

PERCEPTIONS OF BLACK MANAGERIAL AND SUPERVISORY STAFF  
IN SOUTH AFRICA TO BLACK WORKER

ADVANCEMENT, MOBILITY AND ORGANISATION

BY

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Promoter: Professor A. Sitas .

## PREFACE

Today we find ourselves in the mist of rapid and dramatic change. The introduction of blacks in management is an offspring of rapid technological changes of the past few years (i.e. increased automation and sophistication of modern business), development of a strong grass-roots organisation of blacks toward collective bargaining, the political struggle, international threat of sanctions, moral commitment by employers, the recent legislation promoting the implementation of black advancement and today's skills shortage facing the industrial and commercial world in South Africa. These factors have virtually pushed for an urgent implementation of black advancement in a quest to develop an adequate manpower pool (of skilled labour) and to maximise the potential of this work force. Consequently, business has started to see an influx, however at a limited level of blacks into the mainstream of management echelons.

Africans in South Africa refer to themselves as 'blacks'. Therefore, the researcher preferred to call those Africans occupying managerial positions as the 'black managerial and supervisory staff' in this thesis.

This study explores the perceptions of black managerial and supervisory staff to the concept and application of black advancement. The research questionnaire was constructed and administered to fifty respondents to examine the problems which they experience in their companies, to obtain their views on professional/management organisations and to identify what the respondents view as black advancement. The sample of this study seems statistically misrepresentative, however, it is qualitative as the researcher feels confident that while acknowledging the fact that the research has limitations, its findings can be generalised as the sample

was selected from two different metropolitan areas from two different provinces. Thus, it can be said to cut across industry.

This study reveals a considerable degree of the following which are noteworthy among others:

1. The majority of black managerial and supervisory staff are excluded from positions of authority, decision-making and power.
2. Racial discrimination, which is subtly practised since it is no longer statutorily prescribed, still exists in industry and commerce today.

I declare that the whole thesis, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is my own original work. It has not been submitted before for examination at any other university.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to the following people whose assistance, directly or indirectly, has made the completion of this study possible:

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- . Special tribute to my late brother, Mr Dennis Thabani Makhanya, whose personal interest in my studies and constant encouragement inspired me.
- . I am grateful to Mr Craig Clark who edited this thesis.
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- . I greatly appreciate the enthusiastic reception given by the respondents for this research. They so willingly gave of their time. Besides completing the questionnaire, they talked in depth with me about their problems, successes, frustrations and aspirations at the workplace.
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- . My deepest thanks go to my beloved wife, Mandu, without whose emotional support and understanding this thesis might not have been written. I should also mention that I am sincerely grateful to my mother-in-law, Ms Winnie Zama, who took the strain of having to run the home with my wife and caring for my children.

**MANDLENKOSI STANLEY MAKHANYA**

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABASA	-	Association of Black Accountants of Southern Africa.
AZAPO	-	Azanian Peoples' Organisation.
BCom	-	Bachelor of Commerce.
BEN	-	Black Enterprise Network.
BMF	-	Black Management Forum.
BSc	-	Bachelor of Science.
CA	-	Chartered Accountant.
CABBSA	-	Canadian Association of Black Business in South Africa.
CEO	-	Chief Executive Officer.
CIMA	-	Chartered Institute of Management Accountants.
CIS	-	Institute of Chartered Secretaries and Administrators.
COSATU	-	Congress of South African Trade Unions.
EEC	-	European Economic Community Code.
GAWU	-	Glass and Allied Workers' Union.
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product.
HDMM	-	Higher Diploma in Marketing Management.

HDPM - Higher Diploma in Personnel Management.  
 IMM - Institute of Marketing Management.  
 IPM - Institute of Personnel Management.  
 JMDP - Joint Management Development Programme.  
 MAWU - Metal and Allied Workers' Union.  
 MD - Managing Director.  
 MEL - Minimum Effective Level.  
 MSc - Master of Science.  
 NATU - Natal Teachers' Union.  
 NHLBI - National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute.  
 NIC - National Investment Corporation.  
 OECD - Council of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.  
 RRC - Rapid Results College.  
 SABTA - South African Black Taxis Association.  
 SACCOLA - South African Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs.  
 SAICSA - Southern African Institute of Chartered Secretaries and Administrators.  
 UDF - United Democratic Front.

£ - pound.

\$ - dollar.

10s - 10 shillings.



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## CHAPTER 1

### OUTLINE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

#### 1.1 Thrust of the study and situating black advancement

b) This study concerns the perceptions of blacks holding managerial and supervisory positions in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-and-Vereening complex (PWV) and Greater Durban areas regarding the concept and application of black advancement. Black advancement refers to upward mobility of blacks in the occupational ladder. It entails the upliftment and placement of black managerial and supervisory staff in the positions of operational power. It is meant to involve rational promotion policy where merit, rather than race, is the basis for upward mobility.

In theory black advancement entails an implementation of full human equality, where black managers are not placed in managerial and supervisory jobs as a window-dressing move by their employers, but rather are placed on definite career paths and given full managerial responsibilities. It is meant to involve visible progress in the process of empowering black managers and this process is meant to be gradual and continuous. Black managerial and supervisory staff are employed in such a way that, commensurate with their companies' interests, their skills can be utilised to the maximum degree. Exponents of black advancement maintain that it creates scope for full advancement of blacks into all spheres of the South African economy. This is meant to create opportunities for the maximum utilisation of black workers, to train black leadership and eventually lead to the attainment of a status of full equality between blacks and whites. The attainment of the status of equality thus means that discrimination must be first overcome on the interpersonal level. Black advancement is tailored to accomplish its goals if only



there are support programmes, such as follow-ups made by senior management to ensure that upward mobility of black managerial and supervisory staff does take place.

In theory black advancement is meant to create and accelerate professionalism and expertise in managerial jobs, which in turn will help blacks to know the "how" and "why" of management.

Black advancement is meant to involve systematic on-the-job training and to provide career information, along with a good appraisal of a manager's departmental needs and potential. On-the-job training provides up-to-date equipment and instruction to managerial and supervisory staff. This implies that there is an exposure in the real-world management situation.

On-the-job training involves periodic job evaluation and job enrichment. This is meant to facilitate the performance appraisal process and to improve retention. What is central to black advancement is that black managers are meant to be helped to formulate meaningful and realistic career goals after they have been helped to acquire knowledge and skills to enable them to hold their share of the responsible jobs. The acquired skills in turn increase their power which is meant to be channelled to constructive activity.

## 1.2 Push Factors.

There are push factors which precipitate black advancement. The first push factors are home conditions on most overseas companies that operate in South Africa, including pressures to disinvest from an apartheid country which serves the economic interests of the white population only. Codes of employment conduct emphasise that there must be employment of the best person for any

position in the job structure irrespective of skin colour, sex, religion or creed. The second push factors are local conditions, since South Africa is experiencing pressures from trade unions which demand the eradication of discrimination based on race from employment practices. Employers on the other hand are experiencing pressures from black incumbents of managerial and supervisory positions who demand the conferment of power in their jobs as well as power-sharing with their white counterparts. It has become apparent that the marketing conditions which have seen the growth of the black market (which is ever-increasing) in this country, culminated in the need to appoint black professional persons into sales and marketing positions. These black professionals have an advantage over whites because they have access to African values which are the most viable for the South African market today. Furthermore, the intense conflict in industrial relations has resulted in the demand for black expertise in this field. This is the field where, according to Zulu (1991:8), "they (i.e. black industrial relations officers and managers) would be best qualified to deal with labour problems." These labour problems constrain capital accumulation which undermine the inherent dynamics of capitalism. As a result of these push factors, it has become necessary to embark on a programme of black advancement which has enabled the introduction of blacks at this level of employment. It is important, however, to point out at this stage that besides the push factors, there are also constraints to black advancement. For example, the government, while scrapping all policies which impede black advancement, does very little towards establishing conducive conditions of constructive engagement in South Africa's economic sphere. Even though the country is witnessing these changes (i.e. the government's recent initiative to eradicate discriminatory laws), the positions of black managerial and supervisory staff in the workplaces seem to contradict this.

### 1.3 Operational indicators.

The operational indicators for measuring advancement in this study are remuneration packages, working conditions, fringe benefits, levels of authority (in accordance with rank), decision-making capacity, rates of mobility and levels of satisfaction. Having stated these operational indicators, I will take a brief look at how blacks in management generally feel.

#### 1.3.1 General feelings of blacks in management

It is important to note that in spite of the concept and application of black advancement, black managerial and supervisory staff do not:

- (i) feel part and parcel of their companies (where they work) because even though the remuneration packages can be 'fair' employers (who are white), for political reasons, do not value and recognise their worth,
- (ii) enjoy physical and psychological attributes including status (although it is enhanced to a certain extent) and power,
- (iii) fully enjoy the bulk of the fringe benefits that their white counterparts do,
- (iv) have authority to give commands since authority is one of the integral parts of management,
- (v) have decision-making capacities which are one of the fundamental characteristics of managing, unless they impose themselves in decision-making circles (because decision-making cannot be considered as standing apart from the manager's

other responsibilities),

(vi) enjoy fair upward mobility (whereby they change their ranks or positions by moving upward the hierarchy of management) because climbing up the ladder in managerial occupation is not based in the main upon merit, but upon the colour of the skin as well,

(vii) feel any job satisfaction (gratification that they find from the job) because their tasks are meant to frustrate them and as a result they are demotivated (Schlemmer 1973; Watts 1980, 1985; Weichel 1980; Human 1981b; Hofmeyr 1982, 1983a, 1982b; and Nattrass 1983).

### 1.3.2 Statistical and attitudinal indicators of the feelings of blacks in management.

The above feelings come from the following statistical and attitudinal indicators:

Following a review of literature on the topic of black advancement (Personnel Management 1980; Jordaan and Jordaan 1983; Human 1981b; Hofmeyr 1982, 1983a and 1983b; Irons and Moore 1985) this study proceeds from the assumption that blacks who hold managerial and supervisory positions only hold titles which lack command on the levels of authority and the decision-making processes.

Over the past ten years or so, South Africa has seen the formation of a black managerial segment. The number of skilled black workers in managerial and supervisory positions has increased. In the tables reproduced below Zulu (1990:57-8) in his paper entitled "Education, Manpower and National Development", provides evidence for this from the Manpower surveys of the DMP 1987:

Table 1

PARTICIPATION RATIOS : BY RACE

	Africans	Coloureds	Indians	Whites
Years	65 75 85	65 75 85	65 75 85	65 75 85
Higher Level Manpower	17 22 20	6 6 7	2 3 3	75 70 69
Middle Level Manpower	12 17 23	6 9 12	3 5 6	80 69 60
	,			

Table 2

CONTRIBUTIONS OF AFRICANS, COLOURED AND INDIANS AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL PERSONS IN CERTAIN OCCUPATION GROUPS, RSA, 1965, 1975 and 1985

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Occupation Africans, Coloureds  
and Indians in occupational group as a percentage of  
all persons in occupational group

	1965	1975	1985
Engineers	0,0	0,5	0,1
Scientists	0,6	3,7	5,5
Technicians, Technologists	5,4	11,7	17,8
Medical Doctors	2,0	5,7	8,1
Other Paramedical	6,0	6,0	20,0
Lawyers	0,9	5,0	6,0
Educationalists	56,2	61,2	63,0
Architects, Quantity Surveyors	0,0	1,2	2,0
Ministers, Priests, Missionaries	24,1	38,2	16,7
Accountants, Auditors	0,3	4,5	7,4
Agriculturalists	27,0	4,0	3,6
Other Professional	5,5	8,8	11,1
Managing Directors	3,6	6,9	3,9
Other Managers	1,7	9,3	6,0
Administrative	1,3	2,5	5,1
TOTAL : HLM	24,7	30,4	31,6
Clerical Workers	16,8	27,7	37,8
Sales Workers	13,4	21,0	30,6
Mine Workers	0,0	0,0	0,1
Transport Workers	24,5	43,4	51,3
Supervisors	23,0	31,0	52,8
Service Workers	55,6	60,1	63,0
Artisans and Apprentices	11,5	23,0	28,5
TOTAL : MLM	20,1	30,7	40,1

From these figures, it becomes clear that in the last two decades, there has been an increase of 20% of blacks (i.e. Africans, Coloured and Indians) in middle levels of manpower. Furthermore, the Financial Mail of 15 February 1991 page 5 recorded the following statistics:

At First National Bank in 1976 less than 1% of its clerical staff were African, coloured or Asian. By 1977 the percentage had risen to 13%; today it stands at 33%... Of the clerical staff, 8,1% are Asian, 7.7% African and 17.3% coloured. This compares with 5.4%, 5.9% and 1.6% five years ago (i.e. 1986). There are now 76 African, coloured and Asian managerial staff as against 30 five years ago.

In the mid-Eighties Nedbank had blacks represented only on the lower management scales. Of the total of 29, only two were Africans. Today they have one African executive ...; of nine senior managers, one is African; and of eight middle managers four are African. Of 105 lower management staff 40 are coloured, 52 are Asian and 13 are African.

These statistics demonstrate that over a period of 5 years there has been an increase of 3% Asian, 2% African and 6% coloured clerical staff as well as 46 African, coloured and Asian managerial staff at First National Bank. At Nedbank, blacks (i.e. Africans) are now represented, in very small numbers though, in all levels of management - there is one executive, one senior manager, four middle managers and 12 lower-management staff.

### **1.3.3 The historical and legal legacy of the South African state-capital and labour relations.**

Part of the reasons for the above statistics emanate from the historical and legal legacy of the South African state-capital and labour relations.

It has always been in the interests of capitalists to use the cheapest form of labour;<sup>1</sup> blacks happened to

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1. See David Webster: 'From Peasant to Proletariat : The Development/Underdevelopment Debate in

be the providers of this labour. Various laws which will be discussed fully in chapter 2, were enacted to coerce blacks to the service of the owners of the means of production(i.e. employers). To provide a brief overview of the proletarianisation history of blacks in South Africa, let us consider the following passage from Legassick's work (in Palmer and Parsons 1977:180-1) where he has written that:

In 1911 the Native Labour Regulation Act extended to the mines the criminal sanctions against contract-breaking (strikes) provided elsewhere by the Masters and Servants Acts. Two years later the Native Land Act tackled the problem of a coerced labour supply more directly ...

As with other measures before, and since, it was a major aim of the Land Act to redistribute more evenly the labour supply on white-owned land, and to eliminate the quasi-feudal forms of rent or tribute payment of share cropping by Africans to be replaced by either labour tenancy or wage-labouring ...

All African men ... had to carry with them at all times a pass, containing

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South Africa in Africa Perspective, 1979 (13) Pages 1-16.

See Eddie Webster : 'Background to the supply and control of labour in the gold mines' in Essays In Southern African Labour History, edited by E. Webster, 1983 Ravan Press, Johannesburg, Pages 9-19.

See Heribert Adam : Modernizing Racial Domination - The Dynamics of South African Politics, 1972 University of California Press. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London. Pages 27-28.



details of their life-history and employment, and hence of their 'right' to be where they are. Clearly the pass provides a fundamental instrument of labour regulations, allowing the state to channel and distribute labour between farms and towns, among different capitalist sectors, or - when it is not needed - to remove it from white - controlled sectors of the economy. Moreover in periods of particular rural labour shortage the numerous Africans convicted under the pass laws are directly channelled to jails on white farms where they serve their sentence as convict labour.

The above passage demonstrates how this forced African labour supply stifled blacks economically in the South African political economy. Blacks, having been deprived of their land (through the Land Act of 1913), were left with no means of subsistence other than to sell their labour to the owners of the means of production. African labour was sold at the cheapest price because, amongst other things, the Land Act of 1913 left blacks in a state where they either had to seek for jobs or perish.

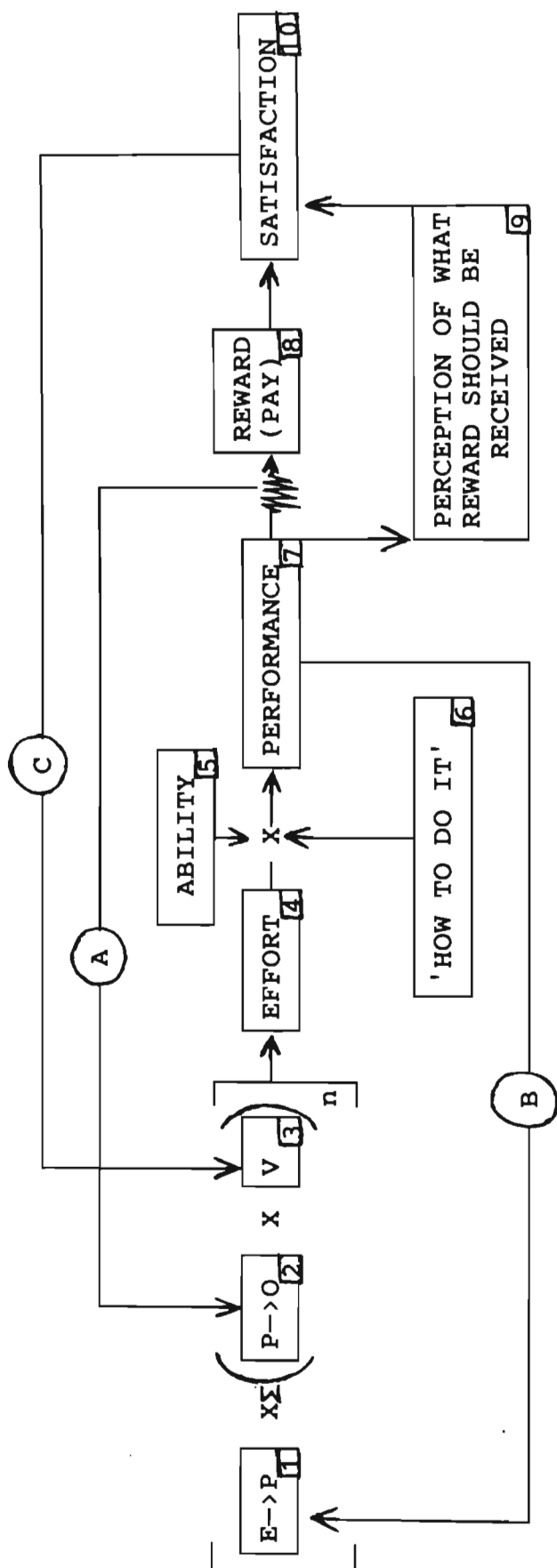
#### 1.4 Pursuance of black advancement.

In the midst of the above historical factors, the winds of black advancement that blow in industries today have culminated in the previously undreamt-of phenomenon of positions which were held by whites being taken over by black personnel. It is questionable, however, whether black advancement is a progressive force towards the elimination of racial discrimination within the industries of South Africa or not.

This study seeks to demonstrate the levels of

satisfaction among the black skilled workforce (i.e. managerial and supervisory staff), be it economic, social or otherwise. Hornby (1981:755) defines satisfaction as, "the state of being satisfied, pleased or contented." In order to elucidate the concept of 'job satisfaction', the writer refers to the following model by Orpen (1976):

## THE PSYCHOLOGICAL MODEL



Source: Orpen, C.: Productivity And Black Workers In South Africa, 1976 Page 72.

Orpen (1976:75) points out that, "in terms of the model (above), feelings of satisfaction (Box 10) are seen as the outcome of a worker's needs being met or gratified in the job situation. Satisfaction, in other words, is seen as a resultant of being suitably rewarded". Management believes that money alone is the infallible panacea for job satisfaction in the sense that black managers are satisfied and cooperative because of the remuneration package offered to them. It is doubtful whether there is any evidence of truth in this argument, based on economic rationality alone. Most of the time, management tends to omit or neglect the black workers' morale, that is, the question of whether black managers feel that the relationship with their white counterparts is decent and fair.

It should be mentioned at this stage that the black worker advancement issues will be evaluated within the context of both the political and socio-economic crises facing South Africa today.

Today industries are caught in a situation where the 'progressive' ones cry for 'Black Advancement', 'Equal Opportunity' and 'Affirmative Action'. These concepts can be used interchangeably as they have a similar meaning, aimed at advancing blacks to participate professionally and profitably in South Africa's economy. This immediately makes one pose the following questions:

- Should black advancement be considered merely as a window-dressing process when applied to the South African case?
- Is black advancement really advancement in the relevant direction in terms of the needs of our country, or is it advancement in the unsuitable

direction in terms of the set expectations of the management?

- If black advancement is really advancement to meet the skills shortage which beset South Africa, is this 'outcry' being met accordingly?

Black worker advancement cannot be considered independently of the dynamics of capitalism. The recent increase in the automation and sophistication of modern business requires people with high levels of skills.

Above I argued that equal opportunity is aimed at advancing blacks to participate professionally and profitably in South Africa's economy. According to Moens (1985:2):

... equality of opportunity means (in part) that individuals are entitled to compete for jobs exclusively on the basis of characteristics needed for the satisfactory performance of those jobs. International treaties ... stipulate that race, sex and ethnic background are irrelevant to the satisfactory performance of most jobs, and consequently interpret the ideal of equality of opportunity as meaning that people should be recruited and selected without regard to these characteristics.

Given that in South Africa certain discriminatory laws like job reservation still exist, I argue that equal opportunity in industry is non-existent. It is important to note that even though the Job Reservation Act which was introduced under Section 77 of the Labour Relations Act of 1956 has been repealed and the last remnant of it was scrapped 18 months ago, it still continues in a subtle way in industry.<sup>2</sup> To

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2. The scrapping of this last remnant of job reservation from the statute book, allows black

claim that equal opportunity exists is no different from arguing that racism is a myth in South Africa. Keenan-Smith agrees in that he contends that "... in reality, the world of employment is filled with inequality of opportunity which is a universal phenomenon, and one which is perceived with a strong measure of subjectivity and emotion" (Keenan-Smith D. 1981:42).

With discrimination being pervasive and widespread in our industries, it is all the more frustrating that the government is failing to provide monitoring in compliance with the equal opportunities policy.

There is an inadequate supply of white manpower to meet all the demands of the country's economy;<sup>3</sup> therefore the time is now ripe for previously undreamt-of positions, in management, to be occupied by blacks. This is clearly captured by Backer in his book entitled Motivating Black Workers in which he (1973:3) says:

Traditionally management positions were occupied by whites, and the rest of the labour force was drawn from the ranks of non-whites. A quiet revolution, however, is nowadays taking place in many sectors of the South African society, a revolution that will gradually effect all aspects of the utilisation of labour in the Republic... With insufficient white potential to

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mineworkers to hold blasting certificates without which they could not become shift bosses or move higher in the mine rankings. However, it is important to note that there is still no evidence of blacks who have already moved higher in mine rankings and who have received certain competency certificates.

3. This means that there is a skills shortage in South Africa.

fill all the higher level positions in the South African economy, the time has come for greater utilisation of non-whites on higher levels.

Etheridge (1984:14) asserts that South Africa is experiencing a serious skills shortage - both technical and managerial. The following table shows the estimate of this problem as seen by Etheridge (1984:15):

**TABLE 4**

**PROJECTIONS OF SKILLS REQUIREMENTS TO THE YEAR 2000**

**A.D.**

---

Category of Manpower	Required	White Potential	Shortfall
Executive, professional and high skilled	1 000 000	550 000	450 000

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Source: Etheridge, D: The Manpower Crisis. Human Resources, 1984 Page 15.

Furthermore, Motlanthe (1984:10) argues that "perhaps the toughest challenge facing any organisation in South Africa today, is to ensure that Blacks get a fair share of the management slice within companies". To confirm this, Lillicrap (1987:7) points out:

It can be, and is, argued that if members of the black population do not receive a more equitable share of the benefits of the productive enterprises which their labour and lives helped to



construct there is little future for free enterprise in South Africa, and its benefits will be lost ...

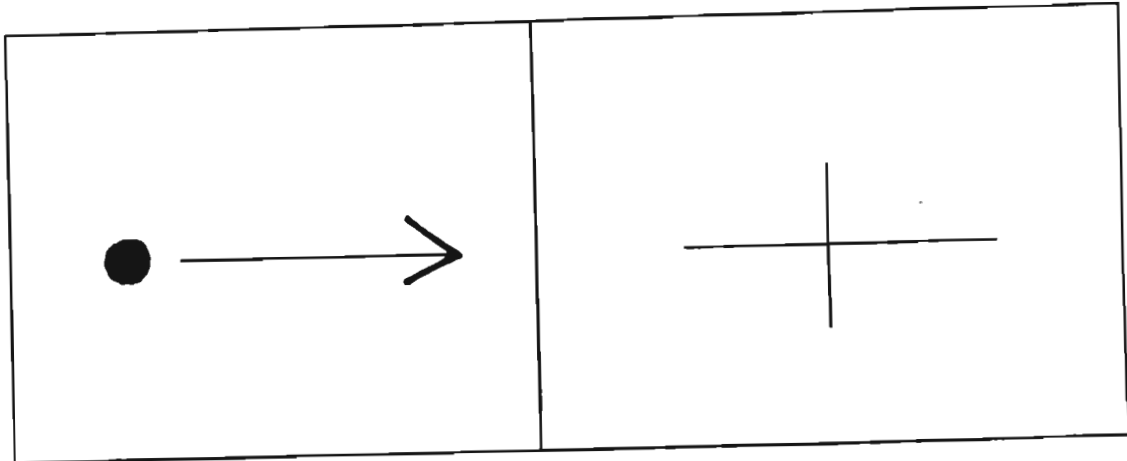
Today's outcries of 'Black advancement', 'Equal Opportunity' or 'Affirmative Action' are aimed at bringing blacks on par with whites so that they can participate profitably in the economic sphere. Notice needs to be taken, however, that these blacks who enter the managerial and supervisory category are a threat to what has traditionally been a white man's territory.

Blacks who aspire for advancement in industry and commerce are discriminated against and frustrated mainly because of their racial origin (See D. Keenan-Smith{1981:43} and Stevens{1984:164}). Is racial discrimination a root cause for failing to ensure a fair share in the management slice being enjoyed by blacks within companies? In this context a root cause he means that all the problems curtailing black advancement are as a result of racial discrimination. Racial discrimination can be schematised as follows:



TABLE 5

FRUSTRATION BY ENVIRONMENTAL AND PERSONAL OBSTACLES.  
A BARRIER (VERTICAL LINE) STANDS BETWEEN AN INDIVIDUAL  
(DOT) AND THE GOAL (+) THAT ATTRACTS THE INDIVIDUAL.  
THE BARRIER MAY BE ANOTHER PERSON OR AN OBJECT IN THE  
ENVIRONMENT, OR IT MAY BE THE INDIVIDUAL'S OWN LACK OF  
ABILITY OR SKILL



Source: Morgan C.T. et al: Introduction to Psychology  
1979 Page 234.

For the purposes of this study, the black dot in the diagram indicates the black manager or black trainee manager in lower ranks. The positive sign indicates the aspired goal, that is, becoming a genuine manager or a senior manager or an executive. The arrow indicates the black manager's motivational direction. The vertical line indicates racial discrimination which thwarts upward mobility for black managerial and supervisory staff.

The black managerial and supervisory staff form a black middle strata. The position of black managerial and supervisory staff in the capitalist relations of production is that they experience exploitation and are simultaneously at the receiving end of racial

discrimination in South Africa (Nzimande, 1986).<sup>4</sup> Nzimande (1986:48) argues that, "class places are largely determined by the mechanisms of capital accumulation, while allocation of agents to class places in South Africa, is largely influenced by race." This racial discrimination has its roots in the South African policy of apartheid.<sup>5</sup>

One of the unjust features about the black managerial and supervisory staff is that most of them are said to be trained but nothing evidences this as they perform directionless clerical jobs instead of relevant duties to acquire relevant skills. To show how broad the term 'train' is, the following extract from Bennett (1959:84) is worth our attention here:

This term will be used in conjunction with supervised training and will pertain to the act of directing growth and developments, of guiding the application of subject matter in events of daily occurrence; to the wisdom of experience imparted to the manager by his immediate superior in the process of directing his on-the-job formation of habits and acquisition of proficiency. Train, therefore, will apply to that

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- 4 Nzimande (1986) argues that the location of this new middle class in capitalist relations of production is ambiguous. This class is caught between its isolation from the Black working class and also at the same time its marginalisation at the fringe of White management. Racial discrimination in South Africa has produced a situation where members of the African middle class share many of the humiliating conditions with Black workers.

5

See Leo Kuper (1965) Chapter 4 on 'The Compulsions of Racialism'.

personal instruction which transpires on the job.

Thus, training should involve all these characteristics which are provided by Bennett (1959). As training plays a major role in the managerial and supervisory fields, South Africa needs proper training of black managerial and supervisory staff. Training should be of relevance to these black people and there should be clear identification of training targets. It should be well-defined and the specific training period should be set up. We may therefore agree with Smith (1982) that "...training is only worth its cost if it is done for specific present and future needs" (Smith N.J. 1982:34).

Having looked at training in the previous paragraph, it becomes clear that training is one of the integral parts in the development of a manager. It can be argued therefore that, if blacks are not selected to participate on training courses, they are unlikely to be considered for promotion. Conversely, if blacks are not considered for promotion, they are unlikely to be selected for essential training programmes.

South Africa's industry and commerce is supposed to be operating within the parameters of free enterprise. West (1990:21) in attempting to shed light on free enterprise, quotes Adam Smith:

Every man, as long as he does not violate the laws of justice, is left perfectly free to pursue his own interest in his own way, and to bring both his industry and capital into competition with those of any other man, or order of men.

However, it is most disturbing to find that at this moment blacks do not fully enjoy the fruits of free enterprise. For example, blacks are still finding it

very difficult to acquire business sites in the cities even though the government has on 01/02/91 promised to lift the Group Areas Act which forced blacks to have businesses in their own areas, classified as 'reserves' (which included townships). This is obstruction to the market economy. The Black Market Report Vol 2 No. 17 (1987:2) conducted research on 'free enterprise' and the results were that for many this term implied freedom: freedom from discrimination, freedom to choose where to live, free trade for all, free competition without discrimination, freedom to do business anywhere without fear, freedom from restrictions in business, freedom of trade without oppression, existence of equal rights, freedom from restrictive and racial laws. I prefer to give these attributes of free enterprise primarily to demonstrate what it should entail and to question whether or not blacks do enjoy the fruits of the free enterprise system in South Africa.

The development process outlined thus far provides a useful framework for explaining the context and purpose of this research which demonstrates the perceptions of black managerial and supervisory staff regarding black advancement. Before I can delve into the analysis of this study, it should be clear that black advancement is more than just putting a black man in a white man's job; black advancement should expose problems experienced by blacks in industries which in turn impede progress of black personnel from moving into senior ranks of management. As I have already argued above, it appears that the debilitating setbacks for black advancement are deeply rooted in racial barriers.

## CHAPTER 2

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter reviews the literature which has been undertaken both overseas and in South Africa on black advancement. In the South African case, this chapter focusses on the historical background of the black workforce. This helps to show how the best kind of workforce as far as the owners of the means of production, are concerned - a subordinate one - was historically created, and how this links up with the present black managerial and supervisory staff focussed on in this study. Furthermore, the chapter examines the cultural patterns of both the owners of the means of production and the black work force to address the question of prejudice and stereotypes, especially when we consider that black and white people come from different cultures, schools and environments, which make understanding and cooperation between them difficult to achieve. Further trends in black advancement over time form part of the discussion and finally the chapter is rounded off by my inferences about impediments to black advancement.

Some of the sources used in this section are magazines which, although not part of the scientific enquiry into the subject, reflect the broad perceptions of black advancement of the public.

#### 2.1 REVIEW OF OVERSEAS LITERATURE IN BLACK ADVANCEMENT

From a survey carried out during the latter half of 1978 and early 1979 in New York and Chicago, it was discovered that blacks tend to a very large extent, to be limited in their participation and opportunities, by being excluded from those roles and activities which are central to

control, influence and the bringing about of change (Personnel Management Vol. 12 March 1980:15). The black managers and other officials category was found to be devoid of any significant supervising responsibility, which led researchers to the conclusion that black managers and officials tend to be in staff-type jobs with "assistant" and "support" responsibilities, rather than line-type jobs requiring major supervisory activities. The report concludes that while a low level of participation on various committees could be expected from other employee categories, the resulting statistic implies the exclusion of blacks from institutional deliberations in general (Ibid:15).

It was reported in The International Business Week (1984:56) that many black executives who find themselves stuck in middle management are quitting corporate life to become entrepreneurs. Jerry Lawson who worked at large corporations for 20 years and later resigned to start his own business has been quoted as saying (1984:56) "As a black man, I was not going to get anywhere in the corporation". This raises the question of why this man left the corporation after having worked for so many years, and, what does he mean when he says that he was not going to get anywhere as a black man? What is implied is that being a black man, one is subjected to a certain discriminatory treatment which does not permit or rather frustrates any upward mobility.

Jordaan and Jordaan argue that, "Black managers are in a dilemma. On the one hand, as managers they are expected and encouraged to implement affirmative action programmes; yet on the other hand, if too much attention is given to providing opportunities (or making efforts of good faith) for blacks or minorities, there could be negative repercussions. These negative reactions may come from the supervisors to whom black managers report, as well as from those persons who report to them" (Jordaan I.L. and



Jordaan, E.C.M. 1983:155). This puts black managers in a very critical position.

Jordaan and Jordaan (1983:156) further point out that in some instances, even where minorities have been appointed to affirmative action dictatorships or similar titles in the corporate structure, they have little authority or power. These individuals often perform a function of carrying out the wishes and desires of the line staff, but they have no real decision-making responsibilities in terms of who is to be hired, promoted etc. At best these individuals can serve as a conscience to the line staff as they repress their own frustrations.

Over the last decade, however, there has been a growing interest in black advancement. Black Enterprise, Vol. 18 No.7 (1988:86-122) records the following Black success<sup>7</sup>:

Bob Davis, who earned \$1.85 as a bagger in a Jewel Companies Inc. at the age of 16, and as a manager of Jewel Supermarket, ten years later, with annual gross sales of \$11 million.

Kenneth I. Thenault is an executive vice president and general manager for the Platinum Card/Gold Card Division of the \$6 billion American Express Travel Related Services Co.

Joseph S. Colson, Jr. is an executive director of AT&T newly created Switching Systems Performance Division of Bell Laboratories, headquartered in Naperville, Illinois. He is the only black member of the AT & T Research and Development (R&D) Cabinet and is responsible for the administration of a \$50 million operating budget and the

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7 The writer has given only eleven names out of the twenty five listed in the issue.

supervision of 550 electrical engineers and computer scientists in Naperville and Columbus, Ohio, and Holindel, J.J.

Robert M Beavers is the senior vice president and zone manager of McDonald's Corp., the world's largest restaurant chain, with global systemwide sales of over \$12 billion in 1986.

Alfred F. Boschulte is the vice president of carrier services for the NYNEX Service Co. He manages business relationship between NYNEX and market of over 200 interchange telecommunications carriers in New York and New England. This market represents over \$3.3 billion of the NYNEX Corp's annual revenues of \$11.3 billion.

Herman Cain took over as president of Godfather's Pizza Inc. when it was purchased by Pillsbury Co. in 1986. This company was plagued by steadily declining sales and unprofitable stores before it was purchased by Pillsbury. Herman improved this company to what it is now. In 1987 this chain, reduced to a lean 605 units, generated \$261 million in sales, with the average sales per restaurant at about \$402, 000.

Dennis F. Hightower who is the vice president (Europe) for the Walt Disney Company, runs a Mickey Mouse Operation; Hightower's division of Disney produced licensing agreements each year with multinational corporations that result in more than \$700 million in retail sales.

John L. Sims is the vice president of strategic resources for Digital Equipment Corp., and runs the department that is dubbed "the engine" of a \$7.5 billion computer manufacturing powerhouse.

Jerry L. Johnson is the vice president of U.S. West's home and personal services market unit, which employs 7 000



(about 85% are union employees), provides telephone services to 8.1 million customers and generates a third of the company's \$8.8 billion in revenues.

Lee Hilliard (1984:48) says that an engineering degree is generally considered essential for high-tech fast tracking, but this did not deter Catherine Le Blanc. In 1980, with an MBA from Harvard, she was recruited by Scientific Atlanta, a communications equipment company in Georgia. In four years she has advanced from material analyst to special projects manager in corporate purchasing, to marketing specialist in international sales.

Marilyn Ducksworth is a manager of publicity for Anchor Press, Dolphin Books and Dial Press-Virago imprints of Doubleday & Co. Inc., New York.

I wish also to look at blacks' business excellence which can be demonstrated as follows : Trudy Gallant-Stokes (1988:56-62) writes that Brady Keys is America's first black owner of a national franchise and owner of several Detroit Burger King stores. Brady Keys used his highly sophisticated business skills, hard work and determination, to become a giant in franchise business circles. As Gallant-Stokes (1988:56) put it, "with a \$14.5 million empire of burgers and drumsticks, this Detroit dynamo uses super salesmanship to take a bite out of the fast-food market".

To develop this idea of black excellence further, the writer may point out what Cynthia Legette (1988:56-60) has written about Mel Farr, president of the Mel Farr Enterprises, who has accumulated millions of dollars in sales of cars. His success came through starring in his own commercials. As Legette (1988:58) puts it, "Mel Farr Ford brought in \$26 million last year (No. 19 on the Black Enterprise top 100 auto dealers list) and Farr now owns

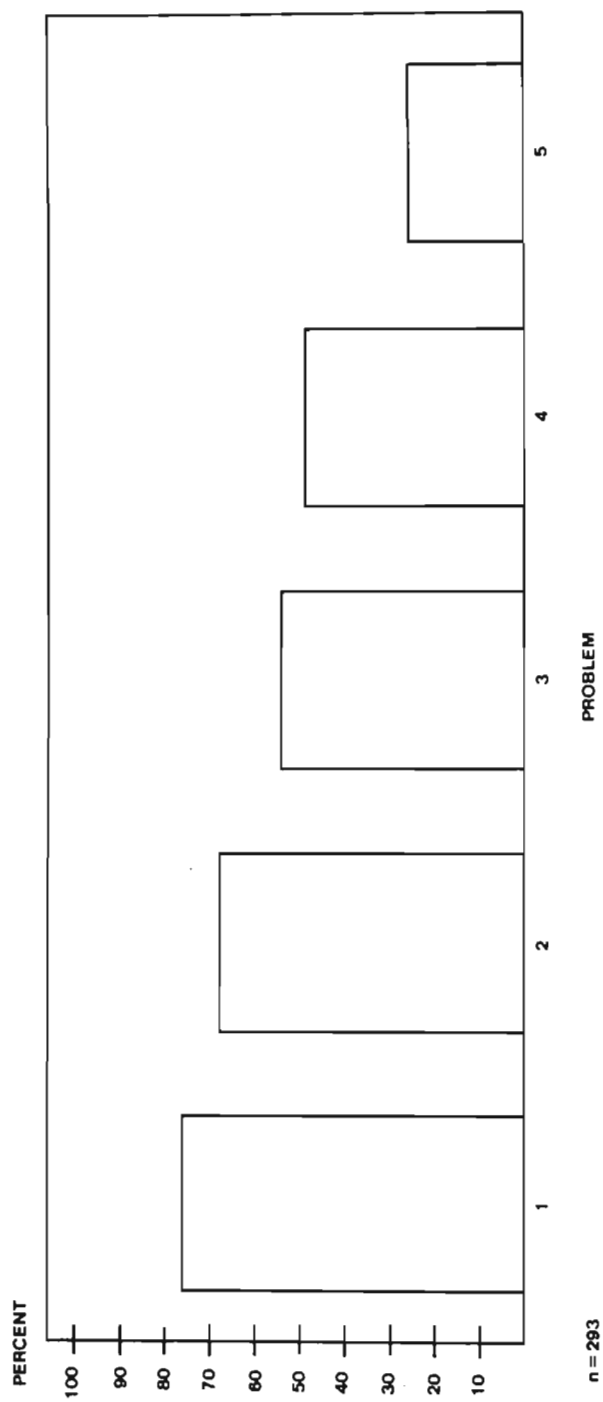
two additional dealerships : Mel Farr Lincoln-Mercury in Pontiac, Mich., and Aurora Lincoln-Mercury in Aurora, Colo.. His holding company, Farr Enterprises, earned nearly \$57 million in sales in 1987 ..." Furthermore, there is, Johan Peoples (1988:86), who has written about William E. McIntosh, a man who is involved in a \$20 million Chrysler dealership in the city of Seattle.

Although there is a growing interest in black advancement in the U.S., nevertheless Irons and Moore (1985:23) discovered that blacks in the banking industry are faced with the following problems: racism; not knowing what's going on in the organisation; not being given a chance to learn new jobs; poor pay; and the inability to get a mentor. These findings are exhibited by the authors in the following table:

**TABLE 6**

**THE MOST SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS AS PERCEIVED BY SAMPLE RESPONDENTS (PROBLEM PERCEIVED AS NUMBER ONE)**

1. Not knowing what's going on in the organisation (not in network)
2. Racism
3. Inability to get a mentor
4. Not being given a chance to learn new jobs
5. Poor pay



Source: Irons, E.D. and Moore G.W., Black Managers. The Case of the Banking Industry, 1985 Page 24.

These problems, however, are not new phenomena in the case of the South African black managerial and supervisory staff. It is important to note, however, that there is a difference between the two countries in that whereas they both suffer from similar ills, in South Africa such problems are institutionalised even though the government has started to lift them from the statute book. In the second section of Chapter 2, we review the literature undertaken in South Africa on black worker advancement.

## **2.2 REVIEW OF SOUTH AFRICAN LITERATURE IN BLACK ADVANCEMENT**

### **2.2.1 THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE BLACK WORKFORCE IN SOUTH AFRICA.**

The 'special' managerial and supervisory positions held by blacks in South Africa have their roots in their proletarianization history.

Since the latter part of the nineteenth century blacks in South Africa have suffered from apartheid. Webster, as quoted by Julian Redfearn (1986:47) defines apartheid as: "separation of the races; specifically, in South Africa, it connotes a policy of segregation and political and economic discrimination against non-European groups." The discovery of gold and diamonds in South Africa in the late nineteenth century required a vast supply of cheap labour.

David Webster (1979:3) points out the fact that for the mineral deposits of South Africa to be adequately exploited, a vast supply of cheap labour was necessary because technology was not highly developed and very expensive. A further complication was that blacks showed no interest in working for White employers (mining employers). The indigenous people were self-sufficient as they practised agriculture and hunted for their subsistence.

Shillington (1982:102) suggests that "[i]n the decade before the diamond discoveries the wealthier Tlhaping were finding a substitute for the declining long-distance hunting trade in the growing of maize and irrigated winter wheat for sale to itinerant white traders." These blacks who were self-sufficient were unwilling to work in mining industries.

Various laws were enacted specially to coerce blacks into the service of White mining employers. For example, the Glen Grey Act which incorporated a labour tax of 10s a head on selected black males of eighteen and over was introduced. As a result, blacks were forced to work in order to meet the labour tax demands. In order to have complete control of and/or over blacks, the pass law was introduced. This law stipulated that every adult black male had to carry a pass at all times. This document carried details of the life history, employment record, and of his right to be where he was, failing which criminal sanctions were imposed on him. The pass law was meant to be an all-embracing mobility device and it was enforced vigorously. The Land Act of 1913 restricted blacks to the reserves. Webster (1983:10) argues that this Act "froze African land ownership to a mere 13% of

the total land area and so forced Africans into the overcrowded reserves." Webster (1983) further notes that this Act had the twin effect of suppressing the emerging African peasantry, which was proving an effective counterclass to the white farmer, and creating a pool of cheap labour in the reserves. This left blacks with no means of subsistence other than to sell their labour to white mining employers. The pass laws worsened the burden of migrating from their homes to their different work places which were in the cities. Their daily life patterns were grossly disrupted, as for the first time in their life histories, they had a white person who dictated all the walks of their lives. These laws were preceded by the Master and Servant Act of 1841 tying workers to employers.

It is important to note that blacks were disadvantaged by the wage labour imposed by white colonial conquerors. Blacks were subordinated to white labour due to the fact that they had entered the wage labour market on a weak and unorganised basis. Unskilled tasks were performed by blacks, while on the other hand skilled tasks were performed by whites. To justify this white superiority in the labour field, Burawoy quotes Simons and Simons:

white labour, initially recruited from Britain, was employed in skilled and supervisory positions. Just as craft unions at that time had a powerful monopoly of a sector of the British labour market, so the white workers of South Africa, in part influenced by their experience at home, formed a union to protect their positions from competition from black labour. (Burawoy 1980:140)

Because of the above-mentioned factors, blacks were more susceptible to exploitation and could therefore be paid less than white workers.



After World War I, mineowners faced a falling rate of profit and they therefore sought to reduce their costs by substituting higher-paid white workers. White workers were in a position to engage in trade unionism and monopolise their skills and high level of wages. It is then that the Colour Bar Act was enacted and it promoted segregation of work leading to reservation of skilled jobs for white workers only and the exclusion of black workers.

The process of the exclusion of blacks was characterised by industrial conflict as blacks resisted this process of diminishment (discriminatory process). The first and second paragraphs of the Industrial Conciliation Act are at the centre of the 'exclusion' of blacks from skilled jobs. This Act excluded them from the 'definition of employee'. This had implications for the nature of jobs that were open to blacks e.g. they could only perform unskilled tasks in terms of the 'job colour bar'; and blacks were restricted from organising themselves into unions. One of the most important implications of this Act is that it entrenched and institutionalised 'racism' in the work place. It divided the working class along racial lines.

The industrial conflict continued with whites on the one hand demanding the consolidation of the 'job colour bar' Act and blacks on the other hand resisting this. In this tussle between black and white workers, management seemed to prefer black workers because they were looking for cheap labour. At the same time, management was coerced by white workers to take their cause as the latter had their support from the state.

The state clamped down on any black worker trade union activity, while it was lenient to white workers. I wish to show where management and the state feature in this tussle between black and white workers, by looking at the tensions that led to a situation in which there exists management vis-a-vis the state, black workers, and white workers (the whites being supported in their cause by the state) and black workers vis-a-vis white workers.

From time to time blacks organised strikes which, of course, relate to industrial conflict. The strikes were ended violently. At times the strikers were arrested and/or met with harsh confrontation from the army, and sometimes they were even dismissed from employment. These strategies were used to undercut the resistance of Blacks to this unfair labour practice. To show how the resistance of Blacks was suppressed in the mines, it is worthwhile to quote Webster who argues:

"Several violent confrontations developed and on one mine the workers were driven underground at gun point. Nine men were killed and more than 1,200 were injured" (Webster E. 1983:17). He states further that "[g]iving evidence to the trial following the 1946 strike, the compound manager of the New Kleinfontein Mine admitted Africans 'were not allowed to organise' and that Chamber policy, followed on all mines, was 'to get rid of anybody trying to organise workers'" (Webster E.1983:17).



Adult blacks during this period received demeaning status and were referred to as 'boys'. The South African government of the time supported the exclusion of blacks from any meaningful participation in industrial activities, such as being recognised as 'workers' and objecting to any dehumanising practices of the mining capital, amongst other problems. The government contributed to this by enacting the Act which divided South Africa into 'white' and 'black' areas. This act flowed from the Black Land Act of 1913. With this new Act, blacks were supposed to develop in their 'black' states. This is clearly captured in Hertzog's words when he said, "... the black man would mature to the extent that political and social rights could no longer be legitimately withheld from him. At such a stage he would become a danger to the white man, threatening his cultural civilisation and endangering his political survival by virtue of his numerical superiority. Until that state had been reached, however, he would be more than a 'football' to be kicked around and exploited as long as he remained within the white man's territory" (Griffiths H.R. and Jones R.A. 1980:141-142).

A disheartening incident occurred at Sophiatown, the only township which had mixed races, when it was destroyed by the government forces of the day. Its inhabitants were told of their differences with regard to their racial groups and their ethnic differences. The true picture of this township which was situated in Johannesburg, is captured in the Don Mattera's (1987:49) book entitled Memory is the Weapon where it reads:

Nobody can write the real story of Sophiatown, the rise and fall of the township, the magic and wonderment of the place ... It was inhabited by an estimated 20 000 people of different ethnic backgrounds who lived tightly-knit, mixing cultures, traditions and superstitions in a manner perhaps unique in Southern Africa. Every conceivable space was occupied by a living thing - man or animal.

The people of Sophiatown led a good life in their township and owned houses of high value. When the government announced the removal of Sophiatown's dwellers, it was met with united resistance from these people. But the pathetic and painful result is that Sophiatown was destroyed : Blacks were driven in huge trucks to Meadowlands;<sup>8</sup> Indians were driven to Lenasia; Coloureds were told that they cannot mix with Blacks and they were driven to Skoongesig and Western Native Township; and Whites were taken to the newly built suburbs of Johannesburg. In Don Mattera's (1987) own words, "the great removal was in the winter of 1955." This is how the people's home, Kofifi as they called it, was violently destroyed. It is imperative to quote the following lines from the back-cover of Memory is the Weapon:

The death of Sophiatown will remain  
an indictment of callousness and

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- 8     Here they were placed in different sections according to their ethnic groups. Later, Zola, Zondi, Mndeni and Dlamini were erected to Zulus, Xhosas and Swazis; Tladi, Moletsane, Merafe and Naledi were erected for Sothos, Tswanas and Pedis; Chiawelo was erected for Shangaans, Vendas and Tsongas.

cruelty. That it is able to live on in the hearts and minds of generations to come is a proud tribute to the culture and artists it produced.

The first watershed of this country was in March 21, 1960 when the country saw the tragedy of Sharpeville. Blacks were angered by the injustices of the National Party rule and decided to march to Pretoria in a quest to end the abhorred pass laws. The scars of this tragedy have not healed to date. Aggrey Klaaste (1980:14) illustrates this in his statement that "after the 1960 unrest we blacks and other opposition political organisations were thrown into bouts of anger and despair."

This introductory subsection has dealt with the historical events culminating in the dehumanisation and the lowering of the status of the black work force in South Africa. It should now become apparent why we talk of the black work force which is not ready for effective industrial utilisation. This study has unveiled that this state of affairs confronting us today has been created by men. It is now a monster which wants to swallow them, because today's industry demands a skilled workforce yet it is faced with the majority of economically active blacks providing unskilled labour.

Having looked at the historical background of the black work force in South Africa, the writer shall now proceed to the next subsection of 2.2. which will deal with the cultural patterns of both the captains of industry and the black work force. He will attempt to show how these

cultural patterns tend to feature in prejudice and stereotypes which in turn have adverse effects on the black advancement phenomenon.

### 2.2.2 CULTURAL PATTERNS OF WHITE MANAGEMENT AND BLACK WORKERS

Different racial groups have relatively different perceptions about life issues which develop in the particular family situations of their respective upbringing and in crucial periods during their childhood years. In addition, the different perceptions are reinforced by schools and other institutions such as sporting and recreational facilities, to mention a few. This is how each new generation is groomed to fit into different perceptions. The end-result of this is an effect upon the mainstream of human-thinking.

Hofstede defines culture as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another" (Hofstede G. 1980:25). Given this definition within our black advancement context, it becomes clear that these cultural differences do have an effect on managerial practices. Management practices tend to be culture-related. Therefore, white middle-management perceives itself as a dominant and superior decision-making body in the business world. On the other hand, it regards black managerial and supervisory staff as a subordinate body. If we adopt Cherniss' view that, "it is easier to restructure a role than to restructure the character of either an individual or a society" (Cherniss 1980:158), then it appears that there should be an assimilation of black and white cultures in order to alleviate problems facing management rather than to attempt to change and/or subordinate black culture to match white culture which is unlikely to succeed.

Both the black and the white cultures are individualistic-oriented, even though at times they may be collectivistic. A clear definition of individualism is captured in Seligman and Johnson (1948:675) where they state that:

The primary meaning of the word then is of a state or attitude of mind which is naturally produced in a certain kind of society. That society is most easily described in negative terms. It is one in which little respect is paid to tradition or authority. It is as far removed as possible from that primitive type of social organization where overpowering dominance of tribal custom and tradition leave little scope for individual initiative and concern and the members of the tribe are so absorbed in the group that it forms what anthropologists have called a tribal self. More positively, and individualist society is one where people 'think of the themselves' and are being regarded as 'the best judges of their own interests,' it being assumed that they have interests and business which are only their own. It is a society where 'the movement from status to contract' which Maine regarded as the mark of a progressive society, has gone a long way.

On collectivism, Seligman and Johnson (1948:633) give the definition as "the imposing word to be set over against individualism. It is, broadly, a term for a trend in social development, a program of economic reform a theory of general welfare and a utopian order for mankind ..."

Hofstede (1980:216) writes that:

For Mao Tse-tung individualism is evil. Individualism and liberalism,



for Mao, are manifest in the selfishness and aversion to discipline characteristic of the petty bourgeoisie. The selfish behaviour which Mao condemns is not necessarily behaviour at the expense of others. . . . In collectivistic Chinese society (and in other Asiatic societies, such as Japan as well), the individual is not "inner-directed" at all but controlled by a need for not losing face.

Black culture is dominated by the spirit of oneness, protectiveness and loyalty among the people. However, this should by no means misdirect us to believe that blacks cannot be successful in the management profession because of their cultural background. On the contrary, one should consider the fact that blacks are faced with a myriad of problems arising from the colour of their skin, and this could in turn affect their management practice in one way or another. This is always the case when one realises how the black 'managerial' and 'supervisory' staff is being side-stepped when it comes to the issue of promotion to senior managerial ranks.

History has taught us that blacks have been a very successful nation in the business world since the nineteenth century. This is best demonstrated by Norman Etherington (in Guest B. and Sellers J.M. 1985: 268-269) in his article 'African Economic experiments in Colonial Natal, 1845-1880' published in Enterprise and Exploitation in a Victorian Colony, when he points out that:

by 1866 the maize crop of the Methodist community at Edendale had reached an annual value of £4 000 ... The unnamed African who began

planting cotton on his own initiative in 1846 could not have been far behind the first White growers, and the first Natal cotton auctioned at Pietermaritzburg was grown and ginned by Africans ... In the wake of this success, purely African initiative pushed the movement forward. Down the coast at Amanzimtoti a second American mission launched its own sugar co-operative with loans from the enthusiastic Umvoti planters. By 1869 Ira Nembula, the mill's manager, was so heavily entangled in business affairs that he had to decline an invitation to be ordained as a Congregational minister.

This shows very well that African farmers and businessmen were in direct competition with whites and they were doing well.

The missionaries were so amazed by the success of blacks during the 19th century that one of them at Amanzimtoti lauded the Africans' efforts (Ibid:269):

... a visible [sic] triumph of Christianity and civilisation which the most skeptical cannot gainsay. Men with black skins who a few years ago were naked boys ... are now competing with the white man in manufacturing sugar in a steam mill of their own from canes of their own cultivation and without any superintendence in the work. The men have incurred rather heavy money liabilities in erecting the mill (about six hundred pounds) but I see no reason why with ordinary success they may not hope to clear themselves in a comparatively short space of time.

Etherington has reported that Africans were usually the highest bidders. At several sales of Crown Land as per Buchanan, of the 'Natal Witness', Africans had been the only bidders (Ibid: 271).



Blacks have had all sorts of diversified business interests. The Black Manufacturer (1986:8), Vol.6 No.2, recorded that brothers Veli and Sipho Zikalala and Mduduzi Mkhize operate one of the youngest, fastest growing and most progressive small building companies on the Rand. In 1987 they installed an IBM PC supported by the Quanti-grid package developed and marketed by Bret Schachat Kalamazoo Construction Computing. This company has a lot of expansion prospects. Veli Zikalala (1986:8) said that "plans were nearly completed for a R500 000 home in Soweto and financing was being discussed for a shopping complex at Thokoza near Germiston costing R2 million."

Zama Masondo who is a former SABC-TV2 commentator and his brother Musa, started the Zamangomusa Travel Agency in the Johannesburg Central Business District in January 1987. This agency is promoting tours throughout the country (Black Market Report 1987:7, Vol.2 No.15).

The Black Market Report (1987:4), Vol.2 No.24 recorded that the National Investment Corporation (NIC) which is one of the largest Black-controlled housing construction companies, announced sales of R2,8 million in Black housing in July and August in 1987. This was announced by Ambrose Nzuzu who is the chairman of this Durban-based company. National Homes which is also a housing construction company is its subsidiary. Obed Musi (1988:8) who is a Freelance Journalist of the Black Market Report, profiles Justice "Doom" Radebe as a successful East Rand supermarket owner who owns two supermarkets with a turnover of thousands.

Sam Matona, who is the proprietor of Easy Loo, a company with an annual turnover of more than R1,5 million, won the K.W.V. Excellence Award 1988 (Black Enterprise 1988:26, Vol.17).<sup>9</sup> The Black Enterprise (1988:33), Vol.17, records that Pamodzi Group Holding owned by Solomon Sithole, Ndaba Ntsele, and Mmcedisi Manyoni, is one of the first Black building companies to participate in a consortium involved in the R18 million Dobsonville Triangle Development. This construction and Property development company was named Pamodzi, by Ndaba Ntsele, which is a Swahili word meaning 'together'.

Blacks have had the impressive performance as dealers of oil in the Trek companies. The Black Enterprise (1987:38) recorded that Sarel Steyn, who is Trek's managing director said:

We pride ourselves on the quality of our dealers and it is therefore of great significance that we find not less than 10 Black ... dealers in our so called, Top 50 competition. What is more, for the past few years our top dealer had been a Black businessman. At the end of 1987 it was Mr Lesley Sekhitla of Sampson's Trek in Tembisa who finished at the top of the tree. Mr Toby Makwakwa of Soweto was third.

Jomo Sono who achieved fame as a soccer player, is a successful businessman today. In an interview with the Black Enterprise (1989:18), Vol.18, Sono said:

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9 The Black Market Report (1987:Vol 2 No. 17 pg 5-6 also gave report on Matona's annual turnover for 1987.

On an aeroplane to New York in 1977 I met Marshall Ward. He mentioned that Kentucky were planning to open in Soweto, so I expressed interest in the franchise. He introduced me to Harry Schwab and later to Mike Holmes, the MD of Kentucky in Johannesburg. I am grateful to these three men for my first business breakthrough. My first outlet was in Dube and after four years, the business had expanded to five branches.

My first move was to buy Highlands Park soccer club for R80 000 from my savings from professional soccer. I then bought a building in Dube which is leased to the Totalizer Agency Board, and I have plans to acquire another building in Jabulani, I recently bought the South African Midas auto wholesale franchise which will be opened in April in Jabulani. I plan to launch a clothing manufacturing business next year. Under the JS label, it will compete in quality with anything manufactured under designer labels such as Pierre Cardin.

The Black Enterprise (1989:53-57) Vol.18, records the following successful persons in business:

Vukoma Construction Company proves to be very successful. This Company is owned by Dick Mabane, whose B.Comm degree has given him financial and managerial skills; Mandla Ndlovu with an ICS diploma and a B.Com degree; and Josh Nkosi with a B.Sc degree in mathematics and mathematical statistics and a degree in civil engineering. The three partners acquired vital exposure and experience from the big companies, namely, LTA Construction, Grinaker/Mc Alpine,

Murray and Roberts, Anglo-American, O'Connell Manthe and Family Housing Association. Their Company, Vukoma Construction, won the K.W.V. 1988 Best Company Award. They were also awarded a R325 000 contract by Ozizweni Community Centre to build a creche in Diepkloof Extension. This company uses the architectural designs of Ephraim Thobakale, Managing Director of his FH architectural design and building consultant company in Johannesburg.

The Canadian Association of Black Business in South Africa (CABBSA), committed to the development of the manufacturing and industrial capacity of Black business, recently launched Softball Distributors owned by Oupa Motsepe which is the first manufacturer of Softball equipment in Southern Africa (The Black Enterprise 1989:29 Vol.18). Musa Thusi, who bought his first taxi in 1979 and now has a fleet of six, today runs his exhaust centre and Tlhabane Motor Spares in Tlhabane township (The Black Enterprise 1989:34 Vol.19). George Nkuna, the proprietor of Ray-Etta Food Distributors that delivers quality dairy products to 62 supermarkets in Mamelodi and 45 in Attrigdeville and Saulsville, owns six refrigerated 4-ton trucks which together represent an investment of R500 000 (The Black Enterprise 1988, Vol.19).

Maggie Mogase who was once a domestic worker is today a director of the R450 000 Mageu factory in Ga Rankuwa. She deals with the energy-giving health food which has made her so popular. She established partnership with Andre de Bruyn, Frans Erasmus and the Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation in 1988 to ensure a distribution network through dairies (The Black

The business muscle among blacks can also be seen in the South African Black Taxis Association (SABTA) which has miraculously risen to a multi-million business under the leadership of James Ngcoya who is the organisation's national President. SABTA was started in 1979 by 21 taxi owners from the Transvaal and Natal Taxi Associations, who started to canvass for membership throughout the country. With the help of James Chapman, they fought through thick and thin with the Transport authorities to operate with 15-seater vehicles. This dream was only realised after a court ruling and SABTA has flourished since then.

Inferring from above work where blacks' business muscle has been demonstrated, it should be clear that blacks are a successful entrepreneurial nation. A slump in this regard can be associated with a number of factors which have frustrated this venture. This is captured in the periodical entitled Black Manufacturer where Sibeko (1984:17) the chairman of Nafcoc's Industrial Counselling Committee, say about blacks:

Just as they were beginning to succeed, the government of the day began to impose restrictions and constraints on Black manufacturers, particularly those in Urban areas. They were forced to hide away behind closed doors, in backyards and garages, even under trees out in the veld. It brought much unhappiness and frustration. It was difficult to attract employees because of fears of the heavy hand of the law.

Thus, with such developments as outlined above, it could be perceived as naive to believe that

blacks cannot be successful in business due to their cultural background. South African employers still have a giant task of understanding and approaching blacks in the context of the vehement pressures of apartheid which is their day-to-day life experiences.

It should be clear that black culture, properly conceived, is not an impediment to modern capitalistic and bureaucratic structures. There is the resurgence of individualist business sector activity (formal and informal) and competitive self interest among blacks e.g. the taxi industry. Business associations (e.g. SABTA) are capitalistic (i.e. geared toward maximum profit making), co-operative and rational exercises.

In South Africa, whites have been socialised to feel intellectually superior to blacks, while the latter have been socialised to feel intellectually inferior to the former.<sup>10</sup> This

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- 10 This is outlined in the following extract from Kuper's (1965:36-7) work: "Discrimination itself serves to heighten racial prejudice. The main apartheid laws seek to eliminate primary contacts as far as possible, excluding however, the master and servant relationship. Secondary contacts, that is to say, formal remote contacts and confined to discriminatory situations, or are high impersonal and fleeting. In consequence, the White man finds himself consistently in position of superiority. This routine experience may be expected to reinforce sentiments of superiority. Moreover, a realistic basis for these sentiments of superiority is ensured by discrimination itself, which severely limits the opportunities for development of



particularly biases white managers against their black counterparts. It creates stereotypes of racial superiority to blacks which end up in white managers failing to cope with competent black managers, and the latter finally not getting the recognition they deserve. Owing to

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members of the subordinate races. It is natural that, in these circumstances, the White man should seek to maintain his social superiority, and perhaps to enhance it, by further discrimination.

Apartheid therefore sets in motion a self-perpetuating process, the chain reaction of racialization. Race consciousness in the White group is heightened by increasing emphasis on the criterion of race in the routine of living. It is molded into racial prejudice and racial discrimination by official legislated encouragement in the form of rewards and punishments. Increasing racial prejudice seeks expression in an intensified discrimination, and extension of discriminatory practices stimulates racial prejudice. Prejudice feeds on discrimination, and discrimination feeds on prejudice, unleashing a racial arrogance which threatens the society."

In addition to the above, it may be pointed out that the cultural behavioural aspect (socialisation) with regard to unequal access to human development resources such as education, sport, recreation etc. leads to the development of superordinate-subordinate relations within industry.

these socially-inculcated superordinate and subordinate relationships between blacks and whites, black managerial and supervisory staff find themselves having to work harder than their white counterparts to prove themselves. What is unfair here, is that blacks have to work harder for the same jobs, yet for different treatment, different evaluation and different pay. By virtue of being born white these managers are privileged to reach top management ranks. This means that the mere colour of their skin automatically qualifies them for management positions, while blacks, on the other hand, are being disqualified by the colour of their skin for the management positions. The result is that black advancement is being thwarted.

Furthermore, whites are said to be concerned with the importance of time, whereas this is not the case with blacks. When blacks report late for their duties this is looked at as a cultural problem, instead of it being looked at as one problem faced by blacks which is resultant from poor transport<sup>11</sup> facilities in the black townships. Commuting to the workplace is indecent and either taxis or buses get overloaded with the result that these 'poor' blacks are psychologically depressed before getting to work. Prejudice and stereotypes are the only real problems to black advancement, not culture. A mutual understanding of the two races' culture will be of help in the determination of black advancement.

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- 11 Most blacks in managerial and supervisory positions do not drive company cars as their counterparts do.



The conclusion can be drawn now that African culture should not be looked at as a stumbling block toward black advancement. On the contrary, it is white employers' failure to provide definite managerial and supervisory career paths to black professionals which can be viewed as having created stumbling blocks toward black advancement.

I shall now proceed to the next subsection which deals with the overview of black advancement in South Africa.

### 2.2.3 AN OVERVIEW OF BLACK ADVANCEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

Professor Nasser of Unisa's School of Business Leadership, in his article 'Urgent need for developing Black talent' argues that, "one of the most crucial challenges facing the personnel profession in South Africa in the 1980s is the development of an adequate quantity and quality of managerial and supervisory material - particularly Black material - sustain the economic growth in both the short - and long-term" (Nasser M.E. 1981:22).

Black advancement is crowded by a myriad of problems such as discriminatory laws, and the unavailability of manpower which is ready for business challenges, amongst others. To establish this, the writer would refer to the article which appeared in The Star of 25 September 1981 on page 11:

The issue of black management advancement seems to be deadlocked on two fronts - with government, business and blacks ... Mr Mafuna said that the issue of black management advancement had become a national crisis of epidemic proportions.

Legislation encourages the perpetuation of a management style that says blacks cannot supervise workers of another colour. Legislation has encouraged the exclusion of black managers from participation in the after hours social intercourse that is so vital to management development.

Legislation bars upwardly mobile black managers from moving into 'managers' residential areas as do their white counterparts ...

The most common complaint of management is that there is no suitably qualified blacks .. There

are too many talented black youths out there. Their major problem is they are not readily employable.

Hofmeyr (1986:23) points out that while some companies engage themselves in black advancement because they face 'political' threats of disinvestment boycotts which place human resource development under the spotlight, on the other hand, some believe that as South African employers they are bound to provide equal employment opportunities. To achieve this, they are bound to ensure that training and development take place so that increasingly all employees can compete for skilled and senior positions.

South Africa is no exception to the inadequate documented evidence of the advancement of blacks to managerial positions. Research which has been undertaken in the Western countries also shows this inadequacy. To show this lack of progress in the South African case, Hofmeyr asserts that, "Blacks occupy less than two percent of the managerial posts in South African companies, despite contributing 70 percent of the labour force" (Hofmeyr K.B. 1986:23).

Hofmeyr then documents the efforts of Kodak (South Africa) (Pty) Ltd in its attempts at black advancement and engagement in affirmative action. He argues that Kodak has put considerable time and money into its attempts to advance blacks into management and supervisory positions. Kodak believes that all its employees should have equal access to the available opportunities and would like to see blacks being able to compete for, and being appointed to senior positions (Ibid:23).

It is worth noting, however, that Kodak lost most of its recruits who joined the company believing that it is 'progressive', as it had committed itself to the Sullivan Code of Employment Practice. This Code assigned a duty on those companies which had committed themselves to it, to engage in fair labour practices devoid of discrimination. It is amazing to see what has actually taken place in Kodak and Hofmeyr points out that "despite all the efforts, only limited development and advancement of blacks took place. Eighty three per cent of the employees in the professional, supervisory or management positions were white. Only six of the supervisory or management positions were not held by whites at the end of 1984" (Hofmeyr K.B. 1986:23-24). There was a change, however, in this state of affairs when Kodak improved its responsibility by implementing organised affirmative action and sponsored programmes. It is important, at this stage, to mention that Kodak has subsequently pulled out of South Africa.

Black managers are in a difficult position compared to the white managers. On the one hand, they must perform their duties in accordance with their employers' expectations (obviously, their employers are White). On the other hand, while executing their duties, they should not undermine the feelings and desires of their fellow black workforce. This puts them in a very difficult situation since they are obliged to identify with the rest of black employees. This is, in fact, workers' expectations of black management. They find themselves leading dual lives. They have to

spend most of their time with their white counterparts. In the evenings, they have to spend their time in the townships, with other blacks. Andrew Templer, argues that "... their desire to play an effective managerial role may conflict with their desire to identify with the wider Black employee group in their organisations" (Templer A. 1982:149). It is important to note, however, that some black managers are now buying houses in white suburbs in South Africa.

Templer (1982), Orpen (1977) and Mafuna (1986) demonstrate that the role of the black supervisor is not an easy one in South Africa. Alverson is quoted by Orpen to have said, "the role of black supervisors in South Africa is characterised by its ambiguity, with the job incumbent having to satisfy the frequently conflicting demands of his white superiors and his black subordinates" (Orpen C. 1977:315).

People moving up the managerial ladder have a lot of things to learn in order to cope with their managerial careers. For example they should learn to comprehend the white corporate culture and they should learn to be assertive so as to be successful in their careers. Levinson in an article 'Mentoring : Socialisation for leadership' (a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management, Atlanta, Georgia, in 1979), is quoted by Hofmeyr (1983:32) to have listed the following guidelines which a person moving into managerial ranks must learn:

- \* the politics of the organisation in which he finds himself

- \* the norms, standards, values, ideology, history and who are the organisation heroes in the organisation  
This refers to the 'psychological contract' - the implicit expectations that organisations and their members have for each other
- \* what are the paths to advancement and which are the blind alleys?
- \* what are the acceptable methods for gaining visibility in the organisation? Who needs to know about what - and do these people need to know?

Owing to the subtle networking which takes place in industries, white managerial and supervisory staff gain this knowledge. On the other hand, their black counterparts are deprived of access to networking and the end result is that they do not gain this knowledge. It should be noted, however, that this used to be a serious problem prior to the formation of the Black Enterprise Network in 1987 which caters for this function on a national level, thus minimising the frustrations experienced by black managerial and supervisory staff in their day-to-day industrial and commercial activities. Joe Manchu (1988:9) points out that Black Enterprise Network (BEN) was formed as an informal association of individuals sharing a common purpose, the intention being to generate wealth, jobs, new businesses and to expand the founders' existing businesses through networking. The formation of this network took place when Black Enterprise was launched in 1987 as an independent magazine.

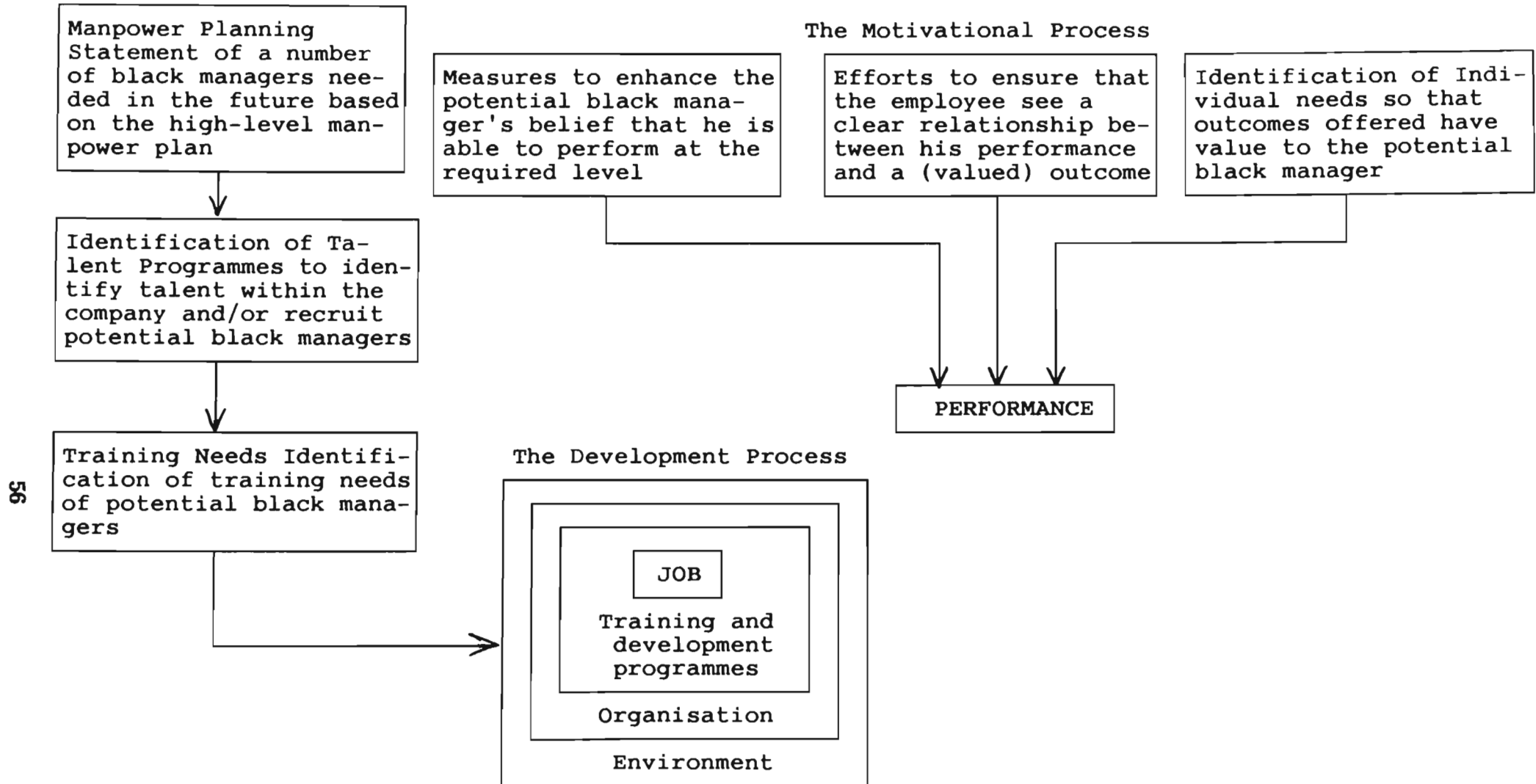
Hofmeyr (1983:28) contends that clear guidelines for the development of potential Black managers have emerged from this study 'Black managers : A Development Model'. These guidelines constitutes the following development model:



## A MODEL FOR DEVELOPING POTENTIAL BLACK MANAGERS

Source: Hofmeyr K.B. S.A. Journal of Labour Relations, Vol. 7 No. 4. December 1983 Page 27.

TABLE 7



Hofmeyr (1981:38-41) revealed that communication proficiency in either English or Afrikaans is one of the problems which inhibits opportunities to black advancement. It is worth mentioning at this stage, however, that this communication problem is resultant from inadequate and inferior 'Bantu Education'. He also found that blacks lack the knowledge of business concepts, terms and expectations. The various problems caused by 'Bantu Education' explain why white employers fail to advance black on the managerial occupational ladder. Lack of black advancement should be attributed to blatant discrimination. It should be noted that 'Bantu Education', for example, is a function of blatant discrimination.

Bantu Education lowered the quality of education for blacks from what it used to be while it was under the control of missionaries. This discriminatory education system has resulted in irreparable harm for black people, as this summary by Smock (1983:1) indicates:

A [W]hite child has 100 times as much chance of becoming a university graduate as an African child; the government spends approximately 10 times as much money on each [W]hite school child as it does on each African pupil; 47.7 percent of [W]hite men have finished high school, while only 0,8 percent of African men have done so; although there are more than four times as many Africans as [W]hites in South Africa, there are only 5,400 Africans who are university graduates, while the number of [W]hite graduates approaches 20 000.

The differential government expenditure on



education for different racial groups (i.e. for blacks and whites in this case) is a clear sign for inequalities in education budgets. As will be mentioned in the third section of Chapter 2, a curriculum in bantu education is not based on skills and capacities. It lacks a critical posture and is unchallenging. The problem of bantu education is exacerbated by the poor qualifications of black teachers. In many black schools, students are huddled together in overcrowded classrooms because of a lack of facilities. They experience problems in getting an adequate supply of textbooks from the Department of Education and Training. A further hardship is caused by their socio-economic background and most of them can hardly read these textbooks due to poor lighting problems and overcrowding at their 'match-box' homes. Bantu education, has together with various other apartheid components, contributed to appalling situations, for example, housing crisis etc. leading to general community destabilisation.

Notwithstanding the above deliberations, South Africa has made certain strides (even though very limited when taking the numbers of the black population into consideration) to black worker advancement. This can be supported by the following statistical table:

**TABLE 8 : PARTICIPATION IN ADMINISTRATIVE AND MANAGERIAL WORK**

MAJOR OCCU- PATIONAL GROUP	CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL	WHITES	% OF WHITE PARTICIPATION	BLACKS	% OF BLACK PARTICIPATION
Administrative and managerial worker	1970	86 234	80 678	93,6%	2 306	2,7%
	1980	152 542	138 855	91.0%	5 108	3,3%
	1985	255 955	224 043	87,5%	10 802	4,2%

Adapted from the Bulletin of Statistics, September 1989. Central Statistical Service. Vol.23, No.3 page 2-3.

Table 8 shows that black worker advancement in terms of administrative and managerial participation has increased. Black participation in 1970 was 2,7% compared to 93,6% participation by whites. In 1980, it was 3,3% compared to 91% by whites and in 1985 it was 4,2% compared to 87,5% by whites. However, it should be added that these figures do not show positive black advancement and this can be attributed to blatant discrimination because the majority of blacks are still excluded from managing businesses which they help to create.

There has been a growing interest among some of the black professionals in South Africa, in black advancement as indicated in the following selected reports:

Black Enterprise (1988:46), Vol.17, gives the following two names of Blacks who have moved up the ladder - these are Henry Chinkota and Johannes

Manamela. Henry Chinkota joined Checkers Company in 1985 as a computer operator. He was promoted to personnel officer in 1987. In 1988 Chinkota became the administrative manager of the Rosebank branch of Checkers. Johannes Manamela joined Checkers Company in 1974 as a cleaner. Having been an ambitious hard worker, he later became a night shift manager. He thereafter requested from his superiors to be accepted for the managerial training course. Thereafter he became a floor manager, then trainee manager and today he is the sales manager of the Bryanston branch of Checkers.

Black Market Report (1988:5), 'Vol.4 No.3, records that Albert Mokoena, who is an acting Chief Accountant of Munich Reinsurance Company of South Africa, won the Black Management Forum/Kellogg Excellence in Achievement Awards 1988. His runners-up being Phil Khumalo who founded and heads Business Challenge, a financing organisation for would-be entrepreneurs, as well as a Nashua dealership trading under the name of Phil Khumalo and Associates; Makhutla Ngwako Wilson Masipa, who owns and manages Sebjane Bookshop CC; David Clement Motlatla who is a Market Development Manager of South African Breweries Northern Transvaal Region; Vusi Ngobeni who is an Executive Personnel Manager of Squibb Laboratories (Pty) Ltd; and Lerato Matlare who is a Product Manager at Johnson and Johnson and who won the special award for Emerging Manager of the Year.

Black Enterprise (1989:45-46), Vol.18, records the following two names of successful professionals : Themba Thsikovi is a chartered accountant with Deloitte Haskins and Sells; and Jeffrey Moshakga is a financial accountant with Du Pont and the CIS student of his year.

Black Enterprise (1988:16), Vol.19, gives the cover story of Nimrod Mkele as having been born in 1921 in Alexandra in the Eastern Cape, his father being a farm worker. He attended the first school in Alexandra, then went on to Paterson High School in Port Elizabeth, after which he studied for a B.Sc at the University of Fort Hare. After establishing Cowan High School in Port Elizabeth and Lekoa-Shandu High School in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, he was appointed Secretary to the Minister of Agriculture in Swaziland. He was the first Black to complete a master's degree in Psychology in 1947 at the University of Natal. Today he is contributing to the development of a post-apartheid society, bringing Blacks into the mainstream of the South African economy by running a Human Resource Service that places top managers and executives in corporate positions and offers secretarial and computer training to alleviate the critical skills shortage. He is a trustee of Black Enterprise'.

Black Enterprise (1988:27), Vol.15, records that Junior Potlane, who gained an M.Sc (Agricultural Economics) from Oklahoma State University in the United States, is today a Senior Liaison Officer of the Development Bank of Southern Africa. It is recorded in The Supplement to Black Enterprise (1986:6) Vol.14, that Isaac Miti has been appointed personnel manager of M-Net (Pty) Ltd, South Africa's first independent, all entertainment subscription television station. His responsibilities include training managers and supervisors at all the station's branches countrywide, industrial relations, grievances, disciplinary procedures and a works committee.

Judar Duiker, Moroka Swallows' agile former right wing and team captain, studied for a science degree at the

University of Fort Hare, majoring in chemistry and biochemistry. He was thereafter appointed a laboratory assistant at Nestle's Chambourcy factory. In 1980 the company sent him to one of its factories in England for a concentrated, hands-on training course. He was then sent to the company's head office in Switzerland which was followed by a trip to the University of Heidelberg for tuition in biochemistry. On his return he was greeted with the news that he was now a production manager at Chambourcy. He held his position until 1985. Towards the end of 1987 he rose to his present post where he specialises in advising and solving problems with emphasis on Black employees (Black Enterprise [1988:25], Vol.14).

Woolworths is one of the companies which continues to make strides in Black advancement. Daniel Makau is the Staff Manager of one of the Woolworths stores in Pretoria. Speaking to Ernest Sheunyane, Makau (1988:47) said:

I am a product of the dusty and underprivileged Alexandra township. As a kid I had it tough, and all the misery and frustrations around me motivated me to reach for the stars. My future ambitions include being a director of our company. That is not a wild and haunting dream. Chances of it becoming a reality in the future are high. In our company, all road blocks restricting Blacks from gunning for the highest office have been removed. The lights are green all the way, and what is needed is for one to be propelled by a burning desire to achieve and develop [oneself].

Frans Seloane has reached the highest position at branch level, after only six years in Woolworths. Speaking to Ernest Sheunyane also, Seloane (1988:47) said:

In essence, I don't think I am different to any other township dweller. The only thing that has worked my way is that I have been exposed to opportunities and given an equal chance to that enjoyed by White colleagues. After launching the new store and making a success of it, I will be requesting to be transferred to another branch which may then be performing badly. I want to leave my footprints of success which will serve an encouragement to others. I have this hidden agenda. Through my actions, I want to prove many perceptions about Black people wrong. I also want to make many people from the townships who had lost faith in themselves confident.

This has been a recapitulation of the South African studies on black advancement which have been undertaken by researchers, and also other developments in black advancement which have been reported mostly in the 'Black Enterprise' and 'Black Market Report'. Having reviewed the literature, I shall proceed to chapter 3 which deals with methodology i.e. the research techniques which I used to gather data.



## CHAPTER 3

### 3.1 METHODOLOGY

The survey method has been used to gather the data for this study. This method has been selected to enable access to data, such as day-to-day life experiences and attitudes of black managerial and supervisory staff to the concept and application of black advancement.

In this study personal interviews were employed. Structured interviews using open-ended questionnaires were conducted on a face-to-face basis. They were conducted formally, and follow-up interviews were conducted at the respondents's homes. The main reason behind this is that I wanted to probe the responses to certain questions so as to acquire as much data as possible on some particular issues. At certain times, I invited the respondents to pay a visit to my home over weekends for further interviews after gaining entry during the formal interviews at their places of work.

By approaching the interview schedule in this manner, I hoped that the respondents would, in one way or another, be enabled to think accordingly and answer the posed questions on black advancement intelligently. This proved to be advantageous to myself (as a researcher) since it was noticed that respondents tended not to be prepared to give the true picture of their companies while the interview was

conducted at their places of work. Outside the work situation, they tended to be more comfortable in imparting such data which might be 'sensitive' to their employers. The respondents also advised me that it is not easy for them to impart such data since they risk the security of their jobs.

It proved advantageous to conduct these interviews myself because I was readily available to the respondents for clarification of certain questions which posed some problems to them.

For the purpose of this study, the respondents themselves were required to record data as they responded to the questions. This was done to undercut the subjectivity which might clandestinely influence the writer when recording the data.

### 3.2 SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE

The sample for this study was restricted to five companies based in the Pinetown industrial area and three companies based in the Pretoria industrial area. These companies were selected on the basis of their sizes as they appeared to be big companies when one considers the numbers of people they employ - employing more than 1000 workers each. This means that these industries were selected according to the size of the labour force and in addition whether black managers were employed, and mostly according to their willingness to co-operate. The proximity of these firms to one another in both industrial areas served

*workforce of more than a thousand.*



as a saving in transport and fieldwork costs. It was considered that these companies would provide adequate examples of black advancement and the implications thereof.

A total of fifty company managers were involved in the study as is demonstrated in Table 9.

**TABLE 9**

**THE SAMPLE OF MANAGERS FROM EIGHT DIFFERENT COMPANIES**

Company	Products of company	Number of Managers	Total
-----			
1	Cotton, polypropylene and cloth	3	3
2	Footwear	10	10
3	Domestic Appliances	4	4
4	Surgical and cosmetic products	4	4
5	Polish	4	4
6	Beer	15	15
7	Cars	7	7
8	Furniture distribution	3	3
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N=50

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The reason for these figures is mainly the unavailability of some black managers in the above companies. As a result I interviewed those managers who were at their workplace at the times set for the interviews.

It should be pointed out at this stage that a restraint to the selection of this sample was influenced to a large extent by the numbers of skilled

blacks who held managerial and supervisory positions in these particular companies. However, this did not apply in the case of companies four, five, six and seven in Table 6. In the latter four some black managers were not available at the times set for the interviews.

At the initial stages of the research, the respondents of each company were approached and briefed about the purpose of the research project. Thereafter, appointments were prepared according to the days and time at which the interviews would be convenient for the interviewees.

The main topics in the coverage of the interviews are:

- the employment structure at the respondent's company;
- the details of the respondent's job description;
- level of satisfaction within the organisation;
- level of authority within the organisation;
- level of involvement in the decision-making process within the organisation;
- existence of racial discrimination within the organisation;

- affiliation to any professional and/or management organisations and the roles which they play in these;
- various thoughts about black advancement programmes.

The complete structure of the questionnaire for this research project, is fully exhibited in Appendix 3. Interviews were conducted between July 1988 and March 1989 in the case of the Pinetown factories, and between April 1989 and August 1989 in the case of the Pretoria factories.

### 3.3 METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

Besides the advantages inherent in indepth studies the methodology has its own limitations which can be summarised as follows:

The sampling frame for this research project was shaped by the shortage of black managerial and supervisory staff on the one hand and on the other by the unavailability of some of these managers on the set dates for the interviews. These constraints limited the sampling frame, but this does not mean that generalisations and inferences cannot be made. Firstly, fifty managers from eight companies with a total employment of +-1 000 employees seems to be an acceptable tally and secondly, interviews were in-depth and more qualitative than quantitative.

There were:

(i) work related and

(ii) home related interruptions

which punctuated the interviews. These were, however, not beyond management and thus do not affect the quality of the data.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **FACTORS THAT HAVE PRECIPITATED BLACK ADVANCEMENT**

The following factors have precipitated black advancement, namely: Development of a strong grass-roots organisation of blacks toward collective bargaining; Increased automation and sophistication of modern business; Skills shortage; Legislation which has manifested itself through the Code of Practice, the Sullivan code, the European Economic Community (EEC) Code and the Saccola Code; the political struggle; International threat of sanctions; Expediency; and Moral commitment by some employers. It should be noted that in this chapter I am providing a more detailed elaboration of some points which I have raised earlier in chapter 1.

#### **4.1 DEVELOPMENT OF A STRONG GRASS-ROOTS ORGANISATION OF BLACKS TOWARD COLLECTIVE BARGAINING**

Since the later years of the 1970s, various discriminatory laws preventing upward mobility of blacks have been repealed (See Appendix 1 for further details regarding this).

Two important strikes illustrate the difficult position of the black workers represented by the trade unions during the 'period of survival' as described by Friedman (1987:115-135). The first was undertaken by MAWU at the Heineman Electrical Company in Johannesburg in demand for a recognition agreement. The demand was refused by the company's management team and as a result the police intervened to end the 'illegal' strike. The second strike was undertaken by GAWU at

Amourplate Safety Glass in Springs. This was a legal strike protesting against the company's retrenchment of workers without the initial consultation with the union's committee. Again, there was the intervention of police to end the strike, in spite of the strike's legality. These two strikes were preceded by the 1973 Durban strikes in which parts of Durban were cordoned off as unrest areas at that time. These strikes were also met with harsh confrontation from the police.

The above strikes, by MAWU and GAWU, took place in 1976, the year which saw the Soweto school uprisings on June 16 when thousands of students were killed. The 1973 and 1976 unrest events (including many strikes) on the one hand disrupted trade union activity, and on the other facilitated the consideration of urgent reform by the government and South African employers. This resulted in the appointment of the Wiehahn Commission in 1977 which recommended that African unions should be brought into the official bargaining system. Charoux (1986:13) points out that the appointment of the Wiehahn Commission was the outcome of the 1973 strikes in Durban and the 1976 civil unrest in Soweto. The findings of this Commission paved the way for a new labour dispensation. On this commission, he (1986:13) has written thus:

The Wiehahn findings led to the Labour Relations Act of 1981 - an act which not only granted full trade union rights to almost all employees, but with regard to Black advancement, recommended that the principle of fair-employment practices legislation, based on non-discrimination and equality, be accepted.

The word 'employee' only referred to white workers as per the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 and the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1955 as amended. Blacks

were excluded from the definition of 'employee'. The Wiehahn Commission recommended that blacks should be included in the definition of 'employee'. This Commission brought a lot of changes in the labour sphere.

#### **4.2 INCREASED AUTOMATION AND SOPHISTICATION OF MODERN BUSINESS**

Recently, industry has become more capital-intensive and sophistication has mounted to a very high level, obviously requiring skilled manpower. This means that today's industry requires a considerable number of managerial and supervisory staff with complex skill patterns to meet current demands. This has placed a demand on South Africa's industries, which are hard-pressed by the shortage of white skilled workers, to change their policies with regard to the employment of blacks in managerial positions. As a result, black advancement has been the answer, that is, the recruitment of blacks to managerial and supervisory positions serves as the viable utilisation of the management resources in South Africa.

#### **4.3 SKILLS SHORTAGE**

The shortage of skilled labour in South Africa became apparent in the late 70s. This became current talk such that the Eastern Province Herald of 24 October 1978 in an article entitled 'Skilled labour sought' stated:

White workers would not be able to fill all skilled jobs in future and greater emphasis would have to be placed on the development and utilisation of the black labour force, Mr. S.P. Botha, Minister of Labour, said yesterday.



Addressing a symposium on the optimum utilisation of manpower, Mr Botha said South Africa was already experiencing a skilled labour shortage in some industries.

Projections showed South Africa would experience a skilled labour shortage of 21 percent in 1980. By 1990 there would be a shortage of 1.4 million office workers, 180 000 workers in the technical and professional fields and 758 000 in the skilled and semi-skilled categories.

South Africa is presently faced with the prospect of a severe shortage of skilled managerial and professional manpower, and this is likely to continue during the coming years if the present South African political state of affairs remains the same.

Clem Sunter (1987:85 & 93) points out that South Africa is an average country with an average economy. He goes on to say the per capita GDP is about \$1 900, which in the world economic rankings puts it with Yugoslavia, Mexico, Malaysia, Portugal, Uruguay, Chile and Brazil. South Africa's GDP is 1/200 th of world GDP.

In South Africa the issue of the chronic shortage of skilled manpower can no longer be ignored. Hartshorne (1981:30) contends that:

Many critics pointed out that ... South Africa has only 5.1 percent of its economically active population in the professional, managerial, administrative and technical grades, against 24.7 percent in the United States, for example, and in 1970, 18 percent of Whites were already in those categories and future expansion would be dependent upon the entry into them of blacks. Comparisons with the United States are hardly valid at the present stage of South Africa's development. Nevertheless

it can be asked whether the Republic can survive economically and socially, at so substantially lower a level of advanced skills than exists in other industrial economies at comparable stages of development ...

Maubane (1981:19) who was the first deputy General Manager of Afribank reported that:

South Africa's need for highly trained manpower is a matter well known to warrant repetition ... It is a statistically proven fact that only a small proportion of a country's economically active manpower possess what is known as management qualities or are of the managerial class. The figures differ from country to country but in South Africa a quantity of some 4 percent or so of the total population is surmised. Out of this total only a small fraction of these are Blacks ... The need to increase the Black complement of the managerial class is an absolute essential if we are to realise the full potential of our growing economy.

Under the title 'More black managers needed', the Black Market Report (1987:4), Vol.2 No.9, recorded the following:

The South African ratio of 33 workers per manager, which is high compared with ratios 6:1 in the United States and 8:1 in Europe, could rise to more than a 100:1 by the year 2000, unless the number of black managers and administrators is increased by at least 1 000%.

According to the latest official population analysis if the public sector is omitted, the present South African ratio of 33:1 rises to 50:1.

At present only 10 802 blacks are listed as managers or administrators - less than 4 percent of all black

workers. Of a total economically active population of 8,7 million, 60 percent are black.

It has become apparent in all aspects that there is a great demand for black managerial and supervisory staff in South Africa. This great demand can be attributed to several factors, including the skills shortage, the Sullivan and Saccola codes and the international call for sanctions against South Africa. Under normal circumstances, this excess demand would be expected to place upward pressure on existing salaries, eventually resulting in an increased number of people employed in this labour class. The level of employment in this class, however, has not come on par with the skills shortage facing South Africa. Why have the expected changes not occurred at a reasonably high rate? Several explanations suggest themselves which together probably account for the relatively unchanged employment levels. Firstly, although salary levels have risen, the absence of certain benefits like subsidised housing, which have been extended to white personnel, means that the employment packet is not competitive with alternative opportunities as teachers or civil servants. Even if they were competitive, the psychic costs of racism in the work place make this employment relatively unattractive. Secondly, although black managerial and supervisory potential is high, this has been reduced by the inferior educational background of possible employees. Finally, attention must be given to the time factor - the response time between the emergence of increased employment opportunities for black managerial and supervisory staff and the required changed perceptions of the target group from which the demand is to be filled. In other words, there is a delay between the offer of such employment and the perception that it exists combined with the delay necessitated by the appropriate

training.

The skills' shortage problem which has previously been met by recruiting manpower from Western countries has changed drastically. Owing to international pressure, this problem can no longer be met in the same manner, but now blacks should be trained to take over these positions.

#### 4.4 INTERNATIONAL AND LOCAL PRESSURES

Prior to the appointment of the Wiehahn Commission, there was industrial turbulence in the labour sphere. Blacks experienced a lot of repression and were voiceless both inside and outside the workplace. They were controlled by the government's racial laws. For example, the Job Reservation Act did not allow them to do skilled work. Trade unionism among blacks was violently suppressed. In 1973 there was widespread industrial unrest in Durban; by 1974, the hysteria of the 1973 strikes paved the way for reform in the labour sphere. This was further facilitated by the 1976 Soweto pupils' uprisings. The restructuring of the industrial relations after the Wiehahn recommendations, led to various laws of reform. The writer shall go on to discuss four of these laws:<sup>11</sup>

- (i) The code of practice.
- (ii) The Sullivan code.
- (iii) The European Economic Community Code.
- (iv) The Saccola code.

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11. Note, however, that the Code of Practice was drawn up in March 1974.

The above laws are basically the codes of employment conduct. They are aimed at eliminating discrimination (in all forms) in employment, to create equal employment opportunities and job advancement for blacks (i.e. they are aimed at ensuring that blacks enjoy equal opportunities in advancing to managerial levels). The codes of employment conduct are efforts toward deracialisation of industry and commerce.

Companies subscribing to the codes of employment conduct in theory commit themselves to a policy of non-discrimination within the provisions of the law. Foreign codes such as the code of practice, the Sullivan code and the European Community code have spurred South Africa to develop its own codes, for example the Saccola code, the South African Council of Churches code etc. With regard to the South African codes of employment conduct, only the Saccola code will be discussed. Saccola was developed by the Urban Foundation and the South African Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs. All companies signing the codes of employment conduct are therefore expected to implement the plan or principles of the codes.

#### **4.4.1 THE CODE OF PRACTICE**

In March 1974, the committee to the house of commons' committee on expenditure recommended that a "code of practice" be drawn up for British companies in South Africa. The code, which was endorsed by the Labour Government, urged firms to remove discrimination, press for African job advancement, pay the minimum effective level (the poverty datum line plus fifty percent) and recognise African unions.

There were attempts to force foreign companies to observe the same labour standards in South Africa as they did at home; this had begun with the Guardian's 1973 wage exposé and the inquiry conducted by the House of Commons' Committee on Expenditure (Friedman 1987:122-123).

#### 4.4.1.1 THE SULLIVAN CODE

Dr Leon A. Sullivan's first visit to South Africa was in 1975 and his second visit in 1980. He is a civil rights leader who gained prominence through his job-training advocacy. In early 1977, Sullivan announced the endorsement by an initial twelve American firms of a set of six principles to promote racial equality in employment practices for United States firms operating in South Africa. This was a move directed at helping blacks in South Africa. Sullivan said that his aim was to dismantle apartheid.

In the African Business of April 1986, page 13, the Sullivan principles have been listed as follows:

1. Non-segregation of the races in all eating, comfort and work facilities.
2. Equal and fair employment practices for all employees.
3. Equal pay for all employees doing equal or comparable work for the same period of time.
4. Initiation of and development of training programmes that will prepare, in substantial numbers, blacks and other non-whites for supervisory, administrative, clerical and technical jobs.
5. Increasing the number of blacks and other non-whites in management and supervisory positions.



6. Improving the quality of life for blacks and other non-whites outside the work environment in such areas as housing, transportation, schooling, recreation and health facilities.

Sullivan's principles are dimensions for desirable behaviour on which companies can be rated. Wilking (1986:48) and Marzullo (1986:52) executives of some of the American companies in South Africa, have urged the government to provide equal opportunities for all South African races. The Sullivan principle can serve as a yardstick for equality.

#### 4.4.1.2 THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY (E.E.C.) CODE

This Code followed Sullivan and it seemed to pose a greater threat to employer power. It was released in July 1977 by the European Economic Community, urged by the British government, and applied to all European firms in South Africa (Friedman S. 1987:124). Friedman (1987) goes further to mention that this Code was largely a reaction to demands that the E.E.C. impose economic sanctions on Pretoria, and the governments which endorsed it saw it as an alternative to cutting off trade ties. Friedman (1987:124) argues that:

In contrast to Sullivan, the E.E.C. code stressed African miner rights and urged employers to combat migrant labour; it also insisted that they pay at least the minimum effective level (m.e.l.).

#### 4.4.1.3 THE SACCOLA CODE

It should be noted that employment codes in South Africa flourished after Dr Leon Sullivan of the United States had paid a visit in the country in early 1977.



Most foreign firms and governments engaged themselves in these codes in order to escape disinvestment pressures.

The Saccola code was initiated by the Urban Foundation and Saccola (S.A. Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs). This Code was aimed at removing racial discrimination from employment practice. This is put clearly in the S.A. Outlook of 31 May 1979, page 66:

... [the] Saccola code concentrates on the removal of discrimination in all aspects of employment practice and promotion of Blacks into higher positions.

The Saccola Code represents 90 percent of the South African firms in organised commerce and industry.

Joe Thloloe in the Post of 17 August 1979 page 2 laid down that the Saccola Code commits its subscribers:

\* To strive constantly for the elimination of discrimination based on race or colour from all aspects of employment, especially in the selection, employment, advancement and promotion of all employees', the remuneration of all employees, the provision of pension, medical aid, leave, sick pay, employees insurance, assistance with housing, physical working conditions, training programmes, and the recognition of the basic rights of workers to freedom of association.

\* To promote and maintain, through contact and consultation, sound and harmonious relations between employers and all categories of employees.

\* To continue to cooperate with other organisations in the public and

private sectors in promoting the accelerated creation of employment opportunities and the progressive transition to a system wherein the rates of remuneration paid and any benefits relating to conditions of employment will be such as to render unnecessary any differential subsidy based on race or colour.

Saccola planned to ask employers who are affiliated to it to report on progress in implementing the code of employment practice. This Code, however, has a shortcoming in that it has no built-in mechanism for enforcement, that is, it is not clear how Saccola monitored the implementation of the code even though affiliated companies were asked to send job reports to Saccola's executive committee.

In spite of all these codes of employment conduct, there are still no major policy changes, as racial discrimination which stifles black advancement is still present in industry and commerce, even though the government is attempting to accommodate changes (such as scrapping all racial discriminatory laws from the statute book) to the political and economic realities of the 1990s.

It has become apparent that general acceptance of codes of employment conduct by employers, however, does not necessarily lead to commitment to carrying them out. This boils down to the fact that subscribing to the codes of employment conduct does not necessarily imply commitment by subscribers to them. Furthermore, employers' general acceptance of these codes of employment conduct does not guarantee their commitment to them or any monitoring of the implementation. The codes have engendered a little cynicism in the sense

that while there has been an introduction of blacks into managerial and supervisory positions, this has been carefully monitored by employers. Thus, entry of black professionals into key managerial positions has been relatively small, as discussed in chapter 5.

#### 4.4.2 THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE

There has been insurmountable pressure in South Africa in the form of violence and strikes in the past two decades. This is pressurising the government and the employers, in one way or another, to reform. There is a big question mark, however, in how this violence is being contained, leading to the bloody arena between blacks and the state (represented by the police). The latter state of affairs awakens other countries which are concerned with the dignity of human nature. There is external pressure as well, in the form of threats of declaring sanctions against South Africa to reform the apartheid policies of this country. The Political struggle has shaken industries and commerce to change their attitudes toward black advancement. This has served as a positive factor in that they contributed significantly towards expediting reforms by providing various opportunities for black advancement. The employers try to practice equal job opportunities to get away from 'job reservation' which set aside all presumably skilled jobs for white workers.

#### 4.4.3 INTERNATIONAL THREAT OF SANCTIONS

The international threat of sanctions can be perceived as one of the reasons why it has become necessary to promote and implement the policy of black advancement.

This, in other words, can be seen as one of the factors which have led to the wide-scale recruitment of black managerial and supervisory personnel, notwithstanding the fact that they are seen and treated as unwelcome competitors.

#### **4.5 EXPEDIENCY**

Today, it has become expedient and/or convenient to appoint black managers in the departments which deal mostly with blacks, for example, personnel and marketing departments. A black personnel officer is, for instance, employed to deal with personnel matters arising from black employees. The reason for this being that they have a good background of black culture and norms, which puts them in a better position to handle the departmental affairs. A black marketing officer is, for instance, employed to deal with the black market. The black market has the biggest buying power in South Africa, so that it has become expedient to have black marketing officers who know the taste of blacks from their own experience. The services of a black marketing officer, promote the black buying power from the market. With this black consumerism, the industry that employs a black marketing officer stands a very big chance of extracting a giant market share.

#### **4.6 MORAL COMMITMENT**

Today, there is a moral commitment on the side of the employers to promote black advancement. There is a strong feeling that there should be equal opportunities in a just society. In other words, they feel morally-bound to implement the policies of black advancement.

Having looked at all the above factors, we shall now proceed to Chapter 5 where attention is focussed on the description and interpretation of the data gathered in the field.

## CHAPTER 5

### FINDINGS OR DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA

The main thrust of this study was to establish among the respondents central issues such as job descriptions, remuneration packages, the character and extent of the incumbents' responsibilities, and levels of authority regarding decisions, be these in the personnel or financial. It also sought perceptions of blacks holding managerial and supervisory positions in industrial and commercial settings as regards career mobility and discriminatory constraints.

#### 5.1 INADEQUATE UTILISATION OF BLACK MANAGERIAL AND SUPERVISORY STAFF

The question we as sociologists should ask ourselves is: Are job opportunities being opened up for black managerial and supervisory staff? Statistics show that employment among blacks dropped from 35% in 1985 to 32% in 1988,<sup>12</sup> while their unemployment increased from 65% to 68% during the same period. This is supported by the following statistical table:

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12. The writer wishes to point out that these figures on employment are general i.e. they do not provide the breakdown of the educational level and job categories for all economically active population.

TABLE 10

**STATISTICAL TABLE FOR THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE AND NON-ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE BLACK POPULATION**

Year	Total Black Population (per 1000 000s)	Econ. active population	% Employed	Non-econ. active population	% Unemployed
1985	15 163	5 305	35	9 858	65
1988	20 815	6 632	32	14 183	68

Adapted from the Bulletin of Statistics, September 1989. Central Statistical Service. Vol. 23 No.3 Page 1-15 and 29.

This table excludes TBVC states. It should be noted that the figures provided by the Bulletin of Statistics represents an undercount of 20.4% of the total black population recorded after the completion of the census. The figures which are provided by HSRC reports show an additional 20.4% on census' figures - this is done in consultation with the central Statistical Service Bureau.

The above table demonstrates that job opportunities for blacks are decreasing when one considers the demographic figures of 1985 and 1988 on the one hand, and the number of the economically active population during these years on the other.

Looking at the employment structure of the companies for the interviewees, there is ambivalence about their job opportunities, as the survey disclosed the following:

The footwear company involved in this study has

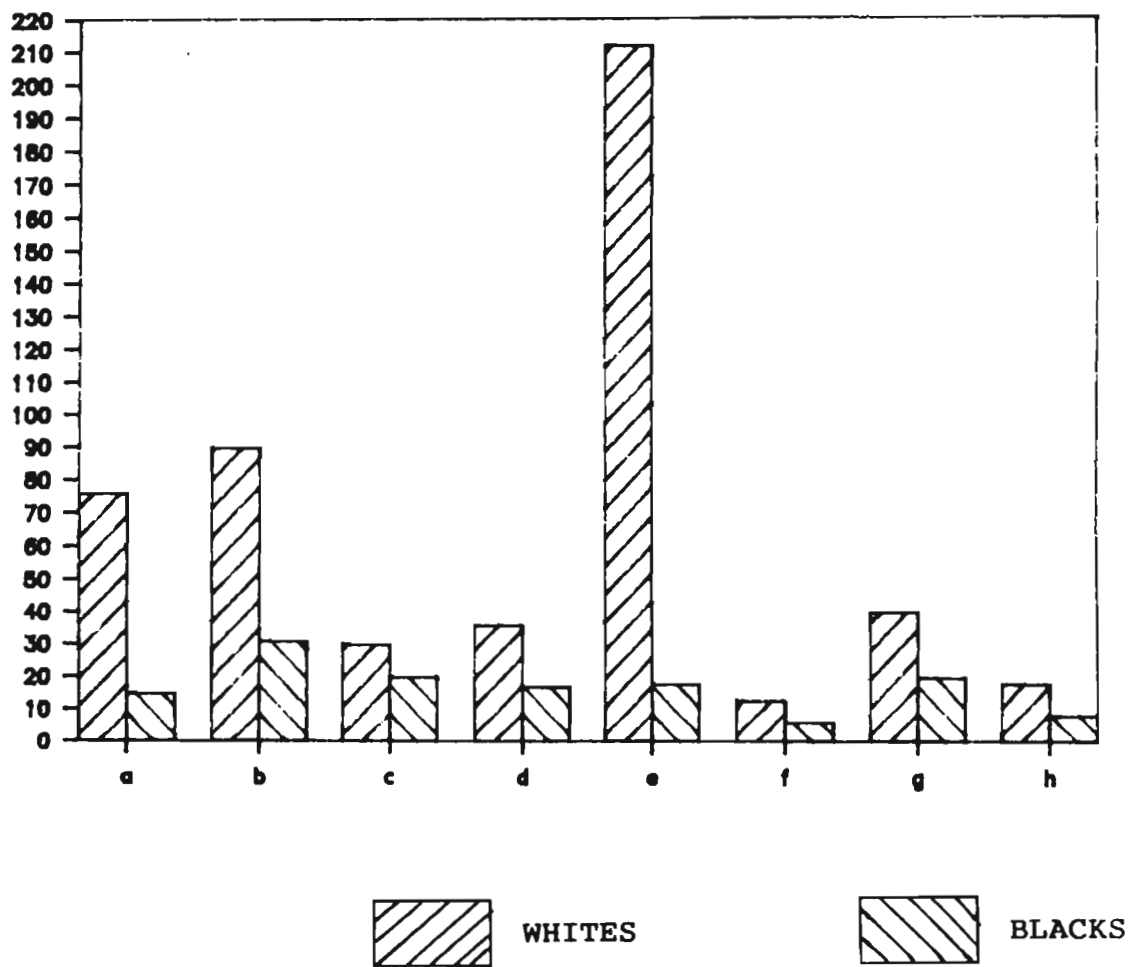


seventy-six white managers as compared to fifteen black managers. The surgical products and cosmetics company has ninety white managers as compared to thirty-one black managers. The interviewees who work for the company which manufactures polish did not give specific numbers: they only indicated that there are more than thirty white managers and more than twenty black managers. The company which manufactures domestic appliances has thirty-six white managers as compared to seventeen black managers.

The company which manufactures cotton, polypropylene and cloth has two hundred and twelve white managers as compared to only eighteen black managers. The company which produces beer has thirteen white managers (plus nine newly appointed white trainees) and six black managers (plus thirteen newly appointed black trainees). The interviewees who work for the company which manufactures cars also did not give specific numbers, but indicated that in their company there are more than forty white managers and more than twenty black managers. The company which distributes furniture has eighteen white managers and eight black managers. In responding to the employment structure, respondents were requested by the researcher to ask their particular personnel departments for assistance. The following table serves to tabulate the above information for easier digestion:

TABLE 11

THE MANAGERIAL EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE IN RESPONDENTS' COMPANIES

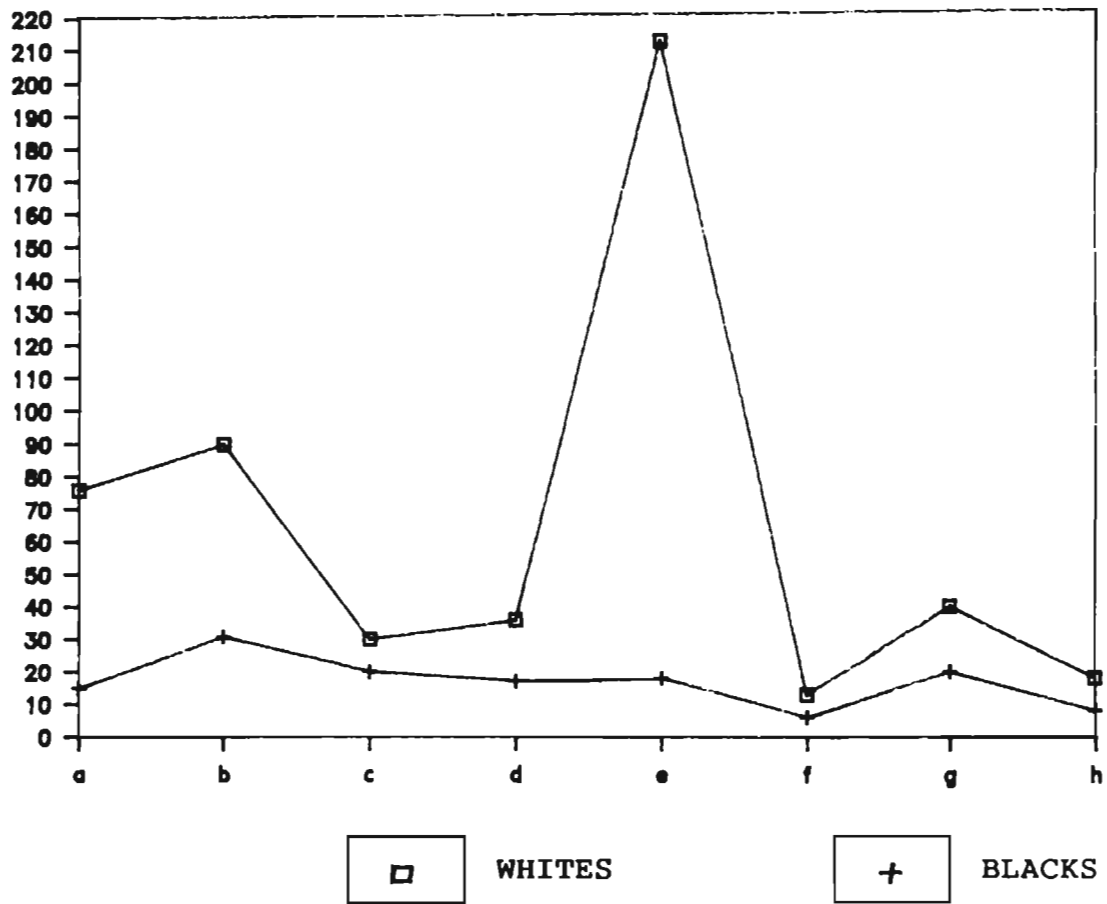


- a. Footwear company
- b. Surgical and cosmetics company
- c. Polish manufacturing company
- d. Domestic appliances company
- e. Cotton, polypropylene and cloth manufacturing company
- f. Beer producing company
- g. Car assembling company
- h. Furniture distribution company

This managerial employment structure (between whites and blacks) can be clearly captured in the following graph:

TABLE 12

THE MANAGERIAL EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE IN RESPONDENTS' COMPANIES



- a. Footwear company
- b. Surgical and cosmetics company
- c. Polish manufacturing company
- d. Domestic appliances company
- e. Cotton, polypropylene and cloth manufacturing company
- f. Beer producing company
- g. Car assembling company
- h. Furniture distribution company

The survey indicates that there is an inadequate utilisation of black managerial and supervisory staff. The difference in the figures between whites and blacks who hold managerial positions in the subject companies demonstrates this inadequacy. It is often argued that on top of qualifications, job experience is an important strategy for management development. The findings of this research have shown that very few blacks hold managerial positions. Since few blacks hold managerial positions, South Africa is not going to meet the skills shortage in this field. Two companies, however, seemed to be closing this gap.

## 5.2 APPEALING JOB DESCRIPTIONS WITH CERTAIN MANAGERIAL CHARACTERISTICS EXCLUDED IN THEIR JOB CAPACITIES

In order to get a clear picture of the job descriptions with certain managerial characteristics excluded in their job capacities as indicated by the survey, the writer shall refer to the following (frequency) table:

**TABLE 13**

### FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF JOB DESCRIPTIONS AMONG RESPONDENTS

Job Description	No. of Respondents	% Frequency
Recruitment, selection, placement and induction.	23	$\frac{23}{50} \times 100\%$ = 46%

Organisation of recreational activities.	14	$\frac{14}{50} \times 100\%$ = 28%
Counselling and coaching of employees.	23	$\frac{23}{50} \times 100\%$ = 46%
Organising in-company courses instructional/discussion sessions - which necessitate the services of a specialist.	23	$\frac{23}{50} \times 100\%$ = 46%
Liaison between employees and management.	36	$\frac{36}{50} \times 100\%$ = 72%
Register training courses with the department of manpower.	27	$\frac{27}{50} \times 100\%$ = 54%
Any other duties which are assigned to you from time to time which are normally associated with the function of a personnel or training officer.	32	$\frac{32}{50} \times 100\%$ = 64%
Industrial relations and wage negotiation.	32	$\frac{32}{50} \times 100\%$ = 64%
Sales and marketing administration.	9	$\frac{9}{50} \times 100\%$ = 18%
Financial accounting and auditing.	5	$\frac{5}{50} \times 100\%$ = 10%

TABLE 13.1

## SUMMARY OF TABLE 13

## RANK FROM HIGHEST TO LOWEST

% Frequency	Job Description
72%	Liaison between employees and management.
64%	Industrial relations and wage negotiation.  Any other duties which are assigned to you from time to time which are normally associated with the function of a personnel or training officer.
54%	Register training courses with the department of manpower.
46%	Recruitment, selection, placement and induction.  Counselling and coaching of employees.  Organising in-company courses, instruction/discussion sessions - which necessitate the services of a specialist.
28%	Organisation of recreational activities.
18%	Sales and marketing administration.
10%	Warehousing and distribution.  Financial accounting and auditing.

Table 13 shows that most respondents are involved in liaison between employees and management as the number of respondents in this regard is 36, which is the highest from the sample of 50 respondents. This category has the highest percentage frequency, i.e. 72. The second category which comprises most respondents has two divisions: "Industrial relations and wage



negotiation" and "Any other duties which are assigned to me from time to time which are normally associated with the function of a personnel or training officer". The number of respondents in this case is 32 or 64% of the sample. The category with the third most respondents is, "Register training courses with the department of manpower" - the number of respondents being 27, a percentage frequency of 54. This category is followed by another one which has three divisions, with 23 respondents and a percentage frequency of 46. "Recruitment, selection, placement, and induction"; "counselling and coaching of employees"; "Organising in-company courses, instructional/discussion sessions-which necessitate the services of a specialist". This category is followed by sales and marketing administration, which has 9 respondents with the percentage frequency of 18. The last category has the least number of respondents (i.e.5) with the frequency percentage of 10. This category comprised two divisions; that is, respondents involved in warehousing and distribution and others involved in financial accounting and auditing.

This frequency distribution table suggests that blacks are channelled into jobs which do not require sound managerial skills. For example, the researcher notes that liaison between employees and management does not require managerial skills and this function obviously lacks authority and any activities involving direct decision-making. If one compares the percentages to the nature of the job descriptions (relative to the latter's proximity to authority) it becomes clear that most black managerial and supervisory staff are doing jobs which are associated with personnel and training functions and they are deprived of authority and power in these positions.

It has been realised that these jobs form two entities

in one, in the sense that while duties and (to a certain extent) responsibilities are assigned to the black managerial and supervisory staff, basic characteristics of management such as decision-making and authority are maintained by white middle-management. As a result, the jobs of these blacks become very blurred. This is one of the factors which makes it difficult for sociologists to define the contours of black advancement, if these management characteristics are still excluded from the jobs of the black managerial and supervisory staff.

The writer found that two respondents (from the nine who indicated that they are in sales and marketing administration) gave job descriptions which are not appealing, but in a way demeaning. These responses read as follows:

Respondent number one -

"Receive orders from salespersons, stamp them to show the date of receipt and pass them over to the computer department for necessary processing. Solve petty complaints from customers and involved in daily clerical jobs. I am a bit confused by my job and I am not sure whether what I do will ever enable me to progress to become a marketing manager, which is my ambition. But I doubt it very much."

Respondent number two -

"Undefined. Initially I was employed as a marketing trainee. But, to my surprise I am now an assistant in the designing department".

Looking at the above two responses, the writer found that these two blacks are paid reasonably well- Both of them indicated that they receive between R18 000 and

R24 000 per annum. It should be noted, however, that the writer does not suggest that this amount of money is a reasonable salary, but under these circumstances (i.e. looking closely at the two respondents' job descriptions), it can be accepted that these two are paid reasonably well.

Furthermore, looking at the above two responses, it can be argued that blacks are not necessarily employed because of their ability but for the sole reason that they need a black person for the purposes of "window-dressing". The writer is aware of the skills shortage facing South Africa today, but from the above two responses it is questionable if any skills are required to perform these jobs. If one looks at the second response, a question automatically arises in one's mind as to why this particular company employed this black person in the first place, if he is an unwanted figure. The practice of "window-dressing" seems to explain the situation in this case.

Thus, the question which arises now is this: Who are the black managers who are increasing in the industrial sphere, who are deprived of the privilege of being the brains of the corporation and behave like other (white) managers within the corporations? Research findings depict this class as forming a 'special' category of managerial and supervisory class for its quality of being black. The basic reason for this is that this class is included in the bureaucratic structures but excluded from control, power, authority, decision-making and the like over the labour process.

It is witnessed that cohesion is being eroded by these finer distinctions between white and black managerial staff. Blacks are disadvantaged since they form the lowest level in the South African racial hierarchy. The black managerial and supervisory staff share and/or

enjoy the same status with their white counterparts. At the same time, however, they share with the rest of the labour force (i.e. the proletariat) exclusion from decisions pertaining to the running and complete control of the corporation.

### 5.3 JOB SATISFACTION AND MOTIVATION

The survey has indicated that forty-two respondents, that is, 84 percent of the subjects, are not satisfied with their jobs. They have motivated their dissatisfaction by giving reasons which demonstrate why they feel as they do. The question read: "Are you satisfied (or happy) with your present position within the company? If 'yes' please give reasons which demonstrate the extent of satisfaction".

The question which was a follow-up to the above read: "If you are not satisfied with your present position in your company, please state the reasons which make you feel as you do." To give an idea of the points stated, the writer shall refer to the following responses in Table 14:

TABLE 14

## REASONS FOR JOB DISSATISFACTION AMONG BLACK MANAGERIAL AND SUPERVISORY STAFF

Reasons for Dissatisfaction	No. of Respondents	% Frequency
Responsibilities in the job do not match the benefits.	30	$\frac{30}{50} \times 100\%$ = 60%
Fair opportunities to attend training programmes for advancement not available.	30	$\frac{30}{50} \times 100\%$ = 60%
Inadequate pay.	42	$\frac{42}{50} \times 100\%$ = 84%
Repetitive tasks.	30	$\frac{30}{50} \times 100\%$ = 60%
Vastness of the area of operation.	35	$\frac{35}{50} \times 100\%$ = 70%
Support from colleagues not satisfactory.	35	$\frac{35}{50} \times 100\%$ = 70%
Company not operating by the ethics of professionalism.	25	$\frac{25}{50} \times 100\%$ = 50%
Not happy about being a perpetual trainee.	30	$\frac{30}{50} \times 100\%$ = 60%
Cannot decide on the requirements of the job.	42	$\frac{42}{50} \times 100\%$ = 84%

TABLE 14.1

SUMMARY OF TABLE 14 : RANK FROM HIGHEST TO LOWEST

% Frequency	Reasons for Dissatisfaction
84%	Inadequate pay. Cannot decide on the requirements of the job.
70%	Vastness of the area of operation. Support from colleagues not satisfactory.
60%	Responsibilities in the job do not match the benefits. Fair opportunities to attend training programmes for advancement not available. Repetitive tasks. Not happy about being a perpetual trainee.
50%	Company not operating by the ethics of professionalism.

Table 14 shows that inadequacy of pay, and the fact that workers cannot decide on the requirements of the job, (with all the 42 dissatisfied respondents and the highest percentage frequency of 84%) are the principal reasons for dissatisfaction among black managerial and supervisory staff.

This is followed by the vastness of the area of operation and unsatisfactory support from colleagues, with 35 respondents and a percentage frequency of 70. Then follows the fact that the responsibility of the job performed by black managerial and supervisory staff

does not match the benefits, that they are not given a fair opportunity to attend training programmes for advancement, and that their tasks are repetitive and they are not happy at being perpetual trainees. This category is comprised of 30 respondents with a percentage frequency of 60. It is interesting, however, to find that the fact that a company does not operate on the ethics of professionalism has been found to be the reason for dissatisfaction among black managerial and supervisory staff, least frequently cited, with the lowest number of respondents (i.e. 25) and the lowest percentage frequency of 50. These results indicate that blacks are misused by their companies, and this is why they are so dissatisfied with their jobs.

The above responses show the bitterness which has developed among black managerial and supervisory staff, over time.

This study has indicated that eight respondents, that is, 16 percent of the subjects, are satisfied with their jobs. The writer shall refer to the following frequency table to demonstrate the respondents' level of satisfaction:



TABLE 15

## REASONS FOR JOB SATISFACTION AMONG BLACK MANAGERIAL AND SUPERVISORY STAFF

Reasons for Satisfaction	No. of Respondents	% Frequency
Use of own initiative.	8	$\frac{8}{50} \times 100\%$ =16%
Use of own creativity and leadership skills.	8	$\frac{8}{50} \times 100\%$ =16%
Planning and managing one's own time.	8	$\frac{8}{50} \times 100\%$ =16%
Full involvement in decision making processes.	8	$\frac{8}{50} \times 100\%$ =16%
Adequate pay for the job.	8	$\frac{8}{50} \times 100\%$ =16%

Table 15 indicates that there is 16% satisfaction level among 50 respondents of the black managerial and supervisory staff who participated in the study. The above frequency table forms the presentation of the other side of the coin.

Looking at the above two tables (i.e. Tables 14 and 15) one can conclude that generally black managerial and supervisory staff are dissatisfied with their jobs as 84% of the sample of 50 is a considerably high percentage.

According to Orpen, feelings of satisfaction "are seen as the outcome of the worker's needs being met or gratified in the job situation. Satisfaction, in other words, is seen as a resultant of being suitably rewarded" (Orpen C. 1976:75).

Factors such as location of the workplace, level of remuneration and fringe benefits are indirectly related to job satisfaction. The level of remuneration and fringe benefits have been mentioned by most respondents above as dissatisfying, since they do not match the job responsibilities. Job satisfaction is a complex phenomenon, as not only the extrinsic facets are meaningful but the intrinsic ones as well. It is important to note that, for managerial and supervisory jobs, intrinsic facets (like self-accomplishment) are important. It is not the occupational prestige, per se, which results in job satisfaction but also participation in decision-making, authority, responsibility and the recognition of the individual's abilities and worth within the organisation.

#### 5.4 TENSION, STRESS AND FRUSTRATION

In the preceding subsection, I have pointed out that this study indicated that 84 percent of blacks in managerial and supervisory positions are not satisfied with their jobs. Looking at these figures, it can be argued that the problems which these respondents experience in their different companies generate tensions which grow as their jobs do not have any challenge. When the respondents furnished the writer with the reasons for their dissatisfaction, I then used probes in order to reach the underlying causes of these reasons provided by the respondents. In a nutshell, they argued that the problems which they experience in their jobs are like a roadblock to their mobility and consequently their abilities and talents are frustrated. It was found that their sense of self-esteem diminishes since they cannot utilise their professionalism in their particular jobs.

However, the writer had eight respondents (16 percent) who were satisfied with their jobs. This category demonstrated that they do not experience tension, stress and frustration.

It has been noted in this study that the jobs with ambiguous responsibilities lead to stress (See two responses laid down under subsection 5.2 above). The job parameters for these two jobs are not clearly defined. In fact no skill is required for these two jobs and these two respondents are subjected to a stressful situation. The writer has found that the black managerial and supervisory staff expect to derive satisfaction from their jobs, even though it has, for 84 percent of them, proved that the job situation is a source of stress. One of the interviewees, when asked to disclose further information pertaining to his job,

said:

When I started working for this company, I thought that it was one of the progressive companies in South Africa. I was not necessarily interested in being offered a higher position because I knew for a fact that as a black person, I didn't stand a chance in a white man's territory. The most important aspect which I was looking for, was job satisfaction. Unfortunately, I have never reached the stage or state of being satisfied in this firm. What has featured most is frustration from my intolerable white 'boss' who is ruled by naked exploitative and narcissistic - bossy tendencies. Because I believe in being steady and stable, I decided not to resign. Therefore, to counteract my anxiety, I pray to my God to be my redeemer, and to give you my firm assurance, my performance has been outstanding.

ROMAEX

COPE-up  
much more

The majority of black managers interviewed, as the figure suggests, are experiencing stress. This is not the only country where black managers are faced with this problem, even in America the situation is the same. For example one black male banker interviewed by Irons and Moore (1985:82), said:

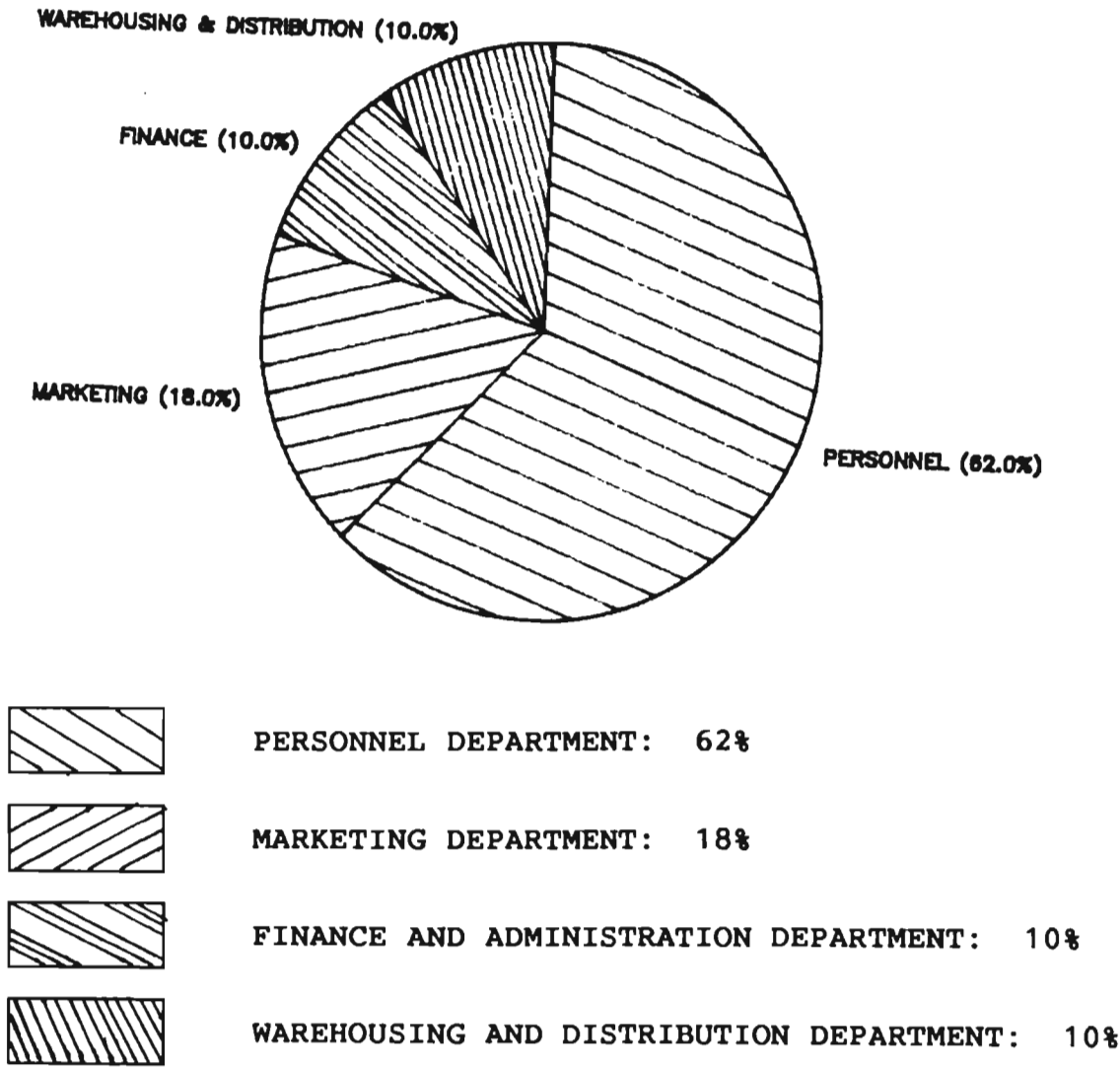
Just being black in the organisation is a tension in itself. If I'm sitting with other younger blacks in the organisation, I sometimes notice a paranoia among them about being watched. You feel as though you're constantly being observed. Your actions are constantly being monitored. You constantly feel that you have to do over and above what is required. Then you feel as though that's not being evaluated fairly. Just the tension of going to meetings or calling on customers or going to bankers meetings and having 50 other bankers in the meeting and you're the only minority person.

## 5.5 HOW LEADERSHIP IS PERCEIVED WITHIN AN ORGANISATION

The survey in Pinetown and Pretoria indicates that blacks advance in a one-sided path in the economic sphere. Thirty-one interviewees are from the personnel department - which means that 62 percent are from this department. Nine interviewees are from the marketing department (18 percent). Five interviewees are from the warehousing and distribution department (10 percent). The last five interviewees are from the finance and administration department (10 percent). Even if blacks hold the above positions, it has been found that 84 percent of them are characterised by an absence of managerial responsibilities, determination of performance standards and level of authority. This can be schematised as follows:

TABLE 16

THE DIRECTION OF BLACK ADVANCEMENT  
THE STRUCTURE OF BLACK ADVANCEMENT DIRECTION



The crucial question arises as to why it is that there are so few black managing directors in white-owned corporations if any. These are executive ranks. This study has indicated that blacks are excluded from key positions, for instance, financial managers, group accountants, marketing managers, auditors and the like. People who hold these key positions are in the grips of the whole operation in a company. These are the positions which wield extensive authority, responsibility and carry enormous incomes and prestige in the industrial and commercial sphere. These are the people who are behind the growth of the business and at the same time, these key positions prepare professionals for senior executive positions.

From the companies where research was conducted, only two companies had black financial managers. One of them indicated that he has been with the present company for only eighteen months (at the time of the interview). He said that his company values his authority. He holds a BComm, CIS and CA. He earns between R50 000 and R60 000 per annum. He uses a company car - a 1989 BMW 316i, worth approximately R44 000. Only two companies had black marketing managers. Even though they could not be interviewed because coincidentally they were both on leave when this research was undertaken, the writer would like to point out that in interviews over the telephone, these managers indicated that they wield a lot of authority in their companies. They both drive company cars. One of them said:

I've been with this company for twelve years now. I hold a BA (with majors in Psychology and Sociology) and a higher diploma in marketing



management (HDMM). From this financial year my salary notch ranges between R60 000 and R70 000 per annum. I drive/use a 1989 Mercedes-Benz 200 worth R76 000.

Only one company had a black internal auditor who, unfortunately, expressed his feelings of frustration and resentment towards his job, which is too demanding; yet the respondent does not wield any authority, responsibility or earn a decent salary because he is black. Furthermore, he advised that while his white predecessor had access to a company car and a decent office, he does not have these things. He also said that he is bitter because he receives this demeaning treatment even though he has a BComm degree with an accounting major. He indicated that he intends to leave this company and join one of the more progressive companies where his professional skills can be developed. He said that he can hardly live on his salary; however, he has been promised an increase, and will earn between R24 000 and R30 000 from the 1990 financial year.

#### **5.6 PERCEPTIONS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND STEREOTYPES IN RACIALLY MIXED ORGANISATIONS**

This survey has indicated that racial discrimination still dominates the field of industry and commerce. All these fifty respondents (100%) advised that racial discrimination still reigns supreme in industry and commerce. The only difference is that at times it is overt - they normally referred to this as 'naked' - and at other times it is subtle.

The writer shall refer to the following frequency table to demonstrate the level of discrimination which exists in industry today:

TABLE 17

## LEVELS OF DISCRIMINATION WHICH EXIST IN INDUSTRY

Responses that Demonstrate levels of discrimination	No. of Respondents	% Frequency
Racial discrimination exists in my company.	50	$\frac{50}{50} \times 100\%$ = 100%
White colleagues do not want to attend to or help blacks with their queries.	30	$\frac{30}{50} \times 100\%$ = 60%
Meaningful fringe benefits such as housing, relocation expenses etc. are only enjoyed by whites.	14	$\frac{14}{50} \times 100\%$ = 28%
White colleagues are forcing themselves to accommodate blacks.	25	$\frac{25}{50} \times 100\%$ = 50%
Blacks hold senior management positions but with ambiguous activities.	6	$\frac{6}{50} \times 100\%$ = 12%
Whites group themselves together on social occasions.	42	$\frac{42}{50} \times 100\%$ = 84%
Whites preferred for supervision and promotion; Blacks perceived as needing supervision.	50	$\frac{50}{50} \times 100\%$ = 100%

TABLE 17.1

SUMMARY OF TABLE 17 : RANK FROM HIGHEST TO LOWEST

% Frequency	Responses that Demonstrate the levels of Discrimination.
100%	Racial discrimination exists in my company.  Whites preferred for supervision and promotion; Blacks perceived as if needing supervision.
84%	Whites group themselves together on social occasions.
60%	White colleagues do not want to attend to or help blacks with their queries.
50%	White colleagues are forcing themselves to accommodate blacks.
28%	Meaningful fringe benefits such as housing, relocation expenses etc. are only enjoyed by whites.
12%	Blacks hold senior management positions but with ambiguous activities.

Table 17 indicates that racial discrimination exists in companies because a 100% of the subjects gave this response. The most infamous form of racial discrimination given by 100% of these subjects is that whites are preferred for supervision and promotion while blacks are perceived as in need of supervision. The response which comes second on the level of discrimination as perceived by the subjects, is that whites group themselves together on social occasions - in this case the percentage frequency is 84. The response which comes third, is that white colleagues do not want to attend to or help blacks with their queries

- in this case the percentage frequency is 60. The fact that whites are forcing themselves to accommodate blacks, forms the fourth category, with a percentage frequency of 50. The subjects in the fifth category with a percentage frequency of 28, advised that meaningful fringe benefits such as housing, relocation expenses etc. are only enjoyed by whites. The last category comprises subjects who advised that blacks who hold senior management positions have ambiguous activities - in this case the percentage frequency is 12.

Looking at the above responses, one tends to wonder how these people cope in their jobs. To put it differently, the burden of racial discrimination and prejudice against black professionals makes their jobs unbearable. Gaining acceptance in their organisations is seriously problematic for black professionals, as they are constantly subjected to racial prejudgements. They are treated disgustingly, in a way which constantly reminds them that they are black.

Racial discrimination still seems to be reigning supreme in America as well. To demonstrate this, I shall list a few examples given by Irons and Moore (1985:43).

This was stated by a Midwestern banker with an MBA and ten years of experience:

... There is no real guidance ... I can recall one particular incident at my previous bank where a white male applicant came into the bank to apply for a job. It so happened that he was dressed inappropriately. However, he had gone to a particular school where the CEO and other senior officers at the bank had attended. So rather than turn this guy away, they sat the guy down and explained the dress code to him. "This is what

we expect". In a week or two he was hired.

On the other hand, the average black who would have encountered the same problem would have been turned away ... Take it a step further, for white employees, there is constant appraisal and recommendations that would certainly insure a high probability of success for them. I would like to refer to this as programmed to fail or programmed to succeed. I think we [blacks] are more programmed to fail.

Here is another example given by Irons and Moore (1985:30-31). One female banker in a regional bank expressed the recruitment issue in this way:

Not only are they not recruiting blacks as vigorously as they used to, they are giving those who are here a hard time. When a black employee seeks redress for a particular problem he may be encountering, the supervisor frequently is likely not only to ignore the problem; instead, he may say something like "He ought to be thankful that he has a job."

Racial discrimination is still in existence in South Africa, even in the other spheres of employment. This has been revealed by Eddie Koch in the Weekly Mail of August 4 to August 10, 1989, under the title 'Post Office document shows race bars stand.' This document read:

A confidential memorandum, leaked by sources in the Post Office, reveals that racial discrimination remains a cornerstone of employment practices in the Department of Post and Telecommunications.

The document, handed to Weekly Mail by the Post and Telecommunications Workers' Association (Potwa), indicates that hundreds of skilled

positions in the department's engineering section are reserved for whites only. ... The memorandum, entitled "Approved quotas for recruiting personnel in the Witwatersrand region for the 1989/90 year" stipulates that 845 out of a total of 991 jobs for trainees in the section should be held for whites. Of the remaining 146 posts, 39 (just 3,94 percent of the total) should be reserved for blacks, 70 for "coloureds" and 37 for Indians.

A number of skilled jobs - including those described in the document as "banking and machines", "air conditioning installations" and "mechanical aids" - are reserved exclusively for whites.

The problem of racial discrimination is a very complex issue to tackle in South Africa, more especially because the inhabitants of this country are socialised and brought up under racially superordinate and subordinate circumstances. Racial discrimination is so interwoven into the mechanism of virtually everything today that most problems can be associated with racial discrimination.

Discrimination feeds on itself. The longer a human being is discriminated against, the poorer becomes his or her chance of ever qualifying for any realistic prospect of upward mobility and achieving racial assimilation.



## 5.7 PERCEPTIONS OF BLACK-WHITE DIFFERENCES IN THE LEVEL OF AUTHORITY

This research has found that 84 percent of the subjects in managerial and supervisory positions do not have authority. The majority of answers went like this:

"No, my position does not have any authority at all. I doubt if it will ever do so."

With this finding, a question arises as to why blacks are not given an opportunity to exercise authority within their companies. The second question which arises is why blacks are recruited to these management positions if they cannot exercise any authority. Management involves planning, control, leadership and organisation. Management efficiency facilitates the achievement of the corporations' strategic objectives. Blacks' positions are excluded from all these management characteristics. The writer wonders, however, if ever it can be said that positions occupied by blacks qualify to be called 'managerial' positions.

To comprehend the nature of authority in management, it is imperative at this stage to define the concept 'authority'. Miller and Kilpatrick define 'authority' as the "right to take action and make decisions in order to achieve certain ends" (Miller J.J. and Kilpatrick J.A. 1987:125).

This study has indicated that the remaining 8 respondents (16 percent) in managerial and supervisory positions, wield authority. These respondents, however, reported that even though they have authority, this is certainly to a very limited extent. The



following frequency table illustrates this:

TABLE 18

LEVELS OF AUTHORITY WIELDED BY BLACK MANAGERIAL AND SUPERVISORY STAFF

RESPONSES OF SUBJECTS WHO WIELD AUTHORITY	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	% FREQUENCY
Monitoring and co-ordination of training and development of employees	7	7 x 100% 50 = 14%
Co-ordination of employee- management communications	8	8 x 100% 50 = 16%
Initiation of strategies for communication	2	2 x 100% 50 = 2%
Influence in certain decisions at consultancy level	3	3 x 100% 50 = 6%
Influence on most suggestions/ recommendations, both in the market place and public affairs at national level	1	1 x 100% 50 = 2%

TABLE 18.1

## SUMMARY OF TABLE 18

RANK FROM HIGHEST TO LOWEST

## % Frequency Responses of Subjects who Wield Authority

16%	Co-ordination of employee-management
-----	--------------------------------------

communications

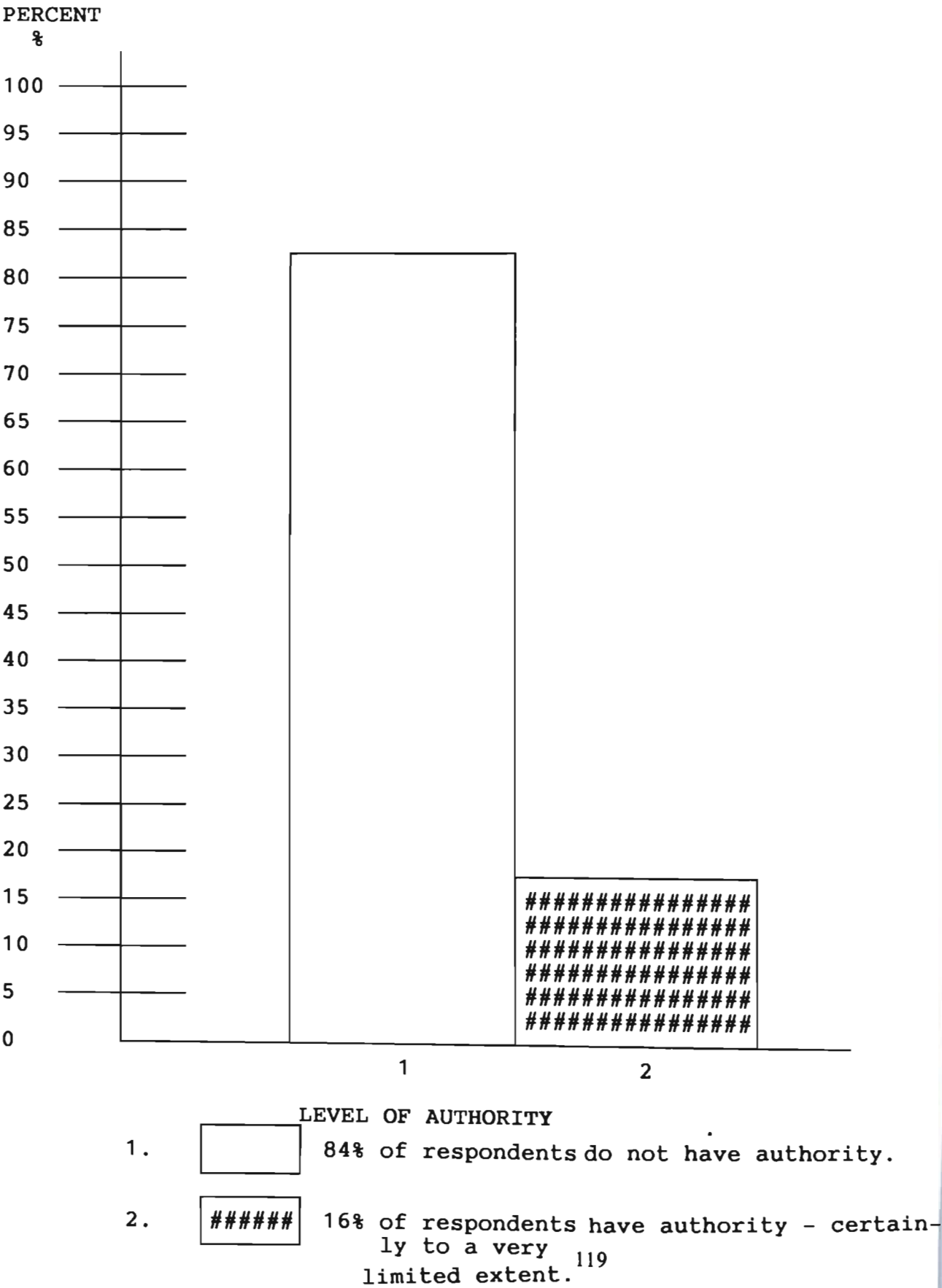
14%	Monitoring and co-ordination of training and development of employees
6%	Influence in certain decisions at consultancy level
4%	Initiation of strategies for communication
2%	Influence on most suggestions/recommendations, both in the market place and public affairs at national level.

Table 18 shows that 16% (8 of the 50 respondents in the sample) have authority in the following areas: Co-ordination of employee-management communications. The second response (n=7) has a percentage frequency of 14 and shows that the subjects have authority over the monitoring and co-ordination of training and development of employees. The third response (n=3) with a percentage frequency of 6 shows that the subjects have authority to influence certain decisions at consultancy level. The fourth response (n=2) with a percentage frequency of 4 shows that subjects have authority over the initiation of strategies for communication and decisions on what programmes/projects need to be funded. The last response (n=1) with the percentage frequency of 2 shows that respondents have influence over most suggestions/recommendations both in the market place and public affairs at national level. From this table, it becomes clear that even though blacks have authority, it is to a very limited extent, as their authority does address key issues in their companies. The level of authority wielded by black managerial and supervisory staff revolves around a very small area.

Authority is fundamental and central to the field of management. Therefore, the exclusion of the majority of black managerial and supervisory staff from wielding authority as the above figure of 84 percent suggests, means that they are excluded from roles which are central to the overall control and development of the company. The differing levels of authority as perceived by the sample respondents can be schematised as follows:

TABLE 19

THE DIFFERENT LEVELS OF AUTHORITY IN INDUSTRIES AS PERCEIVED BY THE SAMPLE RESPONDENTS



## 5.8 PERCEPTIONS OF THE PROSPECTS OF PROMOTION OPPORTUNITIES - VERY LIMITED

This survey has found that promotion opportunities for black managerial and supervisory staff are very limited. This became apparent when thirty five of the sample respondents or 70 percent said that they do not foresee any likelihood of promotion within their companies. To demonstrate this, the writer shall refer to the following frequency table:

TABLE 20  
PERCEPTIONS OF BLACK MANAGERIAL AND SUPERVISORY STAFF OF THE  
LIKELIHOOD OF PROMOTION IN THEIR JOBS

Responses where likelihood of promotion is not foreseen	No. of Respondents	% Frequency
Blacks do not stand any chance in my company	17	17 x 100% 50 = 34%
White management believes that blacks are incapable of doing anything right.	35	35 x 100% 50 = 70%
Any promotion which takes place is biased against blacks	35	35 x 100% 50 = 70%
The company does not promote blacks to senior positions	27	27 x 100 50 = 54%
Commitment to black advancement on strategic positions is very poor	35	35 x 100% 50 70%
Socio-political environment creates further uncertainty.	35	35 x 100 50 = 70%

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Whites seem to be afraid and  
lack trust in blacks as there  
are no blacks on the Executive  
Board.

---



TABLE 20.1

SUMMARY OF TABLE 20

RANK FROM HIGHEST TO LOWEST

%	Frequency	Responses where the likelihood for promotion is not foreseen
70%		<p>White management believes that blacks are incapable of doing anything right.</p> <p>Any promotion which takes place is biased against blacks.</p> <p>Commitment to black advancement on strategic positions is very poor; no blacks in the Executive Boards.</p> <p>Socio-political environment creates further uncertainty; whites seem to be afraid and lack trust in blacks.</p>
54%		<p>The company does not promote blacks to senior positions.</p>
34%		<p>Blacks do not stand any chance in my company.</p>

Table 20 indicates that 70% (of the 50 sample respondents) do not foresee any likelihood of promotion within their workplaces. The following are the responses they provided: White management believes that blacks are incapable of doing anything right; any promotion which takes place is biased against blacks; commitment to black advancement to strategic positions is very poor and there are no blacks in the Executive Board; lastly, that the socio-political environment

creates further uncertainty in that whites seem to be afraid and lack trust in blacks. The second category, which comprises 27 respondents with the percentage frequency of 54, shows that blacks are not promoted to senior positions in the subjects' companies. The last category comprises 17 respondents with a percentage frequency of 34 and shows that blacks do not stand any chance of promotion in the subjects' companies. This table suggests that promotion prospects among black managerial and supervisory staff are very limited. The percentage frequencies are very high, proving that blacks are in a very difficult position, as the psychological make-up of industry does not provide equal opportunity for promotion in the workplace.

This research found that only 15 respondents or 30 percent said that they foresee likelihood of a promotion to senior management positions within their companies. To demonstrate this, the writer shall refer to the following frequency table:

TABLE 21

FREQUENCY TABLE DEMONSTRATING THAT BLACKS FORESEE LIKELIHOOD OF PROMOTION

Responses where the likelihood of promotion is foreseen	No. of Respondents	% Frequency
There is always upward mobility in my company	15	15 x 100% 50 = 30%
The company is very progressive	8	8 x 100% 50 = 16%
Already approached for promotion, however, opportunity turned down because the respondent felt not ready for it then	5	5 x 100% 50 = 10%
Currently a trainee-manager, leading to a senior position	5	5 x 100% 50 = 10%

Table 21 shows that 30% (of the 50 sample respondents) are sure that there is a likelihood of promotion within their companies. They provided the researcher with the following responses: 30% of the subjects stated that "There is always upward mobility in my company." 16% stated that their companies are very progressive. The responses where subjects stated that they have already been approached for promotion but turned down the opportunity as they felt they were not ready for the positions then, and that they are presently trainee-managers which can lead them to senior positions, have

a percentage frequency of 10. This shows that there is likelihood of promotion within these respondents' companies. The above four responses (in Table 21), show that even though promotion opportunities for blacks are minimal, there is still a 30 percent chance for them in this regard.

It is important to note that promotion for blacks within a corporation is out of the question, because their promotion is determined by other factors, besides outstanding job performance and professionalism. They are not expected to mix with other blacks, which sounds very strange. White middle-management are always suspicious of anything which is done by these blacks. However, not only South Africa is faced with this problem, but America is also in the same predicament, Irons and Moore (1985:53) point out that a male loan officer with ten years' experience in a regional bank (this is one of their interviewees) commenting on the way that the promotion system operates regarding blacks who work in his bank, said:

In order for a black to succeed in this bank, he has to be aware of who he knows and how comfortable they are with you. It's unlike any other place I've ever been, that is, city-wise. Unless a black comes 360 degrees full circle and bends over backwards to prostitute other blacks and minorities to their satisfaction, they're not going to feel comfortable with you. In other words, you have to do the things that they would like to see. You have to make them aware that you are in total allegiance to and with them and against other blacks. That's the way it works in this bank.

Irons and Moore (Ibid:54) also cite the instance of a young man, in his middle thirties, commenting on his probable promotion freeze, who related this story:

All I was doing was attempting to

organise blacks in the bank for the purpose of networking, sharing information [which whites do all the time and take for granted] and professional development for strategies for success enhancement.

...when [Whites] see blacks doing this in groups larger than two people, they seem to fear that there is a rebellion cooking.

... I did not feel I should have to give them my soul, so I resigned from the bank ....

Irons and Moore (Ibid:57) further cite the case of a 28-year old black MBA loan officer in a Southeastern bank who, when asked if he had a mentor, replied:

No, I do not have a mentor. However, the whites have mentors when they walk in the door. That's often the way they got their job. They knew somebody who was already in the bank and that person helped them move up. If they don't know the person directly, they know that person's father, grandfather or somebody important, so that helps move them up the ladder quickly, whereas with us [blacks], it's "providing things" everyday. It really hurts if you don't have a person who's looking out for you and trying to help you move up the ladder.

Comparatively speaking, looking at the above table, which demonstrates constraints on promotion prospects for blacks in South Africa and the above three quotations about black Americans, it becomes clear that blacks must endure a myriad of problems in the hostile environments of industries. Even then their chances of promotion are jeopardised by the fact of being black. Therefore, promotion becomes a crucial issue since each and every employee, regardless of race, colour or creed, does aspire for promotion. Even if blacks were to sweat blood, it would not get them promoted, as has become apparent from the majority of the responses of

this study's sample respondents. This leaves the black managerial and supervisory staff with the question of who gets promoted and why. Office politics goes a long way in the business world and the racism that is practised is of the most blatant type.

If black managerial and supervisory staff are subjected to fair treatment in industry as is the case with their white counterparts (consider the 30 percent of sample respondents who saw the likelihood of promotion to senior management positions in their companies), they can obviously regard promotion as a fair process. This means that a person who receives promotion would be a person who genuinely deserves it due to his/her leadership and managerial qualities accompanied by technical competence. This is vividly captured in Willard Bennett's book entitled Manager Selection, Education and Training, in which he (1979:46) says:

...if it has been clearly demonstrated that promotional decision making is a carefully controlled process wherein all possible candidates are considered in the light of all the pertinent factual data and the ultimate decision is a result of thoughtful deliberation, not by one individual but by a group of superiors sufficiently large to minimize - in so far as is humanly possible - the influence of other than purely objective considerations, those not selected will go along with the decision.

If promotion is a biased and prejudiced process (as most respondents have indicated in this study in particular), it can be devastating and can create bitter resentment on the part of those against whom prejudice is practised. This can, in turn, eliminate all happiness in job performance. Promotion for black managerial and supervisory staff ultimately ends up being perceived as an ill-afforded luxury. If blacks

are not likely to get promotion - even though they have the appropriate level of education, work very hard, have technical managerial skills and display valuable leadership qualities - is the spirit of affirmative action being met?

#### 5.9 PERCEPTIONS OF BLACKS TO TRAINING

This survey has found twelve respondents or 24 percent who said that they are still trainees in their different fields. What puzzled the researcher is that eleven of these respondents or 22 percent, said that they have been trainees for more than four years, yet they have never been involved in any training programmes and courses to develop them in their managerial and supervisory skills. The worst problem for these respondents is that their positions are not aimed at providing them with the sophisticated skills they require to meet contemporary business challenges. One respondent said:

I have been with this company for four years now. To date I am told that I am undergoing training. I don't know the direction of this so-called training because I haven't acquired any skills from this training. As it is, I have decided that I should leave this company because I am underutilised. If I don't leave, the next thing, I won't be marketable.

This leaves no doubt that these blacks cannot keep abreast with new developments in the managerial field.

#### 5.10 OTHER PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED BY BLACK MANAGERIAL AND SUPERVISORY STAFF IN INDUSTRY TODAY

All sample respondents are males, married and middle-aged. They are from poor-to-average families. This

research has found that thirty one of these sample respondents, or 62 percent, travel a distance of between 45 and 60 kilometres daily to their different workplaces. This is a result of the Group Areas Act which has located blacks far from cities and towns. The recent Free Settlement Act of 1989, which declared certain parts of the cities as grey areas, has not brought any meaningful changes to the problems created by the Group Areas Act. This is so because the Free Settlement Act only affects Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town, and the rest of the country's cities are excluded. However, it is important to note that the future promises better things for South Africans, since there is a movement of some black professionals to 'white' suburbs. This has come in the wake of the government's promise to scrap the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts on 1 February 1991.

This study has found that twenty nine respondents (58 percent) (58 percent) earn between R24 000 and R30 000 per annum. Six respondents (12 percent) earn between R18 000 and R24 000 per annum. Four respondents (8 percent) earn between R30 000 and R40 000 per annum. Ten respondents (20 percent) earn between R40 000 and R50 000 per annum. One respondent (2 percent) was found to be paid exceptionally high. This respondent earns between R60 000 and R70 000 per annum. The following table and histogram are provided to illustrate the respondents' salary structures.

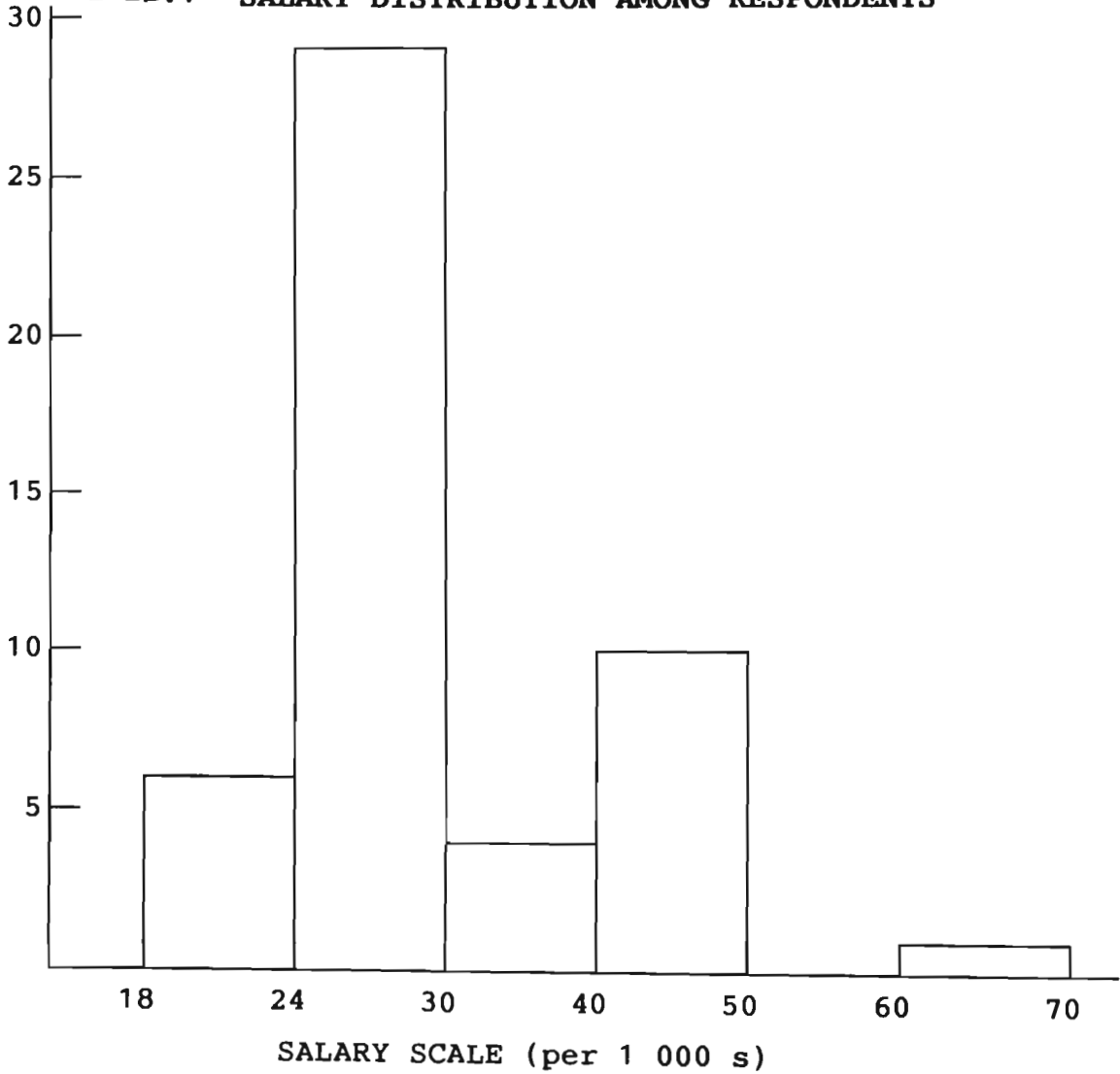


TABLE 22: THE RANGE OF SALARY SCALES AMONG RESPONDENTS

SALARY (PER 1 000)	FREQUENCY
18 - 24	6
Over 24 - 30	29
Over 30 - 40	4
Over 40 - 50	10
60 - 70	1
	50

The salary distribution among black managerial and supervisory staff can also be indicated using a histogram as follows:

TABLE 21.1 SALARY DISTRIBUTION AMONG RESPONDENTS



The above tables 22 and 22.1 illustrate the salary distribution among blacks which suggests that 58% of them earn over R24 000 to R30 000 per annum. Thus, the majority of blacks holding managerial and supervisory positions earn within this category. At least 20% of them earn over R40 000 to R50 000 per annum, which is reasonable. Only 2% of them earn exceptionally high salaries, that is, between R60 000 and R70 000 per annum, as against 12% who earn a meager salary of between R18 000 and R24 000. This is a reflection of the respondents' scales during the 1989 financial year.

It has been found that thirty-five respondents (70 percent) have professional qualifications such as IPM, IMM, ICS, JMDP, HDMM and HDPM. Two respondents (4 percent) have senior qualifications i.e. CA. All these qualifications are coupled with reasonable experience ranging from three to nine years. Those with matric and experience of more than fifteen years, formed 26 percent. Only twenty-eight of these respondents (56 percent) said that they have or use company cars. The remaining twenty-two respondents (44 percent) do not have or use company cars, so they are forced to use public transport which is very inconvenient for them.

This survey revealed that certain companies still do not provide their staff with housing. Only fifteen respondents (30 percent) said that their companies provide housing scheme benefit. It was shocking to find that certain companies do not provide their staff with a 13th cheque. Ten respondents or 20 percent of the sample respondents, formed this category. However, the remaining forty respondents (80 percent) advised that their companies provide them with 13th cheques.

The study has found that thirty-one respondents (62 percent) of the black managerial and supervisory staff

who are in the personnel department, work in very hostile environments where they face the problem of having to satisfy their 'bosses', while at the same time they have to satisfy their black fellow workers. To try and show the predicament which faces blacks when such a situation arises Human argues that "... in a situation where he stands on the boundary between two or more groups, the individual might not be able to take his recipe knowledge of the world for granted, he might be unsure of his roles and he might be subjected to continuously inconsistent identity confirmation" (Human L. 1984:36).

Black managerial and supervisory staff, as shown by this study's research findings, live in the black townships. With today's political state of affairs in the townships, it should be understood that black managerial and supervisory staff are constrained in the decisions they take against black employees. To show this, Mafuna argues that "it makes nonsense to expect black managers to take unpopular decisions about their black workers - knowing full well he has to live next door to the men and women he is hiring and firing" (Mafuna E. 1981:11). Some of these black professionals are now moving to the 'white' suburbs. This is hopefully going to eliminate their group pressure problem.

Twenty-five respondents (50 percent) said that their relationship with their departmental heads is poor or nonexistent, while the other twenty-five respondents (50 percent) said that theirs is good, cordial, informal but guarded.

The writer then proceeded to ask if each respondent's company executives confer the opportunity for initiative to black management staff. Thirty five respondents (70 percent) indicated that this does not

happen. The responses to this question seem to be heated. The writer shall refer to the following frequency table to elucidate this point:

TABLE 23

PERCEPTIONS OF BLACK MANAGERIAL AND SUPERVISORY STAFF REGARDING THEIR COMPANIES' EXECUTIVES' CONFERMENT OF OPPORTUNITIES FOR INITIATIVE UPON THE FORMER

Responses indicating that this does not happen	No. of Respondents	% Frequency
Management does not confer the initiative on black manage- ment staff.	35	35 x 100% 50 = 70%
They never dare try such a thing	23	23 x 100% 50 = 46%
They have been polarised by their political beliefs, and so do not allow a black manager to take initiative.	18	18 x 100% 50 = 36%
They somehow feel threatened by black advancement, rather than feeling that their authority is overstepped.	35	35 x 100 50 70%
Initiative action for improvement is viewed with suspicion and is discouraged.	23	23 x 100% 50 46%
Opportunity for initiative for black management staff lacks commitment and monitoring from the top.	35	35 x 100 50 = 70%

TABLE 23.1

## SUMMARY OF TABLE 23

RANK FROM HIGHEST TO LOWEST

%	Frequency	Responses indicating that this does not happen
70%		<p>Management does not confer opportunities for initiative upon black management staff.</p> <p>They somehow feel threatened by black advancement, rather than feeling that their authority is overstepped.</p> <p>Opportunity for initiative for black management staff lacks commitment and monitoring from the top.</p>
46%		<p>They never dare try such a thing.</p> <p>Initiative action for improvement is viewed with suspicion and is discouraged.</p>
36%		<p>They have been polarised by their political beliefs, and so do not allow a black manager to take initiative.</p>

Table 23 shows that 70% of the respondents (from a sample of 50 respondents) indicated that company executives do not confer opportunities for initiative upon black management staff; company executives somehow feel threatened by black advancement, rather than feeling that their authority is overstepped; and that opportunity for initiative for black management staff lacks commitment and monitoring from the top. 46% of these 50 respondents indicated that their companies executives never dare try such a thing; and that initiative action for improvement is viewed with

suspicion and is discouraged. 36% of them indicated that they have been polarised by their political beliefs, and so do not allow a black manager to take initiative. From these figures it is demonstrated that initiative is not welcome. Therefore, it becomes clear that initiative is discouraged, instead of being encouraged.

However, fifteen respondents or 30 percent indicated that their companies' executives do confer the opportunity for initiative to them. For example, one of these respondents said "Yes, initiatives are accepted and respected, plus supported". Table 24 maps the positive responses that the writer got regarding conferment of opportunities for initiative by the respondents' superiors.




TABLE 24

FREQUENCY TABLE DEMONSTRATING THAT BLACK MANAGERIAL AND SUPERVISORY STAFF HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY OF INITIATIVE CONFERRED UPON THEM.

Responses indicating that this happens	No. of Respondents	% Frequency
Initiatives are accepted	15	15 x 100% 50 = 30%
Initiatives are respected	15	15 x 100% 50 = 30%
Initiatives are supported	15	15 x 100% 50 = 30%

From Table 24, it becomes clear that 30% of the respondents (from a sample of 50 respondents) are sure that their companies' executives confer the opportunity of initiative on them. These respondents indicated that initiatives are accepted, respected and supported.

Research findings revealed that forty two respondents (84 percent) are not involved at all in the decision-making processes and feel that they are merely being tolerated in the companies. The remaining eight respondents (16 percent) who are involved, said that they are treated fairly and respectfully in their companies.

The writer noted that all respondents had very positive and attractive factors which motivated them to work for their companies. This is clearly captured in their responses, and therefore it is worthwhile to refer to the following frequency table:



TABLE 25

POSITIVE AND ATTRACTIVE FACTORS WHICH MOTIVATED THE RESPONDENTS TO  
WORK FOR THEIR COMPANIES

Responses indicating the positive and attractive factors	No. of Respondents	% Frequency
The job was advertised in such a manner that it looked/appeared meaning- ful at the time of application.	50	50 x 100% 50 = 100%

TABLE 25 CONT'D

The promises made were very tempting	50	50 x 100% 50 = 100%
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I was promised the world, but my training programme never got off the ground	50	50 x 100% 50 = 100%
My company is trying to reach the elusive, so-called 'happy medium'	21	21 x 100% 50 = 42%
The company appeared progressive, with a good public image and a highly professional operation	50	50 x 100% 50 = 100%
The company pays fairly well	8	50 x 100% 50 = 16%
Attracted by a large number of challenges and opportunities available in this company and also the security that it offered.	50	50 x 100% 50 = 100%

Table 25 demonstrates that a 100% of the respondents were attracted by the numerous positive and challenging factors within their companies. 100% of respondents gave the following positive and attractive factors: "the job was advertised in such a manner that it looked/appeared meaningful at the time of the application"; "the company appeared progressive, with a good public image and a highly professional operation"; "promised the world, but that their training programmes never got off the ground"; and "attracted by a large number of challenges and opportunities available in this company, and also the security that it offered". 42% indicated that their companies are trying to reach the elusive, so-called 'happy medium' - by this they

mean that their companies are moving towards being equal opportunity employers, even though this is a difficult goal to reach. 16% advised that their companies pay fairly well. From these figures, it is clear that most companies succeed in projecting a good image to the outside world, but once one is employed by one of them, then this 'good' image dissolves/disintegrates.

Generally, the actual work environment appeared to be quite good. This was reflected by the fact that 94 percent of the sample respondents felt this way. On the other hand, six percent of the respondents felt that their working environments were very bad. Their responses to this effect were very penetrating, which left no doubt that there was something definitely negative in their work environments. One of these respondents said that their working environments are "pathetic, no air-conditioning, poor ventilation, flooring dusty, poor lighting and professional ethics do not exist. I use a desk and a cupboard that was discarded by another department." This response, however, demonstrates that this is an exceptional case, - something is wrong somewhere.

The respondents seem to enjoy reasonable annual leaves. Forty respondents (80 percent) said that they have 20 working days leave, while ten respondents (20 percent) said that they have 15 working days leave.

#### 5.11 PERCEPTIONS OF WHAT BLACK MANAGERIAL AND SUPERVISORY STAFF THINK SHOULD BE DONE TO IMPROVE THEIR SITUATION

Among the things which the respondents stated that they would like to see being implemented in their companies, are the following:

- Improved managements skills.
- Improved communication.
- The company should adhere to either the Sullivan or the Canadian code of ethics.
- Apartheid should be fully dismantled.
- Job reservation done away with.
- The creation of equal opportunities for all.
- Meaningful equalisation of opportunity and benefits based on merit.
- Real black advancement.
- Black managers given due respect.
- Housing subsidy for all employees which is a need rather than a luxury.
- To see black directors within the companies.
- If companies are serious about black advancement, they should place suitable white managers in key positions to facilitate the programme.
- White managers should be discouraged from wearing masks in the presence of black managers.
- More black manager status in production/profit centres.
- Improved communications: 'Two way process'.
- More consultation.
- Involvement of blacks in decision-making processes.
- Creation of an environment to enable advancement.

#### 5.12 PERCEPTIONS OF THE PROBLEMS FACING BLACK MANAGERIAL AND SUPERVISORY STAFF ON THE JOB AND WHAT THEY THINK SHOULD BE CHANGED TO IMPROVE THEIR SITUATION

Among the things which the respondents advised they would like to see changing in their companies, are the following:

- Attitudes of the employers.
- The thrust of professionalism.

- Discrimination against black professionals.
- Polarisation which has been increasing in industries since the recommendations of the Wiehahn and the Riekert Commissions.
- A move from a unitary management style to a pluralistic style.
- Change from structured to participative management style.

### 5.13 PERCEPTIONS OF THE NEED FOR PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

This research found that forty three respondents (86 percent) of these black managerial and supervisory staff are affiliates of professional management organisations like IPM, BMF, JMDP and IMM. Those who are ex-teachers from Natal schools are still affiliates of NATU. Only seven respondents (14 percent) are not affiliated to any professional management organisation. It is important to mention, however, that these respondents indicated that they intend affiliating to the BMF as they hope to gain a lot of managerial skills from this organisation.

All sample respondents feel that there is a dire need for professional management organisations. The writer shall refer to eight responses to show this need among this study's sample respondents:

First response -

- Most blacks in management positions seem to have similar problems which are basically caused by racial discrimination.

- The professional management organisations should serve as a proper forum where they could voice their

problems and, in turn, the organisations could solve them.

Second response -

- They should teach black managerial and supervisory staff to adopt a professional approach in the workplace and at the same time, share its problems and successes with its employees and the community at large wherein it operates.
- Apartheid should be dismantled through the efforts of these professional management organisations.

Third response -

Professional management organisations should play the following roles:

- Advisory/consultative: to management
- Mentoring: to members
- Protective/nurturing: to members
- Leadership: to youth and community
- Questioning/challenging: to government/authorities
- Reconciliatory: to divergent socio-political forces
- Critical: to exploitative socio-political forces
- Relevant: to environment

Fourth response-

- Assess the needs of the black managerial and supervisory staff
- Assist members and prospective members in achieving and maintaining set standards
- Assist their communities in improving socio-economic positions as well as other aspirations which

will help improve their standing

Fifth response -

- Development of other managers in the transmission of skills
- Serve as black role models and inspiration for young growing managers
- Serve as mentors for young growing managers
- Networking on business and empowerment of all aspects of life
- Consultation
- Problem solving

Sixth response

- They should focus on common problems encountered in the business world
- They should advise on obstacles to advancement like indifferent colleagues of other race groups
- They should also manoeuvre ways of using their expertise to change the industry and the whole of South Africa

Seventh response -

- Sharing of ideas through the fishbone method of brainstorming.<sup>12</sup>  
They are also needed to initiate acculturation

Eighth response -

- They help in improving skills, knowledge and

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12 In the fishbone method of brainstorming, the central "spine" is the main idea expounded while the "bones" are subsidiary ideas growing out of the main idea.

developments of their members to cope up with the technological changes and sophistications of the business world

#### 5.14 PERCEPTIONS OF THE LACK OF TOP MANAGEMENT INVOLVEMENT

During the interviews for this report, involvement of top management was of great importance to developing black managers.

Forty-two respondents, or 84 percent, complained that the involvement of top management in their advancement is virtually non-existent. It can be argued that top management gives a unit of purpose and direction. When commitment and support for black advancement programs are constantly maintained by the top management, white middle-management, which appears to be a stumbling block to these programmes, will follow suit. Top management involvement is a question which does not appear in the questionnaire.

#### 5.15 PERCEPTIONS OF BLACK ADVANCEMENT PROGRAMMES

There is still a lot of work to be done on black advancement programmes. The following are among those which they mentioned about their thoughts on black advancement programmes:

- They are good for the country's economy. Companies, however, should not embark on them as "window dressing" as is mostly the case at present.
- Black managers should be given responsibility, authority, respect and support which should be categorically stated in black advancement programmes.



- Not impressed because the environment within which blacks are moved has not been made to be ready to accept them.

- Blacks are made to manage other blacks i.e. creating a system of co-optation which parallels the 'homelands' policy in business circles.

- There is little support and/or development given to those who are put in some senior positions so that at a later stage it is possible to blame them for being failures if certain problems arise.

The writer shall now proceed to pay particular attention to the organisation of black managerial and supervisory staff.

#### 5.16 THE FORMATION OF BLACK MANAGEMENT ORGANISATIONS

It should be appreciated that the formation of black management organisations is a form of concrete social action in response to white managerial domination. These are instruments of black managerial unity as well as of resistance against industrial woes, such as racial discrimination, prejudice and racial stereotyping. This study has found that most of the black managerial and supervisory staff are denied authoritative power and decision-making within their ranks and all their efforts to upward mobility within the industrial domain are frustrated.

Even though the writer has adopted a conflict approach in black management organisations, this does not exclude the fact that these organisations are there to develop black managers. This survey found that nineteen respondents (38 percent) are IPM affiliates.

Ten respondents (20 percent) are IMM affiliates. Three respondents (6 percent) are ICS affiliates. One respondent (2 percent) is an affiliate of JMDP. Two respondents (4 percent) are affiliates of ABASA. It was found that thirty one of these respondents (62 percent) have dual membership, in the sense that besides being affiliates of these organisations, they are also affiliates of BMF. All in all forty two sample respondents (84 percent) are members of BMF. Only 8 respondents (16 percent) are non-affiliates. BMF is there to help black managers in their careers and to ease their frustration. In an article which appeared in The Star, Mafuna said: "The best the employer can do for the black trainee is to give him access to managerial skills - we are there to provide him with the more practical aspects of meshing together the cultures of business and black people" (Mafuna E. 1981:11). In the International Business Week of 8 June 1981 (page 50), it is written that the Black Management Forum hoped to help i bridging the cultural gap as it had begun to run seminars that defined management cultures and drew contrasts and parallels to the black manager's own background. Mafuna (1981) stated that he had enlisted the aid of white 'control groups' from cooperative companies to help fledgling black managers compare their own experiences.

It is important, however, to mention at this stage that the success of the black advancement scheme is dependent on the absolute deracialisation of industry. This is the policy of AZAPO, UDF and COSATU, which espouse a model of arrangement that could differ fundamentally from the present western-oriented model. Once this has materialised, one can speak of industry as being receptive toward black advancement.

Owing to various problems experienced by black

managerial and supervisory staff as discussed above, this class develops hostility toward white middle-management and capitalist enterprise, as it were, who exploit and dominate them. It has been evidenced that in most cases their participation manifests itself in the chains of exploitation, dehumanisation, domination and repression. This is clearly captured by Reuel Khoza in an article entitled 'South Africa needs total management integration' where he declares: "Whites experience South Africa as by and large a democracy with an economy founded on free enterprise principles. Blacks experience South Africa as a modern day illegitimate tribal feudalism with an economy grounded in racial capitalism bent on exploiting blacks and sinfully enriching Whites" (Khoza R. 1987:17). It has been argued in an earlier chapter that the black managerial and supervisory staff form a black middle stratum. The position of this class in the capitalist relations of production is that they experience exploitation, and are simultaneously at the receiving end of racial discrimination (Nzimande, 1986).

The formation of an organisation like BMF is a direct outcome of the contradictions created by the attitude of industrialists toward the black skilled work force. This professional class can by no means be equated to the classic classes depicted by Marx, as this intermediate class is neither petit-bourgeois nor bourgeois, for it does not own property (and/or the means of production). For Marx, there are two dominant classes in capitalist societies, namely, the bourgeoisie or the owners of the means of production, and the proletariat who are dependent on the bourgeoisie through selling their labour for their subsistence. For Marx, there is also an intermediate class called the petit-bourgeoisie who, even though they are property owners, operate on a very small

scale, i.e. single-shop owners. For Marx, as capitalism grows, this class will either be swallowed up by the bourgeoisie or by the proletariat. This professional class can also not be equated to Poulantzas's "new" petit bourgeoisie. For Poulantzas, the "new" petit bourgeoisie do not belong to the working class because they maintain the political and ideological relationship of the subordination of the working class to capital, in their place within the social division of labour.

The fact that blacks are the butt of prejudice and intense discrimination in industries today, on one hand maximises frustration within this class, and, on the other hand, intensifies their desire to preserve their identity. Earlier on in the theoretical chapter, it was argued that the location of this new middle class (black managerial and supervisory staff) in capitalist relations of production is ambiguous. This class is caught between its isolation from the black working class (proletariat) and its marginalisation at the fringe of white management. Racial discrimination in South Africa has produced a situation in which members of the African middle class share many of the humiliating conditions of the black working class (Nzimande, 1986).

Both the contradictions created by the attitudes of industrialists towards the black skilled workforce, and the fact that these blacks are on the receiving end of prejudice, serve as push factors influencing blacks to join professional organisations. Other reasons were cited by the respondents which necessitate their joining such organisations. For example, forty-two respondents (84 percent) advised that the reason why they join professional organisations, is that they never consider their professional qualifications as complete. They participate in these professional

organisations which serve as post-school societies where various business and economics seminars are presented. Various readings are circulated among the members which serve as teaching aids on various intricacies of managerial professionalism.

The mere membership of these professional organisations furthers their grasp of the managerial profession by keeping them abreast of its contemporary and highly technical development. They help the managerial staff to identify possible avenues to practicality and to put into practice the knowledge they acquire. They also help to dull frustrations with which black managers meet in the execution of their duties. This is achieved by teaching their members how they can cope with frustrations.

#### 5.17 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

If one looks at the evidence given in this study, the hypothesis of Chapter 1 seems to hold. This hypothesis was that blacks who hold managerial and supervisory positions only hold titles without access to the decision-making process or to levels of authority; that colour of skin, rather than merit, determines upward mobility; and that this has resulted in job dissatisfaction among black professionals. Firstly, it has been found that the majority of blacks in managerial and supervisory positions are relegated to largely clerical and low level supervisory and staff functions. Secondly, the majority of blacks in this survey have indicated that industry does not provide them with equitable career opportunities. Thirdly,



this study has uncovered that racial discrimination<sup>13</sup> hampers black advancement.

As shall be discussed under the conclusion, top management should be closely involved in black advancement. At this stage, the writer would like to cite Robert Townsend (former CEO of Avis Rental Cars) as quoted by Irons and Moore (1985:165-166), who, in his efforts to persuade management to exercise its power to eradicate racism from its ranks, said:

This has to start with a conviction in the chief executive officer. But if he wants more than a scurry by each division to find a company black, he better follow up his bulletin as far as he is chief executive. Stamping out racism will be a process, not an act, and the chief resistance will be in the personnel office. It is results, not explanations, that count, as in other business action, and you can waste a lot of time just talking.

It is important at this stage to mention that black and white managers have different experiences. Most black managers live in noisy townships which are dominated by

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13 Nzimande (1986:58) argues that "... racial domination interferes with the advancement and consolidation of their (black managers) class position within South Africa's capitalist structures"

stokvels<sup>14</sup> while white managers live in suburbs dominated by tranquility. It would be desirable to seek a melting pot but this is constrained by the Group Areas Act in South Africa, which segregates living places along racial lines (See Chapter 1). The government, however, has expressed (on 01/02/91) its intention to scrap this Act from the statute book.

This study has uncovered that blacks are trained for a long, and in most cases, undefined, period. Some blacks (22% of the sample) who were interviewed were found to hold a 'trainee manager' status, yet they could not identify their training programmes. It was found that these managers have held this status for more than four years.

It is the belief of the researcher that since the political arena in South Africa is conflict-dominated and blacks share the sad history of deprivation, all the members of the black managerial and supervisory staff should affiliate to the BMF (See another suggestion by the researcher under Appendix 2). This is an organisation for black managers where they share

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14 Stokvels are informal sector saving clubs. They create a lot of noise in the townships. They organise social functions in each member's home. These functions sometimes start from Thursday up to Sunday and even Monday the following week. Members play loud music and even sing when they get tipsy. They feed, educate and clothe their families, start businesses and provide dignity for those who no longer have to contend with pauper burials. They negotiate with numerous wholesalers for discounts in liquor, groceries, meat and furniture. Stokvel members possess buying cards (Black Enterprise, Vol. 14, 1988:22).

ideas and experiences with each other countrywide.  
This organisation provides a reliable network to all  
blacks in management.



## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

Thus far, this study has sought to examine the perceptions of black managerial and supervisory staff of black worker advancement, mobility and organisation. In terms of the findings black advancement has failed, both in terms of objective locations and the subjective experiences of the black managerial and supervisory staff interviewed in this thesis. Perceptions of black managerial and supervisory staff are a reflection of their experiences (which are obviously subjective) and the interpretation of their situation in the work place.

#### 6.1 FACTORS WHICH HAVE INFLUENCED THE FAILURE OF BLACK ADVANCEMENT.

##### 6.1.1 Objective indicators

As hypothesised in chapter 1, the majority of black managerial and supervisory staff hold titles which lack command on the levels of authority and the decision-making processes. In the majority of instances, their positions were meaningless as demonstrated by the absence of both command and decision-making capacities. The meaninglessness of their positions has resulted in their perception of the concept of black advancement to be symbolising tokenism or "window-dressing". Therefore this lack of authority and decision-making power, as well as the employment and placement of interviewees in managerial jobs with impressive titles but without clear-cut job descriptions, provide black professionals with very little, or no, experience and expertise, which could facilitate their upward mobility in the

mainstream of management rungs, if their positions were ones where they wielded authority and decision-making power.

In terms of objective positions, it is apparent in this study that the number of professionals who hold managerial and supervisory positions has increased yet this is countered by the objective functions performed by them. It has become clear from the sample that recruitment of black professionals to these managerial positions has taken place while their advancement in terms of their being placed on definite career paths and given full managerial responsibilities, has not materialised. Companies in this study have not yet started promoting blacks to positions of real decision-making power, as is demonstrated by 4/5 of the interviewees who are not at all involved in decision-making in their jobs.

#### 6.1.1.1 Areas of activity

The majority of blacks who are professionals are employed in the personnel departments of their companies, i.e. in public relations, human relations and industrial relations functions. It can be argued that these are 'safe' positions or rather 'front office' positions because being in them means that there are rarely any white staff under them. These functions are in most cases performed by black professionals under the umbrella of a personnel department. The personnel department is predominantly black owing to the pressure which employers receive from trade unions which demand the eradication of discrimination based on race in employment practices. In addition the intense conflict in industrial relations has resulted in the demand for black expertise in this field.

The department which has the next highest incidence of blacks in managerial positions is the marketing department, possibly because blacks are required for the development of the black market, which has proven to be economically viable. The reason therefore may not be to facilitate them in the acquisition of the skills necessary for advancement to managerial positions, which will provide them with real decision-making power.

The financial and administration departments have a low percentage black managerial staff members from the sample of fifty interviewees. This sample demonstrates that very few blacks hold key positions, such as financial managers, group accountants, auditors, operations managers and the like. These are positions which require a certain level of autonomy with regard to decision-making powers. The warehousing and distribution departments also have few black managerial and supervisory staff according to the evidence of this study. The functions which are performed in this department, even though far from being key ones like finance, are nevertheless very close to the finance department, as they both require sound accounting skills. This explains the reason for such a small percentage of black managerial and supervisory staff in these departments.

#### 6.1.2 Subjective Indicators

All respondents indicated that black advancement is still thwarted by racial discrimination. It becomes clear that upward mobility of black professionals is still stifled by this situation even though all the discriminatory laws in employment practice have been scrapped from the statute book. Consequently, incumbents in management positions do not enjoy physical

or psychological attributes, including status and power, such as their white counterparts enjoy.

The survey has further indicated that, built into racial discrimination, there is an inadequate utilisation of the black managerial and supervisory staff. Most job descriptions (84% of the sample) have been found to be attractive, but certain managerial characteristics have been excluded from their job capacities due to the colour of the skin of the applicants/employees. Racial discrimination has caused tensions, stress and frustration among the black professionals. These feelings were explained by the following factors:

- (i) prospects of promotion opportunities were very limited (and in most cases even none) for these black professionals. 70% of the fifty sample respondents indicated that they do not foresee any likelihood of promotion within their workplaces.
- (ii) most fringe benefits such as company subsidised housing (70%), relocation expenses (28%), company cars (44% of the sample) etc. are not enjoyed by the majority of blacks in the companies.

Results in this sample have further demonstrated that the majority of black managerial and supervisory staff are dissatisfied with their jobs. This is mainly due to their status incongruities. The factor which accounts for this situation is related to the tasks which they found frustrating, because they do not know the extent of their managerial responsibilities.

It has become clear from this study that on-the-job training has been inadequately practised. Almost a fifth of the sample are not provided with career information which contains a good appraisal of a manager's departmental needs and potential. This means

that black managerial and supervisory staff are not provided with up-to-date equipment and instruction, and thus they are not exposed to real world management situations.

#### 6.1.2.1 Behaviour of management

Four-fifths of the sample complained that the involvement of top management in their advancement is virtually non-existent. This raised doubt as to whether such uncooperative top management is committed to and supportive of the training of black professionals in their particular companies. Furthermore, this raised doubt whether those black professionals who already hold managerial positions are given opportunities to develop their skill by being subjected to job evaluation and job enrichment. Owing to this poor and uncertain relationship between black professionals and top management, the former are not helped to acquire skills which will enable them to hold responsible managerial jobs.

#### 6.1.3 Centrality of causal factors

What is central to the failure of the concept and application of black advancement are the following:

- (i) the corporate environment is uncooperative towards and unsupportive of black advancement (this is solely a function of racism).
- (ii) there are no support programmes to monitor and foster black advancement.



## 6.2 EXPLANATIONS FOR THE ABSENCE OF "PROGRESS" IN BLACK ADVANCEMENT

Adam(1972) states that South Africa is a "pragmatic racial oligarchy". In the context of black advancement this entails:

- (i) The deracialisation of industry and commerce has occurred without white management losing control (this is a political position);
- (ii) The filling-in of positions in the managerial field, as a result of the exigencies of exploitative nature of racial capitalism (this is an economic and pragmatic situation);

The deracialisation of industry and commerce can only be symbolic. With the developing militancy of African unionisation, the employers threatened in maximising profits for their companies, employers decide to win over some of the black professionals and co-opt them to management positions. However, they are not provided with responsibility, authority and decision-making powers in their management positions. Co-optation into managerial positions softens political consciousness among unionised blacks, who believe that this is a move towards the eradication of racial discrimination from employment practices, and among black professionals who believe that this will lead to the equalisation of blacks and whites in industrial and commercial field.

Marxist theory states that class places are largely determined by the mechanisms of capitalism. In the context of black advancement, allocation of agents to class places in South Africa is largely influenced by race. This explains the reason, why, notwithstanding the significance of blacks in the work process, they

are excluded from responsible management positions to satisfy white interests, such as white fears that the introduction of blacks in management will invade 'a white person's territory'.

Another theoretical window according to Orpen (1976:76) is that "the extent to which black workers feel satisfied is roughly proportional to the amount of valued rewards that they believe they receive from their job enrichment". In terms of his psychological model of satisfaction, the notion of fairness or equity is introduced to show that black workers have a definite idea of their worth. This means that they can be satisfied with their jobs if they receive fair rewards in return. In the context of black advancement, I have found that black professionals are dissatisfied with their jobs because the rewards of their jobs are not proportional to the rewards that they receive in return [such as the psychological cost of racism].

From the above theories, it has transpired that opportunities for the maximum utilisation of blacks and the training of black leadership have not been realised in the companies where research for this study has been undertaken. These factors have dissipated the possibilities for the attainment of a status of (full) equality between blacks and whites who hold similar managerial positions.

### **6.3. SOME FUTURE SCENARIOS**

In terms of the findings from this research three possible future scenarios for black advancement can be drawn:



(i) The success of black advancement.

Since employers are faced with a situation where their potential black managers are not readily employable after the completion of their studies, they must approach schools to select and train their potential skilled segment at the best technical colleges, business colleges and universities. To spend millions on education projects which include, inter alia, curriculum development and in the main the training of skills will be beneficial to employers who are keen to uplift and place blacks on the managerial rungs with responsibility, authority and decision-making power, and so help meet the skills shortage facing South Africa today. This will also be beneficial to black employees who, equipped with this expertise, will be in a position to compete on an equal basis with whites.

(ii) Regressive steps in black advancement

The second scenario is the result of regressive steps regarding black advancement by the managerial staff. Today's recruitment of black professionals to managerial positions does not help them to know the "new" and "why" of management with the result that there is a poor exposure of blacks to real-life management situations. This is dangerous to the economy (as there is a skills shortage in South Africa), because the probability is that most black professionals, having been frustrated in the corporate environment (for example by not being on definite career paths and given full managerial responsibilities, not being involved in the process of on-the-job training, not enjoying the physical and psychological attributes including status and power, not enjoying fair upward mobility due to their racial origin, or not being involved in positions with the authority to give commands and decision-making capacity), will feel stifled to leave and set up alterna-

tive career paths as consultants. This move will give them almost complete freedom to run their own divisions. Emotionally and psychologically these black professionals will be satisfied. However, corporations will be pressurised to bid for the skills of these black professionals.

(iii) The status quo continues

The last scenario is that the status quo continues. The period of tokenism is likely to go as the scramble for skilled manpower still continues. Since February the 2nd 1990 when president F.W. de Klerk unbanned the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the South African Communist Party (SACP) and others, we have witnessed the beginnings of blacks influencing decisions at a political level in South Africa. With power shifting more and more to the black populace, companies are likely to make some meaningful changes and blacks will be promoted to real decision-making power.

Black advancement is unlikely to succeed in a racial discriminatory setting. Zed Ngavirue quotes the chairman of Rossing Uranium Ltd., Mr R S Walker, who argued that one of their objectives is "'complete abandonment of racial discrimination as far as work, remuneration and conditions of service are concerned. These will be established on merit. We refer to our employees as salaried staff, days paid, men and women, and not as blacks, coloureds and whites'" (Ngavirue Z. 1987:28). With the black advancement issue, the employers should endeavour their best to put some emphasis on competence, talent, leadership qualities and performance, rather than on the colour of the skin.

#### 6.4 The Manpower Situation

The time is now ripe for top management to address themselves to the woes besetting black professionals, and to surrender to equal commitment to real black worker advancement. Top management must now realise that money per se is not the only important asset in industry, or more important than people are. This means that the persons who manage and supervise the business are the industry's most important asset regardless of race, age, sex, religion or creed.

South Africa will never prosper to the fullest so long as the inhabitants of this country, be they black or white, do not join forces, and tackle the bull by the horns. This means that South Africans must get together as one and approach the country's economic, social and political woes from as many different angles as possible. By so doing, it is hoped that all these problems besetting black advancement could be ameliorated.

I would like to recommend that blacks, while undergoing training, should be gradually helped to acquire managerial expertise and professionalism. It therefore means that white reactionary figures should be monitored to prevent them from turning the environment to one distasteful to black managerial and supervisory staff. With real and dedicated training programmes toward black advancement, it becomes clear that black managerial and supervisory staff will perform superbly.

I suggest that further research should be conducted on black workers advancement as a sociological concept, since the field demands a considerable amount of theoretical rigour which is required for social analysis. I also suggest the replication of this research with a larger sample covering all the metropolitan

areas of South Africa. I hope that this study has contributed to a scientific understanding of black worker advancement in the contemporary South African society.

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## APPENDIX 1

### GUIDELINES BY THE OECD AND EEC CODE OF CONDUCT

With regard to industrial relations, the following guidelines by the Council of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the European Economic Community (EEC) code of conduct shall be listed as summarised by Prof. Wiehahn (1982:439) to be strongly urging the South African subsidiaries of multinationals to:

- desegregate ([on the basis of] race and colour) the eating, comfort and work facilities for workers in enterprises and undertakings;
- introduce and promote equal and fair employment opportunities and practices for all workers;
- remunerate all workers on the basis of equal pay for equal or comparable work;
- initiate and develop training schemes for all workers on an equal basis but particularly for black workers in order to advance them;
- advance Non-White workers into managerial and other senior work categories and to increase their numbers at those levels;
- improve the quality of life for employees outside of their work environment in such fields as housing, education for children, and recreation.

For the purposes of this study, the quotation of the above six codes of conduct will suffice.

## APPENDIX 2

### SUGGESTIONS TO SEND BLACK AND WHITE MANAGERIAL AND SUPERVISORY STAFF TO ASSERTIVENESS SKILLS COURSES

The researcher suggests that the captains of industry should create opportunities to send their managerial and supervisory staff (both black and white) to assertiveness skills courses which are conducted by Jane E. Butler-Adams of the Research & Training Associates. People of different racial groups are taught how to mix and develop team spirit. This course teaches people to fit in with ease in a pluralistic society like South Africa. People are taught how to handle different practical situations that they are faced with assertively in one time or another in their work environments.

Jane E. Butler-Adams is the Managing Director of this company. It is at 214 Chelmsford Road, Glenwood, Durban. Her telephone number is: (031) 217 972.

**APPENDIX 3**

**PERCEPTIONS OF BLACK MANAGERIAL AND SUPERVISORY**

**STAFF IN SOUTH AFRICA TO BLACK WORKER**

**ADVANCEMENT, MOBILITY AND ORGANISATION**

**QUESTIONNAIRE**

## COVERING LETTER

Good morning/afternoon. I am a masters student in the Department of Industrial Sociology of the University of Natal (Durban campus). I am here to conduct research for my masters dissertation. In this research, I request the skilled work force (which includes the black managerial and supervisory staff) to advise me by ticking the answer from those listed under each question below about various issues relating to their jobs and how their lives are shaped by the mechanisms in the process. There are no right or wrong answers. Some questions in this questionnaire require the respondent's brief account on certain issues.

Please note that this information is highly valuable for research since it is required in order to permit an assessment of the perceptions, attitudes and interpretations of the concept and application of black advancement by black professionals. I give you my firm assurance that everything you communicate to me will be strictly confidential. Your name will under no circumstances be connected and/or linked to the findings of this study.

1. Please indicate your sex by ticking the appropriate box next to your sexual group.

- (a) Male
- (b) Female

2. What is your marital status?

- (a) Single
- (b) Married
- (c) Divorced
- (d) Widow(er)

3. What is your age group?

- (a) Between 20 & 25 years
- (b) Between 25 & 35 years
- (c) Between 35 & 45 years
- (d) Between 45 & 55 years
- (e) From 55 & above

4. How is/was your family's (specifically your parents) economic background?

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5. Where is your place of birth?

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6. How is/was your (parents) educational background?

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7. How far do you live from the workplace?

- (a) Less than 5 kms
- (b) Between 5 & 15 kms
- (c) Between 15 & 25 kms
- (d) Between 25 and 45 kms
- (e) Between 45 & 60 kms
- (f) From 60 kms and above

8. What is the main product and/or products of your firm?

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9. Does your firm have any relocated plant operating at a decentralised/border/homeland area?

(a) Yes

(b) No

(c) Planning to have one in the near future

10. Employment structure at your firm:

EMPLOYEE CATEGORY

NO. OF EMPLOYEES

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Whites Coloureds Asians Blacks

Managerial staff

Supervisory staff

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Total

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(in responding to the above question, assistance from your Personnel Department will be necessary).

11. Briefly furnish me with the details of your job description:

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12. Are you satisfied (or happy) with your present position within the company? If 'Yes' please give reasons which demonstrate the extent of satisfaction:

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13. If you are not satisfied with your present position in your company, please state reasons which make you feel as you do:

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14. Does your position within the company have any authority?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) Certainly to a very limited extent

15. If your answer to question 14 above, was either (a) or (c) please furnish me with details of the nature of that authority:

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16. Does the company value your authority?

If 'yes', in what way?

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17. What is your annual income?

- (a) Between R8 000 & R12 000
- (b) Between R12 000 & R18 000
- (c) Between R18 000 & R24 000
- (d) Between R24 000 & R30 000
- (e) Between R30 000 & R40 000
- (f) Between R40 000 & R50 000
- (g) Between R50 000 & R60 000
- (h) Between R60 000 & R70 000
- (i) Between R70 000 & R80 000
- (j) From R80 000 and above

18. What is your standard of education?

- (a) Less than matric
- (b) Matric
- (c) Post - Matric diploma
- (d) Degree
- (e) Degree coupled with a higher diploma
- (f) Higher degrees

19. What are your professional qualifications (e.g. IPM)?

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20. How long have you worked for your present company?

- (a) Less than 2 years
- (b) Between 2 & 5 years
- (c) Between 5 & 10 years
- (d) Between 10 & 15 years
- (e) Between 15 & 20 years
- (f) From 20 years & above

21. Are you required to work for a fixed number of hours per day?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

22. If you answer to question 21 above is 'No' (i.e. (b)), briefly advise how flexible your company is with regard to the length of your working day:

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23. Does your company offer a housing scheme benefit?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

(c) Considering to offer same in the near future

24. Do you get a 13th cheque?

(a) Yes

(b) No

25. How long is your annual leave?

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26. What do you think of your working environment?

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27. Do you own a company car?

(a) Yes

(b) No

(c) Have been promised to own the same  
in the near future

28. If you own a company car, please specify the make, model and  
the value of the car.

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29. Are you an affiliate of any professional/management organisation?

(a) Yes

(b) No

30. If your answer to question 29 above is 'Yes' (i.e. (a)), please specify the name/names of that/those particular management organisation(s).

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31. Do you think there is a need for professional/management organisations?

(a) Yes

(b) No

(c) Uncertain

32. If your answer to question 31 above is 'Yes (i.e. (a)), briefly advise what role they should play.

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33. How is your relationship with your departmental head?

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34. Do the company's executives confer the opportunity for initiative to black management staff or do they feel that by so-doing their (i.e. executives) authority is somehow overstepped? (When responding to this question please elaborate).

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35. To what extent are you involved in the decision-making process within your company?

- (a) To a very large extent
- (b) To a large extent
- (c) To a less extent
- (d) To a very less extent.
- (e) Not involved at all

36. Do you foresee any likelihood of a promotion to a senior management position within your company?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) Uncertain

37. Whatever your choice in question 36, please advise why you feel as you do.

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38. How are you being treated within your company, and how is your relationship with 'significant others' in the organisation?

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39. Does racial discrimination exist within your company?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) Yes, to an extent
- (d) Yes, to a very large extent



40. If your answer to question 39 above is either (a), (c) or (d), please explain and give examples.

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41. State the reasons why you chose to work for your company.

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42. State the things which you would like to see happening in your company.

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43. State the things which you would like to see changing in your company.

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44. What do you think about black advancement programmes?

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END

(NB: If you wish to highlight anything in this questionnaire, an additional sheet of paper can be used for such purposes and then should be attached at the back of this questionnaire).