971;
- The Black Employees In-service Act of 1976;
- The Community Councils Act of 1977; and
- Other Acts including those administered by the Departments of Labour and Mines as well as ordinances of provincial administrations and by-laws of local authorities, in their direct or indirect relationships to the economic aspect of the utilisation of manpower. (South African Labour Bulletin Vol. 5 No. 4, November 1979).

The co-ordinated task of the Riekert and Wiehahn Commissions was to formulate the institutional and political framework through which the state could attempt the twin strategies of co-operation and control of the African working class. For both Commissions, control was to be achieved essentially through the division of the working class into those workers with permanent residence in the urban areas and those without permanent residence.

Myers maintains that the meaning of the recommendations in the reports depends on how these recommendations are translated into legislation, what regulations flow from the legislation, and how new regulations are implemented. It may be some time before the real impact of the resulting changes can be measured.

From the preceding paragraphs, it remains evident that the reasons for Black Advancement are as follows:

- economic growth;
- shortages of skilled manpower;
- outside pressure on international companies;
- social and political changes (like the Wiehahn Commission).

The position now is that, in terms of recent amendments and new legislation, job reservation has been abolished, with the exception of protective measures in some industries on an interim basis. As a result, we see a move towards the promotion of blacks to managerial

ranks in commerce and industry. This move has led to attention being given to problems black managers encounter in their training, orientation, and preparation for their new positions.

In 1976 The Black Management Forum (Johannesburg) was formed in response to the great need for black managers — who, at that time were very few in number. One of the aims of the forum is to bring together potential black managers from all occupations for the purpose of self-development.

The major area of concern has been that black managers frequently underperform and are unable to identify fully with their companies. In spite of having graduated from the numerous in-house training programmes, and external seminars, black graduates frequently continue to experience these problems. The forum feels that there is need to combine existing management courses that have proved successful for whites with additional programmes oriented towards remedying problems of communication, motivation and cultural differences. The Forum was started in 1981 under the presidency of Eric Mafuna, who has since started his own business called Consumer Behaviour Limited in Johannesburg.

The Forum is a registered non-profit-making company, with four hundred members on their mailing list in Johannesburg (E. Mafuna, pers. comm.*). It has branches in Pretoria, Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and Durban. Members in these areas are at this stage concentrating on a membership drive.

In 1981, a contact group of managers comprising black managers, assistant managers and officers in service and personnel occupations was formed. Although this group has no office-bearers, Johannes Magwaza, an experienced personnel practitioner who commands great respect within the industrial and commercial circles is accepted as its founder.

Mounting dissatisfaction emanating from the frustrated expectations of black managers, among other things, motivated the

* E. Mafuna, Consumer Behaviour Limited (Pty.) Ltd., 20th Floor, 111 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg, 2001. 20th September, 1983

formation of this group. Members come together monthly to look into the problems they are faced with at work, and possible ways and means either to resolve them or to decide on how to cope with or adapt to them if an effective resolution seems impossible. Prominent speakers are invited to the meetings to address members with a view to self-development. There is also a steering committee which among other things, is here and now working on the group's draft constitution.

1.2 SOUTH AFRICAN RESEARCH ON BLACK ADVANCEMENT

Schlemmer and Boulanger (1978) found that, in the period 1962 to 1978, black employees were mostly concentrated in unskilled job categories. According to these authors it was only in semi-skilled and skilled categories that the most significant advancement took place during this period where the proportion rose from fourteen percent (1962) to seventeen percent (1972), in eighty-eight white-owned firms in Durban.

An evaluation report by Management Consultants Fine, Spamer and Associates (1981), on the advancement of Asians, blacks and coloureds, reports that in the companies surveyed the number of blacks in "traditionally white" jobs totalled 4,6 percent and the rate of increase in each of the previous two years had been 0,5 percent. The number of blacks supervising both higher income blacks and whites up in the higher levels of the corporate hierarchy is still small.

Nattrass (1983) maintains that between 1970 and 1980 only 3 percent of blacks formed the executive/managerial hierarchy in South African industry.

A survey by the Department of Manpower in 1981 showed that the country had 30 black engineers, as against 17 840 white engineers; 31 black chemists to 2 021 whites; 4 black to 731 white geologists or geophysicists; 73 black managing directors of companies to

29 753 white; 54 general managers as against 9 334 white and 52 black personnel managers as against 2 290 white personnel managers. It is significant to note that the population distribution of the two groups was 15 970 019 blacks to 4 453 273 whites, (South African Institute of Race Relations 1982) for the year 1981.

From the above figures, it is evident that blacks remain substantially underrepresented proportionally. Mohale Mohanye (Sunday Tribune, 21 March 1982) reports that he has files of one hundred black university graduates, who have been unable to find employment on the Reef. Some of these university graduates according to him, hold B.Sc, M.Sc, Law and Dietetics degrees. From this, it may be inferred that such underrepresentation of blacks in managerial ranks is not mainly due to the shortage of black university graduates, but to other factors which still need to be investigated.

Human (1981, p.7) contends that cultural as well as educational factors on the part of blacks coupled with discriminatory factors, inconsistencies, conflicts and ambiguities on the part of management contribute to a certain level of performance. The fact that a black manager is "classified as a non-white for the greater part of the time, he is expected to function as a white during his working days", makes him marginal. She maintains that it is this marginal position which contributes substantially to his underperformance.

Hofmeyr (1981 as quoted by Human 1981 p.5) in his interviews with senior (white) line-management, first-line (white) managers and potential black managers, found *inter alia* that "black managers are generally regarded as finding leadership, responsibility and autonomy problematic. They tend to be subservient, to have problems in communicating clearly, to be insufficiently at ease with business concepts, to generate some customer resistance, to be affiliation-oriented and to lack interpersonal skills".

Nasser (1981) as quoted by Human 1981 p.5) suggests that "the performance or behaviour of the black manager is exacerbated by an inability to function autonomously and to handle increased responsibility, a lack of assertiveness, a tardiness in decision-making, a low propensity for risk-taking, a lack of innovation and creativity and a lack of initiative in resolving problems".

From research, and from the personal experiences of members, the Black Management Forum as quoted by Mphahlele (1980 p.32-33) found that, among other things, a black manager's specific problems revolved around the following:

1. "His social and home environment, coupled with his poor educational opportunities do not prepare him during the formative period for easy entry into management roles.
2. The black manager does not accept the legitimate spirit of competition in his role as readily as a white counterpart does. Many blacks seem to lack the drive to achieve. These factors combine to make him less suited to the demands of management, unless he has the correct type of training.
3. His academic training appears to have little relevance to the business world. Too little emphasis is placed on the importance of succinct written and verbal communications, taking initiative, evidencing drive and leadership, and so on.
4. Because of his separate residential area, he has little opportunity to socialise with whites and to learn osmotically from social interchange.
5. As a result, the black manager is disadvantaged by his lack of appreciation of corporate customs and conventions, which are automatically accepted and assumed by whites."

1.3 THE EXPERIENCE OF BLACK MANAGERS IN THE UNITED STATES

The following excerpts are taken from black managers' on-the-job experiences, insights and research findings in the United States.

Edward Jones was the manager in a white-owned corporation, responsible for the supervision of one hundred and thirty employees. After six years with the company, during which he rose from trainee to area manager, he attended the Harvard Business School, where he graduated as a Baker scholar. Jones cites his own experiences in this large company to illustrate the type of lonely struggle that faces a black manager.

He was anxious because of internal conflicts, and confused because of external inconsistencies in the behaviour of his white colleagues and superiors. These made him feel that, no matter how hard he worked, how much he achieved, or how many personal adjustments he made, a white organisation was rejecting him. He came to a stage where he doubted the sincerity of the black advancement programme, and developed some prejudice, because his colleagues and superiors were aware of his unfair treatment, but no-one lifted a finger when he got such treatment. As a result, he was always extremely tense and ill at ease, and very vulnerable to prejudgements of inability by peers and superiors.

Jones (1973) contends that most companies fail to recognise the crucial difference between recruiting blacks with executive potential, and providing the much needed organisational support to help them realise their potential. He concludes that the anxiety experienced by the upwardly mobile black individual largely comes from internal conflicts, generated within his own personality. On the one hand, there is the driving and pervasive need to prove himself as an assurance of his adequacy as a person - on the other hand, the standards for measuring his adequacy come from sources somewhat unfamiliar to him.

Katie Fuller* was the first black manager in an international plant. She was very carefully chosen by the plant management, because they anticipated a hostile reaction from whites in the plant. As the first and only black in a white organisation, she received some harrassment, and faced negative attitudes in general from white workmates.

Jonathan Bramwell (1972) had a sound academic background. He had a Ph.D. in biophysics, and his father and all members of the family were professionals (scientists, dentists and physicians). In spite of his background, (which could be expected to put him in a better position to understand the business world), he reports to have been limited by the pigmentation of his skin. He cites his experiences in relation to his research findings. He reports a thousand other black professionals with similar credentials as having the same experience. Bramwell summarises his findings about these black professionals as follows:

- extraordinarily gifted as individuals, they are usually over-qualified for the position they hold;
- many feel that their positions, while equipped with impressive titles and salaries, are more than token but less than truly influential;
- many feel that they are directly and strongly affected by overt acts of white racism, but others feel that overt racism is minor in comparison to the more subtle forms of racism they encounter on their jobs.

From this it is evident that Bramwell's findings reveal some of the institutional factors that exclude blacks in white corporations.

1.4 THE DEBATE

Academic writers' comments on the experiences of black managers follow.

* Quoted by Suttle, 1977.

Hofmeyr (1981) maintains that research in South Africa and the United States of America has tended to attribute an almost pervasive underperformance amongst black managers to three main sets of factors, namely: cultural factors, qualifications and racial discrimination.

Suttle (1977) perceives Bramwell's observations as confirming the fact that black professionals cannot escape the consequences of institutionalised racism, despite their possession of solid middle-class and upper-middle class credentials.

Campbell (1982) suggests that climbing the corporate ladder includes social interaction with peers and supervisors, and entry into a lifestyle where people are introduced at obligatory cocktail parties by name and profession. He suggests that blacks in business have a double task: to become both professionally and culturally acclimatised.

Floyd and Dickens (1981)* maintain that despite a plethora of affirmative action and Equal Employment Opportunity programmes, black managers are still being denied fair and equal treatment in the United States of America's industries, and are not being developed to their full potential. Black managers, and those of other minority groups, find that they must pursue difficult and sometimes treacherous paths to success in the predominantly white male corporate world.

From the above observations it is evident that institutionalised racism and problems in entering social networks are the main barriers to the advancement of blacks in both the United States of America and South Africa.

This research will concentrate on the effects of the black-white interface as perceived by blacks (their experiences on-the-job). The fact that black advancement started in the seventies is evidence enough that management positions are new to blacks: such positions were previously occupied by white managers. Historically,

* Quoted by Campbell, 1982.

the status of blacks has always been inferior in both the economic and political spheres. An investigation of the experiences and attitudes of black managers was needed for a variety of reasons (some of which are reflected in the chapter to follow).

CHAPTER 2

THE PROBLEM

Since the start of the process in the early seventies, the advancement of blacks to managerial positions has been very slow. This opinion is supported by, among others, Schlemmer and Boulanger (1978), Natrass (1983), Management Consultants Fine, Spamer and Associates (1981) and the Department of Manpower (1981). Schlemmer maintains that the legal and informal restrictions as well as shortages of trained blacks were the assumed reasons for the slow advancement.

In 1972, a survey was conducted among one hundred larger firms in Durban by Natal University's Centre for Applied Social Sciences, in order to obtain a profile of black advancement. During the period 1977 - 1980, there was a follow-up study on the economics of black advancement, and the social, educational and organisational factors impeding or encouraging black advancement within organisations. As a result the need became evident for a better understanding of upwardly mobile blacks. To achieve this, the present study has been undertaken, in the same environment as the previous investigations, in order to gain insight into the on-the-job experiences of black managers in relation to their aspirations, expectations, and frustrations. These problems are controlling factors regarding their self-confidence and motivational level. Some of the problem areas which have emerged will be discussed below.

Black managers form a relatively highly educated group within black communities and are highly valued by the black population. This is primarily because of their academic achievements. Paradoxically, they mostly come from a lower-level background in socio-economic terms in relation to whites and as a consequence could be perceived as people who are socially out of place within a managerial work environment. This group is seen by both blacks and whites at large as comprising part of a new "elite" in the black population: the black middle-class. Conflict between class

affiliation (high) and race categorisation (low) may not be avoidable. This poses problems of adaptation both in black communities and at work.

Due to an increase in the levels of black purchasing and labour power, corporate bodies have created specific managerial positions where blacks advise management on black marketing and labour issues. Consequently, these black managers occupy "specialist" positions where there are no whites reporting to them. This gives impressions of parallel development which in turn raises suspicions and distrust among blacks with regard to the sincerity of the black advancement programme

It will be argued that the position of a black manager has been endowed with an impressive title and salary, but remains token in nature, with reduced responsibilities, influence and accountability. His job is an ill-defined one, usually with a vague job description, or no job description at all. He is not a member of the management team and has no power in decision-making. Appointed to a personnel post for instance, he is mostly involved in welfare work, and does not play a full role in the recruitment of all racial groups from all departments within the organisation. The argument will further highlight that not all black managers are fully involved in job-evaluation procedures, advertising for a post, and screening of applicants, nor are they fully involved in the disciplinary or grievance procedures at the policy formulation stages.

Such inconsistencies induce problems of insecurity and anxiety in a black manager which could be aggravated by the fact that he may be the only black in a white-dominated managerial hierarchy. Because of this factor, he may not find anyone to compare notes with or share the problems he experiences; thus he lacks psychological support.

His position is "marginal" in nature. As a manager he has to satisfy the expectations of both the management at large and

the black workforce. The latter may in some cases be in conflict with white management. As the first black in the management hierarchy, he is perceived by the black workforce as their 'Messiah', and is under pressure to fulfil their expectations. If he does not, he comes to be viewed by the black workforce as a management stooge. When he tries to avoid non-acceptance and distrust by the black workforce, he may be seen as biased in favour of the needs of black workers. It is the colour of his skin that puts him in such a dilemma. His first language gives him an advantage in communicating more easily with black workers, who may have problems in making themselves understood in English. But this first language and his skin colour also put him at a potential disadvantage in being perceived as an "instigator" by his white colleagues. Should there be a strike by black workers in consequence of mounting employee frustration and dissatisfaction, he may find himself perceived by white management at large as inefficient because he failed to detect areas of conflict in time.

The quality of education for a black manager is inferior compared to that of his white colleagues. His academic training is obtained within a deprived environment where most aspects do not prepare him for the demands of the business world. As a result, when a black graduate or school-leaver applies for a job, he is in fact not as "qualified" as educationally-enriched whites, who are more at home in the prevailing culture. It must be remembered that the black manager in the host society is discriminated against socially, politically and educationally - but is integrated on a non-discriminatory level into the economy. He may then theoretically be expected to interact on an equal basis with his white colleagues (Human, 1981).

As a member of a new breed, his motivational level, frustrations, level of confidence and own culture, may not be understood by his colleagues. He may not have much knowledge of managerial culture, and especially of the hidden cultural codes on which his performance and his chances for promotion may be judged. These gaps in understanding could bring about problems in the interaction between black and white managers as colleagues.

The position he holds is new to the black manager because up until now there has been no black representation at managerial level. The behaviour of a member of this new outgroup may be watched closely, and judged according to what is expected of his white counterparts (the existing in-group). He may be expected either to "shape up or ship out". Should he be a failure in his role, it may be assumed that blacks in general cannot make it in managerial ranks. Fear of this outcome may result in black managers being cautious in their behaviour, and undergoing internal conflict caused by the driving and pervasive need to prove themselves, on the one hand as an assurance of their adequacy as individuals, and on the other, to avoid letting down the black population at large. Extreme caution as Nasser feels (see p.9 of this report) is detrimental to a black manager's operation.

A manager is expected to be innovative, exploratory and risk-taking at work. Should this not be so, his work may be interpreted as lacking in initiative and self-confidence. In addition to in-group pressures, there are other constraints such as the broader socio-political environment within which a black manager operates. Limited freedom of movement between jobs can affect his market-value as a manager. Should he decide to take risks that result in loss for the company, he may be fired, as could a white colleague. But the black manager could then find himself having problems in selling his labour where he wishes, because of legal restrictions in the form of influx-control laws. Fundamental to the free market system* is the belief that a person should be allowed to do any job he is capable of doing wherever he can find employment. In South Africa we have a plethora of laws which prevents this among blacks. As a result of the greater difficulties faced by black managers in finding new employment if they should lose a job, they are likely to respond to the reality of their situation by becoming reluctant to make risky decisions that could get them fired.

* The Republic of South Africa subscribes to the principles of a free market economy based on individual freedom in the market place.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the developmental experiences of a black manager, which may contribute to how he perceives himself in relation to his white colleagues at work, will be analysed in terms of various theoretical objectives. The various existential situations for a black manager will also be considered.

The situation of a black manager in white-dominated organisations raises a number of questions concerning the quality of working life and job-satisfaction. Problems such as need-fulfillment isolation, frustration and loss of self-esteem, although not unique to a black person, may be aggravated by the socio-political consequences of taking on roles traditionally occupied by whites. Historically, blacks have been excluded from meaningful participation in the South African economy. Their interests have been totally regulated by whites. McCarthy (1983) suggests that blacks have been prevented from taking responsibility for their own affairs in positions of authority, and that their opportunities to strive after achievement in open competition have been limited. Status hierarchies in black work-life and community affairs have been restricted. The black situation has been one in which simple clear-cut authority roles have enjoyed uncontested influence - the chief, the shopkeeper, the administrator, the school-teacher and the minister. McCarthy concludes that this has retarded the emergence of individualism, and has also protected the individual from both the rewards and the anxieties of innovation, risk-taking and competition.

- As mentioned in the previous chapter, black managers
- are geographically isolated from their colleagues;
 - cannot sell their labour freely;
 - may not understand white culture or the hidden cultural codes of management;

- have no access to gaining an insight into the subtleties of the work situation.

It is these factors which condition them to behave in a manner which may conflict with job demands, and which leads to frustration, alienation, and negative attitudes concerning the work environment.

Much has been said about these problems, but the need here is to draw the various insights together into a more or less comprehensive framework to guide the analysis which follows. A first step, however, is to identify theories which, however diverse, can deepen the insights.

3.2 THEORIES

3.2.1 Need fulfillment

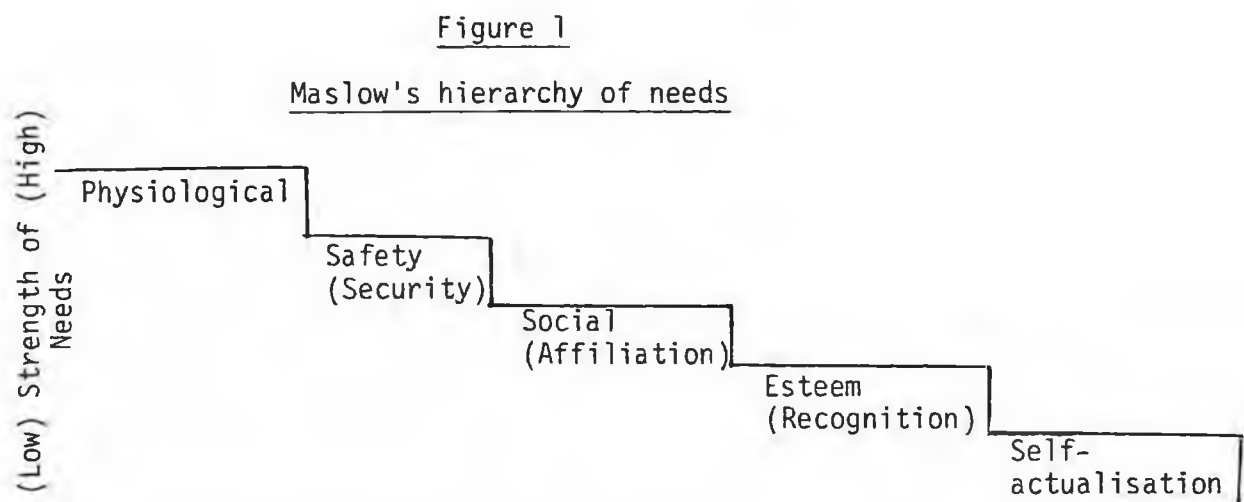
Human beings have universal fundamental needs, the fulfillment of which may possibly be thwarted by certain contemporary forms of social organisation. While human motivation is characterised by basic "needs", it is specifically directed toward achieving certain desirable positive goals, and specifically directed toward avoiding other undesirable negative consequences. In a work situation, the question arises as to what situations are perceived within the individual's value system as being desirable goals to achieve, or, conversely, as undesirable conditions, to be avoided. Since it is generally agreed that a motivated worker works better than an unmotivated one, it is important to understand both the desirable and undesirable goals for the blacks in the sample.

Maslow (1954) suggests that a sound theory of motivation should assume that people are continuously in a motivational state, but should recognise that the nature of motivation is fluctuating and complex. Further, human beings rarely reach the state of complete satisfaction, except for short periods. As one desire becomes satisfied, another arises to take its place. This never-ending sequence gives rise to Maslow's theory of motivation, in which a hierarchy of needs is postulated. He asserts that man has five basic categories of needs: physiological needs, safety needs, need for belongingness and love, need for esteem, and need for self-actualisation. For him, the need hierarchy compels man to satisfy

basic needs first, before meta needs, which he defines as growth needs rather than needs created by deficiencies.

Maslow views this need hierarchy as innate; he sees it as arranged in a sequential form from needs of highest strength to needs of lowest strength. The behaviour of individuals at a particular moment is usually determined by their strongest need at that point. This hierarchy of needs is structured to help explain the relative strength of the most important needs.

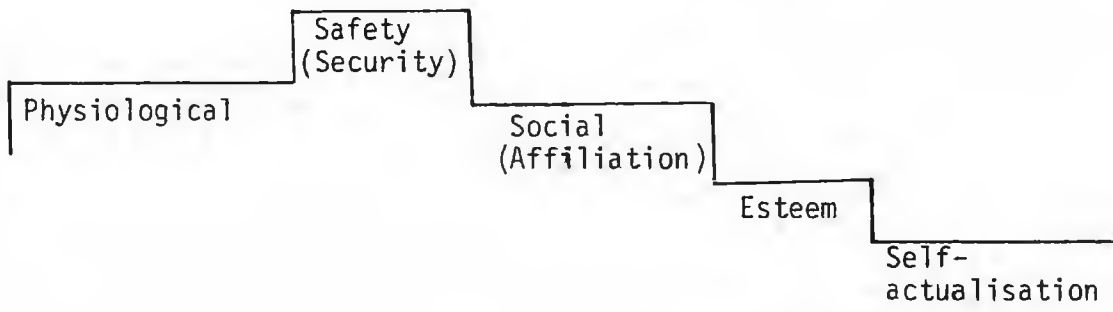
Figure 1 illustrates Maslow's hierarchy of needs.



The physiological needs are shown at the top of the hierarchy because they tend to have the highest strength until they are relatively satisfied. These are the basic human needs required to sustain life itself - food, clothing and shelter. It must, however, be noted that such a hierarchical arrangement is viewed by Maslow as being of relative potency. The needs, when chronically gratified, cease to exist as an active determinant of behaviour. They now exist in a potential fashion, in the sense that they may emerge again to dominate the organism if they are thwarted.

Once physiological needs are gratified, safety or security needs become predominant, as illustrated in Figure 2.

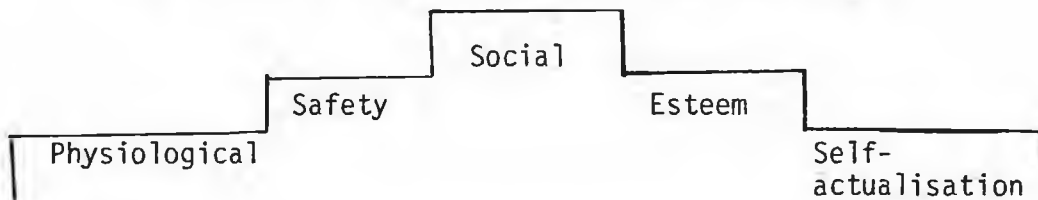
Figure 2

Safety need when dominant in the need structure

Hersey and Blanchard (1982) refer to this need as a need for self-preservation; it is essentially the need to be free of the fear of physical danger, and deprivation of the basic physiological needs.

Once these are fairly well satisfied, the social or affiliation need emerges as dominant in the need structure, as illustrated below:

Figure 3

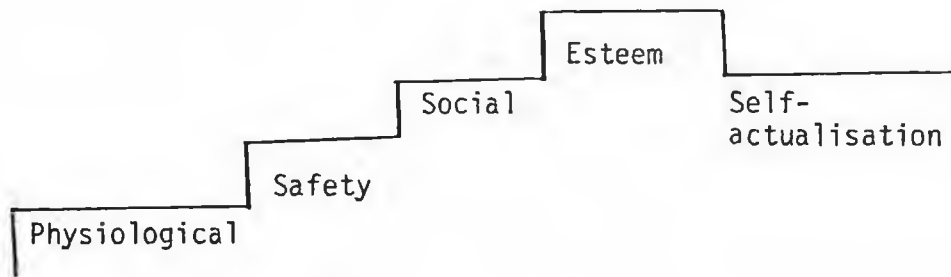
Social need when dominant in the need structure

Since individuals are social beings, they have a need to belong and to be accepted by various groups. When social needs become dominant, a person will strive for meaningful relations with others (Hersey and Blanchard 1982).

After individuals begin to satisfy their need to belong, they generally want to be more than just a member of their group. They then feel the need for self-esteem, as illustrated in Figure 4:

Figure 4

Esteem need when dominant in the need structure

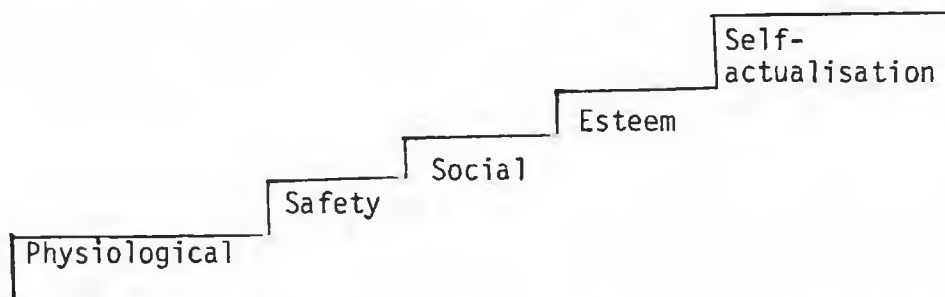


Maslow argues that most people have a need for a high evaluation of themselves that is firmly based on reality, in the form of recognition and respect from others. Satisfaction of these self-esteem needs produces feelings of self-confidence, prestige, power and control. People begin to feel that they are useful and have some effect on their environment. This need is not always able to be satisfied through mature or adaptive behaviour. It is sometimes dealt with by disruptive and irresponsible actions. Hersey and Blanchard (1982) maintain that some of the social problems that we have today, for instance interpersonal conflict at work, may have their roots in the frustration of this need.

Once self-esteem needs begin to be adequately satisfied, self-actualisation needs become more poignant, as shown in Figure 5:

Figure 5

Self-actualisation needs when dominant in the need structure



Self-actualisation may be seen as the need to maximise one's potential, whatever it may be. As Maslow expressed it, "What a man can be, he must be". Thus self-actualisation is the desire to become what one is capable of becoming.

Lastly, it should be recognised that the hierarchy does not necessarily follow the ideal pattern described by Maslow. It was not his intention to say that this hierarchy applies universally to all individuals in all situations. Rather, he felt that this pattern was a typical one, operating most of the time.

According to Maslow, management has the responsibility of creating a climate in which managers may develop to their fullest potential, through increasing opportunities for greater autonomy and a variety of responsibilities. In this way, employees could work towards higher-order need satisfaction. According to Potter and Steers (1975), failure of management to provide such a climate could theoretically increase employee frustration, and result in poorer performance, lower job satisfaction, and increased withdrawal from organisation.

Herzberg (1959) drew inspiration from Maslow's theory. According to Lyons (1971), Herzberg maintained that the physiological

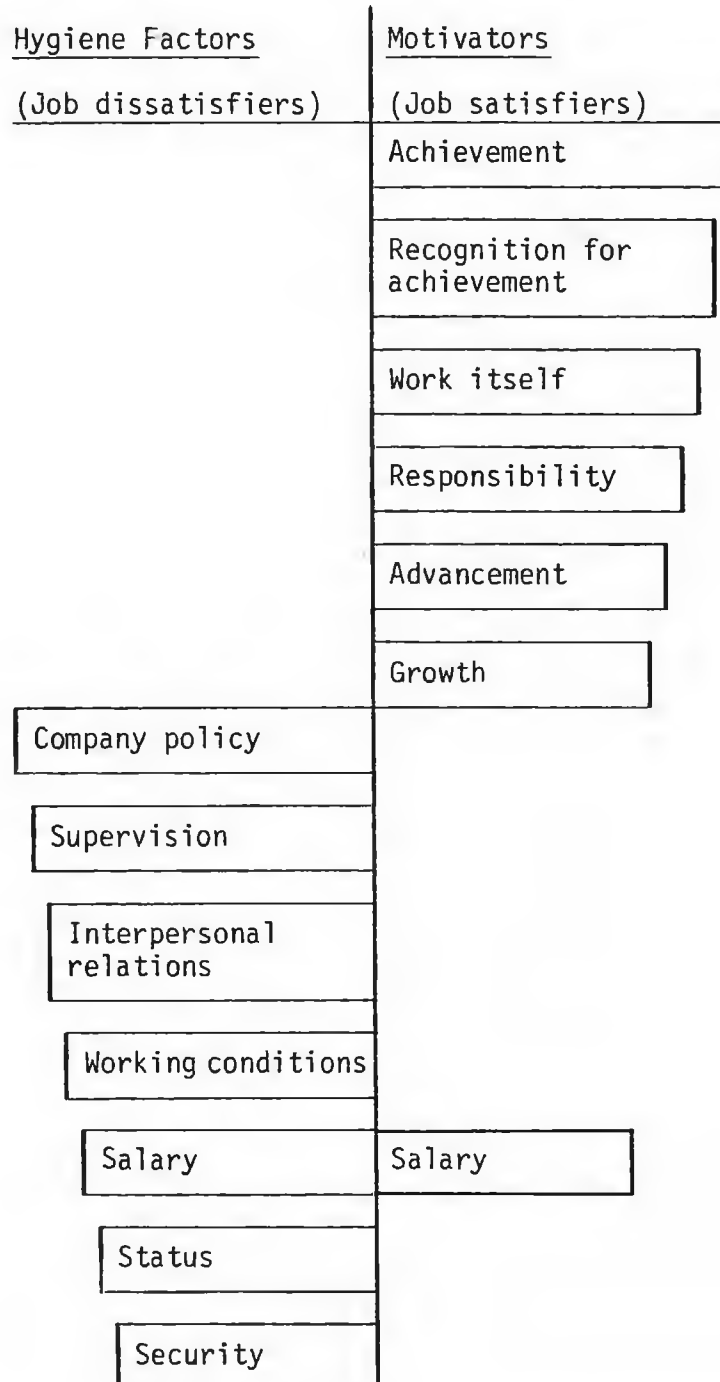
and psychological needs of men are parallel, and that neither one assumes prior importance. He found that factors involved in producing job satisfaction and motivation were separate and distinct from factors that led to job dissatisfaction. According to him, two different needs can be thought of as stemming from man's animal nature. First comes the built-in desire to avoid pain from the environment; then come all the learned drives. These represent the type of sequence by which a person looks for work and earns money, and then money in itself becomes a specific drive.

Other sets of needs relate to those unique human characteristics, the ability to achieve, and, through achievement, to experience psychological growth. Herzberg (1976) sees the growth (motivator) factors intrinsic to the job as achievement, recognition for achievement, the work itself, responsibility, and advancement. He sees the dissatisfaction-avoidance (hygiene) factors extrinsic to the job as including company policy, administration, supervision, interpersonal relationships, working conditions, salary, status and security. These he calls the KITA factors. He argues that hygiene factors make for job dissatisfaction because man is Adam and as Adam he is an animal, with an overriding goal to avoid pain from the environment. The hygiene factors describe the job environment and are concerned with the treatment of people. The motivators make a man satisfied because man is a human being (Herzberg's Abraham) with an overriding drive to use his human talents for psychological growth, which is the source of human happiness. The motivators are the nutrients of psychological growth. It is what man can accomplish that makes man human, and what he can accomplish on-the-job that will determine his human feelings. He sees the stimuli for growth needs as tasks that include growth; in the industrial setting, they could be job content. These he sees as motivators. The stimuli inducing pain-avoidance behaviour are found in the job environment.

The following figure shows hygiene factors and motivators.

Figure 6

Hygiene factors and motivators



According to Herzberg, the salary factor, because of its ubiquitous nature, shows both as a motivator and as a hygiene factor,

though more commonly as a hygiene factor. It also often takes on some of the properties of a motivator, with dynamics similar to those of recognition for achievement.

Herzberg tabulates the dynamics of hygiene and motivating factors as follows:

Figure 7

Dynamics of Hygienic and motivating factors

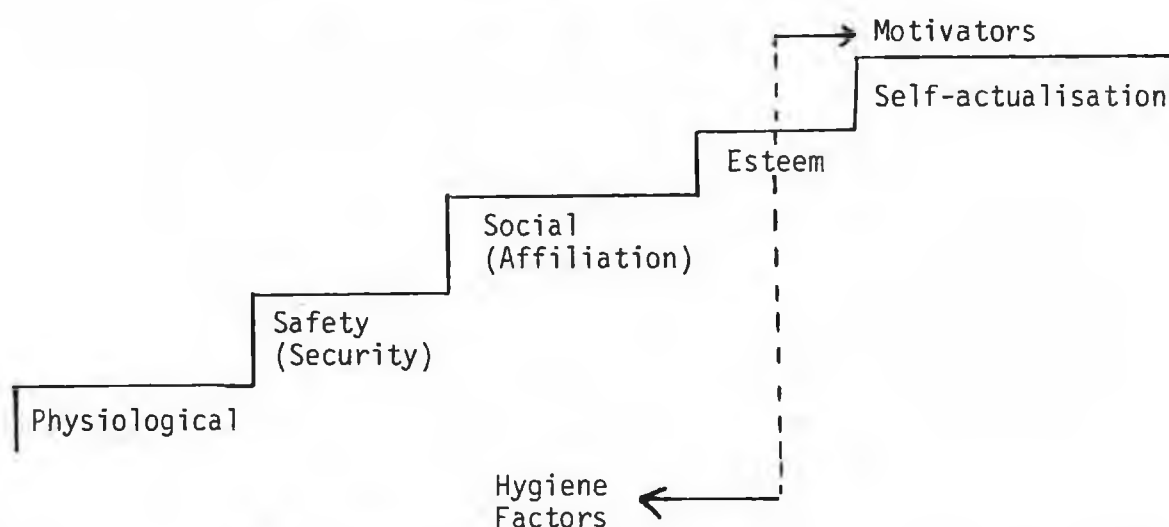
<u>Dynamics of Hygiene</u>	<u>Dynamics of Motivation</u>
1. The psychological basis of hygienic needs is avoidance of pain.	The psychological basis of motivation is personal growth.
2. There are infinite sources of pain in the environment.	There are limited sources of motivation satisfaction.
3. Hygiene improvements have short term effects.	Motivator factors have long-term effects.
4. Hygiene needs are cyclical in nature.	Motivator needs are addictive in nature.
5. Hygiene needs have an escalating zero point.	Motivator needs have a non-escalating zero point.
6. There is no final answer to hygiene needs.	There are answers to motivator needs.

In terms of this dichotomy as Herzberg defines it, hygiene factors are short lived, but cannot be satisfied in absolute terms. This is so largely because their minimum point (zero) keeps on escalating and the sources of pain in the environment cannot be measured. In terms of industrial relations, Herzberg's formulation would imply that, while management attends to some sources of pain or dissatisfaction, the tendency may be to overlook others which may be of equal importance.

Herzberg (1975) asserts that because man is an animal he suffers not only from physical distress but also from an infinite number of psychological limits. He therefore requires good treatment to prevent him from doing harm to himself and to the organisation. The author here is trying to stress the point that the factor of motivation impels people at work to seek appropriate areas where their ability can be enhanced by the opportunity to put it to use, in the expectation that there will be further development of that ability. The true motivators, according to Herzberg, lead to long-term satisfaction and are concerned with the utilisation of people. Herzberg recommends that jobs should be enriched - jobs should deliberately be upgraded in responsibility, scope and challenge. Hersey and Blanchard (1982, p.59) in assessing the relationship between the theories of Maslow and Herzberg, point out that, "Maslow identified the needs and Herzberg provides insights to the goals and incentives that tend to satisfy these needs."*

Figure 8

The relationship between the motivation-hygiene theory (Herzberg) and Maslow's hierarchy of needs



* See Figure 8 for the relationship.

They further maintain that physiological needs, safety needs, and part of the esteem needs are all hygiene factors. The esteem need, however, is divided into status and recognition. While status is classified as a physiological need, recognition, on the other hand, is classified as a motivator. According to them, extensive studies of the impact of money have found that money is so complicated an incentive that it is entangled with all kinds of needs besides physiological ones. They suggest that the capacity of a given amount of money to provide need-satisfaction diminishes as one moves from lower-ranking physiological and safety needs to others higher in the hierarchy. As the individual becomes concerned about esteem, recognition and self-actualisation needs, he or she earns satisfaction directly through achievement, competence, and maximum realisation of potential. Thus, according to Hersey and Blanchard, if in a motivating situation one knows the strongest needs, as defined by Maslow, of the individuals one wants to influence, then one should be able to determine what goals, as defined by Herzberg, one could provide in the environment to motivate those individuals. At the same time, if one knows what needs people want to satisfy, one can predict their high-strength needs.

Meyers (1970) speaks of maintenance needs. These are synonymous with Maslow's lower-order needs and Herzberg's hygiene needs. The term maintenance, according to Meyers, denotes that people, like machines and buildings, must be maintained. Meyers (1968) concludes that "Herzberg's motivation-hygiene theory is a framework on which supervisors can evaluate, and put into perspective, the constant barrage of helpful hints to which they are subjected, and hence serves to increase their feelings of competence, self-confidence and autonomy" (p.64).

Meyers' motivational needs are synonymous with Maslow's higher-order needs. To Meyers, such needs are satisfied when man is developing his potential through the pursuit of meaningful goals.

In terms of labour relations, Meyers' work would lead one to expect management to aim at satisfying both maintenance (lower-order or hygiene needs) and motivational, higher-order needs. In general terms, employees would be expected to be given reasonable salaries, and to operate in a healthy, non-discriminatory climate with substantial responsibility and autonomy on the job, so that they develop a strong need to achieve and, ideally, to self-actualise. Livingstone (1969) asserts that goals for employees should, however, be realistic, so that an individual may make a real effort to achieve them. The practice of dangling the carrot just beyond the donkey's reach, sometimes endorsed by managers, may not be a good motivational device.

These theories do not pretend to be perfect, or to comprehend all the factors which may be at work. For instance, Maslow's "need for self-actualisation" is viewed by some critics as an ideal state which may never be reached, as there is always a distance between present maturity and greater maturity. The emphasis on self by self-actualising people make some psychologists (Johnson 1967, Allport 1968, Livingstone 1969) think that it implies a degree of selfishness. They argue that it seems as if the individual wishes to realise his selfish ideals without taking other people into account (and with minimal intervention, or none at all, from others). Johnson (1967) perceives self-actualisation as implying self-aggrandisement. More specifically, Biesheuvel (1980) feels that Maslow's theory did not, for instance, touch on the possibility of reversals in the hypothesised hierarchical sequence, the occurrence of lengthy time intervals between the gratification of one need and the arousal of a higher one, and the possible failure of growth-needs to be activated at all, as a result of early environmental deprivation. Barling (1977), examining Maslow's theories in terms of the South African gold-mining industry, supports an explanation favouring some degree of overlap between the five basic needs (Maslow 1970), but refutes the hypothesis that older individuals are more likely to be motivated by the need for self-actualisation. In his findings, none of the five basic "motivator" needs were

significantly related to the individual's aspiration for promotion. He then questioned the utility of the theory as one of work motivation since it did not provide any additional information in terms of the prediction and control of behaviour in organisations. Barling suggests that Maslow's theory of motivation is adequate as a theory of human behaviour in general, but not of work motivation. This writer, however, does not intend to criticise theories used, but simply to state different opinions concerning Maslow's theory.

In the case of black managers, motivation-theory based on Maslow's work must be applied with caution. If in reality most people tend to be partially satisfied at each level in turn, and partially unsatisfied at the other levels, black managers would be expected to tend to have greater need-satisfaction occurring at physiological levels (because they, in relative terms, get reasonable salaries to cater for these needs), than at safety, social, self-esteem and self-actualisation levels. They should then be characterised by very strong self-esteem and security needs, and by a relatively strong affiliation-need in order to share their frustrations and get access to social and psychological support. The self-actualisation and physiological needs would take a less important position. This self-actualisation need might be perceived by them to be of less importance partly because it is still an unachievable goal, given the nature of the host society, with rigid, sanctioned social segregation of races adversely affecting the development of blacks and their need to maximise their potential. As a result, at this stage they may find themselves striving for self-esteem need-satisfaction primarily, while the need for security in their roles as job-incumbents and as individuals must also not be overlooked. Their individual job-security and familial security may be dominant at most times.

The writer perceives a black manager as having an approach-avoidance conflict concerning his motivational state. The black manager's need to achieve and his need to be secure may be equally strong, and may then come into direct conflict, generating internal tension and possible paralysis. For one to achieve in the managerial hierarchy, one must be prepared to take risks. Risk-taking may lead to insecurity feelings for the black manager, both as an

individual and as a job-incumbent.

3.2.2 Alienation

Organisational society is said to bring with it isolation and atomisation of persons, and a loss of control in shaping the affairs of one's life. This lack of control over one's life creates a feeling of alienation. Alienation may be understood as the result of social arrangements which deny one the fulfilment of one's basic needs in Maslow's terms. The empirical question here is, to what extent do industry and commerce contribute to alienated labour, or, more precisely, to black employee alienation?

The most prominent original exponent of a theory of alienation was, of course, Karl Marx. As is well-known, Marx saw the basis for alienation as economic. Marx's alienation arises from estrangement. He argues that man is estranged from the economic order, which mutilates him through specialisation and division of labour. Man finds himself having less influence over his environment. Marx perceives man as being further alienated from the existing order by his exploitation by the owners of the means of production.

Building on Marx's conception of alienated labour, both Seeman (1971) and Fromm (1972) argue that self-estrangement may be said to occur when one engages in activities which are not intrinsically rewarding. Seeman's findings suggest that powerlessness is at the core of contemporary worker alienation. This may be so in view of the fact that lack of control over one's life creates a sense of alienation and powerlessness, thereby threatening to undermine the core values and roots on which democratic institutions are founded, (Sampson 1976).

Seeman (1959, 1972 as quoted by Sampson, 1976) examines conditions of work and their relationship to alienation. He talks of five types of alienation:

- powerlessness - The world becomes a place that is too nonresponsive to be influenced by individual needs or desires. Persons are alienated through a loss of control over those forces which shape their life.
- self-estrangement - The person becomes separated even from self.
- cultural estrangement - Values which once helped integrate the society are no longer held; persons seek other goals, rejecting those once favoured.
- meaninglessness - The world is experienced as being beyond one's ken; the future is experienced as unpredictable; purpose and direction seem to be missing.
- social isolation - A feeling of loneliness and despair - a feeling of being a stranger in a strange world.

Data reported by Sheppard and Herrick (1972) suggest that the happy worker is a myth. Substantial concern properly prevails over humanising work by increasing the worker's autonomy and responsibility. The contemporary syndrome sometimes called "Blue Collar Blues" was found to characterise a substantial proportion of workers, who felt themselves alienated from various aspects of society including its political process. This latter finding corresponds with Seeman's own work showing worker-powerlessness to be the major form of modern alienation, (Sampson, 1976).

If, then, black managers in their day to day experiences are excluded from both formal and informal social networks at work, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, they could be expected to be a group highly predisposed to the "white collar blues syndrome". Also, their ambiguous status and role may put them in a position where they are not accepted by either white management or the black work-force, and this could aggravate their feelings of powerlessness. The importance of informal networks in this instance must not be overlooked.

For whites, there is business at parties and at the golf course. It is in this context of casual interaction that white business-personnel get to know each other better as members of a "family", and where they show each other their true and not their role personalities.

Emile Durkheim (1951) introduced another concept, related to that of alienation - the concept of anomie - in his discussion of anomic suicide. Anomie develops in a society in which the norms typically keeping desires in check can no longer hold sway, thus casting the person adrift. A crisis of anomie exists within a society, or within segments of a society, then, whenever the normative guides which ordinarily give direction, focus and a common bond have broken down. Anomie is perceived by Durkheim as a causal factor in relation to suicide. The writer here wishes to make use of the theory of anomie, but to do so with reservations; there is no known black manager who has yet committed suicide because of his anomic environment. It may be that black managers have not yet shown a tendency toward suicide because they rationalise about their situation.

McClosky and Scharr (1965) conceptualised anomie as a psychological state of mind, specifically the feeling that the world and oneself are adrift, wandering, lacking in clear rules and stable moorings.

The anomic person lives in a turbulent region of weak and fitful currents of moral meaning, and has feelings of moral emptiness.

They conclude that anomie is a result of social and psychological factors. Some social and psychological conditions combine with personality to intensify the anomic response, while others combine to diminish it.

Mizruchi (1960) contends that persons of higher educational levels, whose expectations for success are higher, experience greater

anomie when such expectations have not been realised (for instance when either income or job status is low) than persons whose lower educational attainment reduces their expectations for substantial success. The latter group seems to accept that they are "stranded in the backwaters" of the cultural success-story. Mizruchi also reports a relationship between social isolation and anomie. Persons who say they are relatively less involved in formal social participation, score higher in anomie than persons whose formal participation is relatively greater. These interpretations of the concept of anomie bear directly on the unstable and unformed position of the new black manager, in the organisation, and in society.

A black manager, by virtue of the fact that he is in a new senior position (one which was previously an unattainable goal for a black person), occupies a "marginal position". Confusion amongst superiors, colleagues and subordinates concerning his status and role may be unavoidable. As a black person he may be identified with the black workforce and affected by stereotypes concerning blacks. On the other hand, because he is employed by a white-owned corporation, he may be identified with white management by the black workforce at large. Being left in this new position, with no frame of reference regarding professional ethics, a black manager is expected to be highly alienated. His feeling of alienation may be exacerbated by the fact that he is excluded from both formal decision-making and informal friendship groups at work. The black manager is perceived to be socially and culturally estranged.

3.2.3 Frustrated expectations

In developing nations, and among minorities, frustration of rising expectations occurs when there is a widespread sense of dissatisfaction emanating from the discrepancy between expectations (high) and achievements (lower).

Gurr (1970) defines relative deprivation as the discrepancy between value expectations - the goods and conditions to which people

consider themselves rightfully entitled - and value capabilities - the goods and conditions which they consider themselves able to obtain and retain. For him, relative deprivation denotes the tension which develops as a result of discrepancy between the "ought" and the "is" of collective value satisfaction.

Aberle (as quoted by Gurr 1970 p.25) defines relative deprivation as "a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectations and actuality." Gurr further argues that for relative deprivation to exist, it has to be perceived by those who experience it. He distinguishes between decremental deprivation - where expectations remain constant, but value capabilities (the possibility of gratifying expectations) decline - and aspirational deprivation - where value capabilities remain static, but expectations increase, or intensify, or both.

Gurr (1970) distinguishes between three basic categories of values which may be involved in relative deprivation. These are as follows:

- welfare values (economic and self-actualisation desires)
- power values (desire for participation and security)
- interpersonal values (status, communality and ideational coherence).

Gurr (1970) maintains that it is possible that the discomfort of relative deprivation will, in the long run, tend to make men adjust their value-expectations to the value-capabilities, resulting in a state of equilibrium between expectations, means and ends. He also raises the possibility that perceptions of relative deprivation can be remarkably persistent over time, and may be conveyed from generation to generation.

He further hypothesises that the intensity of relative deprivation varies according to the number of actively-pursued opportunities that are blocked. He maintains that relative deprivation will decrease where there is much flexibility of value

stocks (the desired events, objects and conditions for which men strive) and where reforms are perceived as effective, or matching expectations.

The cognitive dissonance theory, proposed by Festinger (1957), also deals with the behavioural consequences of frustrated expectations. According to Festinger, cognitive dissonance is created when two perceptions which are relevant to each other are in conflict. It is perceived as an uncomfortable psychological state, and as such may motivate people to act. They are likely to try to reduce or eliminate the discrepancy (between two or more perceptions) either through reinterpreting conditions in the environment, or through adding new elements.

Gurr sees the relative deprivation and cognitive dissonance theories as overlapping. According to him, relative deprivation is perceived with reference to an individual's welfare, power and interpersonal value-expectations; dissonance can obtain among any set of cognitive elements, not only those that relate to valued goods and conditions of life. Moreover, only some perceptions of deprivation entail dissonance. Hunter (1940) perceives cognitive dissonance as potentially leading to alienated behaviour.

Concerning the position of black managers in South Africa, there have recently been positive changes in the occupational sphere. With their advancement to managerial positions in commerce and industry, the introduction of employment codes and the Wiehahn Commission recommendations, they are expected to experience rising hopes - if companies which employ them are subscribers, and as a consequence committed to black advancement. The same managers should also be expected to have rising frustrations if the same employing organisations pay lip-service to the black advancement programme.

3.2.4 Self-esteem

An individual's evaluation of him- or herself has important consequences for behaviour. Psychologists may make reasonably good predictions about a person's behaviour if they know what he thinks of himself.

Adler (1927), Sullivan (1953), Cooley (1902) and Mead (1934) all assert that the self has social origins. A sense of self develops by a process of reflected appraisal. Each individual learns how other people feel about him, and then comes to accept their evaluations of him. Cooley (1902 p.102-3 as quoted by Horton and Hunt 1964 p.99) defines the "looking-glass self" as perceptions of the self which one forms by interpreting the reactions of others to oneself. He suggested three stages in the process of creating the looking-glass self:

- our imagination of how we look to others;
- our imagination of their judgement of how we look;
- our feelings about these judgements.

He believes that just as a picture in the mirror gives an image of the physical self, so the perception of the reactions of others gives an image of the social self.

Rosen (1955)* contends that as one matures, one develops a reference-group to which one gives special attention. He further says that individuals not only become more selective in choosing reference-groups which comprise their looking-glass self, but also become selective in their perception of the images which influence them.

Ziller (1957) defines self-esteem as the evaluation the individual makes and customarily maintains with regard to himself - a personal judgement of his worthiness. This means that self-esteem is the evaluation or judgement placed on each element of the self-image. Because conceptions of what one is like are so personal, they possess positive or negative connotations, which are often derived or learned from society. Evaluated knowledge about

* quoted by Sampson, 1976.

a person, whether subjectively inferred or objectively factual, predisposes the individual to respond or behave in one way rather than the other. Getting positive feedback from superiors for instance brings pleasure and satisfaction, because to be a brilliant, dedicated, hard-working and productive employee has positive connotations within the work society, where achievement, motivation and success are positively reinforced.

Ziller (1973) perceives self-esteem as a component of the self system. He sees the self system as being maintained even under conditions of strain such as the processing of new information concerning the self. He thus concludes that neither positive nor negative evaluation evokes immediate, corresponding action by the individual with high self-esteem - the individual is insulated from environmental contingencies. Ziller (1973) sees a person with low self-esteem, on the other hand, not possessing a well-developed conceptual buffer for evaluation stimuli. Witkins (1967)* labels him as field-dependent - his behaviour being directly linked to environmental circumstances and thereby being inclined toward oscillation or inconsistency. These findings are supported by the research of Ziller, Haley Smith and Long (1969)**, in which they investigated the frequency with which high and low self-esteem individuals participated in group discussions.

The theory of the reflected self seems to be essentially correct. Many people have shown some sensitivity to the appraisals other people make of them. In social comparison theory, Festinger (1954) introduces the mechanism of reflected appraisal, which is essentially the same as the looking-glass self. He states that standards by which we view ourselves are relative in nature. We discover, for instance, how intelligent we are by comparing ourselves with other people. Thus judgements that we make about the self depend on those with whom we compare ourselves. And by the same token, the fact that this comparison-process is almost continuous, means that one's self-concept is a dynamic one, subject to change - or to change of reference-groups.

* quoted by Ziller, 1976.

** quoted by Harre', 1976.

Rogers (1951) states that favourable self-regard is a necessary condition for positive mental health. He feels that the need for positive evaluation from others is a central motivation in human behaviour. This means that healthy psychological development of the self takes place in a climate where an individual can experience fully, can accept himself, and can be accepted as he is, by his reference group.

Schlemmer (1978 p.180-1) maintains that "status differentiation according to race in South Africa is usually accompanied by widespread rationalisations among whites concerning the abilities of the different race groups. An underestimation of an out-group's ability is a not uncommon accompaniment of race hostility and race prejudice". In the work situation, a black job-incumbent's ability and performance may be underevaluated. This may be revealed in negative comments like "a black person will never make it in commerce and industry; we do not want social experiments in our departments"*, and/or negative feedback from superiors. The way in which the job-incumbent reacts will be determined by his self-esteem. If he has a low self-esteem, he may at once react negatively by reorganising his frame of reference concerning his worth. On the other hand, if his self-esteem is high, he may not be adversely affected immediately. Instead, he may examine this new information in terms of its relevance and meaning for his self-esteem. Even a person with high self-esteem may under-evaluate his own worth after considerable exposure to negative attitudes towards himself - because after all self-evaluation is not fixed. Belief about one's own value becomes self-fulfilling, and affects the individual's behaviour negatively in future.

The point the writer is trying to stress here is that an individual does not become immune to stress, and develop greater capabilities to deal with it; rather, exposure to long term stress exhausts his mental resources. It is obvious then that there is a

* Subjects' comments about their on-the-job experiences.

filtration-process of cognition-appraisal in coping with or adjusting to one's changing experiences, and evaluations one makes of oneself. It seems as if coming through major transitions in life seems to be dependent on one's interpretative apparatus or one's assumptive world, which includes one's interpretations of the past, and one's goals and aspirations in life.

Kohn (1976, 1969) and Roman and Trice (1967) contend that the occupational life is the most important element, within the social class, affecting one's belief in control. Lessons and experiences learned from occupational conditions are expected to be carried over into non-occupational realms. Occupational experiences which limit workers' opportunities to exercise self-direction in their work could be conducive to feelings of powerlessness, self-estrangement and low self-esteem. Thus occupation can be viewed as an important realm from which an individual derives conclusions and lessons which are generalised to non-occupational realities and based on self-experience.

In general, it might be expected that a young graduate might have an inflated opinion of himself when he starts working. This is likely to apply particularly to blacks among whom high educational attainment is still exceptional. However, in the work environment, the experiences of a black manager, the way he interprets them and consequently his reactions to them may differ. He is fully integrated formally, on the one hand, while he may on the other hand be informally rejected. The inconsistencies and ambiguities he meets with may be conducive to feelings of powerlessness, self-estrangement and low self-esteem. These negative feelings may be reinforced by the fact that he is, in most instances, the only black in the managerial hierarchy. The writer expects that the black manager is initially likely to have a superficially high self-esteem, which will rapidly diminish with exposure to a frustrating environment. His self-esteem is, however, expected to improve with considerable exposure in terms of long service, within an organisation. Long service in this context is associated with the adoption of a "wait and see" attitude; to the employee, the question may well be seen as, "where else can I go?" As a result the black manager may well decide to persevere regardless of his frustrating and demoralising experiences.

An exposition of a black manager's experiences, as perceived by the writer in relation to these theories, will be studied in the section to follow.

3.3 THE THEORIES IN RELATION TO THE EXPERIENCES OF A BLACK MANAGER

None of the theories reviewed address the problems identified for this analysis in a completely direct way. All of them offer useful insights, however.

Perhaps the most telling theoretical framework is that which has been discussed under the heading of alienation, in conjunction with the issue of self-esteem. The relevance of these basic theoretical positions to the experiences of a typical black manager are not difficult to identify.

Most black managers, although university graduates, are not likely to be well-equipped regarding the more subtle conventions of industrial and commercial behaviour. This is a problem they probably share with white graduates; but for black managers, the problem is complicated by their relative lack of experience with the underlying concepts and attitudes considered appropriate for managerial staff. Even the standards used here are difficult to define, and for whites are the product of long experience. For blacks, most will not have been exposed to managerial concepts during the early stages of their development, particularly those "raised" in rural environments whose universities are out in the veld where there is no chance of experimenting with management toys (Mafuna, 1981). More importantly, perhaps, during the twelve years of 'Bantu' Education, with its emphasis on rote learning and obedience, they may not have been encouraged or trained in skills of an analytical reasoning or questioning. Such conditioning may reinforce passivity and undermine their basic confidence.

However, the fact that they have succeeded in life in general, and also that they are predominantly graduates who have been appointed to senior positions (a previously unattainable goal for a black job incumbent), they may have superficially positive evaluations of themselves which co-exist in contradiction to a basic lack of confidence. The high self-evaluations nevertheless may be mirrored in high expectations concerning job-satisfaction (like a need for a challenging job) organisational climate (like social relations etc.), and attitudes of superiors and/or colleagues. These needs and expectations, if not realised, may result in job-dissatisfaction, frustration, anxiety and consequent feelings of alienation (socially and psychologically). How self-esteem is affected may be influenced by, among other things, each individual's personality (for instance,

his frustration-tolerance threshold) and the length of exposure to a frustrating environment.

Under normal circumstances, an individual's evaluation of himself will be threatened by persistent frustration and lack of rewards. The frustrations may be exacerbated by limited knowledge of "hidden" managerial codes, limited informal interaction with colleagues, and being the only black in the managerial hierarchy. The only course of action may be to withdraw - running away in the form of resignation and withdrawal may be therapeutic in that it insulates the black manager's uncertain self-evaluation.

However, these remarks are of a general kind. The analysis has to proceed along more specific lines. To this end, aspects of the theories reviewed very briefly have been formulated as general, guiding hypotheses to be tested in the light of the empirical data.

3.4 HYPOTHESES

It is predicted that:

- there is a discrepancy between a black manager's occupational expectations and his occupational reality. This may be revealed in, among other areas, the black manager's expectations about black mobility in commerce and industry, and the company's performance in achieving black advancement;
- a black manager aspires to high-order work satisfaction (a job that is meaningful, worthwhile and intrinsically rewarding), which may not be realised. If he finds himself occupying a repetitious, non-substantive job, he will feel frustrated;
- he experiences some status discrepancy or status inconsistency at work emanating from the relationship of his age and educational qualification and/or service with the company to his level of responsibility and job status experiences. He may

occupy a high status position and have fewer responsibilities than his status would suggest, or have a low status position but better educational qualifications and perhaps more work load than his immediate superior (at least in the quantitative sense). The recognition he experiences and the way he adjusts are related to the extent of these discrepancies;

- he is socially and culturally estranged at work. This estrangement is reinforced by exclusion from informal friendship-groups within the dominantly white executive level of the organisation;
- his self-esteem is adversely affected by some exposure to a frustrating work environment. Considerable exposure to a frustrating but accepting environment (acceptance being positively related to long service within the organisation) is, however, expected to improve his self-esteem;
- the nature of these problems are likely to be implicit and manifested in subtle patterns rather than in explicit aspects of the structure of positions and roles;
- a black manager in his new position may not be readily accepted by his white colleagues because he is an out-group member. Such non-acceptance may lead him to be socially isolated and lonely. Should he occupy a job that is not satisfying and meaningful he develops withdrawal symptoms. Such reactions may be misinterpreted by his white colleagues as inefficiency, passivity, laziness, lack of interest and so on. These misinterpretations exacerbate his situation. He in turn overreacts by being hostile to colleagues, or resigns his post. Hostility does not help him because he has no social support: he is the only black in the managerial hierarchy. In fact his hostility creates more enemies for him and a spiral of increasing hostility is created.

As a result, because of frustration, he can be expected to develop a negative attitude to his organisation, and experience feelings of alienation.

Perceptions of an organisational climate may vary with length of service with the organisation, educational qualifications, and presence or absence of outside social support. Managers with less work experience within an organisation, but who are more highly qualified, may have higher expectations and thus greater feelings of alienation and frustration than those with longer experience who are used to the realities of the white organisation, and so are better "adjusted". In other words, the black manager with less work experience has academic achievements which combined with a high status job, raise his self-esteem (at least in relative terms) as well as expectations about the job responsibilities. Should there be a discrepancy, his expectations become frustrated- also the way he evaluates himself takes a negative direction. However, all such reactions are largely dependent on the length of exposure to a frustrating environment. If he is exposed for a short time, then resigns from that job his level of frustration may be high but the self-esteem may not be affected much. It is probably only after a minimum of some three years of continuous exposure that his self-esteem is grossly affected. Should he decide to continue in the job, he finds himself accepting the above as a reality of the work situation. Also he finds that with a long service within the organisation, he becomes more accepted by his white colleagues. "Adaptation" as well as acceptance helps him to function better than before. His self-esteem also improves with long service. At this stage, his self-esteem may be even higher than when he entered the white organisation, because the recognition and acceptance he gets is now no longer confined to one racial group or area. However, only a handful stays for long.

Some social support from outside the work environment, (such as social relations with white colleagues after business hours, belonging to a contact group of managers and so on), may help to alleviate the effects of frustration experienced by black managers. However, exclusion from social life with white colleagues is expected to reinforce the lack of understanding (by a black manager) of the organisational culture.

Figure 9 reflects the summary graphic presentation of the hypothesis.

FIGURE 9

Summary of graphic presentation of the hypothesis

Hypothesised relations if independent variables score highly

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	DEPENDENT VARIABLES				
	Frustration (High +) (Low -)	Alienation (High +) (Low -)	Need-fulfillment (High +) (Low -)	Self-esteem (Initially outstanding \pm) (Initially low but improving $\bar{\pm}$)	Perception of organisational Climate (Critical -) (non-critical +)
X { 1. Younger 2. Older	+ -	+ -	+ -	+ - - +	- +
XX { 3. Short Service 4. Long Service	+ -	+ -	+ -	+ - - +	- +
XXX { 5. High Qualification 6. Less-high Qualification	+ -	+ -	+ -	+ - - +	- +
XXXX { 7. Social Support (Yes) 8. Lack of Social Support	- +	- +	+ -	+ -	+ -

The modes of frustration, alienation, need-fulfillment, self-esteem and perception of organisational climate vary with age, company service, role qualification and social support.

- X An older manager is expected to have fewer frustrations, fewer feelings of alienation and a lower self-fulfilment need than a younger one. Whilst on one hand the older manager is expected to perceive the organisational climate non-critically, his younger colleague is expected to perceive it more critically.
- XX A manager with longer service within an organisation is expected to have fewer frustrations, fewer feelings of alienation, and lower need-fulfilment than the younger one. He is also expected to perceive the organisational climate non-critically.
- XXX While a positive relationship between educational qualification and frustration level, alienation and need-fulfilment is expected, an inverse relationship between educational qualification and perceptions of the organisational climate is hypothesised.
- XXXX A manager who is a member of a social support-group is expected, on the one hand, to have fewer frustrations and feelings of alienation, and on the other to have a high self-fulfilment need, and a positive perception of the organisational climate than a manager who is not a member.

A NOTE ON SELF-ESTEEM

Younger better educated managers with less experience on-the-job have high self-esteem at a superficial level; but their self concept is actually ambivalent. It is unstable and diminishes rapidly with exposure to a frustrating environment. Older lower qualified managers on the other hand start with low self-esteem, which improves with more experience on-the-job.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 DEFINITION OF TERMS

- **Manager:** A manager will be perceived as a person occupying a position which is lower than that of an executive in an organisational hierarchy. This position will be viewed as being above the first line supervisory rank. Hall (1975) sees managers as departmental representatives who must have subordinates. Their work is more specialised, and they occupy well defined positions. These positions he perceives as carrying fewer responsibilities and less authority compared with executive status.

- **Black:** The term here means "African" only.

4.2 METHOD USED

Informal discussions were conducted by the writer with some black managers at work, with others at their homes, and still others after the formal meetings, while going home. Each respondent was asked about his perceptions and attitudes towards the organisational climate, and his opinions on obstacles to black advancement. This was done firstly to help the writer get the feel of how the subjects perceived their worlds, and secondly to establish rapport. Each respondent was vaguely informed about the project on black advancement that was to follow. The same explanation was given to all subjects. Although the area covered by the questions was limited, a lot of information outside the limits set by the informal questions was elicited.

A month later, the writer contacted the respondents to make appointments for interviews. The time for interviews was to suit

the respondents. The writer had to adapt to the chosen time. Interviews were conducted by the writer. An open-ended interview schedule was used. After each question, responses were recorded until the interview was completed. The interview schedule covered mainly the following areas:

- opinions on black advancement in general;
- perceptions on obstacles to black advancement;
- feelings about the organisational climate.

The van Lennep (1930)* four-picture test was immediately administered. The pictures in this test have been kept vague and general. They symbolise four very general existential situations. The respondents in this test must combine all four pictures to form one continuous story. This test can be viewed as an indirect measure of attitudes, needs, and self-esteem.

Each interview took more than 2½ hours. During most interviews there were interruptions by both black and white employees who were colleagues and superiors, and by black subordinates. (This latter applied mostly to managers in personnel occupations.)

4.3 SAMPLE

A contact group directory for blacks in trainee, assistant officers, and managerial positions in personnel positions was consulted. This yielded a list of fifty members. Through these, a further list of managers, assistant and trainee managers in other occupations such as marketing, services, sales, production and commercial spheres was developed. This gave a final list of 123 individuals that could be identified. Further all the large industrial corporations were consulted. From this a random selection of 61 individuals was made. An alternative would have been to obtain a list from the local registration board (the Port Natal Administration Board) but titles reflected in their lists might have been in conflict with the popularly held concepts of "manager" in black circles, and because of the attitudinal

* An adaptation of van Lennep's Four Picture Test was used. Adaptation was done by a team in the Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Natal, Durban, in 1980.

nature of the information required, this was avoided. The same provisions applied to the alternative of ringing all the listed employing organisations themselves as titles vary with the size and nature of the organisations.

A breakdown of the sample according to managerial functions is given in the following Table:

<u>TABLE 1</u>	
<u>SAMPLE BREAKDOWN</u>	
	<u>Total</u>
Personnel and Service Managers	35
Technical and Commercial Managers	12
Managers with fewer responsibilities	14
	<u>n = 61</u>

Personnel and Service includes managers who are trainees and assistant officers or managers in personnel and service (head office) departments.

Technical and Commercial Managers comprise those in banking, marketing and engineering occupations, in positions of assistant, trainee or manager.

Managers with fewer responsibilities consist of blacks in personnel departments, in officers' positions, and doing mainly clerical and administrative work.

Respondents within the sample fall within the 26-50 age range, with fifty-eight males and three females.

<u>TABLE 2</u>	
<u>ORGANISATIONS SURVEYED</u>	
Organisations surveyed were:	Total number of Organisations
Manufacturing industry	15
Chemical, explosives and pharmaceutical industry	5
Engineering and construction industry	4
Transport industry	5
Consultants (marketing and personnel)	2
Commercial banks	2
	N = 33

Most interviews were conducted at the place of work. However six respondents were interviewed at their homes, as it was not possible to contact these at their work-place.

Interviews were conducted between June 1980 and September 1981 by the writer, in Durban and its surroundings. Areas covered were as far as Pinetown to the West; Umbogintwini to the South and Tongaat to the North.

4.4 METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

The methodology used in this project does not claim to be pure and perfect. Limitations and constraints arise from the following factors.

Firstly, owing to the shortage of black managers in the sampling-frame at the time of fieldwork, the total population in the Durban area was used. This shortage presented the problem of under-representation of some biographical sub-samples like occupation

and sex. Respondents available at the time were mostly males in personnel occupations. A larger sampling-frame would have enhanced the strength of conclusions and generalisations. However, by definition subjects contacted were mostly managers, hence generalisations made are justifiable.

Secondly, interviewing in different settings (at work, at the writer's office, or at the subjects' residences), did not allow for control of extraneous intervening variables. In some interviews there were, in relative terms, too many interruptions. In others there was no interruption at all during interviews. Some interviews had to be discontinued and another date set for them. Such problems could be expected to contribute to a questionable internal validity of the findings. However, in the question of attitudes there is generally a measure of internal consistency in the subject. Such interruption could therefore only affect continuity of thought, and not the validity of the expressed attitudes *per se*.

Thirdly, the fact that interviews were conducted by an unmarried female, on mostly young male subjects, might have added to what Rosensweig (1933) calls errors of motivational attitude on the part of the subjects, in which case the effect would be expected to vary with age (younger subjects to be more affected than older ones). Also, the fact that interviews were conducted by the writer herself, might have had some influence on the outcome of the findings. However, the approach of the researcher was completely professional, guarding against bias.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS OF FOCUSSED INTERVIEW SURVEY

The aim of this chapter will be to present and discuss the results of the focussed interview. Group differences and similarities will be seen as trends. Inferences made will, therefore, be treated cautiously. An approach to conducting a statistical evaluation of the data will be presented in the next chapter.

In the presentation of results, reference will not be made to specific frequency tables in each case, as this will be unnecessarily tedious. The most important frequency distributions for items in the interview schedule appear in relevant appendices. Percentages will be brought to their nearest decimal points. Any percentage total that is greater than one-hundred will be indicative of the fact that the subject responded more than once to the question.

Results will be presented under the four broad headings, corresponding to the hypothesis stated earlier, namely:

- job satisfaction;
- organisational climate;
- frustrated expectations, and
- sense of belonging

It should be noted, however, that these headings are not mutually exclusive and overlap to a considerable extent.

5.1 JOB-SATISFACTION

Man is motivated by a complex pattern of identification, needs and values. The organisation of these will determine, to a large extent, what he aspires to, what he desires and what he seeks for himself from his environment.

The black worker has been forced by the work environment to change his habits and way of life. Through long exposure to

industrial life he has developed a need to submit to the work-discipline and time-values of a profit-motivated economy, in order to satisfy many of his material and psychological needs (Motsepe 1977).

This section highlights the needs, aspirations and expectations of black managers about their jobs. Whereas the first part of this section covers the ideal positive and negative expectations, the second part focuses on the actual on-the-job experiences (both positive and negative).

5.1.1 Attraction to the job, measured in terms of attraction and avoidance expectations

Salient features which were most frequently mentioned were job content (63%), salary (83%), scope for upward mobility (70%) and status (40%). To a lesser extent, sound and healthy social relations at work (20%), a management ready for change, equal job-opportunities (25%), a security within and of one's position (24%), and an unthreatened and secure management were mentioned. When considering that these were responses to open-ended questions and therefore a reflection of "top of the mind" recall, it is evident that managers aspire to what one would call "respectable middle-class jobs".

The same pattern obtained throughout all demographic categories except on the question of training, job satisfaction and scope for advancement, where graduates tended to be slightly more emphatic than non-graduates. On the other hand, non-graduates were slightly more concerned about an understandable factor bearing in mind that, because of their poor qualifications, they may feel more "dispensable". The older respondents by age, as well as by experience with the company, were more emphatic on a challenging job and equitable salary. However, the differences were weak. (See Appendices 1 and 2.)

5.1.2 Positive and negative on-the-job experiences

When the subjects were asked to state what they had found pleasurable experiences in their jobs, the frequently-mentioned factors were acceptance and recognition by superiors and colleagues (60%), success in new projects (58%), more responsibility (47%) and autonomy on-the-job (35%). The less-frequently mentioned factors were pay-increments, on-the-job training, fringe benefits, extrinsic feedback and negative experiences.

Appendix 3 shows that the understanding of responsibility tended to vary according to age and length of experience with the company. The older, more experienced respondents (3 years and more in the job) appeared to be "less responsible" than the younger, less experienced ones. There was more emphasis on productivity and success in new projects from the less experienced respondents than from their more experienced colleagues. There was, however, a negative element in the comments of the "production oriented" subjects "...Because there is a mad rush for productivity, which is always placed above human value. Whites would like to increase productivity at the expense of blacks. If only such productivity could have a human face, things would be better for all employees."

Respondents appeared to be sensitive to close supervision and to finding themselves under "illegitimate" supervisors, who in many ways were seen to retard progress.

The most frequently mentioned frustrating experiences advanced by subjects were non-recognition, as reflected in low salaries; ambivalent status in the company, as reflected in rejection by both management and black workers; and discrimination and racial conflict (black versus white employees). Less frequently mentioned experiences were:

- non-existence of or delayed extrinsic feedback from superiors;

- Lack of responsibility and authority;
- low productivity at work;
- lack of training/briefing, and
- overprotection.

Sensitivity to discrimination tended to vary with educational qualification and age. The older and more qualified respondents appeared to be more sensitive than their colleagues. (See Appendix 4.)

From this, one may infer that a black manager is mainly looking for the satisfaction of high-order needs (in Maslow's 1954 language). He is motivated by favourable job content factors. It is possible that he has recognised his own capabilities, and he is seeking to utilise them optimally. It is clear that motivators for all employees at this level are the same, irrespective of race. It may, however, be worthwhile to cite the findings of Motsepe and Mokoatle (1977) on what a black employee looks for in a job. According to them:

- he is searching for a spiritual life which gives him consciousness of his human dignity;
- he wants work that is meaningful, worthwhile and personally satisfying to him;
- he wants adequate remuneration and benefits which will enable him to achieve what western civilisation has shown to be desirable;
- he wants more knowledge and education so that he can become an effective worker.

5.2 ORGANISATIONAL CLIMATE

Dunnette (1976) quoting Guion (1973) maintains that the concept of organisational climate seems to have originated from a sociological analogy to physical climate. As such organisational climate may originally have been construed as an attitude of an organisation or organisational unit or system, much as variables of physical climate are seen as attributes of the world.

Guion (1973) sees the concept operationally, as referring to a set of measurable properties of the work environment, perceived directly or indirectly by the people who live and work in this environment and is assumed to influence their motivation and behaviour.

Nasser (1977) asserts that the emphasis in defining organisational climate should be directed towards the measurable properties of the environment and based upon the direct and indirect perceptions of organisational members.

The perceived properties, or dimensions, which govern the life of the organisation in either a positive or negative way are identified by Stinger and Litwin (1968) as the following:

- structure; responsibility; reward; risk; warmth; support; standards; conflict and identity.
- They see the employee's perception of these within the company as affected by innumerable internal and external factors, as well as by the company's basic functioning.

Dunnette *et al* (1970), describes four major dimensions of organisational climate as follows:

- individual autonomy;
- degree of structure imposed on the position;
- reward orientation;
- consideration warmth and support.

Dunnette (1976) quoting Payne (1971), describes climate as a molar (holistic) concept, reflecting the content and strength of the prevalent values, norms, attitudes, behaviour and feelings of members of the social system, which can be operationally measured through the perceptions of the system members or observational and other objective means.

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According to Meyers (1970), the pivotal factors which remain relatively constant in providing a characteristic climate are:

- growth rate, delegation, innovation, authority orientation, goal orientation, status, communication and stability.

Likert (1967) makes a distinction between organisational climate and organisational structure. He sees an organisational structure as a causal variable, and organisational climate as an intervening variable. Such description shows some conceptual differences. He sees the causal variables as being the independent variables which determine the course of development within an organisation and the results achieved by the organisation. These causal variables include only those independent variables which can be altered or changed by the organisation and its management, like organisational structure, policies, business and leadership strategies, skills and behaviour.

The intervening variables (organisational climate) reflect the internal state and health of an organisation, and include loyalties, attitudes, motivation, performance goals and perceptions of all members, and their collective capacity for effective interaction, communication and decision-making.

The end result variables are dependent variables which reflect the achievements of the organisation, such as productivity, costs and earning.

In terms of South African business, Dunnette (1976) quoting Nasser (1975) indicates that the major basis of climate consists of various combinations in the following factors: organisational culture and tradition, local business orientation and expectations, managerial style, management versus employee's needs and goals, internal organisational pressures, socio-economic and socio-political factors.

Organisational climate is, and will continue to be, a critical variable in organisational performance, because it governs the lives of all who operate within the constraints of its framework.

This section, then, highlights the organisational climate as perceived by some of its members.

Organisational climate was measured by using the following indices:

- feelings towards the definition of job-responsibility and scope;
- feelings about job demands;
- feelings about job description;
- feelings about social relations at work;
- feelings about influence in decision making;
- feelings about training and briefing on-the-job;
- group identity and the respondents perceptions of his responsibility and authority compared with his predecessor's;
- Company's appreciation of the respondent and his work; and
- levels/groups/situations with pronounced resistance to black advancement.

5.2.1 Feelings towards the definition of job responsibility and scope

When asked how they felt about the way responsibilities and scope were defined to them, a higher percentage revealed some satisfaction (62%), whilst a smaller one showed some dissatisfaction (38%). It was further elicited, with the use of the same measure, that more subjects had a restricted, ill-defined scope, and felt bad about it (53%), whilst a smaller percentage had a wider, well-defined scope (48%). Such ambivalence could be attributed to experience with the industrial and commercial environments, as reflected in a greater percentage of respondents with longer experience feeling, on one hand, that their scope was limited and ill-defined, whilst on the other hand being happy with the job responsibilities. There was an inverse relationship between age and responsibility dissatisfaction, with a higher percentage of younger managers feeling more dissatisfied than older ones. (See Appendix 5.)

5.2.2 Feelings about demands made on the individual by various people in various situations

Fifty one percent of the sample perceived demands made on them (on-the-job) as a challenge whilst 46 percent viewed them as a hindrance to progress. Such a percentage difference is small and does not tell us much as it could be due to chance errors. Only 3 percent reported few or no demands. Such a small percentage may be the group that is in meaningless positions with few responsibilities.

Respondents with less experience within organisations perceived demands more as a hindrance to progress than as a challenge. Such subjects cited instances where they received two sets of instructions from different white managers. In such cases, a black manager's failure (if he does fail) was viewed as laziness or inefficiency.* This is what Morse and Orpen (1975) refer to as "work overload".

5.2.3 Feelings about job description

A higher percentage of managers perceived their job descriptions as sufficiently clearly defined both verbally and in writing (66%). A smaller percentage, however, reported to have either insufficient (23%) or no job description at all (10%). In a majority of cases, the superior drew it (51%); only in relatively fewer instances did the job incumbent draw his own (38%). However, there were occasions where the job incumbent and his superior had to come together to discuss the job description, and alter it where possible, irrespective of who had made it (60%).

Respondents who had served the company for a longer time, those less qualified, and the oldest in the sample (41 years and over) appeared to be happier with their job descriptions than their colleagues were. Also, the happier subjects were more likely to have been responsible in the drawing up of their own job descriptions, after which these were jointly discussed (by the job incumbent concerned and his superior).

* Respondents reported that their failure to meet deadlines was interpreted by their superiors as inefficiency or laziness.

5.2.4 Feelings about social relations at work

Forty six percent of the respondents felt that social relations were healthy at work whilst 12 percent had a lukewarm attitude and 41 percent a completely negative one. However the differences in percentages between subjects who displayed a negative attitude as against those who revealed a positive one toward social relations is rather small to comment about. The lukewarm attitude could reveal some uncertainty or confusion concerning social relations at work. Reasons cited for positive relations were ethnic variations among superiors and colleagues, leading to a fragmentation of spirit or relationship among superiors*; employment by an open-minded company with a relaxed climate; and own personality attributes, like, amongst other things, an aggressive approach to life, and extroversion.

Structural and political reasons were cited as the main causes of discontent. Respondents felt that competition among management staff members led to some of them (subjects) to be perceived as a threat to the progress of some white colleagues. The structure of an organisation is such that the management team had to compete for scarce resources: there is no room at the top. Such competition created tension among colleagues. The fact that they (respondents) were black exacerbated white management's prejudice and fears.

Negative perceptions increased with increase in experience with the company, and age. The older and more experienced subjects felt more unhappy, compared with their colleagues.

Replies to this question, in general, were angry and terse. Even for those who perceived social relations as sound at work indicated explicitly that although sound, relations were not genuine. Subjects had comments like, "relations are sound but not genuine for the safety of a white manager. He decides to be nice for his own ends (he wants me to do his work)". Sound relations were

* Respondents interpreted this as putting them at an advantage. Whilst on one hand the "we feeling" on the part of the superiors would be weakened by ethnic variation, on the other hand this could possibly put the respondents at an advantage of receiving relatively positive acceptance from colleagues.

associated with role personality, and only confined to the work situation. The dissatisfied subjects reported that they were excluded from general conversation during tea breaks, because conversations were not general but in most cases confined to things of particular interest to white colleagues, like, among other things, golf and rugby. The younger and better-educated (graduates) appeared to be more socially adaptable, hence more emphatic about healthy social relations. Their colleagues complained about the fact that they were discriminated against socially, but were expected to be creative and individualistic as managers.

5.2.5 Feelings about influence in decision making

Most subjects were lukewarm towards the manner in which they were consulted on matters relating to their jobs. However, they were able to exert some influence directly (31%) or indirectly (38%). A few respondents expressed an absence of any form of influence on their part (31%), due to token consultation by their superiors.

Apparently trust from the organisation came after long association between the job incumbent and the company, as was the case with long-service subjects. (See Appendix 9.)

Indirect influence was seen by the respondents when they made recommendations to (white) superiors - recommendations which were initially rejected, but were later put forward, at the superior's convenience, as his own ideas. Direct influence, on the other hand, was associated with recommendations by the black manager which were accepted by his superior as the black manager's. Subjects in the sample appeared to be highly sensitive to token consultation, verbalised their responses with anger, and had comments like, "we are consulted long after decisions have been made and in most cases we have no influence at all over those decisions".

5.2.6 Feelings about training and briefing on-the-job

A higher percentage of respondents perceived their on-the-job training as sufficient (49%), as against a smaller percentage who either felt this was insufficient (33%) or absent (18%). Amongst the trained subjects, the majority saw the choice of training courses as being the superior's decision, while a minority saw it as the job incumbent's choice.

A larger proportion of managers revealed that they were briefed, as against a minority that was not. It also appeared that these two approaches (training and briefing), were rarely ever combined. There was an inverse relationship between these approaches.

5.2.7 Group identity and the respondent's perceptions of his responsibility and authority compared with his predecessor's

When asked about their predecessor's identity, it emerged that the highest percentage of respondents were in newly-created positions (36%), whilst a smaller one was either in positions that were previously occupied by white (34%) or black managers (30%). However there is not much that is revealed by the difference in percentages, as it is too small to be significant. Of the "successors", a large preponderance perceived their responsibilities as ranging from the same to increased, as against a minority who had decreased responsibilities. For increased responsibilities and authority, the time factor (responsibilities being expected to increase with time in a changing and developing world) was cited as a reason. The reason advanced for both decreased and increased responsibilities and authority was racial discrimination. For decreased responsibilities, subjects felt that when they were advanced to positions previously occupied by white managers, "monetary rewards, carpeted and curtained offices with high tables and rocking chairs, were left to the black successors, whilst responsibility and authority were taken away from them"*. For increased responsibilities

* Comments from subjects.

but decreased authority, subjects felt that a black manager had to work twice as hard as a white colleague did in order to be recognised as a candidate for promotion. There was, however, a small percentage of subjects within the sample who did not know the reasons for their feelings.

5.2.8 Company's appreciation of the respondent and his work

Most respondents revealed that they were satisfied with the way their organisations appreciated them and their work (66%), as against a minority whose reaction to the question ranged from lukewarm (18%) to negative (15%).

A strongly cited reason for positive feelings was that job incumbents received positive feedback from the company (54%). The frequently mentioned reason for negative feelings was inhibiting stereotypes and attitudes from white management (21%). To a lesser extent the following were advanced:

- the nature of the workforce's recognition;
- monetary rewards and advancement;
- lack of feedback; and
- negative feedback.

Not surprisingly, respondents with longer experience with the company and those who were oldest in the sample, displayed more satisfaction feelings than the less experienced ones. From this, it may be inferred that the value of an individual within an organisation seems partly to develop with his length of experience within the same organisation.

5.2.9 Levels, groups and situations most resistant to black advancement

A higher percentage of respondents within the sample cited the shopfloor level as the most resistant to black advancement (36%), as against a minority who advanced other levels, like middle (18%), lower (18%) and top (21%) managerial levels, artisan (12%) and engineering (12%) groups.

The shop-floor level was blamed, among other things, for unrealistic demands on managers (mostly personnel managers) concerning recruitment of the black workforce to their departments at short notice. Whites at supervisory levels were also blamed for vulgar language and negative attitudes in general, which was perceived by subjects as a major barrier to black advancement. Subjects appeared to have encountered a high number of whites from this level who disregarded their dignity and were cruel to them. Such attitudes were interpreted by subjects as (perhaps) emanating from, among other things, feelings of insecurity brought about by the fact that they (white colleagues) could not be pushed to better (senior) positions because they were not promotable - could not make the grade "up there". But, as respondents put it, because white supervisors had contributed a lot to the company profits, the company felt responsible for protecting their jobs and their interests by leaving them where they were to frustrate black workers as a whole, rather than firing them.

The respondents reported that they were given misnomers (wrong job titles) which they perceived as a strategy to protect the interests of the white supervisors and foremen (the most resistant groups to black advancement). Misnomers confused black managers and contributed to their status role conflict.

White managers at upper levels were also seen to harbour negative attitudes about black managers but, surprisingly, white managers at this level were preferred to lower-level ones for their politeness. Top management was blamed for "buying" the black advancement programme but not closely supervising its implementation, including the preparation and conditioning of white management for change.

Middle-management was blamed for, among other things, holding negative stereotypes about blacks in general which made it difficult for them to understand their black colleagues and subordinates as individuals rather than as blacks. This category was also blamed for either the under utilisation (as reflected in fewer responsibilities)

or, over-utilisation (unrealistic demands on black management). Most of the over-utilised subjects reported being better qualified for their jobs than their superiors. As a result (as subjects put it) this group of white managers felt threatened in their positions.

In relative terms, social relations at work, appreciation of self and work, on-the-job demands, job description, training and briefing, and the definition of responsibilities were perceived positively. On the other hand, definition of scope, influence in decision-making, promotional prospects, and resistant groups/levels/situations, were viewed as negative.

The writer finds it pertinent at this stage to cite the findings of Human (1981) concerning problems associated with black advancement. In her case, she looks at the marginal position of a black manager. Among other things, Human attributes the under-performance of a black manager to the following:

- unequal remuneration;
- hostility from shop-floor level;
- discrimination at lower levels despite the top management policy of non-discrimination;
- poorer promotional opportunities;
- little forward career planning;
- discrimination at the social level, and encouragement to be individualistic, whilst at the same time being constantly reminded of his ethnic background;
- the possibility of inadequate exposure and consultation;
and
- tokenism at work.

5.3 FRUSTRATED EXPECTATIONS

This section focuses on the discrepancy between expectations and achievements (if any). It may be expected that a person with high expectations about achievements may have greater frustrations, if these are thwarted, than a person who has minimal expectations.

Frustrated expectations lead to a sense of dissatisfaction within the individual. According to the comparison process notion of relative deprivation, a person who has been riding high, and suddenly fails, will experience greater frustration than a person who has never been up in the first place (Sampson 1976). This means that the feeling of frustration is relative to the comparison context.

This variable (frustrated expectations) was assessed by the following criteria:

- progress in commerce and industry;
- assessment of responsibility-potential;
- perception of black worker's mobility in commerce and industry;
- correspondence between promise and reality;
- company's attitude to promotion;
- company's position *vis a vis* black advancement; and
- opinions on obstacles to black advancement.

5.3.1 Progress in commerce and industry

For a high percentage, there was a discrepancy between expectations and achievements concerning their progress at work. A majority of subjects in the sample had a positive evaluation of themselves, as against a minority who had a negative one. Such positive evaluations were revealed by the subjects being more emphatic on deserving more progress than they had achieved.

Respondents cited relevant training background and experience (57%), personality attributes (like having an aggressive approach to life) (36%), healthy on-the-job social relations (30%) and pressure from outside on international companies (21%) as reasons for positive evaluations concerning their progress at work. Political reasons (a black manager in a white-owned organisation in South Africa) (21%), negative attitudes from white colleagues and superiors (20%) and little or no training (11%) were advanced as reasons for slow progress.

The less-experienced respondents who were graduates were more emphatic about the fact that their achievements were less than they deserved. The non-graduates, on the other hand, laid more stress on higher aspirations, while acknowledging that they had achieved more than they expected.

The less-experienced subjects (under 3 years with a company) perceived their progress as more rapid than their initial expectations, as they believed that they deserved less achievement.

5.3.2 Assessment of responsibility potential

When the respondents were asked whether they felt they should be given greater responsibility and authority, a higher percentage appeared to aspire to more authority and responsibility (46%), as against a smaller percentage who aspired either to less responsibility but greater authority (3%); or to greater authority but the same amount of responsibility (25%); or who stated that they had sufficient responsibility and authority for the present (25%).

Graduates who had less experience within their organisations, and who were younger (26 - 32 years), were emphatic on aspiring to more responsibility and authority than their colleagues. (See Appendix 6.)

5.3.3 Perception of black workers' mobility in commerce and industry

Thirty three percent of the respondents perceived the middle-managerial level as the ceiling for the promotion of a black person of ability, as against 31 percent who suggested higher managerial, 15 percent who suggested lower managerial and 5 percent who suggested no levels.

Less experienced, more qualified subjects appeared to have higher expectations concerning black workers' mobility compared with their colleagues, whose expectations ranged from middle to lower

managerial levels. (See Appendix 7.)

In general, respondents felt that the nature of their jobs (jobs which depended on their blackness - for instance, black marketing, black advertising and black personnel) did not give them enough scope and room for upward mobility.

5.3.4 Correspondence between promise and reality

In this regard, the writer was interested to discover whether there was any difference between what respondents were promised by their companies when they joined them, and the responsibility they ended up having. Results show that a higher percentage reported either to be promised more but given less, or promised less but given more (50%). A smaller percentage reported no discrepancy at all (45%). There was a handful (5%) who did not know whether there was a discrepancy or not, because they were given vague, generalised definitions of job expectations, demands and rewards. However, the difference in percentages is rather small to comment about.

It also came out that the discrepancy disappeared with more company experience and lower educational qualifications. Graduates with less experience within their organisations experienced more discrepancy than their colleagues. Those with more responsibilities as detailed on the job description, but doing little in reality (as the same responsibilities had to be shared by both the superior and the job incumbent), referred to these jobs as "hollow jobs" or "window-dressing" positions. Window-dressing was seen mainly as the creation of "black only" jobs in order to deceive the general business community; and in the fact that whites never report to black managers at senior levels. Subjects with less responsibility in the job analysis, but in practice doing more, attributed the discrepancy to a superior who wanted them to do his job and then take their successes as his. However, for a majority of less educationally qualified but more experienced subjects, there was no discrepancy. (See Appendix 8.)

5.3.5 Company's attitude to promotion

A higher percentage of respondents felt that their organisations were more cautious in promoting black than white managers (67%). A minority reported their organisations as either promoting by merit (25%) or being more cautious in promoting white than black (5%). A small number did not know how promotions were conducted (3%).

The most salient evidence for caution in promotion was revealed by figures given (how many black or white managers were promoted each year within the same organisation). Other less frequently mentioned factors showing caution in the promotion of blacks were the inferior quality of whites in senior positions (superior to black managers) and the criteria for promotion which were set by whites thus putting whites at an advantage and black at a disadvantage.

5.3.6 Company's position *vis a vis* black advancement

A larger proportion of respondents reported their companies to be committed to black advancement (93%) but mostly paying lip-service to the concept (51%), whilst a minority perceived them to be uncommitted (6%). To a lesser extent, committed companies were seen either to move at a slower pace than the expectations of the subjects (25%) or to advance blacks at the expected pace (20%).

There was an inverse relationship between age, length of experience within the organisation and educational qualification compared with satisfaction concerning the company's pace in black advancement. The younger subjects generally viewed the concept positively, and the older ones negatively. The reaction of the senior subjects (by age, educational qualification and experience within organisations) could be an understandable factor when considering the theoretical commitment of companies and the non-committal attitude of the same organisation to black advancement in practice. This factor weighed against the fact that subjects

had both relevant educational qualifications and work experience, could then be expected to raise their frustration level. Educational qualifications and work experience contribute positively to the evaluation they make of themselves concerning their eligibility for promotion. According to them, they are over-qualified for their jobs. In Leo Kuper's (1965) language black managers could be seen as having some status discrepancy. Their age (mostly 40 and over) may also put them at a disadvantage for promotion. (See Appendix 8.)

5.3.7 Opinions on obstacles to black advancement

Respondents were asked to name factors which they considered were obstacles to black advancement within the industrial and commercial worlds. They were asked to rank these factors in order of importance, and to state which ones were most applicable in their personal circumstances. The poor educational opportunities provided for blacks (75%), negative attitudes to blacks (67%) and irrelevant or non-existent training for blacks on-the-job (62%) were mentioned as the most important factors. Not surprisingly, the same three factors also received the highest ranking.

However, while the above three factors had been cited widely as applicable to the general black population, subjects in the sample did not mention these factors as affecting them personally to the same degree.

Obstacles that were seen to apply to respondents were: whites had no confidence in blacks (26%); non-existent, poor, little or irrelevant training on-the-job (18%); statutory obstacles (laws restricting free movements of black employees, thus confining them to certain geographical areas and groups, limiting their social as well as psychological stimulation) (18%); poor selection procedures by companies (18%); no room at the top (2%); no positions at higher levels of the hierarchical organisational structure. (See Tables 3, 4 and 5, which reflect multiple responses.)

TABLE 3

RESPONDENTS' MENTION OF OBSTACLES TO BLACK ADVANCEMENT	% of Cases
Black educational system is poor/no preparation for industrial sophistication	75
Whites have no confidence in blacks	67
Non-existent, poor, little or irrelevant training and orientation from the company	62
Statutory and legal obstacles	39
Hollow job	36
Blacks' non-assertiveness (insecurity) because of having accepted the South African <i>status quo</i>	34
Cultural conflict	31
Poor selection	26
No room at the top	23
Blacks not fully exposed to subtle industrial conventions	21
Lack of identifiable professional behaviour patterns	15
Conservative white trade unions	13
Basic fear from blacks of being proven wrong	7
TOTAL	451
n =	61

TABLE 4		
RESPONDENTS' RATING OF OBSTACLES	% of Cases	Rank Order
Black educational system is poor/no preparation for industrial sophistication	51	1
Whites have no confidence in blacks/negative attitudes from whites	36	2
Statutory and legal obstacles	23	3
Non-existent, poor, little or irrelevant training and orientation from the company	23	4
Poor selection	18	5
Hollow jobs	13	6
Blacks' non-assertiveness (insecurity) because of having accepted the South African <i>status quo</i>	8	7
Blacks not fully exposed to subtle industrial conventions	8	7
Conservative white trade unions	8	7
Cultural conflict	5	10
Lack of identifiable professional behaviour patterns	5	10
TOTAL	200	
n =	61	

TABLE 5	
CHOICE OF 2 MOST IMPORTANT OBSTACLES FACING RESPONDENTS	% of Cases
Whites have no confidence in blacks	26
Statutory and legal obstacles	18
Non-existent, poor, little or irrelevant training and orientation from the company	18
Poor selection	18
Black educational system poor/no preparedness for industrial sophistication	16
Hollow jobs	15
Conservative white trade unions	10
Cultural conflict	7
Blacks not fully exposed to subtle industrial conventions	3
Non-assertiveness of blacks	5
Lack of identifiable professional behaviour patterns	3
None	3
Basic fear of being proven wrong	2
No room at the top	2
TOTAL	146
n =	61

It is important to consider the other factor related to this area of job reward - the assessment by executives of their own progress. The following listing sets out the relationship between a variety of factors and the satisfaction of expectations:

	<u>%</u>
Expecting more - overall average	59
Technical/commercial managers	80
Over 5 years experience with the company	80
Parallel movers	79
Non-identifiers with organisations	83
Frustrated because of no feedback from superiors	80

From this it is evident that a black manager's expectations concerning job rewards are higher than his achievements.

In conclusion, it may be worthwhile to note the statement by Hoselitz and Willner (1962)* on what expectations are, and on the possible results of unrealised expectation. According to them, expectations are a manifestation of the prevailing norms. Whether expressed in economic or social terms, the basis upon which the individual forms his expectations is the sense of what is rightfully owed to him. The source of that sense of rightness may be what his ancestors have enjoyed, what he had had in the past, what tradition ascribes to him, or his position in relation to that of others in the society. From whatever source, unrealised expectations result in feelings of deprivation. Disappointment is generally tolerable - deprivation is often intolerable. The deprived individual feels impelled to remedy the material and psychic frustrations produced in him, by whatever means available.

5.4 SENSE OF BELONGING

Belonging, in the context of the work environment, will be perceived to reflect a form of freedom consisting of those activities of an individual which form part of him, and are controlled by his

* quoted by Gurr, 1970.

own will. It will mean some social inclusion - not a feeling of being a stranger in a strange world.

In the light of the above definition, it was interesting to see whether or not the subjects identified with the employing organisations. This variable was measured by:

- respondents' trust or lack of trust in the organisation;
- respondents' sense of belonging to the organisation; and
- respondents' perceptions of the security of their positions.

5.4.1 Respondents' trust or lack of trust in the organisations

For most managers (62%), the employing organisations trusted them, as against a minority whose feelings regarding trust by employing organisations ranged from lukewarm (18%) to negative (20%).

Reasons advanced for feeling trusted were that:

- they had access to important information (like company profits), and places (38%); and
- management showed respect for their educational qualifications and skills (38%).

Those cited for lukewarm to negative feelings were:

- negative remarks and attitudes from white colleagues (23%); and
- constant supervision (2%).

A higher percentage of respondents with lower qualifications (non-graduates), who had longer service (3 years and over) with the company, and were older, felt trusted by their organisations, as against a minority of the subjects who did not. Subjects with

longer experience were more respected by their organisations and had access to important information and places.

5.4.2 Respondents' sense of belonging to the organisation

When asked if they felt part of the employing organisations or not, a high percentage of respondents felt that they belonged (54%) whilst for a minority, feelings ranged from lukewarm (26%) to negative (20%).

The most important reason advanced for the feeling of belonging was that their expertise was valued (46%). They were taken for what they were, not for what the employers would like them to be.

The most prominent reason for "detachment" from the company, and a feeling of scepticism, was political (30%) (hence comments like "the organisation belongs to a white man who uses us for his own ends; the industrial captains do not want to accept a black man in their world").

To a lesser extent, access to important information, long service, and security of one's position were given as reasons for positive feelings. Rejection by white colleagues and distribution of profits which did not reflect worker input were mentioned as causes of negative feelings.

The feeling of belonging developed with increasing experience in an organisation. There was a higher percentage of managers from the more experienced category who identified with the company, compared with the less experienced ones. Also, the non-graduates identified more with their organisations than their colleagues did.

5.4.3 Respondents' perceptions of security of their positions

A considerably larger proportion of subjects felt that their positions were secure (74%), as against a minority who either felt

that their positions were insecure (8%), or doubted their security (18%). Respondents, however, explained that although their positions were mostly secure, they as job incumbents felt insecure in those positions.

The most frequently advanced reasons for secure positions were:

- structural reasons (a black manager's position was perceived as indispensable because business relied most heavily on the black workforce for profits. Subjects as a result perceived a need for a "middle man" between the black workforce and white management for sound communication and employee relations within an organisation);
- expertise;
- acceptance by the employing organisation; and
- employment by a secure organisation.

Of the respondents who expressed lukewarm to negative attitudes about the security of their positions, reasons cited were political (a black manager in a white-owned organisation), structural (no white manager reported to them), and that the companies did not show trust for them.

Interestingly, a higher percentage of non-graduate subjects perceived their positions as secure than did their graduate colleagues. The reason for this feeling could be that all the non-graduates are in the personnel departments, where black managers feel that they are needed most for sound employee relations between black and white.

The following Table illustrates the occupational distribution of graduates and non-graduates.

TABLE 6

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF GRADUATES AND NON-GRADUATES

Occupational Roles				
Educational Qualification	Technical and Commercial Managers	Service and Personnel Managers	Non-Managers	
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Matric plus diploma	0	67	33	100 44 n = 27
Degree plus diploma	35	50	15	100 56 n = 34
	20 n = 12	57 n = 35	23 n = 14	Total 100 n = 61

To summarise, it is pertinent to mention that most respondents appear to identify with their employing organisations. These findings are, however, in conflict with the findings of Human (1981, p.11), whose respondents within the sample did not feel at all as though they belonged. Respondents who, relatively speaking, had fewer frustrated expectations (as dealt with in the preceding section) were more emphatic about identifying with their employing organisation than those who revealed severely frustrated expectations.

To conclude this rather lengthy section, the writer finds it pertinent to cite the personal experiences and views, about black advancement, of a black manager who is a strong supporter of the social contact group for managers in Durban. He is a graduate, and has two additional diplomas relevant to personnel managers. He started working in industry in 1966, as a black Personnel Officer. Because of the low salary he moved to another company, where he was given a personnel training officer's position. Later he was promoted to personnel administrative officer, and later still to industrial

relations manager. He was finally made manager, industrial relations, which was a newly created post. These last two job titles are confusing even to the job incumbent himself. He feels that the only area of difference is in the increased amount of responsibility in the present job compared with the previous one.

This manager aspires to higher order needs - to more authority, responsibility, scope for vertical mobility and autonomy on-the-job.

In relative terms, his expectations are moderately frustrated. He believes that social relations at work are artificial, that all levels are resistant to black advancement, and that companies are more cautious in promoting black than white employees, and are paying lip service to the concept. Despite this, he feels his progress has been more rapid than he had expected, feels accepted at work, and identifies with the employing organisation. This shows that this person compartmentalises his personal political attitudes. He feels, however, that he had a negative attitude to white colleagues when he started, because he was not accepted at work. Later he decided to be more realistic. It was only then that he started to be accepted by his colleagues and superiors, and developed positively in relative terms. He suggests that a black trainee manager passes through the following stages while adapting to the work environment.

Stage 1

Reality shock

Being a graduate, a black manager may automatically be highly thought of and respected in the black community. His motivational and attitudinal make-up, however, has very little in common with the tenets and prerequisites of management. The home and social environment develops attitudes and motivations which negate those expected by business. With confidence and optimism (because he might have thus far been successful in life) he comes to the

industrial or commercial world with its ambiguities and inconsistencies. He meets with misnomers and differential attitudes from colleagues and superiors concerning black advancement, which, combined, create an 'occupational see-saw' for him. He is accepted not as an individual but as a black, and given a black position (black advertising manager, black personnel manager). With the advantage of his educational background (at least quantitatively) he is thrown into the deep end, where he is expected to compete with white graduates at the same level.

Stage 2

Hostility

The trainee manager starts to criticise the organisation which he feels does not accept him or did not prepare his colleagues for his arrival. He develops negative attitudes towards his superiors and colleagues.

Stage 3

Conflict

His colleagues and superiors react to his negative attitudes - they develop a strong we-feeling against him (because it is naturally not easy to accommodate an out-group member). Quite a number of black trainee managers resign at this stage. However it is expected that if an individual has social support, for instance from the contact group of managers, he becomes more realistic, and proceeds to the following stage.

Stage 4

Acceptance

If the trainee manager has not resigned by this stage, he starts to think that he is dealing with individuals who could never be perfect. He tries to integrate himself into the company. He

accepts his colleagues and superiors as they are, not as he would like them to be. He interacts more often with them at social level, thus allowing for more "cross-pollination" of ideas than before. It is only now that a trainee manager is accepted by the organisation. Relatively speaking it is now that he starts identifying with the employing organisation, and finds himself doing more than attending from 8am to 5pm on working days.

At this stage the black manager finds more acceptance from white colleagues than from black colleagues or subordinates, because the black workforce associates him with white management and thus develops distrust for him, and labels him among other things as an "uncle Tom", or a "management stooge".

In very general terms, the interview findings support the suggested stages in the process of adaptation. This is revealed in the more experienced managers being more realistic about the work environment than the younger and more inexperienced ones.

CHAPTER 6

CORRELATION ANALYSIS

This chapter focuses on the scoring procedure for variables, how these were analysed, and the results of the analysis.

6.1 SCORING PROCEDURE

To investigate relationships between variables discussed in Chapter 5, scoring procedures were developed. Firstly, interview items were selected by the author and an independent judge* according to whether or not item contents were related to the main dependent variables, namely sense of belonging, frustrated expectations, organisational climate, and job satisfaction. Scoring categories were then set up for selected items; these are shown in Appendix 9.

6.2 ANALYSIS OF BACKGROUND DATA

Eight variables, covering relevant background data for each subject, were treated as independent variables. These variables were:

<u>Number</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>Measurement categories</u>
1	Occupational role	Commercial and Technical Managers; Service and Personnel Managers; non-managers.
2	Length of time on the job	Under 5 years; over 5 years.
3	Length of service with the company	Under 3 years; 3 years and over
4	Age	26-32 years; 33-39 years; 40 years and over
5	Educational qualifications	Non-graduates; graduates.
6	Length of work experience	Under 5 years; 5-10 years; 11-15 years; over 15 years.
7	Parental education	No education; primary education; secondary and high school; professional.
8	Residential background from the above list	Urban; rural; combination.

* A Senior Academic

It is obvious from the above list that these variables are not independent, and since the analysis could not handle more than three, an attempt was made to reduce this set to a smaller set of primary dimensions. This was done by means of a principal axis factor analysis of the product moment correlation matrix. Tables 7 and 8 give the intercorrelations and the rotated factor matrix.

Variable Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Occupation Role	1,00	-,24	-,28	-,12	,41	-,39	,20	-,18
2. Time on-the-job	-,25	1,00	,42	,17	-,23	,25	-,05	,07
3. Service with company	-,28	,42	1,00	,34	-,12	,46	-,16	,00
4. Age	-,12	,17	,34	1,00	-,14	,67	-,10	-,10
5. Qualification	,41	-,23	-,12	-,14	1,00	-,14	-,02	-,25
6. Work experience	-,39	,25	,46	,67	-,14	1,00	-,06	-,02
7. Parental education	,20	-,05	-,16	-,10	-,02	-,06	1,00	,12
8. Residential background	-,18	,07	,00	-,10	-,25	-,02	,12	1,00

Number	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III
1	-,20	-,28	,55
2	,10	,46	-,25
3	,26	,78	-,07
4	,74	,19	,02
5	-,11	-,06	,66
6	,84	,30	-,13
7	-,06	-,20	-,02
8	-,10	-,03	-,40

The analysis produced three factors with eigenvalue greater than unity. These factors explain 63 percent of the total variance within the initial matrix of the correlations. The following Table lists the percentage of variance explained by each factor (only the significant factors):

<u>TABLE 9</u>	
<u>FACTOR VARIANCE FOR INDEPENDENT VARIABLES</u>	
<u>Factor</u>	<u>Percentage of Variance</u>
	<u>%</u>
1	32
2	18
3	13
	<hr/>
TOTAL	63

Considering loadings greater than an absolute value of 0,40 it is evident that a simple factor structure exists. Variables loading on each factor are:

Factor 1	-	(6)	Total work experience	(1)	Age
Factor 2	-	(3)	Company Service	(2)	Time on present job
Factor 3	-	(5)	Education qualification	(1)	Occupational role
		(8)	Residential background		

It may be noted that the significant loadings on factor III are bipolar. This bipolarity is, of course, a consequence of the variable range labelling. Specifically, the factor suggests that subjects with high education and occupational roles have an urban residential background, and those with low educational and occupational roles a combination of rural and urban residential background.

Factor plots (see Appendices 10, 11 and 12) suggest that these factors are correlated. Indications are that factors I and II are positively related, while both I and II are negatively related to factor III. Oblique rotation was not explored because the simple structure was clear after varimax rotation. It follows, therefore,

that younger subjects have shorter company service and are better qualified educationally. Age seems to be the major independent variable.

It must be noted that three summary variables were produced on individuals' backgrounds. These will serve as independent variables in subsequent analysis.

6.3 ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW DATA

Scores on eighteen interview items were intercorrelated, using a product correlation. The resulting correlation matrix is shown in Table 10.

Only 9 percent of the correlations in the matrix reached significance at 5 percent level, while approximately 4 percent reached significance at 1 percent level. These results are not impressive, although they exceed what one might expect from random sampling. It is not possible to decide what factors are responsible for these results. Two possibilities emerge. Firstly, the methods used to produce the ratings for each variable were based on a content analysis of the subjects' verbal responses. It is possible that if the subjects had been confronted with rating scales, they might have produced more consistent results. Secondly, for many of the variables it was not possible to extend the range of possible scores beyond a dichotomy. Thus this restriction of range would account for the smallness in size of the correlations.

Of the correlations significant at the 5 percent level, the largest numbers were related to company policy concerning black advancement, followed by variables relating to identification with the company, and company attitude to promotion. These relationships form a consistent pattern. The variable concerned with decision-making showed no significant relationship with any other variable in the set.

TABLE 10

FACTOR CORRELATION MATRIX (DEPENDENT VARIABLES)

Variable name	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Pulling factors						
2. Avoidance factors	,15					
3. Happy experiences	,20	-,09				
4. Frustrating experiences	,14	,09	-,22			
5. Security of position	-,13	-,11	-,12	,07		
6. Job description	-,22	,08	-,08	,15	,15	
7. Social relations	-,03	,02	-,03	,01	-,24	-,09
8. Decision-making	-,04	,01	,04	,23	-,07	,24
9. Trust	,09	-,11	-,10	,05	,20	,36
10. Factors influencing progress	,04	,09	,10	-,10	,13	,06
11. Responsibility and activity	-,11	-,09	-,01	,03	,03	,15
12. Company identification	-,08	,01	-,06	,03	,22	-,01
13. Self/work appreciation	-,01	-,20	-,02	,08	,12	,24
14. Black mobility	,07	-,01	,13	,32	,02	,05
15. Attitude to promotion	-,01	-,21	-,15	,23	,19	,13
16. Promise and reality	-,16	-,10	-,09	-,05	,06	,19
17. Company and black advancement	-,17	,07	-,25	,14	,32	,07
18. Assessment of responsibility potential	-,25	-,26	-,11	-,15	,07	,05

7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
03											
19	-,07										
04	-,14	,22									
25	-,13	,23	,06								
01	-,07	,31	,28	,02							
05	-,02	,09	,17	,05	,10						
13	,17	-,07	-,15	-,04	,02	,17					
25	-,04	-,09	,04	-,03	,22	,25	,10				
05	-,19	,18	,34	-,19	,13	,22	,02	-,00			
20	,09	,23	,10	,02	,31	,14	-,14	,23	,05		
23	-,14	,08	,16	,16	,08	,42	-,07	,14	-,01	,07	

The correlation matrix was then subjected to a principal axis factor analysis, and three significant factors emerged (those with latent roots greater than unity) which were in turn subjected to an oblique rotation. The factor pattern for this solution is reflected in Table 11 and plotted in Appendices 13, 14 and 15. It must, however, be noted that the rectangular axis in the Appendix is merely used to illustrate the pattern of loadings.

Variable Name	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
1. Pulling factors	-,13	,07	,20
2. Avoidance factors	,08	,03	,42
3. Happy experiences	-,26	-,12	,02
4. Frustrating experiences	,23	,51	,09
5. Security of one's position	,41	-,01	-,07
6. Job description	,36	,04	-,03
7. Social relations	-,03	,43	,06
8. Decision-making	-,01	,28	,09
9. Trust	,63	-,30	,15
10. Factors influencing progress	,35	-,15	-,01
11. Responsibility and authority	,10	-,29	-,10
12. Company identification	,48	,01	,01
13. Self and work appreciation	,16	,13	-,52
14. Black mobility	-,07	,36	-,09
15. Attitudes to promotion	,18	,47	-,38
16. Promise and reality	,27	-,05	-,05
17. Company and black advancement	,53	,18	,03
18. Assessment of responsibilities	-,01	-,22	-,71

The following Table shows the percentage of variance explained by each factor:

TABLE 12

FACTOR VARIANCE FOR DEPENDENT VARIABLES

<u>Factor</u>	<u>Percentage variance</u>	
	<u>%</u>	
1	15	
2	11	
3	9	
	TOTAL	35

From the above Table it may be noted that there is a large portion of the score variance left unexplained by three significant factors.

It is necessary to provide the interpretation of these factors. In what follows, only loadings (based on the factor structure solution) which are greater than an absolute value of at least 0,30 will be listed; but loadings of an absolute value of 0,40 or greater will be used in identifying the factors.

<u>FACTOR 1</u>	
<u>Variable Name</u>	<u>Loadings</u>
Trust by company	0,59
Company's position on black advancement	0,52
Sense of belonging	0,48
Security of one's position	0,44
Job description	0,36
Factors influencing one's progress	0,35

Only positive loadings were significant in this factor. Considering the four highest loadings on this factor, it is clear that variables concern the black manager's perceptions of relationships between himself and the company. Perceptions of trust and sense of belonging are two aspects of the same attitude. It is worth noting that trust and belonging are based on the individual's assessment of company policy concerning black advancement. The interpretation of this factor, therefore, presents no difficulty. It reflects the extent to which the black person sees himself accepted by the company as an individual having a defined role and secure future. Sense of belonging represents an adequate description of what the factor is measuring.

<u>FACTOR 2</u>	
Variable name	Factor Loadings
Frustrating on-the-job experiences	0,52
On-the-job social relations	0,43
Company's attitude to promotion	0,43
Perception of black mobility	0,36
Amount of responsibility and authority compared with the predecessor's	-0,30

This factor appears to be bipolar, with more positive significant loadings than negative ones. Frustrating on-the-job experiences have the highest loadings on this factor, and thus could be seen as giving factor 2 its flavour, in the language of Anastasi (1976) and Child (1970). This variable, combined with the on-the-job social relations variable, concerns aspects of the job relating to supervisory climate. Hence the description of the factor as measuring perception of supervisory climate seems appropriate. This interpretation fits the loadings on company's attitude to promotion, since high positive scores on these variables would agree with a positive perception of supervisory climate. The high negative loading on variable frustrating on-the-job experiences indicates negative perceptions of the supervisory climate.

<u>FACTOR 3</u>	
Variable name	Factor Loadings
Attitudes to job responsibility and authority	-0,73
Company's appreciation of the respondent and his work	0,55
Avoidance factors	0,40
Company's attitude to promotion	-0,38

This factor is bipolar, although this result appears to be a consequence of the scoring of certain variables rather than a true bipolarity.

The job context avoidance factors concern aspects of the job related to frustration and dissatisfaction. Taking into account the negative loadings, it seems that this factor is measuring the extent to which the individual has negative attitudes towards his job. Hence the description of this factor as measuring job dissatisfaction seems appropriate.

The following Table shows the factor correlations:

<u>TABLE 13</u>			
<u>FACTOR CORRELATIONS</u>			
	<u>Factor 1</u>	<u>Factor 2</u>	<u>Factor 3</u>
Factor 1	1,00	-,02	-,28
Factor 2	-,02	1,00	,10
Factor 3	-,28	,10	1,00

The above Table shows that factor 1 is inversely related to factors 2 and 3, although the only correlation worth noting is that between factor 1 and 3.

The relationship of the three factors is in the expected direction, namely, belonging being negatively related to negative

attitudes towards the supervisory climate and job dissatisfaction; job dissatisfaction also being positively related to negative attitudes to supervisory climate.

In view of the smallness of the correlations, a varimax (independent) solution would have been satisfactory. However, the oblique rotation was retained in the subsequent analysis.

The main purpose of conducting a factor analysis of the questionnaire data was to reduce the number of dependent variables entering the regression analyses which are to follow. However, the results of the factor analysis are interesting in their own right, and for this reason a discussion of the main findings is presented at this point.

Firstly, it was found that three significant factors accounted for only 34 percent of the response variance of the questionnaire items. This means that the structure of work attitudes covered by the questionnaire is fairly complex, although only three of these attitudes may be regarded as significant. It may of course be that the respondents do not hold a consistent set of attitudes about the work situation, so that the large numbers of minor factors appearing in the analysis reflect fortuitous overlaps in responses to the items. To clarify this issue, it would be necessary to conduct a more extensive analysis of black work attitudes using a larger sample and a wider range of item content.

Secondly, the three significant factors are capable of a meaningful interpretation in terms of item content. The first and most important factor is identified as measuring sense of belonging to the employing organisation. It is bipolar, the negative pole indicating feelings of alienation. Individuals who score highly on this factor tend to emphasise either a positive or a negative identification with the company they work for, and either a neutral or a negative view of the company's attitude to black advancement. The second factor reflects the respondents' perception

of supervisory climate in the organisation - that is, how the black managers perceive relations with their white superiors.

The third factor is a measure of the respondents' job dissatisfaction, in which factors which frustrate the personal advancement of the individual are emphasised.

Thirdly, the interrelationships between the factor variables were considered. A moderately negative relationship was found to obtain between factor 1 (feeling of trust in the company) and factor 3 (job dissatisfaction). This correlation is in the expected direction, in that managers who have higher trust in the company are likely to have lower levels of job dissatisfaction than those who have a weaker identification with the company. The fact that this correlation is small should be noted. It might be expected that, where a lack of identification with the company expressed a negative black political attitude towards white organisations, there would be a much stronger association with feelings of job dissatisfaction. The small negative correlation between factors 1 and 3 indicates that this is not the case among black managers in the sample. The level of job dissatisfaction which a manager experiences is not strongly related to his feelings of identification with (or alienation from) the company. In other words, if factor 1 measures the strength of a political attitude, then the black manager is able to divorce his attitude in the political area from his personal assessment of the dissatisfaction arising from his work situation.

Scores on factor 2 (perception of supervisory climate) appear to be unrelated to scores on the other factors. This is a puzzling result which is not easy to interpret. There is a slight relationship with factor 3, and more with factor 1. If these results can be generalised, the pattern of relationships among these attitudes indicates that the manager-superior relationships (which are black-white relationships) are not perceived as a reason for feelings of alienation from or belonging to the organisation. The slight relationship with job dissatisfaction, on the other hand,

does suggest that managers who have a more negative perception of climate show a slight tendency to be those who are more dissatisfied with their jobs.

Finally, the order of importance of the factors indicates that a major portion of the explained variance in work attitudes is due to feelings of belonging/alienation and perception of supervisory climate rather than to job dissatisfaction as such. In other words the major obstacles to enhanced work attitudes lie in the areas of organisational socialisation and subordinate-superior relationships. Unless improvements are made in these two areas, improving job hygiene factors will not much improve the overall work attitudes of black managers.

6.4 MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS

Since the sets of independent and dependent variables had been simplified by means of factor analysis, the question of the relationship between these sets was considered. One biographical variable was selected to represent each of the separate factor variables. These were age, company service and education. Since the set is not orthogonal, it was not possible to investigate the analysis of relationship using analysis of variance. Thus the technique of multiple regression was adopted as an alternative.

Factor scores were computed for each subject on each factor. These scores summarised the subjects' standing on the dependent variables of belonging, climate and dissatisfaction, taking into account all relevant questionnaire items.

6.4.1 Correlation matrix with belonging as dependent variable

	<u>Variables</u>	110	111	80	<u>Belonging</u>
110	Service	1,00	0,41	-0,20	0,21
111	Age	0,41	-1,00	-0,02	-0,12
80	Education	-0,20	-0,24	1,00	-0,35

The criterion correlations indicate that sense of belonging is negatively related to both age and education, and positively related to service within the company. Thus younger, better educated individuals feel more alienated than older, more experienced colleagues.

Analysis of variance

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>Mean square</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>
Regression	3	6,214	2,071	3,28	<0,05
Residual	57	35,990	0,631		
TOTAL	60	42,204	3,702		

Multiple correlation = 0,384

The multiple correlation between independent variables and belonging, although small, is significant at 5 percent level. Thus sense of belonging is significantly influenced by the main biographical variables. The regression weights and significant tests for this analysis are given below in Table 14.

	<u>Variables</u>	Beta weight	r ²	F	P
110	Company service	0,120	0,045	0,757	not significant
111	Age	0,060	0,046	0,197	not significant
80	Education	-0,326	0,147	6,799	<0,05

6.4.2 Correlation matrix with supervisory climate as dependent variable

Variables	110	111	80	Climate
110 Company service	1,00	0,41	-0,20	-0,04
111 Age	0,41	1,00	-0,02	-0,09
80 Education	-0,20	-0,24	1,00	-0,03

None of the variables appear to be related to climate. This is confirmed by the analysis of variance.

Analysis of Variance

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>Mean square</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>
Regression	3	0,340	0,113	1	not significant
Residual	57	37,520			
TOTAL	60	37,860			

Thus, it is clear that perception of climate is not significantly related to biographical variables. This fits the interpretation of this factor. In other words, the supervisory relationships are not predictable from the biographical data, although it is surprising that company service is not related to supervisory relationships.

6.4.3 Correlation matrix with job dissatisfaction as a dependent variable

Variables	110	111	80	Job dissatisfaction
110 Company service	1,00	0,41	-0,20	-0,18
111 Age	0,41	1,00	-0,02	-0,17
80 Education	-0,20	-0,24	1,00	0,35

The criterion correlations show that job dissatisfaction is negatively related to company service and age, whilst positively related to educational qualifications.

Analysis of variance

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>Sum of squares</u>	<u>Mean square</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>
Regression	3	6,326	2,109	3,38	<0,05
Residual	57	35,524	,623		
TOTAL	60	41,850	2,732		

Multiple correlation = 0,389

The multiple correlation between independent variables and job dissatisfaction, although small, is significant at 5 percent

level. Thus feelings of job dissatisfaction are significantly influenced by the main biographical variables. The regression weights and significant tests for this analysis are given below in Table 15. It is apparent that education is the only variable with a significant beta weight. Hence education is the main determinant of job dissatisfaction.

	Variables	Beta Weights	r ²	F	P
110	Company service	-,047	0,031	,118	not significant
111	Age	-,144	0,043	1,145	not significant
80	Education	,337	0,151	7,290	<0,05

For the sample of black managers in the study, it appears that the education variable is not independent from the age variable. While on the one hand education was positively related to occupational role, it was, on the other hand, inversely related to service with the company, total work experience, and age. This meant that with higher education there was a corresponding occupational depth, shorter service within an organisation, a decrease in total work experience, and a drop in age. Age was positively related to service with the company and total work experience, but inversely related to occupational role. This meant that the older respondents stayed longer within their organisations and had longer total work experience than the younger ones.

Education appeared to be the main contributing factor to sense of belonging and to job dissatisfaction. While on the one hand this variable was negatively related to belonging, it was on the other hand positively related to job dissatisfaction. This relationship may be seen as being in the expected direction, considering the recent shifts in employment policies and occupational careers affecting blacks. As a result we see a move toward better qualified, younger black graduates in commerce and industry.

The nature of the occupational roles in this sample presented the possibility that managers might be members of a social contact group. All personnel managers in the sample belonged to an informal social group calling itself the social contact group, while none of the technical/commercial managers belonged to any such group. The membership of such a group might be expected to reinforce the sense of belonging and weaken that of alienation. As a result, it is expected that while personnel managers comprise both graduates and non-graduates, and education is positively related to feelings of alienation, another contributory factor to feelings of belonging amongst this group is membership of a social support group, whose in-group members share similar problems. Considering only graduates in the sample, a t-test revealed that the personnel managers felt more a part of the employing organisations than the technical/commercial ones did, although the difference in mean factor scores was only significant at the 10 percent level.

The climate factor showed no significant relationship to the independent variables. Why perceptions of supervisory climate should be unrelated to independent variables is not clear. Since the climate factor deals with black-white relationships in a supervisory situation, the non-significant findings may suggest that the relationships are not politically polarised. If this is true, then the other factors (alienation and dissatisfaction) are reflecting personal rather than political attitudes. Another reason for the insignificant relationship of the supervisory climate factor may be the nature of supervision at managerial levels, which is quite distant for all managers in the sample.

There is some evidence to support the view that respondents separated their personal political attitudes from perceptions and attitudes to job conditions. This was revealed in their identifying with white-owned organisations, some of which offered satisfying jobs and frustrating supervisory climates. The fact that perceptions of the work experience of managers in the sample do not

appear to be strongly politicised may be an encouraging sign for the future implementation of black advancement policies.

CHAPTER 7

RESULTS OF THE FOUR-PICTURE TEST

The aim of this chapter is to present the results of the Four-Picture-Test. Like chapter 5, group differences and similarities will be seen as trends, and any inferences made, will be treated cautiously.

In this regard the researcher was interested to test for interpersonal behaviour, self-esteem, and the interests, attitudes and emotional traits of subjects. The test pictures are reflected in Appendix 16(a) and (b) and frequency permutations in Appendix 17.

After having been given the four pictures, subjects were asked to give meaning to each of them, and to do it in such a manner that the interpreted pictures could be combined in one story. The most common ordering showed the following events:

- I Being personally alone;
- III Being together with one person;
- IV Being together with many others in a group;
- II Being socially alone.

It must however be noted that this order is not one of the popular ones suggested by van Lennep (1930) in his manual*.

Out of eighteen permutations, this one got 26 percent frequency responses, and the highest ranking. Although this order is not frequently used, it is, however, still used by normal subjects. According to van Lennep (1930) normal subjects seldom start with II or III. The second highest order got eleven percent frequency responses.

* The orders most frequently used, according to van Lennep (1930) are IV - I - III - II with the variation I - IV - III - II.

Most respondents perceived the main figure in Card I to be in a stressful or conflict situation. The intrapersonal conflict came before the interpersonal conflict. This meant that the nature of the interpersonal relationship was affected by the conflict the main figure had within himself. Such an intrapersonal conflict was seen to emanate from the fact that the main figure either had an accommodation problem (51%) or an unemployment problem (36%), or was victimised (7%), or had a financial problem (8%). From this situation followed the one where the main figure was involved in a formal discussion (discussion of the prevailing problem, or being interviewed for a job, or interviewing). From there, he was seen to be together with many others in a group. For some, he was isolated by the group members, for others he formed part of a group. Finally, he was seen to be socially alone. Although alone, he was a happier man than before. In relative terms, although the beginnings of the stories were negative, the results were mostly positive. This may be indicative of optimism about the future.

7.1 MOOD IN THE STORIES

For a higher percentage of respondents (47%), the mood was a happy and optimistic one, as against a minority whose mood was either that of depression and pessimism (27%), or aggression and suspicion (27%).

Respondents who had longer service with the company, were less qualified, and were in personnel occupations, appeared to be more optimistic and happy, compared with their colleagues who were either more pessimistic and depressed, or aggressive and suspicious, in their approach. Such negative traits may be revealed in, among other things, high frustration levels, feelings of alienation, and resignation at work. This trend was confirmed by the findings of the correlation analysis, and these are as follows:

- the significant inverse relationship between belonging and education qualification;

- the significant negative relationship between belonging and age;
- the significant positive relationship between belonging and service with the company; and
- the significant positive relationship between social support (being a member of the social contact group) and belonging.

7.2 COHERENCE OF THE STORY

The rounded-off stories, with clearly marked sequences of events, were perceived by the writer as coherent, as against those which were disjointed and unfinished (incoherent). Most respondents (64%) gave coherent stories, whilst the minority (36%) gave incoherent ones. Whilst coherent stories had rich contents, the incoherent ones had poor, vague combinations of pictures. Coherent stories could be a sign of an organised life in general, with fewer confusions and conflicts. It also could be indicative of a high intellectual ability. Incoherence could be indicative of a disorganised life, with unresolved conflicts and confusion.

7.3 WAYS OF DEALING WITH A PROBLEM

The test revealed that 18 percent of the respondents attributed blame to others, 18 percent used the self-censure means, 16 percent used withdrawal, and 16 percent used aggression. The less frequent methods used were the rational approach (10%) and co-operation (7%). For 16 percent of the subjects, however, there was no problem at all.

For the less-experienced respondents who were graduates, there was more stress on aggressive and defensive ways of dealing with problems, whilst their colleagues used a rational, co-operative or self-censure approach to dealing with problems.

7.4 SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF THE OUTCOME

For 33 percent of the respondents the results in the stories were positive as against 28 percent whose stories either had no outcome, or 25 percent who had a negative one, or 15 percent whose outcome was not clearly stated.

The more experienced non-graduates who were in personnel occupations had clearer goal-directed stories, which had positive results compared with their colleagues, whose stories either had negative results or no results. The graduates conspicuously composed stories either with results which were not clearly stated, or with no results at all. The youngest subjects within the sample had results which were conspicuously negative in nature.

A lack of result may be indicative of a life without well defined goals, or goals that are difficult to attain. It could also indicate some withdrawal symptoms - alienation, from oneself or from other people; a schizoid existence, distancing oneself from others; or having some inhibitions about one's future goals and aspirations.

Negative results may indicate underlying frustrations and intrapersonal conflicts; lack of confidence, hope and trust concerning a positive future; or belief in no future at all.

Positive directional results show some optimism regarding one's existence and future goals. It is, however, not surprising that the same pattern in the behaviour of subjects was maintained. This was revealed in the younger, more qualified, and less experienced subjects showing more frustration, aggression, pessimism, suspicion and uncertainty about their existence here and now, and about future goals; whilst the less-qualified, more experienced subjects showed some optimism, and a directional type of existence.

7.5 IDENTIFICATION WITH STATUS SYMBOL

Forty three percent of respondents identified with a high status symbol whilst 18 percent had feelings which were lukewarm and 39 percent had negative ones. The less-experienced graduate subjects, who were mostly in technical and commercial occupations, strongly identified with a high status symbol; whilst the more experienced, less qualified subjects, who were mostly in non-managerial occupations, did not.

The identification with a high status symbol may emanate from cognitive dissonance concerning an individual's status at work, (high educational qualifications, short company service and less recognition), giving rise to a high strength need for recognition. Identification with a high status symbol may also be indicative of high ambitions and aspirations in life, and some egocentric tendencies.

When taking cognisance of the fact that the test stimuli were vague and general, the underlying hypothesis being that the way in which the individual perceived and interpreted the test material would reflect fundamental aspects of his psychological functioning, it could be expected then that the test served as a sort of screen on which each respondent projected his characteristic thought processes, needs, anxieties and conflicts. It is, however, noted with dismay that in the test results there was nothing to comment about on the level of the self esteem of subjects.

CHAPTER 8

GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

8.1 GENERAL SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH

The general aims of this research were to determine:

- the black manager's views about, and attitudes to black advancement;
- the problems, both covert and overt, that black managers experience at work;
- the extent of training and preparation which black managers receive on their jobs;
- the relationship between their status, responsibilities and authority, with regard to their jobs; and
- the extent of identification (by black managers) with the employing organisations.

To obtain this information, a structured, open-ended interview schedule* and the Four-Picture-Test were used, in order to determine both positive and negative aspects of managers' jobs, and their attitudes, interests, interpersonal behaviour and level of self-esteem. Interviews were conducted in a sample of sixty one managers, employed in commerce and industry in Durban.

It was hypothesised earlier that managers with high expectations and needs concerning their jobs, working conditions and rewards, experienced frustration when these expectations were not fulfilled. They consequently developed negative attitudes about their organisations and felt alienated at work. Attitudes towards their relationship with employing organisations were, however, expected to vary with length of service with the organisation, educational qualification and the presence or absence of outside support.

* See Appendix 18.

8.1.1 Findings

Interview results

Most managers appeared to be motivated by the favourable job content factors. They were mainly looking for the satisfaction of higher order needs on-the-job. While on one hand they were dissatisfied concerning some aspects of their organisational climate (like the amount of responsibility and authority on-the-job), on the other hand they were satisfied with other aspects of it (like job security and trust relations). Managers who, in relative terms, were more emphatic in identifying with employing organisations had fewer frustrated expectations than those who were less emphatic.

Correlation analysis

Although the statistical correlations were weak, the following findings emerged:

- sense of belonging was inversely related to job dissatisfaction, and job dissatisfaction was positively related to perceptions and attitudes to supervisory climate;
- educational qualification was the main contributing factor to reducing feelings of belonging and job satisfaction;
- while on the one hand educational qualification was inversely related to the sense of belonging, on the other hand this independent variable was positively related to job dissatisfaction. This meant that graduate managers felt more alienated and job dissatisfied than their colleagues. It is therefore the alienated managers who are expected to have high level unfulfilled needs and a high frustration level; and
- supervisory climate had no significant relationship with biographical data, a surprising result.

In general terms, whilst black managers appeared to be dissatisfied with their jobs, they appeared to identify with their employing organisations. This finding, based on the indirect evidence of derived factor analysis data, is worthy of further investigation as a new hypothesis. It would be important to investigate the conditions causing black managers to identify with white-dominated organisations even though they express negative feelings about their jobs.

Results of the Four-Picture Test

Managers who had been employed by organisations for a long period, and who were in personnel occupations appeared to be more adapted to the work environment than their colleagues. This trend could be attributed to positive acceptance by employing organisations reinforced by membership of a sound contact group.

8.1.2 Problems encountered

Methodological problems

These are outlined in detail in chapter 4.4. To summarise, the problems are:

- the underrepresentation of biographical sub-samples, like occupation and sex, due to the shortage of black managers in the sampling frame. The fact that women in this sample comprise 5 percent is indicative of the fact that there are still very few women in the managerial hierarchy in commerce and industry;
- interviewing in different settings, leading to a questionable internal validity of the findings. However the researcher believes that the settings had little effect on attitudes expressed by subjects;
- interviewing conducted by the writer, who is a female, on male subjects.

Problems of analysis, and interpretation of results

For data analysis, the author embarked on the following:

- Factor Analysis, in order to simplify the description of data by reducing the number of variables from an initial multiplicity of variables (dependent or independent) to a few common factors. Thus the variables entering the regression analysis were not drawn directly from the questionnaire data, but were derived from a correlation analysis, the general validity of the conclusions would depend on the results of the analysis being repeated on a new sample of managers.

It is unlikely that exactly the same factor pattern would emerge. Hopefully the general factor framework would repeat itself.

The correlations in the findings were very small, and the following could have been the possible reasons:

- for many dependent variables, it was not possible to extend the range of possible scores beyond a dichotomy;
- reliance on content analysis of the managers' verbal responses produced ratings for each variable.

Confounding of the main independent variables (age and educational qualification) in the sample made it very difficult to interpret the findings of the correlation analysis.

8.2 CONCLUSIONS

This study has shown that the conflict areas for a black manager in the commercial and industrial worlds are mainly as follows:

- a black manager aspires to higher order work satisfaction such as a challenging job, autonomy on-the-job, and recognition.

He is motivated by favourable job content factors. Such aspirations are realised for some, giving rise to job satisfaction and positive feelings about the employing organisation. However the need aspirations of other managers are not realised. As a result, they are dissatisfied and frustrated in their jobs, and develop negative attitudes towards their organisations;

- the major obstacle to enhanced work attitudes for black managers within this sample lies in the areas of organisation socialisation and subordinate-superior relationships rather than in job hygiene factors.

This suggests that unless improvements are made in these two areas, improving hygiene factors will not much improve the overall attitudes of black managers. This is in view of the fact that the level of job dissatisfaction for managers is not strongly related to their feelings of identification with, or alienation from, the company;

- a black manager experiences a status disequilibrium.

The younger manager, whilst highly qualified, has shorter experience with an employing organisation in the commercial and industrial worlds. By virtue of his age and short service he is less accepted and recognised for what he is by the employing organisation. As a result, each individual in this group is more frustrated, more dissatisfied with his job, has a more negative attitude about his employing organisation, and is more alienated. Also he has developed an aggressive approach to life. An older manager, even if poorly qualified, has longer experience with the employing organisation. Because of this long service, he is relatively more accepted as an individual, is better recognised, and is less frustrated than the younger manager. Most black managers have better educational qualifications than their immediate superiors (at least in the quantitative sense). This may result in negative feelings, and feelings of resentment. While on the one hand the white superior may feel threatened in his position, on the other hand the black

subordinate resents the superior's status over him, thus creating communication problems.

- education is the main factor contributing to feelings of alienation and job dissatisfaction

This means that the better educated managers feel dissatisfied in their jobs, and alienated. As a result, this group has a critical attitude toward the employing organisation. This group may be using the older, less educated, more experienced black managers as their frame of reference for the attitude they display: it may be that their less educated, older colleagues have not received any "rewards" for their non-critical attitudes toward employing organisations. It is possible that with prolonged exposure to the work environment, this younger group will modify their attitude. But their feelings of job dissatisfaction and alienation should be given serious attention in view of the recent shift in occupational careers for blacks which has resulted in this group being in the majority within the managerial hierarchy, compared with less qualified colleagues.

- there is a discrepancy between the expectations of a black manager and the reality of his status and role.

This study has shown that examples of areas of frustration for a black manager are: status role ambiguity; differential promotional opportunities according to race; the theoretical commitment of organisations to black advancement and their practical non-committal "attitude"; the discrepancy between promise and reality; and higher expectations about black worker mobility, as against poorer promotional opportunities and window-dressing positions (positions with less responsibility and authority).

- a black manager is over qualified for the position he holds.

This agrees with the findings of Bramwell (1972). Usually a graduate, he holds a senior, meaningless position with less responsibility, influence and accountability. The position is equipped with an impressive title and salary, but is token in nature.

- the position of a black manager largely depends on his blackness - black advertising, marketing and personnel.

Blacks are generally suspicious of anything that is earmarked for them, as it smacks of racism. There is a general feeling amongst black managers that their positions are such that no white person reports to them at senior level, and yet blacks are perceived by the public to occupy executive positions. This raises suspicion and distrust concerning the sincerity of the advancement programme which, in turn, leads to negative feelings toward employing organisations.

- a black manager is socially and culturally estranged.

This is revealed in his non-participation in informal friendship groups. Informal social involvement may help to clarify, alleviate and solve some of the problems of black managers. For white colleagues, there is business at parties and on the golf course. At informal gatherings one may get to know more about one another's culture: a black manager stands a chance of understanding white management culture, and white colleagues get more knowledge of black culture. Academic qualifications do not help much in solving such problems. In general terms, when individuals have a number of things in common, the tendency is to be attracted more to one another. It is a person who is known who stands a better chance of promotion. The belief in the "old school tie" or "old boy network" still stands. Unfortunately, the South African situation is such that it reinforces the intensity of a black manager's social and cultural estrangement, because of among other things, residential areas differentiated according to race. Colleagues in such a case may not be able to socialise with each other freely after work, to get to know each other better. Social isolation (restriction in freedom of movement) for a black manager also restricts his market possibilities and value.

- because of poor social interaction with white colleagues, a black manager is naive about what to expect from an organisation, and about what the organisation expects of him.

For instance, if a black manager is given a misnomer he may find

himself having endless problems when he tries to adapt to status and role demands, not knowing that such a strategy is used in order to protect those white groups most resistant to black advancement, like whites at shop floor level.

Concerning the negative attitude of superiors, although this is a problem it may not necessarily be based on racial prejudice. Supervisors of all races frequently feel threatened when working with an efficient subordinate. What aggravates the situation of the black managers in this sample is that there is only one communication channel available - the superior who in most instances is perceived to have a negative attitude. The availability of only one direct communication channel reinforces the problem of his naivete concerning his job.

- some social support from outside the work environment (such as belonging to a social contact group) helps to reinforce sense of belonging to the employing organisation.

In this sample, managers in the personnel occupations (because they belonged to a social support group) identified with the employing organisation, whilst those in technical and commercial occupations did not (as they did not belong to such a group).

Most problems faced by black managers are more implicit than explicit in nature. Negative attitudes from superiors and colleagues, inconsistencies, and ambiguities are the main problems giving rise to misnomers and window-dressing positions. It would seem then that the problem is not formal eligibility for a situation of advancement, but problems of the relatively informal process within that situation. The individual abilities of advancing blacks may not appear to be in doubt, but rather the manner and context in which they are being deployed.

For the black advancement programme to be successful, management will have to take an unambiguous stance concerning the programme. The training, development and performance of black

managers, and subsequently the success of the programme, depends largely on managements' honesty in their commitment to and proper implementation of the black advancement programme. Unfortunately the South African situation is such that it is unfair to put the blame solely on the private sector. The role of the public sector (providing poor education for blacks, and different residential areas for colleagues of different racial groups) may not be lost sight of. Different existential experiences for colleagues will always make honest understanding of one another difficult to achieve. Their frame of reference may differ. Proper on-the-job socialisation (training and development), as well as sound superior-subordinate relationship characterised by trust, acceptance and a feeling of belonging, may be an unattainable goal for colleagues in the South African business world.

8.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study was limited in scope. Essentially, it served as a preliminary investigation into the problems black managers face in commerce and industry. A more comprehensive study is suggested along the following lines:

- (a) to increase the sampling frame, thus allowing for sample randomisation, a large sampling unit, and improvement on the quality of statistics obtained;
- (b) to interview both the black job incumbent and his superior, in order to get both sides of the story;
- (c) to use a battery of projective tests, to measure the self-esteem of black managers in order to discover if it (self-esteem) is affected or not, and if so, how (in view of the problems they face at work). The test battery may enhance the strength of conclusions made on this variable;
- (d) further, to investigate the relationship between the supervisory climate and biographical data on a larger sample of subjects; and
- (e) further to explore the validity of the suggested four stages in the process of adaptation of black managers on-the-job.

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OTHER SOURCE OF REFERENCE

Sunday Tribune

APPENDIX 2ANALYSED BY GENERAL DEMOGRAPHICS

"In general what things do you think young newly-graduated people

PUSHING FACTORS (Q.4b)	TOTAL	SERVICE WITH CO.	
		Under 3 yrs.	3+ yrs.
	N=61	34	27
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
	100	56	44
Improper training on-the-job	37	35	39
Unhealthy employee relations and racial confrontation	30	32	27
Constant supervision	23	18	31
Routine and repetitious job/ non-creative job	35	32	36
Hollow job, non-substantive, no scope for advancement	67	65	69
Low salary	43	38	50
Low status	48	47	50
Threatened and insecure management	30	27	35
Unequal job opportunities	15	12	19
Poor working conditions and poor fringe benefits	3	6	0
Insecurity of the job	15	21	8
Job earmarked for a black	12	15	8
TOTAL MULTIPLE RESPONSES	<u>358</u>		

do not look for in a job in commerce or industry?"

EXPERIENCE ON THE JOB		QUALIFICATION		AGE IN YEARS			ROLES (OCCUPATION)		
Under 5 yrs.	5+ yrs.	Non- Grad.	Grad.	26 - 32	33 - 39	40+	Tech. Comm.	Non Tech. Manager	Non Manager
<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
51	10	27	34	17	26	18	12	35	14
84	16	44	56	28	43	29	20	57	23
39	22	30	42	29	39	41	17	41	43
29	33	44	18	24	31	35	0	32	50
21	33	22	24	18	27	24	25	27	14
37	22	30	39	29	39	35	33	38	29
71	44	48	82	77	62	65	92	62	57
41	56	52	36	59	39	35	50	41	43
45	67	59	39	59	33	59	42	62	21
28	44	37	24	47	15	35	17	32	36
14	22	15	15	5	15	24	17	15	14
4	0	0	6	0	8	0	0	6	0
18	0	26	6	18	12	18	0	18	21
14	0	7	15	18	7	6	17	12	7

APPENDIX 4

ANALYSED BY GENERAL DEMOGRAPHICS

"In your daily work life over the past few months, could you give

FRUSTRATING ON THE JOB EXPERIENCES (Q.5b)	TOTAL	SERVICE WITH CO.	
		Under 3 yrs.	3+ yrs.
	N=61	34	27
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
	100	56	44
Absence or delayed feedback from superior	16	19	13
Discrimination	40	42	38
Overprotection/constant supervision	6	7	4
Non-recognition/low salary	44	39	50
No training/no briefing/no direction	9	10	8
No responsibility and authority	15	19	8
Frustration due to one's ambivalent status	42	45	38
Racial conflict	31	36	25
Low production/failure in new projects	15	10	21
TOTAL MULTIPLE RESPONSES	<u>216</u>		

me examples of things big or small, which have made you not enjoy your work"

EXPERIENCE ON THE JOB		QUALIFICATION		AGE IN YEARS			ROLES (OCCUPATION)		
Under 5 yrs.	5+ yrs.	Non- Grad.	Grad.	26 - 32	33 - 39	40+	Tech. Comm.	Non Tech. Manager	Non Manager
51	10	27	34	17	26	18	12	35	14
<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
84	16	44	56	28	43	29	20	57	23
17	11	9	21	13	25	7	17	16	17
39	44	23	52	31	33	60	58	39	25
7	0	5	6	0	4	13	0	7	8
44	44	46	42	63	29	47	50	36	58
9	11	14	6	13	13	0	17	3	17
13	22	9	18	13	21	7	33	7	17
41	44	46	39	56	42	27	25	48	42
28	44	41	24	31	33	27	17	36	33
11	33	23	9	6	13	27	0	16	25

APPENDIX 5ANALYSED BY GENERAL DEMOGRAPHICS

"How the responsibilities and scope of your job is defined to you

FEELINGS TOWARDS THE DEFINITION OF JOB RESPONSIBILITY AND SCOPE (Q.6a)	TOTAL	SERVICE WITH CO.	
		Under 3 yrs.	3+ yrs.
	N=61	34	27
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
	100	56	44
<u>Job Responsibility</u>			
Happy with definition of job responsibilities	62	62	63
Unhappy with definitions of job responsibilities	38	38	37
TOTAL PERCENTAGE RESPONSES	<u>100</u>		
<u>Scope</u>			
Scope clearly defined and wide (happy)	48	53	41
Scope vaguely defined and restricted (unhappy)	53	47	59
TOTAL PERCENTAGE RESPONSES	<u>101</u>		

- how do you feel about it?"

EXPERIENCE ON THE JOB		QUALIFICATION		AGE IN YEARS			ROLES (OCCUPATION)		
Under 5 yrs.	5+ yrs.	Non- Grad.	Grad.	26 - 32	33 - 39	40+	Tech. Comm.	Non Tech. Manager	Non Manager
51	10	27	34	17	26	18	12	35	14
<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
84	16	44	56	28	43	29	20	57	23
61	70	63	62	59	62	68	58	69	50
39	30	37	38	41	39	33	42	31	50
47	50	48	47	35	54	50	58	54	21
53	50	52	53	65	46	50	5	46	79

APPENDIX 6ANALYSED BY GENERAL DEMOGRAPHICS

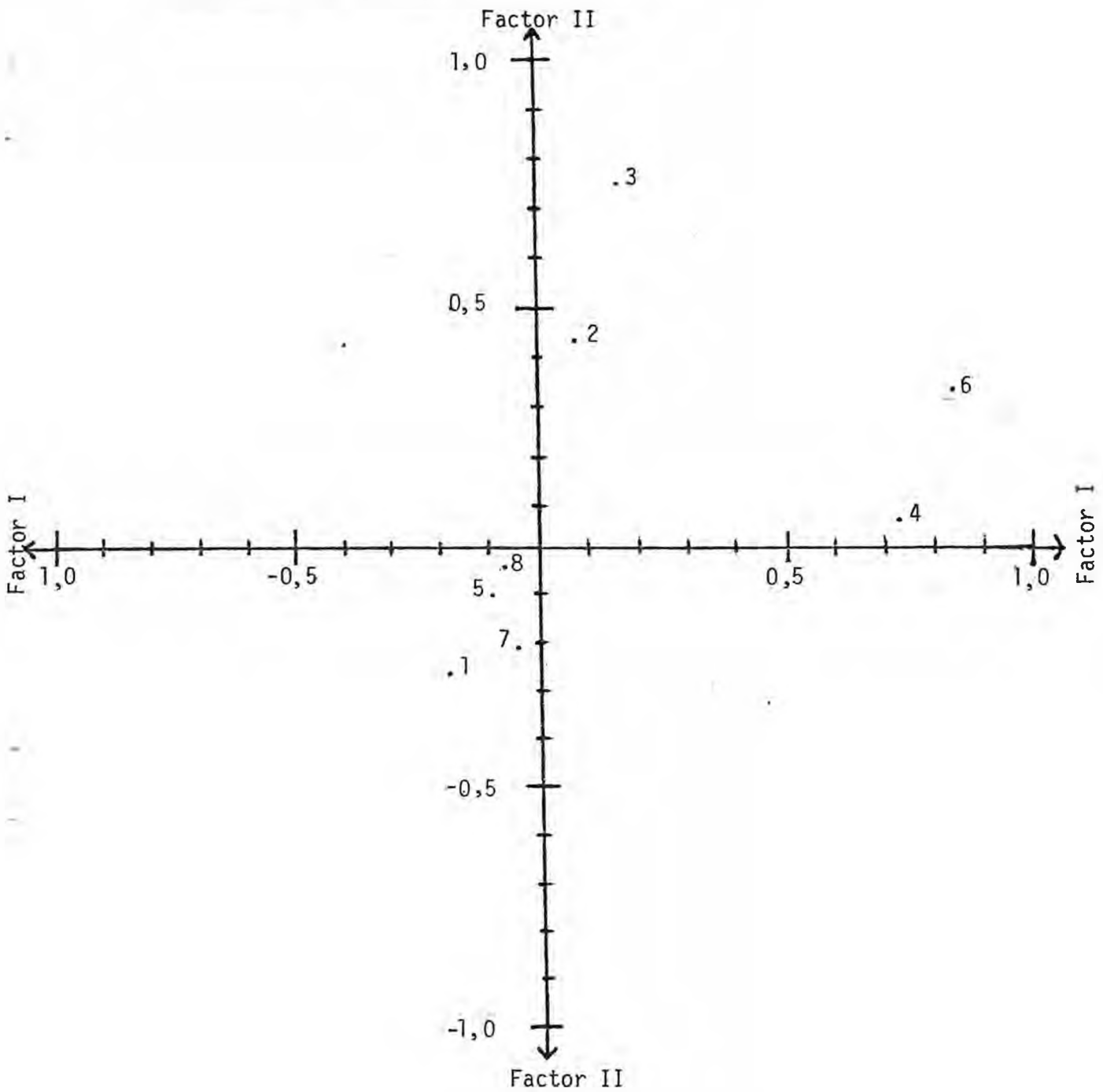
"Do you feel that you should have greater responsibility and authority or not?"

ASSESSMENT OF RESPONSIBILITY POTENTIAL (Q.8c)	TOTAL	SERVICE WITH CO.		EXPERIENCE ON THE JOB	
		Under 3 yrs.	3+ yrs.	Under 5 yrs.	5+ yrs.
	N=61	34	27	51	10
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
	100	56	44	84	16
Aspires for more responsibility and more authority	46	50	41	49	30
Aspires for less responsibilities and more authority	3	6	0	4	0
Enough now	25	24	26	28	10
Having enough responsibilities but aspires for more authority	25	18	33	18	60
New Job	2	3	0	2	0
TOTAL PERCENTAGE RESPONSES	<u>100</u>				

QUALIFICATION		AGE IN YEARS			ROLES (OCCUPATION)		
Non-Grad.	Grad.	26 - 32	33 - 39	40+	Tech. Comm.	Non Tech. Manager	Non Manager
27	34	17	26	18	12	35	14
<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
44	56	28	43	29	20	57	23
26	62	59	46	33	67	34	57
4	3	0	4	6	0	6	0
33	18	18	31	22	8	31	21
33	18	24	15	39	25	26	21
4	0	0	0	0	0	3	0

APPENDIX 10

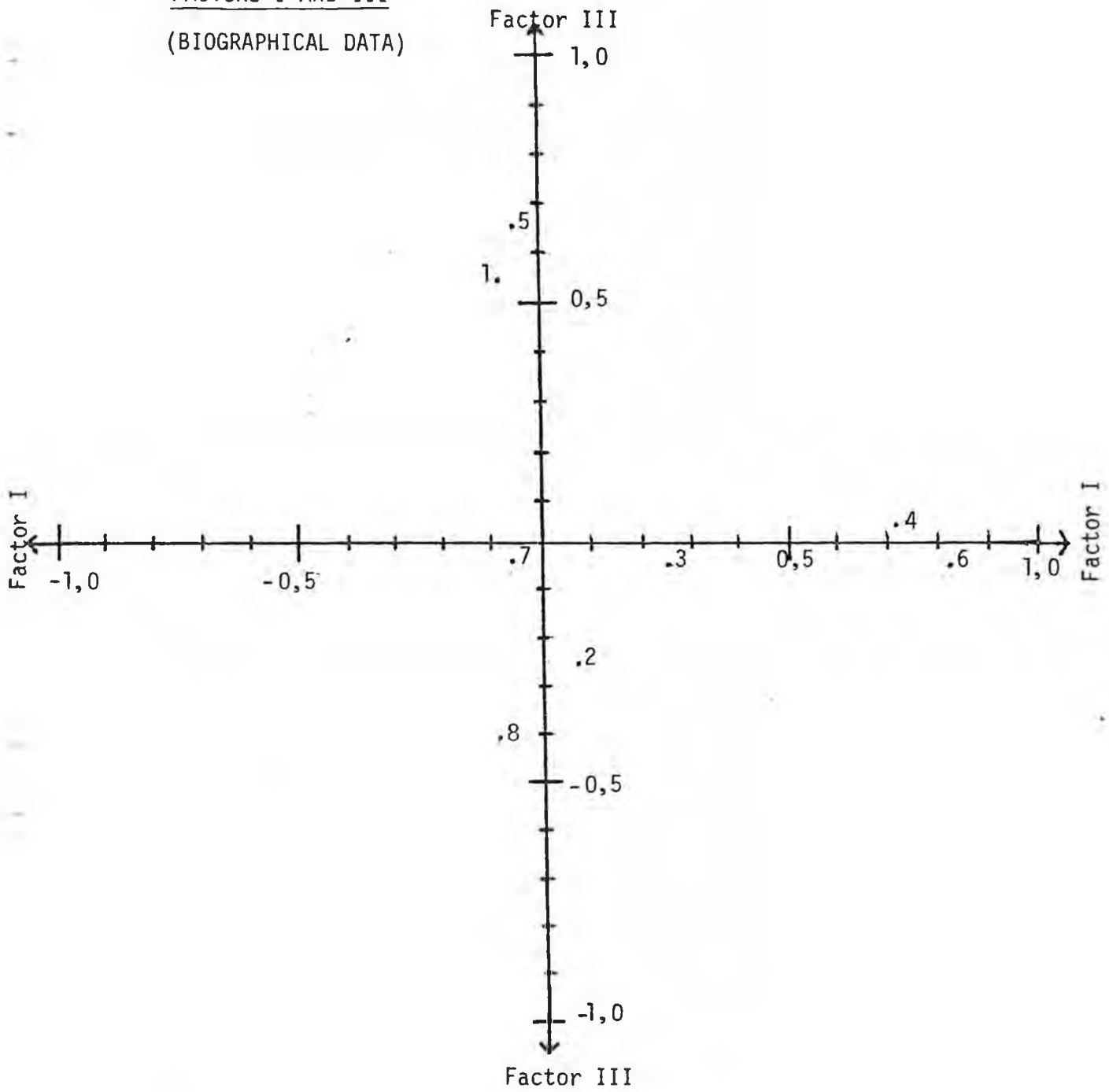
FACTORS I AND II (BIOGRAPHICAL DATA)



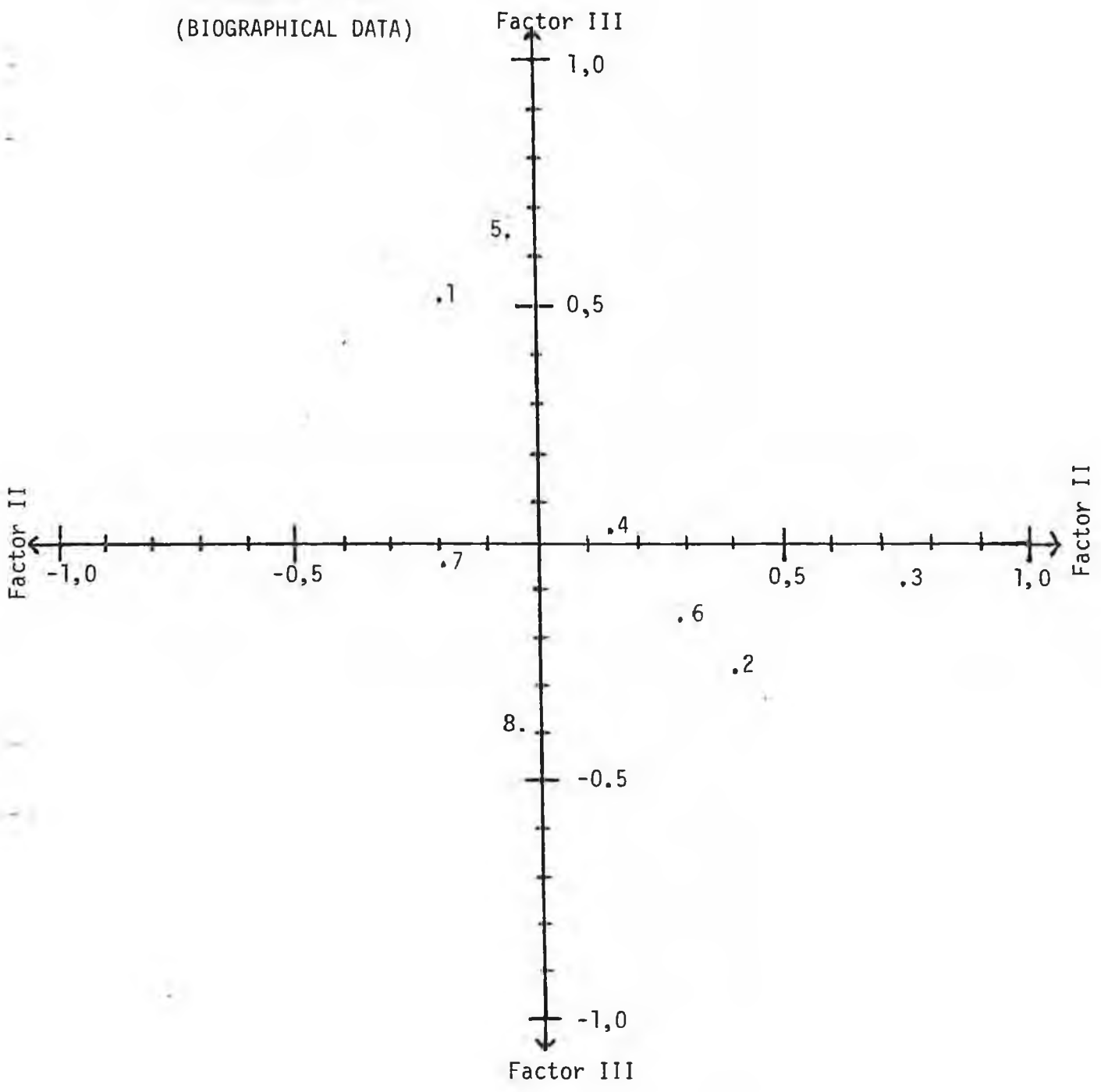
VARIABLE NAME

- 1 = Occupational role
- 2 = Time on the job
- 3 = Service with the company
- 4 = Age
- 5 = Educational qualification
- 6 = Total work experience
- 7 = Parental education
- 8 = Residential background

APPENDIX 11
FACTORS I AND III
(BIOGRAPHICAL DATA)



APPENDIX 12
FACTORS II AND III
(BIOGRAPHICAL DATA)



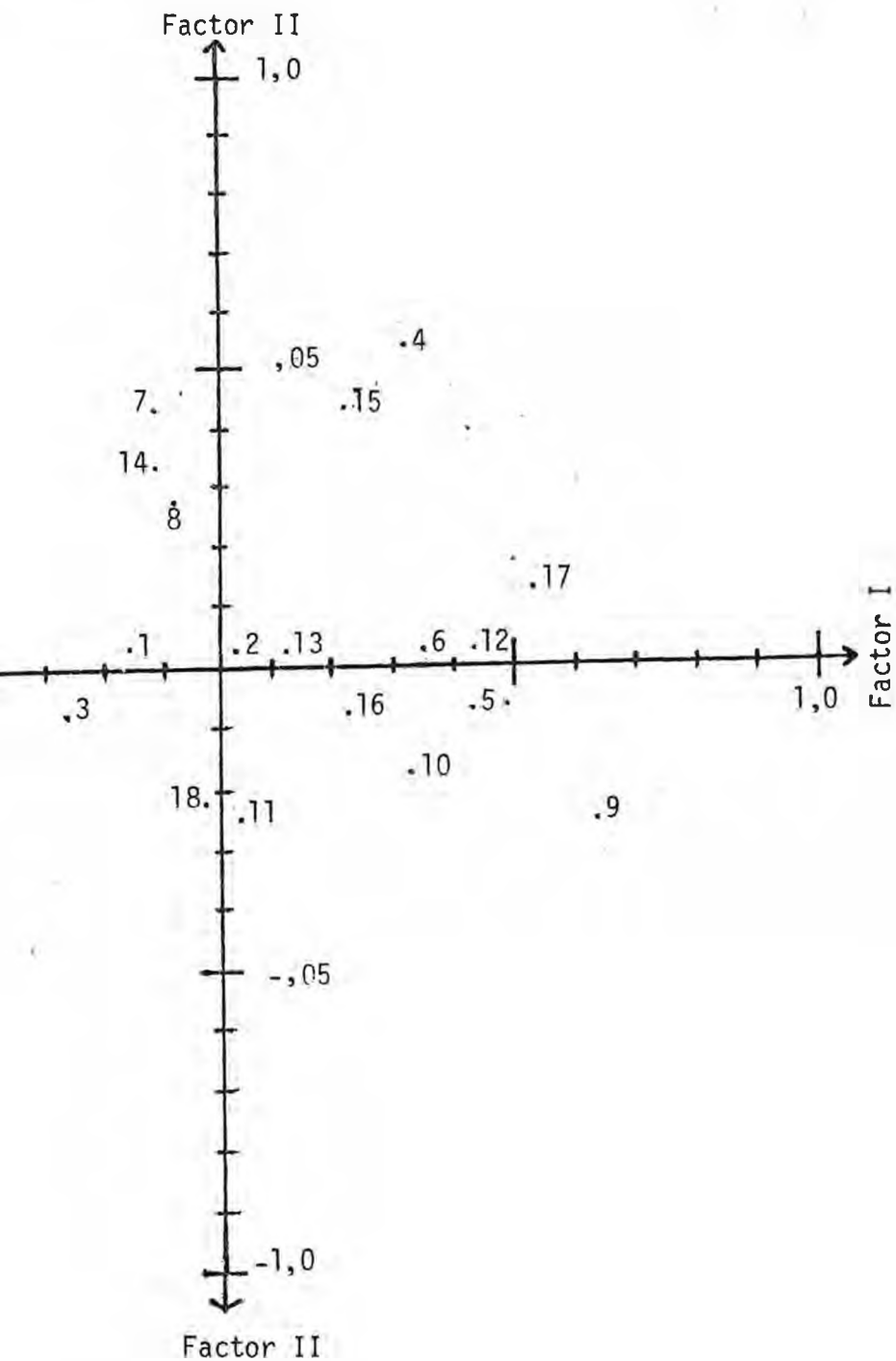
FACTORS I AND II (DEPENDENT VARIABLES)

APPENDIX 13

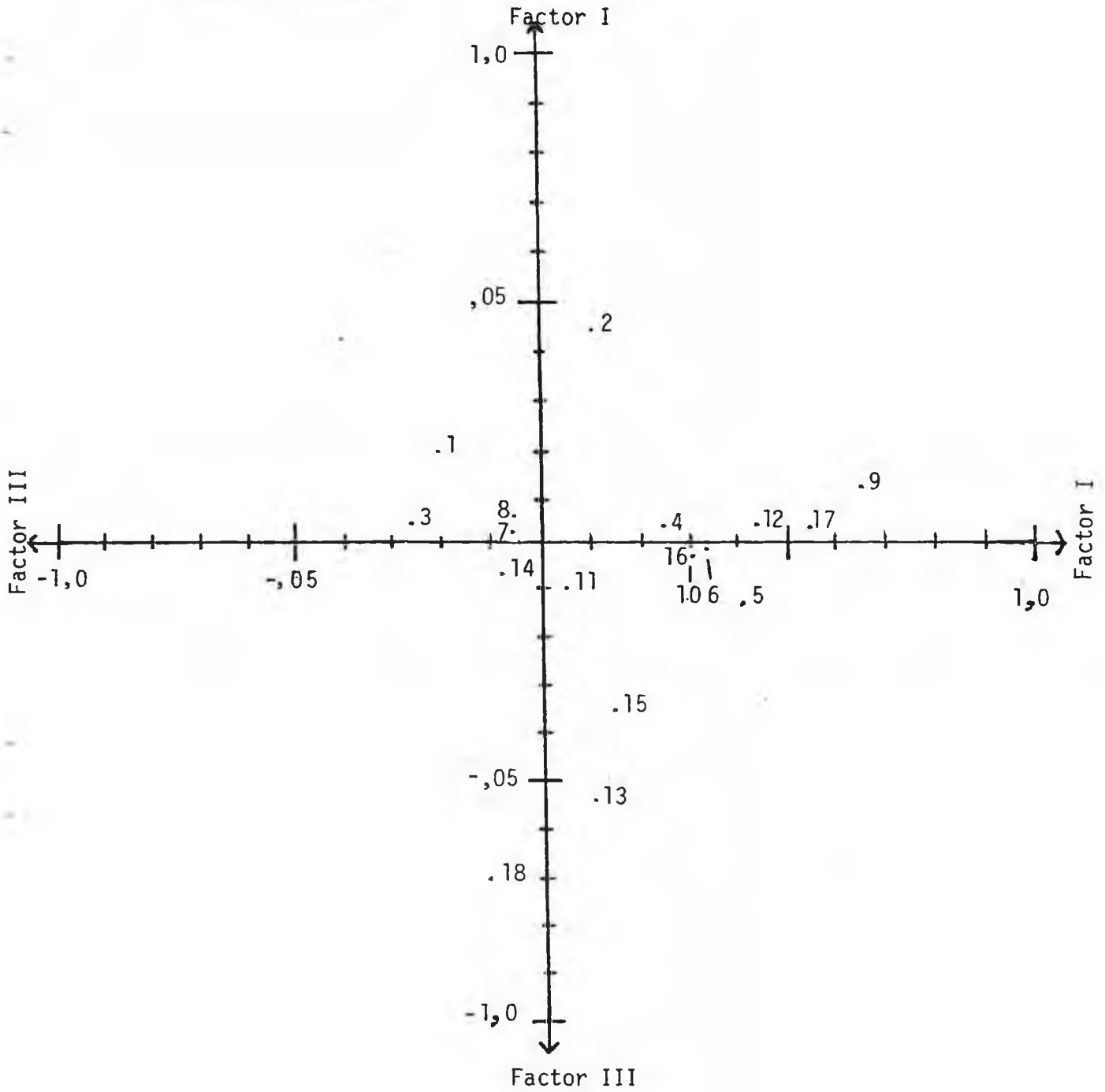
VARIABLE NAME

- 1 = Pulling factors
- 2 = Avoidance factors
- 3 = Happy experiences
- 4 = Frustrating experiences
- 5 = Security of one's position
- 6 = Job description
- 7 = Social relations
- 8 = Decision making
- 9 = Trust
- 10 = Influential factors to progress
- 11 = Responsibility and authority
- 12 = Company identification
- 13 = Self and work appreciation
- 14 = Black mobility
- 15 = Attitude to promotion
- 16 = Promise and reality
- 17 = Company and black advancement
- 18 = Assessment of responsibility potential

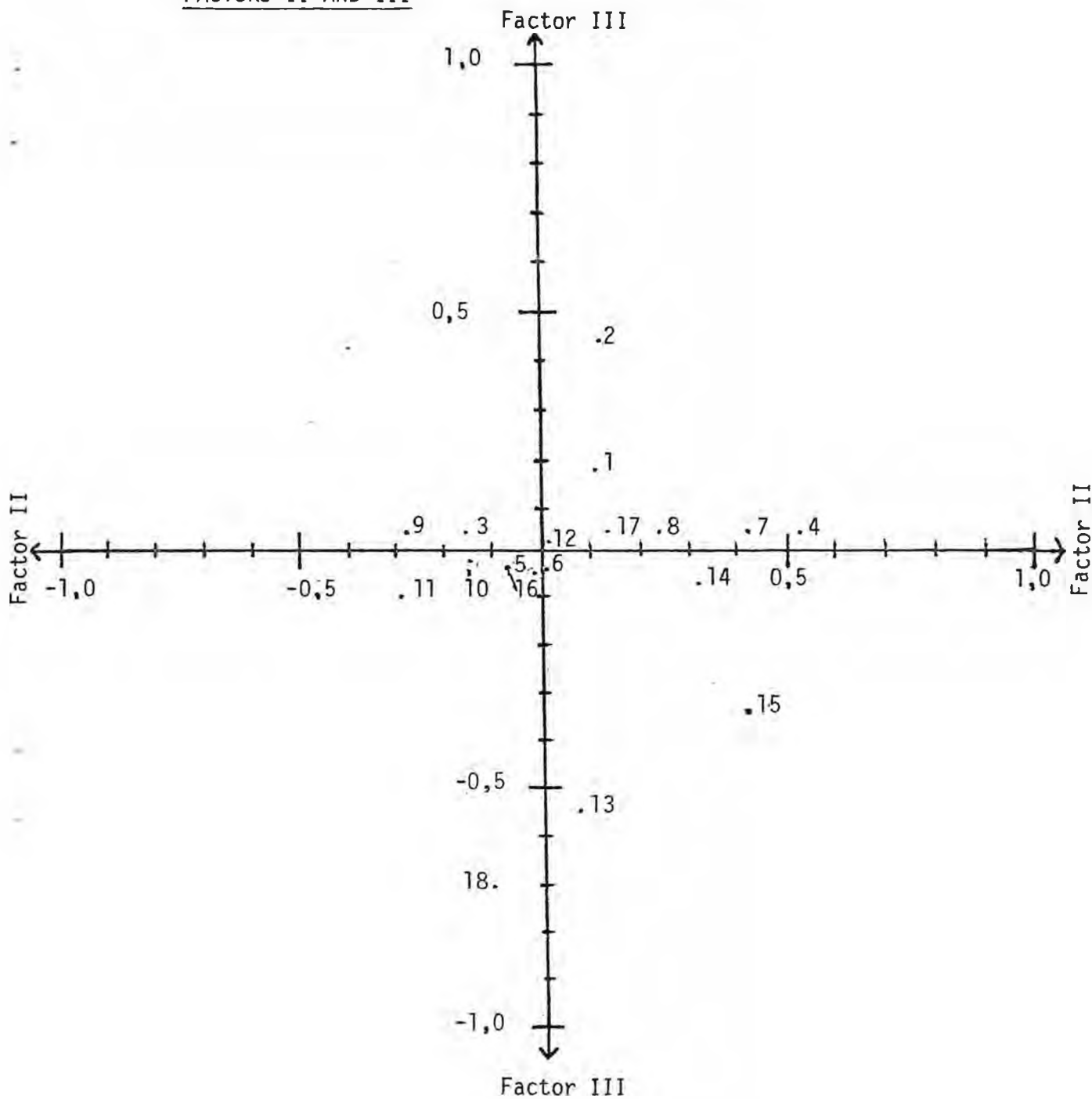




FACTORS I AND III

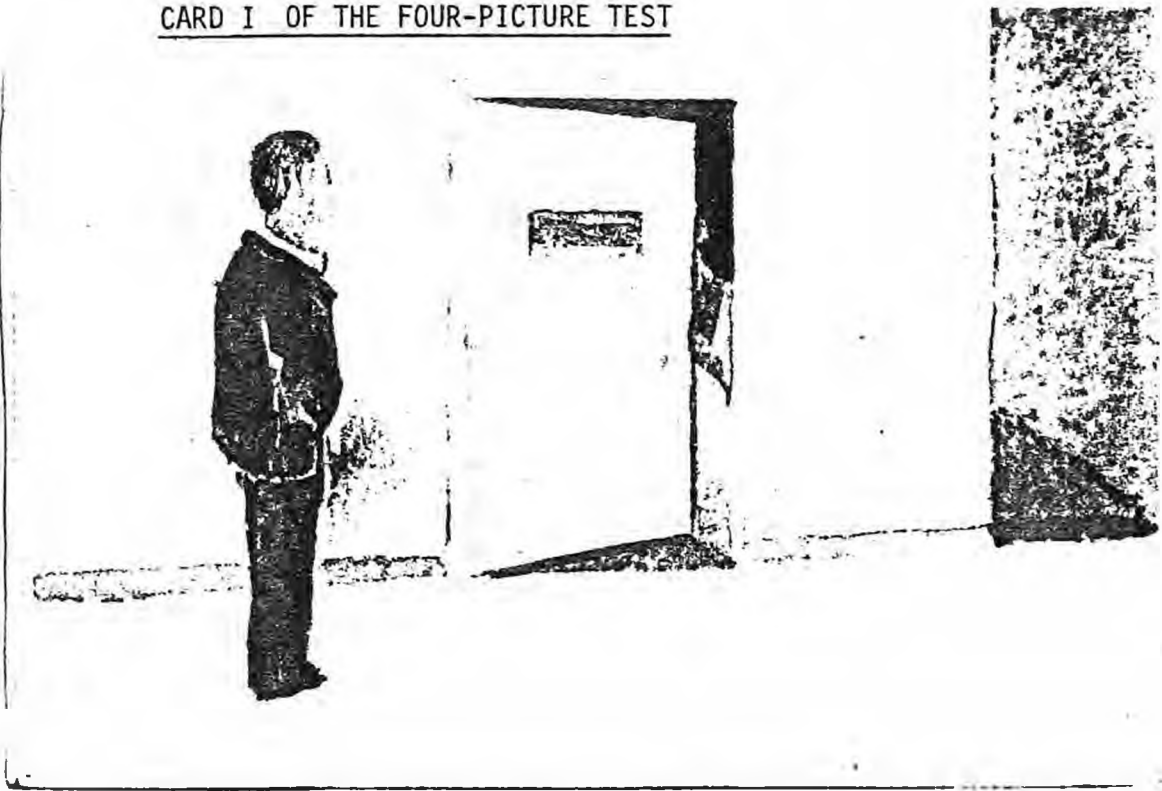


FACTORS II AND III

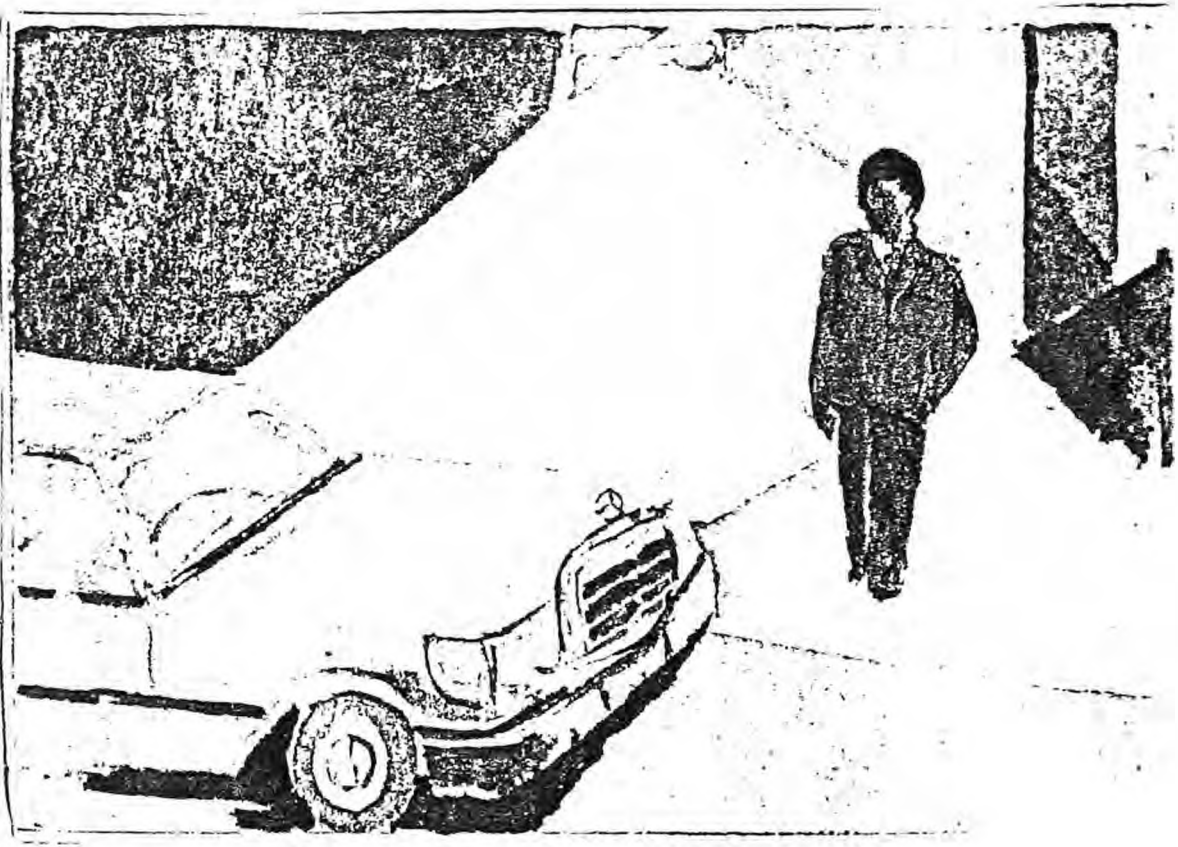


APPENDIX 16(a)

CARD I OF THE FOUR-PICTURE TEST

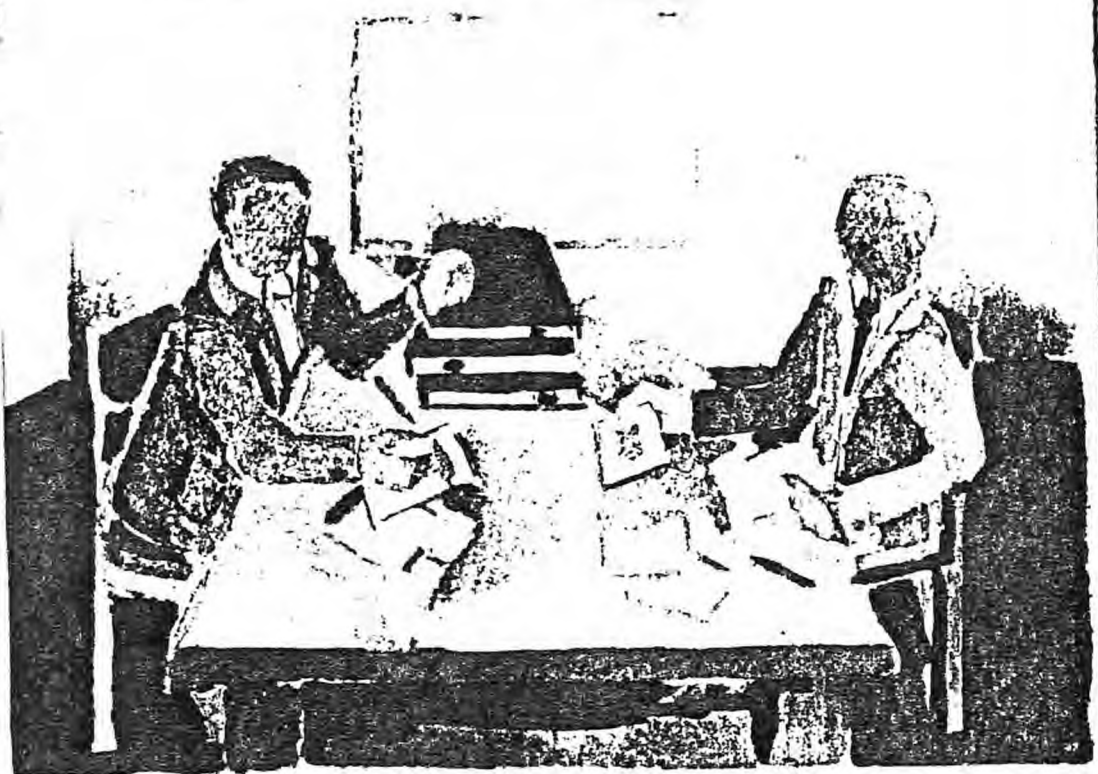


CARD II OF THE FOUR-PICTURE TEST



APPENDIX 16(b)

CARD III OF THE FOUR-PICTURE TEST



CARD IV OF THE FOUR-PICTURE TEST



APPENDIX 17THE FOUR-PICTURE TEST FREQUENCY - PERMUTATIONS

FREQUENCY	PERMUTATIONS
15	1 - 3 - 4 - 2
6	1 - 2 - 3 - 4
6	2 - 1 - 3 - 4
5	1 - 4 - 3 - 2
4	4 - 2 - 1 - 3
4	1 - 3 - 2 - 4
3	3 - 4 - 2 - 1
2	3 - 4 - 1 - 2
2	2 - 3 - 4 - 1
2	1 - 2 - 4 - 3
2	3 - 2 - 1 - 4
2	3 - 1 - 2 - 4
2	2 - 4 - 3 - 1
2	4 - 3 - 1 - 2
1	4 - 1 - 3 - 2
1	3 - 2 - 4 - 3
1	4 - 3 - 2 - 1
1	3 - 1 - 4 - 2
TOTAL NUMBER OF CASES	61

NUMBER OF DIFFERENT ORDERS = 18

APPENDIX 18

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Centre for Applied Social Sciences
University of Natal
Durban

SCHEDULE

ORIENTATION AND ADVANCEMENT
TRAINING BACKGROUND STUDY

July 1980

There are shortages of skill at various levels in industry and commerce which can and should be met by the training and advancement of blacks. Training has to take place at greater intensity than hitherto. There is a need, therefore, for improved facilities for training at all levels. Until such time as this improvement materialises, companies singly or collectively will have to undertake some of the training for the skills and aptitudes which they require. This study is aimed at identifying some of these training needs, with a view to specialised course-development.

This part of our programme is focussed on executive training since one of the critical areas of skill shortage is the middle-management level. The study embraces all races.

We would appreciate it very greatly if you would grant us your co-operation. The answers are completely confidential. They will be computer-analysed according to groups, not individuals - i.e., sectors of industry, job-types, ages, etc. We do not even record your name. Would you be prepared to help?

In developing an educational framework for training of young people for industry, we need to have a picture of the way existing executives see their world. This is what we would like to ask you about.

1) Could you describe your position? What are all the different roles and tasks in it? (Probe).

2a) How long have you been in this position? _____

b) How long have you been in this company? _____

3) What was your previous position - could you describe it?

4a) Being a University we are interested in the following: In general, what things do you think young newly-graduated people look for in a job in industry or commerce?

b) What things would they try to avoid in a job?

- 5) In your daily work life over the past few months. Could you give me examples of the things, big or small, which have made you enjoy your work very much?

- b) What things, big or small, have made you not enjoy your work?

- 6) Certain things about a job can either create difficulties or make a job more rewarding. We would like to discuss some of these things in relation to your job - we are particularly interested in examples.

- a) How the responsibilities and scope of your job is defined - how do you feel about it?

- b) The security of your position _____

c) Demands made on you by various people in various situations

d) Information needed to carry out the job efficiently

e) Social relations with colleagues on the job

f) Influence over decisions taken among superiors in the company

g) Training and briefing for your job in the company

h) Feeling trusted or not in the organisation

7a) Has your progress in industry been less or more rapid than you expected initially?

b) Do you feel that you deserved more rapid progress or not?

c) What factors do you feel influence your progress?

8a) Was your position previously occupied by a white or black person?

b) Do you feel that you have the same amount of responsibility and authority as the previous person in your job or not?

(If no - ask, why do you feel this is so?)

c) Do you feel that you should have greater responsibility and authority or not?

9) Why do you think you were selected for your present job?

10) To what extent do you feel you are part of the company or not — do you feel that you belong or not?

What features make you feel this way?

11) To what extent do you feel that you and your work is adequately judged and appreciated in the company or not?

Why do you feel this way?

12) In your company, how far up the executive ladder do you think a black person of ability can go?

13) Do you feel that your company is more cautious in promoting blacks than whites, or whites than blacks?

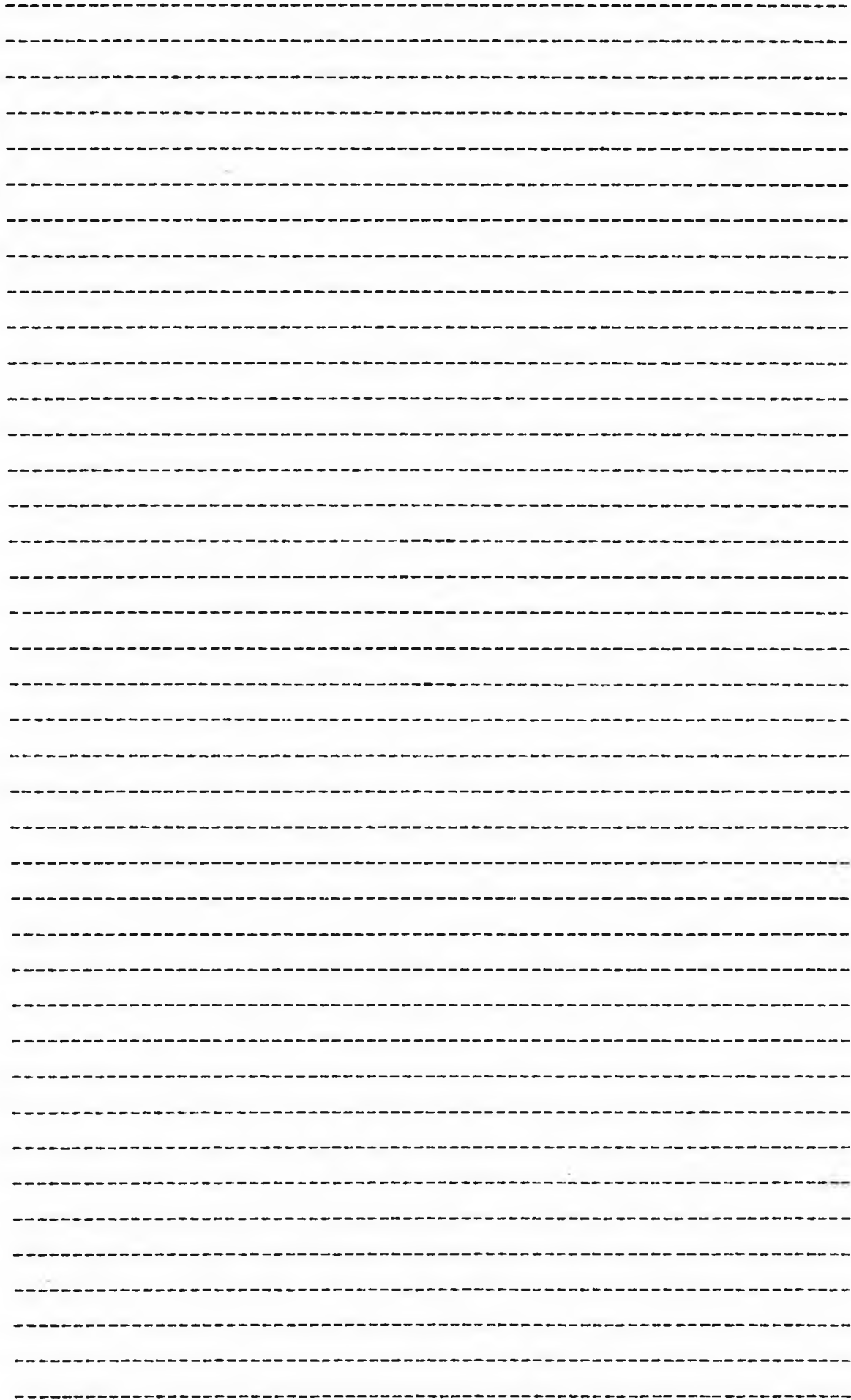
What makes you feel this way?

14) At what levels or in what groups or situations do you feel that there is resistance to equal opportunities for blacks, if any - could you give examples?

15) Is there any difference between the responsibility blacks are told they will have when they join and the responsibility they end up having or not? Could you give any examples?

16) What is the stated position of your company as regards black advancement? - What does your company claim?

What are your feelings about this?



Just a few details in order to place people in categories in our computer analysis.

19. Sex? _____

What is your age? _____

What is your highest standard of education? _____

What additional courses have you done?

20. When did you first start working? Date _____

What was your first job and where/what company?

Following jobs up to present?

21. Father's Education? _____

Mother's Education? _____

Where grew up? _____

Which high school did you attend? _____

Thank you.

Motivate self-completed questionnaire.



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