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BLACK MANAGERS AND THEIR WORK COLLEAGUES IN
SELECTED INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN NATAL:
A Study of Perceptions, Attitudes
and Experiences

by

JANE CATHERINE WATTS



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(ii)

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that this thesis, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is my own original work and that it has not been submitted for any degree at another university.

Jane C. Watts
University of Natal, Durban
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ABSTRACT

South African black Managers are experiencing numerous problems as pioneers in the white-dominated managerial world. Management and research studies have usually concentrated on the black managers' behaviour. The present investigation attempts to redress this by examining their work-related experiences.

Phase I examined the attitudes, perceptions and experiences of 34 black managers, and of selected work colleagues (a boss, peer and subordinate, if available) in regard to the black manager and black job advancement issues. In-depth, focused interviews were conducted. Fundamental interpersonal perceptual discrepancies emerged between the black managers and their work associates. The black managers tended to attribute their work problems and behaviour to external, situational factors. By contrast, their work colleagues often ascribed them to personal dispositions of the black manager. Euclidean distance analyses revealed that the largest interpersonal perceptual differences were between the black manager-boss dyads. This was followed by the black manager-peer dyads, boss-peer dyads and black manager-subordinate dyads. The black managers' perceptions diverged significantly from those of their white bosses, whose perceptions were closer to those of the white peers. Finally, analyses of incomplete sentences filled in by the black managers identified two types of subjects. Type I informants possessed more positive self-concepts than Type II individuals.

Phase II: Since the black managers appeared to be experiencing considerable work stress, this was followed up using focused interviews. The conceptual framework of stress used involved models of person-environment fit, and role episode. The major work stressors the black managers reported were role-related, followed by interpersonal stressors. Role conflict, generated by their marginal, middleman position between white management and the black workers, was particularly stress-provoking. Although several black managers coped with stressful work conditions by direct problem-solving action, many resorted to emotional defensive mechanisms. Discriminant analyses revealed that: black managers with large boss-black manager interpersonal perceptual disparities, were under more stress than those

with small disparities; more work stress was reported by Type II than Type I informants, by middle management than junior management blacks, and by black line managers than black staff managers.

The thesis concludes with recommendations of an applied nature.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY	(ii)
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	(iii)
ABSTRACT	(iv)
LIST OF TABLES	(xxiii)
LIST OF FIGURES	(xxvi)
 <u>CHAPTER 1</u>	
INTRODUCTION	1
1. Need for the Study	1
2. Nature of the Research Problem	2
3. Purpose of the Study	5
4. Relevance of the Study	7
5. Scope of the Study	8
5.1 Content	8
5.2 The Respondent Sample	8
5.3 The Organization Sample	8
6. Organization of the Thesis	9
 <u>CHAPTER 2</u>	
BLACK JOB ADVANCEMENT - AN OVERVIEW OF PERTINENT ISSUES	11
INTRODUCTION	11
SECTION 1 : AN OVERVIEW OF SOUTH AFRICA'S LABOUR SITUATION	11
1.1 Characteristics of the Labour Force	11
1.2 Labour Supply and Demand Projections	14
1.3 The Black Bourgeoisie and Middle Class	15
SECTION 2 : THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK AFFECTING BLACK JOB ADVANCEMENT - HISTORY AND CURRENT ISSUES	17
SECTION 3 : RESTRAINING FORCES ON BLACK JOB ADVANCEMENT	21
3.1 Extrinsic Obstacles	21
3.1.1 Legal Restraints	22
3.1.2 Management Attitudes	22

	<u>Page</u>
<u>CHAPTER 2</u> (contd.)	
3.1.3 Attitudes of White Employees	23
3.1.3.1 Job Insecurity	24
3.1.3.2 Status Anxieties	25
3.1.3.3 Material Interests	25
3.1.3.4 Overview of the White Attitudinal Problem	26
~~3.1.4~~ Black Education	26
3.2 Individually-located Factors	28
3.3 Implementation of Codes of Conduct	29
OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER	31
 <u>CHAPTER 3</u>	
BLACK MANAGERS AND BLACK JOB ADVANCEMENT - A LITERATURE REVIEW	33
INTRODUCTION	33
SECTION 1 : THE JOB PERFORMANCE OF BLACK MANAGERS - A REVIEW OF EXPLANATIONS	33
~~1.1~~ The Qualifications Argument	35
~~1.2~~ The Racial Discrimination Argument	35
~~1.3~~ The Cultural Argument	36
1.4 The Marginality Argument	41
SECTION 2 : A LITERATURE REVIEW ON BLACK MANAGERS AND BLACK JOB ADVANCEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA	44
SECTION 3 : AFFIRMATIVE ACTION - THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE	46
INTRODUCTION	46
3.1 Historical Perspective	47
3.2 Experiences of American Black Managers	49
OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER	53

	<u>Page</u>
<u>CHAPTER 4</u>	
INTERPERSONAL PERCEPTION AND RELATED CONSTRUCTS AND ISSUES	55
INTRODUCTION	55
SECTION 1 : PERCEPTION, SELF-PERCEPTION AND INTERPERSONAL PERCEPTION	55
1.1 Definition of Perception and its Relevance to the World of Work	55
1.2 Perception of Self	56
1.2.1 Self-concept	56
1.2.2 Self-esteem	57
1.3 Interpersonal Perception	57
1.3.1 Patterns of Perceiving	58
1.4 Individual Differences in Perception	60
1.5 Factors Distorting Perception	61
1.5.1 Cognitive Selectivity	62
1.5.2 Halo Effect	62
1.5.3 Implicit Personality Theory	63
1.5.4 Stereotypes	63
1.5.5 Stability of Perceptions	64
1.6 Attribution Theory	64
SECTION 2 : RESEARCH INTO WORK-RELATED PERCEPTIONS	66
SECTION 3 : CONCEPTS RELATED TO PERCEPTIONS	68
3.1 Attitudes	68
3.1.1 Definition of Attitude	69
3.1.2 Dimensions of Attitudes	69
3.1.3 Prejudice	70
3.1.4 Ethnocentrism	71
3.2 Attitudes and Behaviour	72
3.3 Attitudes and Consistency	73
3.4 Attitudes and Similar Theoretical Constructs	74
3.4.1 Attitudes and Perceptions (of Self and of Others)	75
3.4.2 Beliefs	75
3.4.3 Values	75
3.4.4 Opinions	76
3.5 World Views	76

	<u>Page</u>
<u>CHAPTER 4</u> <u>(contd.)</u>	
SECTION 4 : ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIALIZATION	76
OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER	80
<u>CHAPTER 5</u>	
ORGANIZATIONAL STRESS	82
INTRODUCTION	82
SECTION 1 : A CONCEPTUALIZATION OF STRESS	82
1.1 Definitions of Stress	83
1.1.1 Response-based Definitions	85
1.1.2 Stimulus-based Definitions	85
1.1.3 Interactional Definitions	86
1.2 Stress Terminology	88
SECTION 2 : ROLE THEORY VIEW OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRESS	89
2.1 Role Theory Concepts	89
2.1.1 Definition of Role	89
2.1.2 Role Sets	89
2.1.3 Role Expectations and Sent Role	90
2.1.4 The Received Role	90
2.1.5 Role Behaviour	91
2.1.6 The Context of Role-Taking	91
2.2 The Role Episode Model as Applied to the Black Manager	92
2.3 Role Stress	94
2.3.1 Role Conflict	95
2.3.1.1 Effects of Role Conflict	97
2.3.2 Role Ambiguity	98
2.3.2.1 Effects of Role Ambiguity	99
SECTION 3 : A GENERAL MODEL OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRESS	100
3.1 Basic Elements of the Model	101

	<u>Page</u>
<u>CHAPTER 5</u> (contd.)	
SECTION 4 : A REVIEW OF MAJOR ELEMENTS OF THE PERSON-ENVIRONMENT FIT MODEL OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRESS	103
4.1 Organizational Stressors	103
4.1.1 Stressors Intrinsic to the Job	103
4.1.2 Role-Related Stressors	103
4.1.3 Interpersonal Stressors	104
4.1.4 Career Prospects Stressors	105
4.1.5 Organizational Structure and Climate Stressors	106
4.1.6 Extra-Organizational Stressors	107
4.2 Stress Symptoms (or Strains)	108
4.2.1 Physiological Symptoms	108
4.2.2 Psychological Symptoms (Affective and Cognitive)	109
4.2.3 Behavioural Symptoms	109
4.3 Individual Conditioning Variables	109
4.4 Social Situational Conditioning Variables	111
4.4.1 Social Support	111
4.5 Coping Strategies	112
4.5.1 Introduction	112
4.5.2 The Nature of Coping	113
4.5.3 General Perspectives on Coping	116
4.5.4 An Overview of Coping Strategies	117
<i>Look at</i> SECTION 5 : WORK STRESS AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK MANAGER	118
5.1 Work Stress in South Africa	118
5.2 Work Stress and South African Black Managers	119
OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER	121
<u>CHAPTER 6</u>	
THE RESEARCH PROBLEM, RESEARCH DESIGN AND RELATED ISSUES	122
INTRODUCTION	122

	<u>Page</u>
<u>CHAPTER 6</u> <u>(contd.)</u>	
SECTION 1 : RESEARCH METHODOLOGY, EPISTEMOLOGICAL AND ONTOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS PREVALENT IN ORGANIZATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY	122
1.1 A General Overview	122
1.2 Positivism	123
1.2.1 Criticisms Levelled Against Established Organizational Research Methodology, Epistemology and Ontology	124
1.3 Phenomenology	126
1.4 Alternative Perspectives	126
1.5 Metatheoretical Stance of the Author	128
SECTION 2 : PHASE I - RESEARCH PROBLEM AND DESIGN	129
INTRODUCTION	129
2.1 The Research Problem	130
2.2 The Research Design	131
2.2.1 Aim of Phase I	131
2.2.2 Phase I Research Hypotheses	132
2.2.3 Identification of Subjects	132
2.2.3.1 Definition of the Term "Manager"	132
2.2.3.2 Identification of Work Colleagues	134
2.2.3.3 Rationale for Choice of Work Colleagues	134
2.2.4 Universe	135
2.2.4.1 Selection of Sample	136
2.2.4.2 Obtaining Access to the Organizations	137
2.2.4.3 Characteristics of the Sample of Organizations	137
2.2.5 Profile of Subjects	138
2.2.6 The Data-Gathering Technique	140
2.2.6.1 The Data-Gathering Instruments	141
2.2.6.2 The Black Managers' Interview Schedule	141
2.2.6.3 Sentence Completion Exercise	142
2.2.6.4 Interview Schedules of Work Colleagues	143
2.2.7 Procedure	143

	<u>Page</u>
<u>CHAPTER 6</u> (contd.)	
2.8 Conceptual Framework Utilized in the Study	144
SECTION 3 : PHASE II - RESEARCH PROBLEM AND RESEARCH DESIGN	145
3.1 The Research Problem	145
3.2 The Research Design	147
3.2.1 Aim of Phase II	147
3.2.2 Phase II Research Hypotheses	147
3.2.3 The Respondent Sample (Phase II)	148
3.2.4 The Data-Gathering Instrument	148
3.2.5 Procedure	149
3.2.6 Time Lapse between Phase I and Phase II Fieldwork	150
SECTION 4 : ANALYTICAL TECHNIQUES (PHASE I AND PHASE II)	150
4.1 Content Analysis of the Data	150
4.2 A Summary of Major Statistical Techniques Used in the Investigation	152
4.2.1 PHASE I	
4.2.2 PHASE II	153
SECTION 5 : POTENTIAL SOURCES OF BIAS AND ERROR IN THE DATA	155
OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER	156
<u>CHAPTER 7</u>	
PHASE I : BLACK MANAGERS AND BOSSES - A DISCUSSION OF RESULTS	158
INTRODUCTION	158
SECTION 1 : DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES OF THE BLACK MANAGERS	160
1.1 A General Overview	160
1.1.1 Ages	160
1.1.2 Management Function	160
1.1.3 Management Levels	161
1.1.4 Educational Qualifications	161
1.1.5 Job History of the Black Managers	163
1.1.6 Family Background of the Black Managers	164

	<u>Page</u>
<u>CHAPTER 7</u> <u>(contd.)</u>	
· 1.2 Factor Analysis of the Black Managers' Biographical Data	166
· SECTION 2 : A COMPARISON OF KEY BIOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF THE BLACK MANAGERS AND WHITE BOSSES	170
· SECTION 3 : PERCEPTIONS, ATTITUDES AND EXPERIENCES OF THE BLACK MANAGERS AND WHITE BOSSES	171
INTRODUCTION	171
· 3.1 Aspects of the Black Managers' Job	172
· 3.1.1 Predecessor	172
· 3.1.2 Remuneration and Benefits	172
· 3.1.3 Job Responsibility	173
· 3.1.4 Authority	174
· 3.2 Black Managers' Personal Attributes and Job Performance	177
3.2.1 Person-Role Fit	177
3.2.2 Self-Confidence	183
3.2.3 Job Performance	183
· 3.3 Selected Job Attitudes	186
3.3.1 Job Satisfaction	186
3.3.2 Ideal Job	189
3.3.3 Desire to Continue Working Even if Financially Unnecessary	190
· 3.4 Career Development	190
3.4.1 Career Path Satisfaction	191
3.4.2 Job Progress	192
3.4.3 Job Prospects	194
3.4.4 Bosses' Perceptions of their Black Subordinate's Job Aspirations	196
3.4.5 Eligibility for Promotion	197
3.4.6 Predictions of Career Progress	199
3.4.7 Mentors	201
3.4.8 Overview	204

CHAPTER 7
(contd.)

	<u>Page</u>
3.5 Perceptions of Attitudes and Reactions of Whites Towards the Black Managers and Black Job Advancement	204
3.5.1 White Employee Reactions to the Black Managers	205
3.5.2 White Attitudes to Black Advancement	208
3.6 Perceptions of Black Attitudes Towards the Black Managers	210
3.6.1 Attitudes of Black Employees	210
3.6.2 Community Relations: Black Managers and the Black Community	213
3.7 Nature of the Black Managers' Place of Residence	215
3.8 Men in the Middle?	216
3.9 Work Problems Experienced by the Black Managers	218
3.10 Discrimination	222
3.11 Locus of Control	223
3.12 Sense of Belonging	224
3.12 Changes Wrought by Job	226
3.13.1 Attitudinal Changes	226
3.13.2 Changes in Values and Beliefs	228
3.13.3 Changes in Lifestyle	229
3.14 General Black Job Advancement Issues	230
3.14.1 Tokenism and Company Sincerity about Black Advancement	230
3.14.2 Codes of Conduct	232
3.14.3 Reverse Discrimination	234
3.14.4 Blacks' Participation and Place in the Economy	235
3.14.5 Cultural Problems	237
3.14.6 Obstacles to Black Job Advancement	239
3.15 Additional Comments	242
3.15.1 Black Managers	242
3.15.2 Bosses	244
OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER	246

	<u>Page</u>
<u>CHAPTER 8</u>	
PHASE I : THE WHITE PEERS AND SUBORDINATES - A DISCUSSION OF RESULTS	251
INTRODUCTION	251
SECTION 1 : A COMPARISON OF KEY BIOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF THE BLACK MANAGER-PEER GROUP AND BLACK MANAGER-SUBORDINATE GROUP	253
1.1 The Peers and their Black Counterparts	253
1.2 The Subordinates and their Black Bosses	254
SECTION 2 : PERCEPTIONS, ATTITUDES AND EXPERIENCES OF THE PEERS, SUBORDINATES AND THEIR RESPECTIVE BLACK MANAGER ASSOCIATES	255
2.1 Aspects of the Black Managers' Job	255
2.1.1 Remuneration and Benefits	255
2.1.2 Job Responsibility	255
2.1.3 Authority	255
2.2 Black Managers' Personal Attributes and Job Performance	256
2.2.1 Person-Role Fit	256
2.2.2 Black Managers' Self-confidence	260
2.2.3 Job Performance	261
2.3 Job Satisfaction	262
2.4 Career Development	263
2.4.1 Career Path Satisfaction	263
2.4.2 Job Ceiling	264
2.4.3 Promotional Prospects	264
2.4.4 Predictions of Career Progress	265
2.5 Attitudes and Reactions of White Employees and Colleagues Towards the Black Managers and Black Job Advancement	266
2.5.1 White Employee Reactions to the Black Managers	266
2.5.2 Colleagues' Confidence in the Black Managers	270
2.5.3 Feelings About Having a Black Work Associate	271
2.5.4 White Attitudes to Black Job Advancement	272

	<u>Page</u>
<u>CHAPTER 8</u> (contd.)	
2.6 Perceptions of Black Attitudes Towards the Black Managers	272
2.6.1 Attitudes of Black Employees	272
2.6.2 Community Relations - Black Managers and the Black Community	274
2.7 Men in the Middle?	
2.8 Work Problems Experienced by the Black Managers	275
2.9 Discrimination	278
2.10 Sense of Belonging	279
2.11 Changes Wrought by Job	279
2.11.1 Attitudinal Changes	279
2.11.2 Changes in Values and Beliefs	281
2.11.3 Changes in Lifestyle	281
2.12 General Black Advancement Issues	282
2.12.1 Tokenism and Company Sincerity About Black Advancement	282
2.12.2 Codes of Conduct	283
2.12.3 Reverse Discrimination	284
2.12.4 Cultural Problems	286
2.12.5 Blacks' Place and Participation in Industry	287
2.12.6 Obstacles to Black Job Advancement	289
2.13 Additional Comments	290
2.13.1 Peers	290
2.13.2 Subordinates	291
OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER	292
<u>CHAPTER 9</u>	
MULTIVARIATE STATISTICAL ANALYSES OF PHASE I DATA	297
INTRODUCTION	297
SECTION 1 : STATISTICAL ANALYSES OF DATA OF THE BLACK MANAGERS AND BOSSES	297
1.1 Factor Analysis of the Black Managers' Interview Data	297

4

CHAPTER 9
(contd.)

	<u>Page</u>
1.2 Multiple Regression - Regression of the Black Managers' Interview Factor Score Variables on the Biographical Variables	306
1.2.1 Black Managers' Definition of Their Work Situation	307
1.2.2 Career Development	309
1.2.3 Perception of Relationship with White Work Colleagues	309
1.3 Factor Analysis of the Bosses' Interview Data	311
1.4 Analysis of the Black Managers' Sentence Completion Exercise	314
1.4.1 Description of Black Manager "Types"	319
1.5 Discriminant Analysis - Groups: Types of Black Managers; Variables: Interview Factor Variables	320
1.6 Discriminant Analysis - Groups: Type I and Type II Black Managers; Variables: Biographical Factor Score Variables	321
SECTION 2 : STATISTICAL ANALYSES OF DATA FOR THE BLACK MANAGERS, BOSSES, PEERS AND SUBORDINATES	322
2.1 Calculation of Interpersonal Perceptual Discrepancy Measurements	322
2.1.1 Rationale for Using D^2	323
2.2 Multiple Regression Analysis: Black Manager-Boss Euclidean Distance Measure (Dependent Variable) Regressed on Biographical Factor Score Variables (Independent Variables)	326
2.3 Euclidean Distance and Type of Black Manager	327
OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER AND OF PHASE I	328

CHAPTER 10

PHASE II : PRESENTATION OF RESULTS WITH DISCUSSION	331
INTRODUCTION	331
SECTION 1 : CHANGES SINCE THE PHASE I FIELDWORK, AS REPORTED BY THE BLACK MANAGERS	331

	<u>Page</u>
<u>CHAPTER 10</u> <u>(contd.)</u>	
SECTION 2 : BLACK MANAGERS: EXPERIENCES OF, AND REACTIONS TO WORK STRESS	333
INTRODUCTION	333
2.1 Work Stress Experienced by Black Managers	334
2.1.1 Level of Work Stress Compared to Whites	334
2.1.2 Work Stress Experienced by Other Blacks in the Company	335
2.1.3 Work Stress Experienced by Senior Blacks in Other Companies	336
2.2 Perceived Work Stressors	337
2.2.1 Role-Related Stressors	338
2.2.2 Interpersonal Stressors	342
2.2.3 Organizational Structure and Climate	343
2.2.4 Career Development	345
2.2.5 Stressors Intrinsic to the Job of Management	345
2.2.6 Extra-Organizational Stressors	345
2.2.7 An Overview	346
SECTION 3 : COPING STRATEGIES	349
INTRODUCTION	349
3.1 Most Recent Stressful Situation	349
3.2 Severely Stressful Incidents	350
3.2.1 Within the Last Year	350
3.2.2 Severely Stressful Incidents Within the Last Five Years	354
3.3 Coping Styles Adopted to Deal with Certain Problems	355
3.3.1 Management of Racism	355
3.3.2 Strategic Management	355
3.3.3 Overview	357
3.4 Tension-Relieving (Palliative) Strategies	359
3.5 Instrumental and Palliative Devices: An Analysis	361
3.6 Effectiveness of Coping Mechanisms	362
3.7 Conclusions About Black Managers' Coping Strategies	363

CHAPTER 10
(contd.)

	<u>Page</u>
SECTION 4 : STRESS SYMPTOMS OF THE BLACK MANAGERS	364
SECTION 5 : INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND SOCIAL SUPPORT SYSTEMS	368
INTRODUCTION	368
5.1 Relationship With Their Boss	368
5.1.1 Social Support from Boss	369
5.2 Relationship with Work Colleagues	372
5.2.1 Social Support Provided by Work Colleagues	372
5.2.2 Colleagues' Awareness of Black Managers' Work Stress	374
5.2.3 Frequency and Type of Conversation Between Black Managers and Their Work Colleagues	374
5.2.3.1 Work-Related Conversations	374
5.2.3.2 Informal Conversations of a General Nature	377
5.2.4 Overview	377
5.3 Extra-Organizational Social Support	379
5.3.1 General Contacts	379
5.3.2 Immediate Family	380
SECTION 6 : WORK VERSUS LEISURE ACTIVITIES	382
6.1 Leisure Activities	382
6.2 Function of Leisure Activities in Relieving Work-Generated Tensions	382
6.3 Fulfillment of Leisure Activities in Contrast to Work	383
6.4 Likelihood of Leaving Job	384
SECTION 7 : MANAGERS' ADVICE TO YOUNG BLACKS	385
7.1 Advice of Black Managers to Young Black Graduates	385
7.2 The Way to Reach the Top	387
OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER	388

	<u>Page</u>
<u>CHAPTER 11</u> STATISTICAL ANALYSES OF PHASE II DATA	390
INTRODUCTION	390
1. Factor Analysis of the Phase II Interviews with the Black Managers	390
2. Regression of Black Managers' Phase II Interview Factor Score Variables on their Biographical Data	392
3. Analysis of the Stress Indicator	395
3.1 Item Analysis of the Stress Indicator Items	396
4. Testing of Phase II Hypotheses	396
4.1 Discriminant Analysis	398
4.1.1 Discriminant Analysis A : Stress Indicator Items - Euclidean Distance Groups	399
4.1.2 Discriminant Analysis B : Stress Indicator Items - Type of Black Manager	402
4.1.3 Discriminant Analysis C : Stress Indicator Items - Management Level Groups	405
4.1.4 Discriminant Analysis D : Stress Indicator Variables - Line/Staff Groups	408
5. Multidimensional Scaling (MDS) Analysis of the 26 "Stress Indicator" Items	411
6. Multiple Regression - Dependent Variables : Composite Scores for each "Stress" Dimension; Independent Variables : Biographical Factor Score Variables	417
7. Regression of Stress Symptom Frequencies on MDS Stress Dimensions	422
OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER	423
<u>CHAPTER 12</u> • SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	425
1. The Research Problem	425
2. Aims of the Study	425
3. Profile of the Black Managers	426
4. Correlational Analyses (Phase I and Phase II)	427
4.1 The Black Managers	427
4.2 The Bosses	429

	<u>Page</u>
<u>CHAPTER 12</u> (contd.)	
5. Phase I Results Relating to Perceptual Discrepancies	429
5.1 Qualitative Material	429
5.2 Euclidean Distance Analysis	430
5.3 Perceptual Discrepancies - A General Overview	431
6. Results of Incomplete Sentences Exercise	434
7. Phase II Interview Findings	435
8. Coping Strategies	438
9. Stress Symptoms	439
10. Social Support	440
11. Phase II Multivariate Statistical Analysis	440
12. General Conclusions	445
12.1 Social Barriers	445
12.2 Problems Experienced by the Newly Appointed Black Manager	446
12.3 Learning the Corporate Game	448
12.4 Career Development Issues	450
12.5 South African Black Managers and Other Minority Status Managers	452
12.6 Qualities Needed by the Black Manager	453
12.7 The Marginal Black Manager	454
13. Limitations of the Study	456
14. Recommendations for Future Research	457
15. Closing Comments	461
 <u>CHAPTER 13</u>	
RECOMMENDATIONS OF AN APPLIED NATURE	463
INTRODUCTION	463
1. Affirmative Action	463
2. Organizational Approaches to Eliminate Barriers	464
3. Participation and Commitment Down the Line	465
4. The Attainment of Genuine Black Job Advancement	466
5. Attitudinal Changes and Interracial Relationships	466
5.1 Meetings with Other Graduates	467
5.2 Voluntary Communication Exercises	468

	<u>Page</u>
<u>CHAPTER 13</u> <u>(contd.)</u>	
6. Learning the Corporate Game	468
7. Placement of Black Managers	469
8. Supervisory Leadership, Support, and Mentorship	469
9. Job and Career Development	470
10. Management Development Approaches	471
11. Awareness of the Minority Group Experience	472
12. Identification of Training Needs	472
13. Strategies for Change	473
13.1 The Role Set as the Unit of Change	473
14. Reduction of the Black Managers' Interaction Disability	475
15. Stress Management	475
15.1 The Reduction of Role Conflict and Role Ambiguity	479
16. Social Support	480
16.1 Black Social Support	480
17. Final Remarks	481
 APPENDICES	 482
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 518

LIST OF TABLES

		<u>Page</u>
TABLE NUMBER		
1	Projections of the South African Population (including the Independent Black States) for the period 1980 - 2000	12
2	Class Structure of Black and White Income Earners (Non-Agricultural Sector) 1977 - 1987	16
3	Biographical Characteristics of the Respondents	139
4	Functional Domains of Black Managers	140
5	Distribution of Black Managers According to Age	160
6	Factor Matrix of the Black Managers' Biographical Items	167
7	A Comparison of the Mean Age, Education and Company Service of the 34 Black Managers and 34 Bosses	170
8	Perceptions of Black Managers and Bosses as to Whether the Black Manager Possessed Job Authority	174
9	Characteristics that an Individual in the Black Manager's Position Should Possess - Black Managers' and Bosses' Perceptions	178
10	The Black Manager's Job Performance, as Perceived by the Black Managers and Bosses	183
11	Black Manager's Job Satisfaction, as Reported by the Black Managers and Bosses	187
12	Predictions by the Black Managers and Bosses of the Black Manager's Future Occupational Position	200
13	Reactions of White Employees Towards the Black Managers, as Perceived by the Black Managers and by the Bosses	205
14	Work Problems of the Black Manager as Reported by the Black Managers and their Bosses	219
15	Obstacles to Black Job Advancement as Perceived by the Black Managers and Bosses	240
16	Summary of Black Manager-Boss Intra-Dyad Agreements (<50% in agreement)	248
17	Summary of Black Manager-Boss Intra-Dyad Agreements (> 50% in agreement)	249
18	A Comparison of the Mean Age, Education and Company Service of the Black Managers (n = 21) and their Peers (n = 21)	253
19	A Comparison of the Mean Age, Education and Company Service of Black Managers (n = 11) and their Subordinates (n = 11)	254

TABLE NUMBER		<u>Page</u>
20	Black Manager-Peer Intra-Dyad Agreements (>50% in Agreement)	293
21	Black Manager-Peer Intra-Dyad Perceptual Agreements (<50% in Agreement)	293
22	Black Manager-Subordinate Intra-Dyad Perceptual Agreements (> 50% in Agreement)	294
23	Black Manager-Subordinate Intra-Dyad Perceptual Agreements (<50% in Agreement)	295
24	Significant Factor Loadings of Factor 1 from the Phase I Interview Material of the Black Managers	298
25	Significant Factor Loadings of Factor 2 from the Phase I Interview Material of the Black Managers	300
26	Significant Factor Loadings of Factor 3 from the Phase I Interview Material of the Black Managers	302
27	Significant Factor Loadings of Factor 4 from the Phase I Interview Material of the Black Managers	303
28	Significant Factor Loadings of Factor 5 from the Phase I Interview Material of the Black Managers	305
29	Significant Factor Loadings on Factor 1 of the Bosses' Interview Data	311
30	Significant Factor Loadings of Factor 2 of the Bosses' Interview Data	312
31	Significant Factor Loadings of Factor 3 of the Bosses' Interview Data	313
32	Factor Matrix of the 34 Black Managers in Terms of Their Sentence Completions	316
33	Euclidean Distance Measures	323
34	Black Managers' Job Satisfaction Compared to Phase I	332
35	Coping Strategies Adopted by the Black Managers to Deal with Stressful Work Conditions	358
36	Stress Symptoms of Black Managers (n = 31)	365
37	Factor Matrix of Black Managers' Phase II Interview Data	390
38	Summary Table : Discriminant Analysis : Stress Indicator - Euclidean Distance	399

TABLE NUMBER		<u>Page</u>
39	Discriminant Function Matrix: Stress Indicator Items - Euclidean Distance Groups	400
40	"Euclidean Distance" Group Centroids of Discriminant Scores of the 31 Black Managers	401
41	Summary Table : Discriminant Analysis : Stress Indicator - "Type" of Black Manager	402
42	Discriminant Function Matrix : Stress Indicator - "Type" of Black Manager	403
43	Summary Table : Discriminant Analysis : Stress Indicator - Management Level	405
44	Discriminant Function Matrix : Stress Indicator Items - Management Level Groups	406
45	Summary Table : Discriminant Analysis : Stress Indicator Variables - Staff/Line Groups	408
46	Discriminant Function Matrix : Stress Indicator Variables - Staff/Line Groups	408
47	MDS Values of the 26 Stress Indicator Items	412
48	List of Stress Indicator Items Combined to form Composite Scores Representing the Three Work Stress Dimensions	418
49	Multiple Regression Results - Dependent Variable : Composite Scores Representing MDS Dimensions; Independent Variables : Black Managers' Biographical Factor Score Variables	418

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE NUMBER		<u>Page</u>
1	The Role Episode Model with the South African Black Manager as the Focal Person	93
2	A Person-Environment Fit Model of Organizational Stress	100
3	The Cross of Relationships	135
4	Flow Charts Depicting the Main Statistical Analyses Employed in the Study	154
5	Histogram Showing the Location of the Two Euclidean Distance Group Centroids and the Discriminant Scores of the 31 Black Managers On the Discriminant Function	401
6	Histogram Showing the Location of the Type I/ Type II Group Centroids and the Distribution of the Discriminant Scores of the 31 Black Managers on the Discriminant Function	404
7	Histogram Showing the Location of the Two Management Group Centroids and the Distribution of the Discriminant Scores of the 30 Black Managers on the Discriminant Function	407
8	Histogram Showing the Location of the Line/ Staff Group Centroids and the Distribution of the Discriminant Scores of the 31 Black Managers on the Discriminant Function	409
9	MDS Spatial Map - Dimension 1 (x-axis) Versus Dimension 2 (y-axis)	414
10	MDS Spatial Map - Dimension 2 (x-axis) Versus Dimension 3 (y-axis)	415
11	MDS Spatial Map - Dimension 1 (x-axis) Versus Dimension 3 (y-axis)	416

"We live in a time in which man has become problematic to himself as never before. Psychology, ambivalent about being a science of man, can take refuge in an attitude that its task is to comprehend and systematically describe behaviour, in other words, to be empirical and objective, without further ado and hence, in this way, may define itself as not necessarily concerned with man's fate although not thereby precluding its results from being used to improve human conditions. Psychology can, and often does, define itself in such a way that it can, as a science, be indifferent to the human condition. On the other hand, psychology may well ask itself if it can be a *meaningful* science of man if it is indifferent to the question of what it means to be a person in our time and if it refuses to research and grapple with the human realities of the twentieth century."

(Kruger, 1979:1)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

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

1. Need for the Study

The need for this study may be stated briefly in the form of the following four propositions:

- As the quote above indicates, the vanguard of South African blacks who are moving into and upwards within traditionally white managerial positions in industry and commerce, seem to be facing a variety of problems in their work environment.
- Research and management practices *apropos* the black managers have focused, in the main, on their work behaviour at the expense of their experiences and perceptions of the situation (Human, 1981b).
- Studies have usually examined either the black managers' viewpoints or those of white employees, rather than considering and comparing both the black managers' perceptions and their respective work colleagues' perceptions and interpretations of the situation.

* In this study, the label "black" will be used to designate Bantu-speaking peoples of South Africa, regardless of their tribal affiliations. A manager is viewed firstly as someone who occupies a position that is lower than that of an executive, but above the first line supervisory rank (Wella, 1983). Secondly, he is someone who sets objectives, who organizes both activities and people, who motivates and communicates, who establishes yardsticks and who develops not only other people but also himself (Drucker, 1974). Refer to Chapter 6, Section 2.2.2.1 for further discussion of the term.

- There appear to be fundamental discrepancies between the work-related perceptions of the black managers as opposed to those of their work associates. However, this has not been explored systematically.

Expanding on the points mentioned above, one may argue that there is a need to study the situation of the black managers from their own perspective as well as from the frame of reference of, for instance, their boss, peers and subordinates. This would provide a more holistic, contextually-imbedded portrayal of the field of interest than any one perspective could offer. Indeed, as Silverman (1970:138) states:

"...a situation may ... be usefully examined from the vantage points of 'competing systems of interpretation', and this will provide important clues as to how it arose, why it continues in its present form, and what circumstances may make it change".

In addition, the nature of perceptual differences that exist between the black managers and their colleagues also need to be examined, since such perceptual differences may lead, *inter alia*, to disagreements, misunderstandings, communication break-downs, job dissatisfaction and tension.

Lastly, various writers (such as Gathercole, 1981; Human, 1981a, 1981b; MacKay *et al.*, 1980; Moerdyk, 1983; Moerdyk and Verster, 1981; Wella, 1983) have either directly or indirectly pointed out that the black managers appear to be finding their work environments stressful. However, there does not appear to have been an in-depth study into what the black managers themselves find stressful, and the coping mechanisms they adopt to deal with such stressors (or the emotional consequences thereof). An investigation of this nature may help to unravel many of the work-related problems that the black managers encounter. It may also provide pointers for the alleviation of stress-provoking conditions which have adverse effects on the black managers and their employing organizations.

2. Nature of the Research Problem

In the light of the foregoing cursory outline of the need for this study, it is useful to expand upon these points by considering the general nature of the problem.

In essence, there are fundamental economic, political, social and moral reasons why black job advancement in South Africa should be encouraged.

In the international arena, the country is faced with threats of disinvestment, sanctions and boycotts unless changes are introduced. Organizations with overseas affiliates or parent companies abroad, are being pressurized to implement equal employment opportunities for all. The various codes of conduct have also acted as catalysts for such moves. Concomitantly, the country is facing internal pressures in the form of black worker strikes and urban black unrest. The American black consciousness movement and political developments in bordering African states (such as Zimbabwe, Mocambique and Angola) have also provided psychological input to groups and individuals in South Africa (Gilbert, 1980). These circumstances are compounded by the adverse effects of a chronic skilled manpower shortage (Jones, 1979). Above all, irrespective of the fact that white immigration no longer fulfills the need for skilled labour (Mphahlele, 1981), employers have a fundamental moral obligation to recruit and develop the potential of the country's own human resources, namely, that of the black population.)

Consequently, it is clear that blacks will, in the future, come to play an increasingly vital role in higher job echelons in industry, especially within managerial categories where the skills shortage is particularly acute (*Financial Mail*, February 12, 1982:701). The exact nature of the South African labour situation will be discussed in Chapter 2, Section 1.

Not surprisingly, black job advancement (which denotes the upward job mobility of blacks), is currently the theme of much investigation and debate at organizational, institutional and national levels. Over the past ten years, the term seems to have increasingly become a catch-phrase in the South African business world, and the volume of research into the topic of black advancement has steadily grown.

With regard to studies on black managers, Human (1981b) points out that most of these investigations have been too one-sided. That is, they have tended to examine or emphasize the black managers' *behaviour* in the work environment (for example, Nasser, 1977, 1980b, 1981a; Tabane, 1980) without considering their own *experiences* and subjective *interpretations* thereof. By the same token, it is the author's opinion that many companies do not seem to take cognizance of the black managers' work-related perceptions and experiences. Accordingly, it appears that various organizations have implemented management development courses

and training programmes that seem to be founded solely on white management's own definition of the situation. Alternatively, the action plans may be based on research that has not gained insight into the black managers' behaviour by means of the experiences they are undergoing. As Human (1981b:104) notes:

".... having examined the subject's behaviour and having come to some consensus on their own interpretation of why he behaves the way he/she does, they often go on to develop ameliorative action plans with respect to his behaviour which may or may not be consistent with what the individual is feeling or experiencing or the reason for that behaviour."

Hofmeyr (1982) claims that many black advancement management programmes have yielded disappointing results. It is the present author's opinion that this may be due, in part, to a flagrant disregard by companies, of the black managers' own viewpoints and perceived training needs. Indeed, Human (1981b:103) warns that: "...many of the problems faced by black managers in the work situation may have been simplistically construed and perhaps even exacerbated". Within this context, it is useful to bear in mind the assertion of Porter, Lawler and Hackman (1975:23) that:

".... if we are interested in the behavior of people in organizations, we must be concerned with their subjective interpretation of events; that is, their perceptions. The reasons we must be concerned with perceptions is simply that behavior is based on them. It is not the "real" properties of events or situations that determine the actions and attitudes of people, but rather what people think - subjectively - the real properties are."

Thus, in the case of the black manager, it is argued that it is not the objective job that is being reacted to, but the "redefined job" - the job as the black manager comprehends it. This redefined job may or may not coincide with the way in which significant others in the work environment perceive it. Accordingly, one should take note of Schein's (1975:24) warning that:

".... the failure to take into account the subjective experiences of individuals at work can result in quite misleading conclusions if one wants to arrive at an objective analysis of the situation."

At this point it is important to note that the progression of blacks into the erstwhile almost exclusively white domain of management, has been painfully slow (Hofmeyr, 1982; Tlhopane 1981; Wella, 1983). It has also been fraught with a multitude of problems and complaints stemming from the black managers themselves as well as from their employees, seniors and work colleagues (Beckett, 1980; Gathercole, 1981). For instance, Beckett (*op. cit.*) maintains that blacks generally tend to blame the organizations for racism, discrimination and tokenism, and are reluctant to tolerate any proposal that they themselves may be falling short by their employer's established standards. The firms, by contrast, often attribute the problems to the blacks' poor education and unsuitable background, while rejecting any suggestions of shortcomings on the part of their own employment practices and company climate.

A general appraisal of the issue of black managerial mobility highlights the need for an in-depth examination of the subjective perceptions and attitudes of the individuals concerned in the process, in order to get to the "grass roots" of the situation.

3. Purpose of the Study

Katz (1953) distinguishes between two broad types of study, namely, exploratory and hypothesis testing. Because of the nature of the problem being examined in this investigation, and the need to lay the groundwork for further analyses, an exploratory, more "open" research strategy was deemed necessary. The general purpose of the project was to inspect a general problem in the field and to identify important variables and relations between them. Thus, the focus was not on the rigorous testing of hypotheses derived from the literature.

In essence, the research for this thesis was comprised of two phases. The first part embodies, in the main, the original focus for a thesis planned for a master's degree. The Senate Executive of the University of Natal agreed, on the recommendations of the Head of the department of Psychology, to the registration of the thesis being upgraded to that of a Ph.D. thesis. This change in registration necessitated an expansion of the original research design. The second stage of research represents this expansion.

The investigation as a whole focused on the black managers as the primary unit of investigation. The objective of Phase I was to explore the perceptions, subjective interpretations and experiences of black managers and "significant others" in the form of selected work colleagues, namely: their boss, a peer (if they had one) and a subordinate (once again, if they had one). It was felt that this approach had the advantage of allowing one to examine the black managers' situation from multiple perspectives, thereby enriching understanding and insight.

It was hypothesized that fundamental perceptual discrepancies would exist between the black managers and their colleagues. The researcher was interested in comparing the subjects' perceptions, identifying the main areas in which there were marked perceptual differences (or alternatively, substantial perceptual congruencies), what general forms the differences took, possible reasons for them, and recommendations on how they could be bridged.

The second half of the investigation constituted a logical continuation and extension of the initial phase of research. The results of the first part of the study indicated that the black managers felt that they were encountering a considerable amount of work-related stress, over and above that experienced by their white counterparts. Hence the specific objective of Phase II was to explore these issues in greater depth.

The corpus of literature on black managers in South Africa frequently alludes to the kinds of problems faced by black managers (see for example, Coldwell and Moerdyk, 1981; Hofmeyr, 1982; Human, 1981a, 1981b, 1984; MacKay *et al.*, 1980; Moerdyk, 1983; Van Rooyen, 1982; Wella, 1983). Nevertheless, the author is not aware of any systematic fieldwork study in South Africa that has focused directly on:

- (i) The types of situations that the black managers themselves perceive as stressful;
- (ii) The coping strategies that they adopt to deal with stressors or with the emotional consequences thereof. These topics and related issues (such as social support systems available to the black managers), were the subject of study of Phase II*.

* However, Moerdyk (1983) has written a comprehensive literature review and "armchair" analysis on stress and the South African black manager.

4. Relevance of the Study

South African psychologists (such as Kruger, 1979; Strümpfer, 1981) have been calling for a more socially responsive psychology. Strümpfer (1981:18), for instance, laments that although South Africa's social, cultural, political and economic problems provide exceptional opportunities for socially relevant activities by psychologists, the latter are "often conspicuous by their absence". Strümpfer (*ibid.*) writes "... what can be done to wake us up before the multitude of social, cultural, political and technological revolutions that are taking place around us leave us behind?" He suggests we could start by "...getting out of our laboratories into the real world, out of an environment controlled and manipulated into experimental sterility, into places where people live and work in dread, dearth and desperation".

With Strümpfer's proposal in mind, the researcher believed that the exploration of the topical issue of black managers' work-related perceptions and experiences, along with their colleagues' interpretation thereof, certainly represented a socially responsive and socially meaningful study. Nevertheless, in a society as complex and seemingly out of step with the external world as South Africa, it is perhaps advisable to regard this investigation as having taken a flash photograph at a particular point in history - as having frozen events in time. This is not to say, of course, that an illuminating photograph is not of immense value in an environment rife with problems.

The relevance of this investigation firstly lies in its potential to highlight the nature and extent of differences in perceptions held by black managers as opposed to their white work associates. Such perceptual discrepancies may, in fact, reflect enduring attributions, patterns of interaction and action tendencies that typically prevail between white and black employees at higher levels in South African organizations and that may have individual, group and organizational repercussions. Secondly, the research findings could contribute to theory-building in organizational psychology with respect to black managers in particular and minority status employees in general - for instance, in terms of identifying, understanding and explaining the pervasive problems that these individuals feel they encounter as an out-group in the business environment. Thirdly, the inquiry has both applied and theoretical relevance by providing explanatory and descriptive details on the type and nature of work stress experienced by black managers

and which arose from, or was related to, their minority group status in white-dominated companies. Fourthly, given the paucity of general organizational studies on coping strategies (Van Sell *et al.*, 1981), this study adds to the literature by documenting the kinds of coping mechanisms used by black managers to deal with work stressors or with the emotional consequences of work stress. Fifthly, this research has applied significance by identifying, on the basis of the black managers' experiences in a white world, those areas in which preventative or ameliorative action could be taken.

5. Scope of the Study

As Templer (1980:4) points out:

"In an exploratory study of complex phenomena, it is important consciously to delimit the scope of the topic, if a significant contribution is to result from the application of limited resources."

Consequently, the scope of the topic was delineated as follows:

5.1 Content

It was decided to limit the focus of the investigation to the examination of perceptions, attitudes and experiences of black managers and selected work colleagues as reported by the individuals themselves. Thus, the subjects' actual behaviour in the work environment was not observed.

5.2 The Respondent Sample

In view of the heterogeneous nature of the upwardly mobile black labour force, it was decided to restrict the investigation to blacks at managerial levels where, to reiterate, there is a shortage of manpower. Four distinct categories of respondents were included in the study: the black manager, his immediate senior, a peer (if he had one) and a subordinate (once again, if one was present).

5.3 The Organization Sample

The study was limited to companies in the private sector only, as it was felt that they would provide the most fruitful source of the relatively high level black sample required. For practical reasons the study was

conducted in the areas of metropolitan Durban, metropolitan Pietermaritzburg and the Richards Bay area. In order to find a sufficiently large sample, it was necessary to draw on the more "progressive" organizations in the private sector which were spearheading black job advancement. Within this limitation, an attempt was made to obtain a cross-section of companies operating in different industries.

6. Organization of the Thesis

Chapter 2 discusses background factors to the study. The skilled manpower shortage in South Africa is reviewed as well as the legal framework affecting black job advancement. Factors inhibiting the upward job mobility of blacks are also considered.

Chapter 3 reviews literature pertaining to South African black managers. American literature on affirmative action and on the experiences of American black managers is examined. Pointers for the South African situation are raised.

Chapter 4 largely defines and clarifies those theoretical constructs that were central to this investigation, namely: perceptions, attitudes and related entities. Studies on the perceptions held by different categories of people at work are also documented. The issue of organizational socialization as it pertains to job advancement, is also raised.

Chapter 5 deals with the topic of organizational stress since this relates to Phase II of the study which focused on the stress experienced by black managers.

Chapter 6 covers methodological perspectives and related assumptions that prevail in organizational psychology and in allied fields. Thereafter, the research problem and objectives are described. Finally, the research design is elucidated.

Chapter 7 presents the Phase I qualitative material of the 34 black managers and the 34 white bosses.

Chapter 8 comprises a discussion of the Phase I qualitative interview material of the 21 white peers and 11 subordinates, as contrasted with that of their respective black manager associates.

Chapter 9 examines the results of multivariate statistical analyses undertaken on the Phase I data.

Chapter 10 focuses on the Phase II interview material obtained from 31 of the 34 black managers who had participated in Phase I of the study.

Chapter 11 outlines the results of multivariate statistical analyses of the Phase II research material.

Chapter 12 synthesizes material from both phases of the study and provides a summary of, and conclusions about the investigation as a whole. Criticisms of the study and suggestions for future research are raised.

Chapter 13 provides practical recommendations on a variety of issues related to black job advancement in general, and to blacks at managerial levels in particular.

CHAPTER 2

BLACK JOB ADVANCEMENT - AN OVERVIEW OF PERTINENT ISSUES

INTRODUCTION

"All too often the significance of an event can only be fully understood if we are aware of the total context in which it arises" (Glen, 1975:12).

Considering the above quote, one may argue that the present investigation of South African black managers and their work colleagues needs to be viewed in its wider economic, social, political and historical context. However, it is not the author's intention to provide a comprehensive history of South Africa and of the peoples of the country, since this lies beyond the scope and aim of the study. Nevertheless, general background factors which are germane to the research topic will be examined in this chapter. What follows immediately, then, is not a discussion of matters directly considered in this study, but an account of those factors from which they draw their significance. The issues covered are: South Africa's labour situation (Section 1 of this chapter), the legal framework (past and present) that has affected the upward job mobility of blacks (Section 2), and general factors restraining black job advancement (Section 3).

SECTION 1 : AN OVERVIEW OF SOUTH AFRICA'S LABOUR SITUATION

1.1 Characteristics of the Labour Force

South Africa has a human resources problem which is the product of a long and complex political, economic and socio-cultural history. The labour force possesses the following characteristics:

(i) Approximately 70 percent of the economically active population is composed of black workers (Hofmeyr, 1982). This figure can be placed in perspective by studying Table 1 which presents statistics on the South African population according to racial groups, projected until the year 2000.

TABLE 1 : Projections of the South African Population (including the Independent Black States) for the period 1980 - 2000

Racial Group	1980		1985		1990		1995		2000	
	Millions	%	Millions	%	Millions	%	Millions	%	Millions	%
Whites	4,5	15,8	4,8	15,0	5,1	14,1	5,4	13,3	5,6	12,5
Coloureds	2,5	8,9	2,8	8,7	3,1	8,5	3,3	8,2	3,6	8,0
Asians	0,8	2,8	0,9	2,8	1,0	2,7	1,0	2,6	1,1	2,5
Blacks	20,7	72,5	23,7	73,5	27,1	74,7	30,8	75,9	34,6	77,0
TOTAL	28,5	100	32,2	100	36,3	100	40,5	100	44,9	100

Source: Terblanche *et al.* (1983:2).

The black population is growing fastest, with a ratio to whites increasing from 4,6:1 in 1980 to 6,2:1 by 2000. Consequently, one can expect the majority of economically active employees to be drawn from the black racial group to an even larger extent in years to come.)

(ii) Hofmeyr (1982) points out that South Africa is confronted with a dual labour problem. That is, there is an abundance of unskilled and semi-skilled labour, yet a severe shortage of skilled labour in the top categories (that is, in the managerial, professional and technical fields). While estimates of the skilled manpower shortage vary, all agree that it is large. For instance, Nasser (quoted by *Financial Mail*, February 12, 1982:701) claimed that there was a management staff shortfall of 175 000. Fortunately, the present recession has given management a breathing space in which to sit back and reassess the problem. Yet in the final analysis, the shortage has not been delayed, nor will it. Obviously, labour shortfalls in South Africa relate to normal growth periods, as in developed economies. In addition, such shortages have been socially created by differential educational facilities over many years for the various racial groups in the country. The situation is exacerbated by a relatively high black unemployment rate. Nattrass (1984:2) notes that: "Estimates of the number of blacks who are unemployed or underemployed run as high as two million people, or nearly 30 percent of the black workforce". Such figures relate largely to the

blue collar workers.

(iii) The vast majority of the "higher level" jobs (professional, technical, administrative and managerial) are predominantly occupied by whites. For instance, in 1983, 94,7 percent of the managerial, executive and administrative positions in South Africa were held by whites, although they constituted less than one-sixth of the population (see Table 1 of this chapter). By contrast, blacks occupied only 1,6 percent of these positions while 1,8 percent of the incumbents were coloureds and 1,9 percent were Asians (Department of Manpower Survey, 1983). In addition, Van Rooyen (1982) notes that the percentage of whites in high level occupations has already reached 31,5 percent of the economically active white male group. The United States compares with 26,5 percent (I.L.O. Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1980).

Although white women and other racial groups are gradually infiltrating the managerial ranks, this increase is not nearly sufficient to meet projected long-term requirements. Thus, there is a danger that whites will be promoted to their level of incompetence. Concomitantly, this overutilization of whites in the upper echelons will undoubtedly result in talented, capable blacks becoming progressively more frustrated at not being able to extend themselves or to prove their abilities and worth.

✓(iv) Hence, there is inadequate participation by blacks in skilled work. For example, a survey by the Department of Manpower (1983) reveals that in April 1983, there was a grand total of 19 349 whites in all engineering fields, compared to only 41 black engineers. There were 4 929 white registered accountants and auditors to only 73 blacks; 2 314 cost accountants to one black and 31 black managing directors to 19 189 whites. Similarly, there were 29 black general managers compared to 8 824 whites; 55 black managers of factory, production works or plants as against 12 111 whites, and merely 36 black sales or purchasing managers as opposed to 10 760 whites in this occupation. These statistics are all the more striking when one considers, once again, that roughly 70 percent of the economically active population in South Africa are black.

(v) There is a "bottom heavy" occupational structure in South Africa, with proportionately fewer people in the managerial categories than there are in countries such as the United Kingdom or the United States of America (Hofmeyr, 1982). Parsons (1978) estimated that 5,5 percent of the economically active South African population falls into the "high level" category, compared with 14,7 percent in the United Kingdom and 24,7 percent in the United States.

Moreover, statistics reveal that South African executives labour under the burden of a staggeringly high manager to non-manager ratio of 1:42. By contrast, management/worker ratios in the United States are 1:6; in Australia the figure is 1:11; while in Japan the ratio is 1:16 (Sadie, 1980). Countries naturally differ in regard to their level of economic and social development, as well as the type of manufacturing process. Yet even though South Africa is more labour-intensive than her counterparts, the overload by comparison, is still large (Hofmeyr, 1982). That is, the figure underlines the fact that South Africa is very short of employees at the top end of the ladder.

(vi) There is a literate population (regardless of race) of only 5,1 million in an economically active population as large as 11 million (Nasser, 1981b). Hence, roughly 40 percent of the South African economically-active population are at least literate, while 60 percent are at best only semi-literate - most in fact are illiterate and this illiteracy is found essentially amongst black people. This black educational problem will be examined more fully in Section 1 of Chapter 3.

1.2 Labour Supply and Demand Projections

In the light of the South African labour situation, dire warnings abound as to the number of upper-white collar workers required in future decades to keep the economy afloat (Chalmers, 1983). Although the projections conflict with one another, they share an over-riding feature - that is, they are all vastly higher than what is likely to be attained in reality.

It is difficult to obtain a final estimate of the total number of managers required in the very near future. Van Rooyen (1982:2) quotes the National Productivity Institute as estimating that a total of 117 000 managers need to be trained by 1987. Terblanche (1981) projects an estimated increase in the percentage of managerial workers from 2,62 percent in 1977 to 3,19 percent in 1987. This increase of only 0,57 percent represents a need for more than 70 000 managers. Van Rooyen (*op. cit.*) also proposes that an increase of 62 000 managers will be required by 1987. Consequently, a managerial employment growth moving towards 100 000 should be expected within the next two to three years*. Clearly, this need cannot be met by whites (particularly white males) in the future. Thus, the solution to the problem lies largely with the development of the black sector. This is not to deny the greater utilization of women, of people who have retired, and of other racial groups.

1.3 The Black Bourgeoisie and Middle Class

Given the fact that blacks in higher-level jobs may be regarded as belonging, in the main, to the bourgeois and middle class, it is informative to examine statistics on the issue. Table 2 below reveals how small these two classes are in relation to the total black population employed in the "modern sector" and in comparison to the class breakdown of white income earners.

The figures cited illustrate that whites dominate bourgeois and middle class positions and that the size of the white working class is shrinking. By contrast, the majority of the blacks belong to the working class.

* However, the current recession resulting in slower economic growth, will probably push these estimates back a few years.

TABLE 2 : Class Structure of Black and White Income Earners
(Non-Agricultural Sector) 1977 - 1987

Class	Blacks				Whites			
	Percentage in class		N	Δ N	Percentage in class		N	Δ N
	1977	1987	1977	1977-87	1977	1987	1977	1977-87
Bourgeois and middle classes	14,2	18,9	421 535	323 970	74,2	79,7	1 193 323	401 016
Working class	85,8	81,1	2 547 688	656 146	25,7	20,2	414 030	- 7 738
Totals*	100,0	100,0	2 969 300	980 198	99,9	99,9	1 607 800	393 100

Note: N = Number of income earners.

Δ N = Increase in number of income earners over the period 1977-1987.

Source: Economic Development Programme for the Republic of South Africa, 1978-1987, Office of the Prime Minister, Economic Planning Branch, Pretoria, 1980 - as quoted by Meth (1983:194).

Using Table 2 above as a guide, Meth (1983) estimates that blacks moving into "advanced" jobs will number approximately 33 000 per annum. He maintains that the main contribution to this class will be teachers and nurses - "Together they account for 89 percent of the black professional, semi-professional and technical workers or about 27 percent of the black middle class" (Meth, 1983:193). The corresponding statistics for whites are 33 percent and 8 percent - whites being reasonably evenly distributed over other middle class and bourgeois occupations. Meth suggests that the middle class occupations in which the number of blacks should increase, are clerks and salespersons. He concludes that the bulk of the black middle class already occupies, and probably will continue to occupy, fairly subordinate positions in the occupational hierarchy. Indeed, Meth posits that since white women, Asians and coloureds all rank

* Although some of these totals do not add up exactly, they are quoted as provided by Meth (1983:184).

above blacks both in terms of political power and of access to education and training, their elevation into "advanced" jobs will almost certainly occur before that of blacks. This will preclude blacks from making any significant inroads into these areas in the foreseeable future.

On this note, it is instructive to examine those legal factors that have been instrumental in preventing the upward job mobility of blacks and which contributed towards the creation of a skilled manpower shortage in South Africa.

SECTION 2 : THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK AFFECTING BLACK JOB ADVANCEMENT - HISTORY AND CURRENT ISSUES

Since it came to power in 1948, the South African nationalist government's policy based on the ideology of group survival and preservation of identity, has been to separate the various population groups on the basis of race* (Wiehahn, 1981). The different population groups (namely the whites, blacks, Asians and coloured people) have been segregated on social, educational and political levels within society - a process which has become known as "institutionalized apartheid". By law and policy the state also introduced racial separation within the economy. Wiehahn (1981) maintains that as far back as 1956, this was particularly evident in the labour field. Statutory and policy restrictions served to restrict both the vertical and horizontal mobility of blacks. For instance, the following legislation impeded black advancement at skilled levels (Hofmeyr, 1982):

- (i) The Industrial Conciliation Act (No. 28 of 1956) provided for the reservation of work, either wholly or partially for persons of a specified race;
- (ii) The Apprenticeship Act (No. 37 of 1944) allowed for apprenticeship committees whose function was to consider applications for apprenticeship. These committees effectively blocked black people from being admitted as apprentices (Hofmeyr, 1982);
- (iii) The Physical Planning and Utilization of Resources Act (No. 88 of 1967) curtailed the employment of black people in white areas.

* However, *de facto* social segregation and discrimination had a long history prior to the nationalist government - they merely entrenched it more firmly in law.

Schlemmer (1973) alludes to a web of laws which sought to prevent "mixed" employment in the same part of a building in factories (usually excluding production work), and which required the provision of segregated canteen and toilet facilities for different races, and prevented black ownership of shops, stalls, factories and other employing organizations in white areas. There were also laws which, *inter alia*, prevented the establishment of mixed trade unions for whites, coloureds and Asian employees and denied black trade unions official recognition and status. (For a more detailed review of the history of labour legislation, see Hofmeyr, 1982; Horrell, 1972; Schlemmer, 1973; Templer, 1980.)

(In effect, a system of job reservation for whites and discriminatory labour practice against blacks existed. It assumed a distinct and deliberate protectionistic stance with respect to white labour, while relegating black economically active persons to predetermined positions with specific limitations imposed (Coetzee, 1984).

From 1971, the Government's approach towards labour issues started to soften (Dagut, 1977; Hofmeyr, 1982; Schlemmer, 1973). This was largely because of economic demands and the need for improved and increased utilization of black manpower. Although the government did not exactly encourage black upward job mobility, it adopted a neutral stance as long as there was no strong reaction from white unions or government supporters.

However, after the widespread black strikes in the Durban area in 1973 and the uprisings in Soweto in 1976, there were significant changes in the repressive statutes and how these were applied (Reese, 1981). International threats of disinvestment and boycotts, as well as pressures from the overseas companies of South African multinational organizations, added to the pressures for the introduction of a just racial dispensation. Political changes in the surrounding territories of Zimbabwe, Mocambique and Angola also forced the government to rethink their racial policies. The skilled manpower shortage which threatened to impede economic growth added to the necessity for formative action. This state of affairs culminated in the appointment of two government commissions of enquiry namely, the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions (1979), to investigate labour legislation and policies. Both commissions recommended the abolition of racial discrimination affecting labour and the elimination of separate legislation for blacks. The changes in labour legislation which have

followed in the wake of the propositions of the Commission reports, have led to more racial integration in industry and to greater opportunities for blacks to compete on a more equal footing with whites. For instance, the last remaining statutory job reservation determination was abolished during 1983, bringing about an end to statutory job reservation (S.A.I.R.R., 1984). Jowell (1979:82) argues that these changes represent "the most radical departure from accepted political and social practices in the past twenty years". It is these modifications that have facilitated the movement of the mushrooming band of blacks into and upwards within traditionally white managerial echelons.

Myers (1979) suggests, however, that it would be a mistake to regard such moves as major policy changes. He argues that the fundamental philosophies of racial discrimination are still present, but that attempts are being made to accommodate these philosophies to the realities of the 1980's. That is, it appears that the much publicized "improvements" to South Africa's labour legislation offer only cosmetic efforts toward deracialization (Rogerson, 1982). The underlying institutionalized structure of white privilege and exploitation of blacks, which lies at the core of the South African capitalist system, still remains (Seidman and Makgetla, 1980).

Interestingly, Meth (1982) as quoted by Mthombothi (1982:20) contends that the government is anxious to promote black job advancement as a strategy to fight the spread of communism. Political leaders have driven home the message that the creation of a stable and contented black middle class must be encouraged (and then co-opted) so that some black people can have "a stake in the country, something to fight for, something to defend" (Mthombothi, 1982:20). Beckett (1981:11) explains the situation thus:

"The creation of a black middle class is the thin edge of the wedge that whites are trying to drive between blacks - their attempt to create a buffer, to buy off the best brains and voices, to give those brains and voices enough of a stake in the system to want to see it perpetuated."

Indeed, Smith (1982) maintains that there is evidence that it is becoming deliberate state policy to promote the selective recruitment of blacks (as well as Asians and coloureds) into a trans-racial bourgeoisie. It

is hoped that making the black bourgeoisie a junior partner in the white capitalist establishment will generate political conservatism amongst members of this strata. "Thus, a policy of divide and rule by race and tribal affiliation is being augmented by divide and rule by class stratification" (Smith, 1982:32). By granting limited rights, then, the new legislation provides a means of co-opting the small but increasingly skilled aggregate of urban blacks at the expense of further tightening apartheid controls on the majority of blacks (Hindson, 1980; Shafer, 1979; Smith, 1982).

Two other groups in South Africa, apart from the blacks themselves, wish to encourage upward job mobility (Mthombathi, 1982). These are:

- (i) Well-meaning liberals. That is, certain politicians, activists and academics who want to see blacks afforded a better deal on moral grounds;
- (ii) Big business, which fears that shortages of skilled personnel will hamper their growth.

Thus it is clear that although able to survive the pressures of industrialization upon it, South Africa has in fact considerably revised the system of racial domination over time (Templer, 1980). The government has moved beyond the stage of racial discrimination or "baaskap", into a new era of sophisticated racial domination described by Adam (1971:17) as a "pragmatic oligarchy".

"The Apartheid system has been viewed as simply the most outdated relic of a dying colonialism, yet possibly it is one of the most advanced and effective patterns of rational, oligarchic domination" (Adam, 1971:16).

Indeed, the plethora of laws and regulations impinging upon the workplace (such as the pass laws, influx control and the Group Areas Act), compounded by other policies in the political and social arena, can be seen as the closest a modern industrial state can come to achieving controlled "sponsored" mobility (Weichel, 1980). The access of blacks to higher positions in general, and to key positions in particular, is carefully monitored. However, as the need for adaptation and development grows, the process of black job advancement will probably play the most vital role in the economy's future development.

SECTION 3 : RESTRAINING FORCES ON BLACK JOB ADVANCEMENT

Since the start of the process in the early 1970's, the advancement of blacks into managerial positions has been tardy, to say the least. This opinion is supported by, *inter alia*, Fine Spamer and Associates Management Consultants (1981), Hofmeyr (1982, 1983a, 1983b), Human (1981b), Nasser (1981b), Nattrass (1983), Schlemmer and Boulanger (1978), Tlhopane (1981), Wella (1983). For instance, Hofmeyr (1982) scanned South African companies and found a very limited number of "real" black managers (in the sense of being able to make decisions and share in policy-making), as opposed to token managers.

- ✓ In order to bring the present study into contact with the reality of the South African situation, it is necessary to identify and examine the major obstacles militating against the upward progression of blacks at managerial ranks and which largely account for the under-representation of blacks at skilled levels. Such information should serve to enrich the reader's understanding of the obstacles facing black managers, and should highlight issues which have to be addressed in any practical efforts to advance black people to managerial levels in organizations.
- ✓ Reasons for the backlog in the recruitment of black managers are the product of a complex interaction of historical, political, social, cultural and economic factors. For sake of clarity, the factors restraining black occupational advancement may be divided into those that are extrinsic to black employees, and those that are internally-located (Moerdyk and Verster, 1981).

3.1 Extrinsic Obstacles

Nattrass (1979) points out that South African employers seeking to promote black employees are confronted with a variety of institutional constraints. These include:

- (i) Legal factors;
- (ii) Racial stereotypes and prejudices held by management; (s)
- (iii) The attitude of white workers and organized labour to black mobility; (s)

- (iv) The pervasive low average educational levels of black workers.

These four major institutional restraints will now be discussed in turn.

3.1.1 Legal Restraints

As pointed out earlier on in this chapter, since the publication of the Wiehahn and Riekert commissions in 1979, considerable changes have taken place in terms of reducing the legal restraints on black job advancement (as epitomized, for instance, by the abolition of job reservation). It appears that while labour policies pertaining to blacks have been revised, legislation such as the Group Areas Act, Influx Control and the whole complex of pass laws indirectly impede black job advancement by restricting freedom of movement. Such legislation forces blacks to sell their labour at a disadvantage as their geographical mobility is limited. Within this context, Mangum (1978) cites the example of the few college-educated blacks who often cannot freely follow career advancement because a new job or promotion would require moving to another city in which they have no right of residence. In comparison with white labour then, legislation for blacks is a controlling rather than a facilitating factor.

3.1.2 Management Attitudes

Nattrass (1979) contends that racial stereotypes and prejudices* are widely held by South African management. Nevertheless, there is a dearth of research on this issue. Fine Spamer Associates (1978) noted, however, that white employees in 27 percent of the companies they surveyed in South Africa, felt that blacks lacked the ability to progress to skilled positions in their companies. Similarly, Boulle (1978) found that there is a belief amongst some South African white managers that black employees cannot really do "big" jobs and are not creative. It was felt that they should take care of the routine activities while the "educated whites" should do the important work. Boulle further noted that white managers tended to ascribe traditional roles to black people and failed to take individual differences into account. Unfortunately, it is preconceptions such as these that seem to have played a substantial role in inhibiting the upward occupational

* Refer forward to Chapter 4, Section 3 for a definition of, and discussion of attitudes and related constructs as conceptualized for the purpose of this study.

mobility of blacks in many organizations over the past few years.

Moreover, as long as negative stereotypes exist among management, the likelihood of the "pygmalion effect" is high, even if efforts are made to foster black job advancement. Indeed, in the words of a businessman:

"....by a combination of national policy and business apathy, we provide blacks with the sort of environment which produces low productivity - and then we rationalize the situation by saying that they are lazy, can't learn, won't accept responsibility, and all that rot"(Watts, 1980:23).

Therefore, the attitudes and stereotypes held by white management can become self-fulfilling prophecies through the response that they elicit from black employees, and thereby gain validity insofar as they have behavioural consequences. For instance, some black managers may be less efficient than their white counterparts precisely because less is expected of them; and some may never be given an opportunity to disprove stereotypes held of them by whites.

With this in mind, Chalmers (1983:328) suggests that: "It is.... important that when blacks first move up in the hierarchy, they encounter success. Failure at first will only confirm negative stereotypes".

Furthermore, the stereotype of the successful manager is cast in the model of a white male. This effectively places minority employees at a substantial disadvantage and subjects them to the "burden of proof" to show that they are capable and competent.

3.1.3 Attitudes of White Employees

The second type of obstacle to black occupational mobility is an attitudinal one on the part of white employees in general (Nelson, 1980). Such attitudes are a direct consequence of ideological and political thought (Farrel, 1978).

The legacy of more than three centuries of white presence and contact with blacks has perpetuated white attitudes which have traditionally questioned the abilities of blacks to perform higher level jobs. Partly because of the overwhelming evidence of the achievement of blacks in a variety of fields, this attitude has undergone substantial modifications in recent years, and it is no longer true that whites in general regard blacks as

incapable of progressing occupationally (Lever, 1978).

Biesheuvel (1974) posits that the persistence of different cultures in South Africa provides fertile soil for the creation and expression of group antagonisms and stereotypes. Fundamental economic conflicts are readily transformed into racial ones, while cultural differences and communication problems provide ample scope for rationalizations. Indeed, as blacks are seen to be "different", it is argued that they need to be treated differently. Since black workers may lack certain skills and may have difficulty in making themselves comprehensible, these characteristics are upheld as illuminating their "inferiority". Therefore, a rational justification for keeping blacks in subordinate positions is readily available.

According to Schlemmer (1978), white employee opposition to black upward job mobility is also related to the following factors:

- (i) Job insecurity;
- (ii) Status anxieties;
- (iii) Material interests.

Each of these will now be considered.

3.1.3.1 Job Insecurity

Broadly, this exemplifies a class-related threat. That is whites, especially those in lower level jobs, may feel threatened by educated blacks and may be afraid of losing economic security as a result of the upward job progression of blacks. Whites who lack the innate capability, motivation and qualifications to perform high-level skilled, supervisory or administrative work, have traditionally been protected by statutory and customary measures from the challenge of blacks with superior ability and educational attainments. Their wages and standard of living have been an artifact of their privileged position (Biesheuvel, 1974). Now, with the abolition of job reservation and other restrictive legislation, they face competition from blacks. Moreover, some whites complain that organizations may introduce blacks as "cheap

labour" at much lower rates of pay to undercut and replace white employees, or that performance standards will drop (Watts, 1980).

3.1.3.2 Status Anxieties

In a racially prejudiced society with caste-like racial barriers (as in the case of South Africa), the possibility of hostile reactions by the dominant group to status mobility among people from the ethnic minority group* is particularly great (Watts, 1980). The presence of an under-class of blacks in South Africa enhances the social status of whites, particularly those at working class and lower-middle class levels (Schlemmer, 1973). The fact that some blacks are upwardly mobile in the workplace, clearly generates severe feelings of insecurity amongst such whites who have enjoyed a privileged social status over a long period of time.

3.1.3.3 Material Interests

The collective inclinations of the majority of white South Africans are also traceable to a variety of material interests. Among these are the possession of land and availability of exploited labour, and a belief that white control implies the maintenance of economic stability.

Schlemmer (1978) reveals that the "popular" material interests of rank and file whites are also expressed in other social spheres as well. These include residential, educational, recreational facilities, along with other privileges consequent upon the exclusive use of certain public facilities.

It is unlikely that the movement of blacks into higher-status occupations will logically result in more general social integration. One may anticipate much greater opposition by whites to associations in everyday living, than to equal status work on the factory floor or in the office. Hence, as Schlemmer (1978:118) notes, there undoubtedly exists "a sphere of institutionalized racism in public life which is fundamentally immune to the immediate influence of the rational colourblind norms of industry".

* Within this context, the term "minority" is used to denote a lack of political power, and not population size.

3.1.3.4 Overview of the White Attitudinal Problem

The degree to which white workers and organized labour act as a restraint on black advancement varies from industry to industry and is apparently decreasing over time (Chalmers, 1983). In 1980, Fine Spamer Associates reported that 25 percent of the companies in their sample of over 150 companies claimed that they had encountered objections from white workers to black advancement. In 1981, this figure was reduced to 17 percent; in 1982 only 9 percent of companies contended that they had experienced a "white backlash" (Fine Spamer Associates, 1980, 1982). Yet Chalmers (1983:321) suggests that as the number of blacks in "traditionally white" jobs rises, and as increasingly more semi-skilled and unskilled white workers are threatened, it is probable that the amount of white opposition will increase.

To date, most companies that have met with white objections have effectively dealt with the problem by pointing out how the appointments were in keeping with their company's policy and/or by emphasizing the suitability of the candidate for the job. Similarly, Purcell and Cavanagh (1972) observed a similar pattern when doing research in United States corporations where white resistance was evident and management adopted a firm stand against it, it generally diminished.

3.1.4 Black Education

An immediate cause of the skills shortage, and which therefore acts as a restraint on the job advancement of blacks, is the legacy of inferior formal black education. This is the result of more than 30 years of continual neglect as a result of the Nationalist government's policy of separate and unequal education for blacks (*Financial Mail*, 22 May, 1981). Consequently, South Africa is presented with an inheritance of millions of black adults who have never had the opportunity of achieving "the basic learning package" (Hartshorne, 1983:6). Not surprisingly, then, blacks in general have been ill-prepared for their immersion into the world of business.

The black educational system has been characterized by: discriminatory *per capita* expenditure (approximately R192 per annum for a black child compared to about R1 385 annually for whites - Spencer-Smith, 1984);

poorly qualified teachers (Corke, 1980; Dhlomo, 1983); unbalanced curricula and syllabuses influenced by ideological thought (Corke, 1980); inadequate facilities and overcrowding in black schools; a lack of compulsory education which results in children having breaks in school attendance or in starting school at a late age (Dhlomo, 1983); a very high drop-out and failure rate (Dhlomo, 1983); and the establishment of black universities far removed from industrial, commercial and metropolitan areas (Corke, 1980). Most black pupils are not encouraged to think and generally do not take the "thinking" subjects such as mathematics and science (Schlemmer, 1983), as quoted by the *Daily News* (5 May, 1983). There is a strongly maintained tradition of rote learning, ritualistic approaches to education and a high degree of passive dependence on teachers (Corke, 1980; Dhlomo, 1983; Francois, 1980). This results in a widespread inability to translate knowledge into effective skills outside the school environment. It is estimated that by 1990, the black communities will produce no more than 28 percent of those qualified to enter a university and no more than 22 percent of university graduates (*Financial Mail*, 18 July, 1980). Even so, most of the black graduates will be in the arts, rather than in specialised fields such as agriculture, architecture, dentistry or engineering.

- In general, then, the system has produced young black people who have large weaknesses in their background of knowledge, who lack confidence in dealing with privileged whites, whose communication and cognitive skills are poorly developed, who have an unsatisfactory command of English even as a second language, and whose early development of conceptual thought has been neglected (Corke, 1980).

The situation is compounded by the fact that the blacks' informal education is not orientated to the modern industrial and commercial environment (Francois, 1980; Van Rooyen, 1982). The blacks have grown up on the periphery of both the free enterprise system and the accompanying technology. Hence, they have never been involved in policy formation, decision-making and higher level functional aspects of this system. Neither has their mother-tongue accommodated these concepts in its dictionaries (Hofmeyr, 1982). Since such disadvantage or disorientation is not compensated for by the school system, the black child is denied important preludes and introductions to modes of attitudes and behaviour vital for survival in, and adaptation to, the work environment.

Hence it may be argued that the quality of the education that blacks receive is, through no fault of their own, inferior to that of their white counterparts. Their academic training is obtained within a deprived environment which does not adequately prepare them to meet the demands of the industrial world. However, it should be noted that the government now seems to be prepared to alter, to an extent, this deplorable state of affairs. This is because it realizes that improved black education is vital to maintain capitalist accumulation and to quell black student revolts and boycott campaigns (such as those in 1976-7, 1980, and in 1984) in protest about the schooling system. The government-mandated de Lange Report (H.S.R.C., 1981), for instance, presents a blueprint for a move towards greater parity of education between racial groups.

3.2 Individually-Located Factors

In the preceding pages, key institutional variables which militate against the advancement of blacks into skilled occupations were examined. With respect to factors "intrinsic" to black employees that may impede their occupational mobility, it must be stressed that such variables can usually be traced to social discrimination or institutional conditions that affect their formative experiences. For instance, the low industrial sophistication of many blacks may be viewed as a reflection of the psychological and physical distance of black society from the technological and free-enterprise system (Nattrass, 1979). Moerdyk and Verster (1981) identify the blacks' cultural upbringing as another "internal" variable. The cultural issue as it pertains to the black managers' performance at work, is discussed in the following chapter (Section 1.3). Other individually-located factors, such as deficits in certain skills, aptitudes, technical know-how and the like, may be viewed as by-products, in the main, of the institutional constraints discussed in the preceding pages of this thesis.

Certain attitudes held by blacks may also be regarded as impeding their job advancement. Unfortunately, most researchers have been concerned with white acceptance of blacks so that little is known about black stereotypes and prejudices *apropos* whites (Mzinyati, 1980). However, their pervasive disenchantment with and distrust of the free enterprise capitalist system is well-documented (see for instance, Allen, 1984;

Gathercole, 1981; Hall *et al.*, 1984; Mackay *et al.*, 1980; Moerdyk and Verster, 1981; Simpson, 1980; Wella, 1983).

It appears that many blacks link all whites with the oppressive South African political system (Simpson, 1980). More specifically, a survey by Unisa's School of Business Leadership (quoted by the *Business Times*, July 8, 1984:1), revealed that blacks regard business and management as allies of apartheid. Black worker hostility towards management is strong, and there is a distinct "them versus us" situation since management is regarded as acting against the interests of the workers. As a result, some blacks choose to opt out of the capitalist system and attempt to dissuade others from participating in it. Consequently, upwardly mobile blacks are often accused of being "sellouts", "Uncle Toms" and "traitors" (*Financial Mail*, December 5, 1980; Moerdyk, 1983; Moerdyk and Verster, 1981)*. The attack on achievement and its related middle class lifestyle is aggravated by the calls from Pretoria to create a "black middle class" as a "stabilizing force".

3.3 Implementation of Codes of Conduct

An overview of those factors impeding black upward job mobility clearly reveals that this process is bedevilled with numerous obstacles. In the face of such restraints, it is interesting to note to what extent companies in South Africa are trying to create equal employment opportunities and job advancement for blacks. This section will consider this issue.

As already mentioned in this thesis, many companies have adopted "codes of conduct" since 1977. These are programmes aimed at eliminating or reducing discrimination in employment. Several organizations have developed their own codes, but the most widely used are:

- (i) The Canadian Government code of conduct;
- (ii) The Sullivan Principles;
- (iii) The indigenous Urban Foundation/SACCOLA code;
- (iv) The EEC (European Economic Community) code.

* A significant feature of the 1985 township disturbances has been the attack by some township residents on the life and property of blacks, such as police and community councillors, who are seen to be part of the "white" system. It is not clear from news media reports whether or not black managers have also been attacked.

Despite this, blacks have not moved into managerial ranks to any substantial degree and very few blacks are in middle and senior management (Fine, Spamer and Associates, 1981). This is not surprising in the light of black advancement surveys in South Africa, which reveal that only limited action has been taken by companies. For instance, a survey conducted by academics monitoring the use of the SACCOLA code by companies subscribing to it, revealed that these organizations (which represented 656 000 employees) were not being very responsive to codes of employment practice. Although some employers spoke about their intentions of black advancement, there still existed a considerable gap between acceptance of the principles of the code and their full implementation. While the overall acceptance of the code amounted to 68 percent, active implementation only reached 51 percent. In addition, only 40 percent of the companies were introducing policies to ensure that blacks enjoyed equal opportunities in advancing to managerial levels. Another interesting finding was that, contrary to claims by 75 percent of the companies of a non-discriminatory remuneration policy, black managers received less than half of what their white counterparts earned (*Financial Mail*, July 24, 1981).

Similar results emerged from a study conducted by management consultants Fine, Spamer and Associates (1981) in 200 concerns in South Africa. It was found that 87 percent of the companies regarded themselves as equal opportunity employees. However, when it came to treating blacks and whites equally on such points as pay and training opportunities, most of them failed the "acid test".

Furthermore, since none of the codes currently carry legal penalties for non-compliance, this has led to claims that these codes are little more than a pious hope or philanthropic ideal. In fact, Marsden (1981) suggests that the term "code of practice" is a misnomer - in many cases such codes are merely guidelines.

Thus it appears that many companies still have a long way to go before meeting the non-discrimination principles advocated by the codes. Hofmeyr (1982) suggests a possible reason why organizations are not moving blacks into their managerial ranks to any substantial degree. He points out that firms are advancing blacks at the semi-skilled and skilled levels because of day-to-day economic requirements. However, businesses are under less direct pressure to place blacks at managerial levels where jobs are more

complex and work output cannot be readily quantified. Moreover, most potential black managers are initially not as prepared for management as their white counterparts (as a product of their disparate cultural background, education and so on). Thus they may not meet management's standards of performance. Hence:

"Companies can rationalize away the need to appoint fully-fledged black managers and convince themselves that there will always be enough white high-level manpower to satisfy their need for managers " (Hofmeyr, 1982:27).

In conclusion, then, Hofmeyr contends that although companies may publicly emphasize the need for black progression and may even appoint some black managers (especially in the industrial relations and personnel domains), a true commitment to black managerial advancement is frequently absent. Therefore, programmes directed at increasing the proportion of fully-fledged black managers in their organizations are still evaded. Similarly, Nasser (1981b:7) maintains that some multinationals, in particular, have actively and sometimes successfully built up a facade over the past few years - "...these organizations pretend that a tremendous amount is happening with respect to Black advancement while in fact little progress has been made" (*ibid.*).

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER

This chapter placed the present study in its broader economic, social and political context. It was pointed out that the late 1970's heralded the beginning of a new approach by the government to labour issues. This was the product of a growing awareness of escalating internal unrest, an increasing realization of the need to strengthen the economy against possible sanctions, and a pragmatic acceptance that economic growth could not be achieved without more effective utilization of the country's black labour force. Thus, since the publication of the Wiehahn and Riekert Commission Reports (1979), there has been an emphasis on the training and development of the skills of black labour. Racially discriminatory labour legislation has also largely been removed from the statute book. It was pointed out, however, that the Wiehahn and Riekert reports represent formative efforts to achieve a new balance of forces by shifting

the weight of the urban black population in favour of the maintenance of capitalism. This constitutes an important element in the strategy of co-optation that has accompanied reformist rhetoric, and which serves to ensure that no real shift takes place in the balance of power (Erwin and Webster, 1977).

Considering the process of black job advancement itself, it was pointed out that over the past few years this has been disappointingly slow. Institutional restraints impeding the advancement of blacks, and which may be seen as accounting, in part, for the slow upward progression of black managers, were discussed. It was also acknowledged that the low industrial "sophistication" of black employees, along with certain attitudes they hold, could militate against their occupational advancement.

An appraisal of the issues discussed in this chapter highlights the fact that the process of black job advancement is faced with numerous obstacles. These unfortunately cannot be removed readily overnight. Finally, the present study must be considered against the backdrop of the broader contextual variables discussed in this chapter, since they add a depth of understanding to the research results.

CHAPTER 3

BLACK MANAGERS AND BLACK JOB ADVANCEMENT - A LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the general types of problems that appear to have arisen in connection with the movement of blacks into managerial echelons in industry and commerce. The issue will be studied from three angles. Section 1 discusses the typical performance deficits that white management complains are characteristic of black managers. Four arguments are put forward which attempt to explain why the black managers may perform poorly at work. Section 2 reviews South African studies on black managers and on the organizations' reaction to the upward job mobility of blacks. Lastly, Section 3 discusses the American experience with regard to "Affirmative Action" programmes geared towards ensuring equal and fair employment of blacks and other minority groups. This provides pointers for, and insights into the process of "black job advancement" at skilled levels currently occurring in South Africa. Difficulties encountered by the black managers in American corporations will be described since they provide interesting parallels with the obstacles that South African black managers seem to be facing.

SECTION 1 : THE JOB PERFORMANCE OF BLACK MANAGERS - A REVIEW OF EXPLANATIONS

As Nasser (1980b) notes, white management has been dissatisfied with the performance levels of their black managers. Indeed, the general behaviour and performance of the black manager in his work environment in South Africa has been reasonably well documented (see for instance, Fine Spamer Associates, 1980, 1981; Gathercole, 1981; Hofmeyr, 1982, 1983a, 1983b; Human, 1981b; Nasser, 1980b; Reese, 1981; Van Rooyen, 1982; Wella, 1983). Such studies confirm a widespread dissatisfaction among businessmen with the performance of their black managers who are generally viewed as manifesting, *inter alia*:

- an inability to function autonomously and to handle increased responsibility
- a lack of assertiveness

- a tardiness in decision-making
- a low propensity for risk-taking
- a lack of innovation and creativity
- a lack of initiative in resolving problems
- a tendency to be subservient
- problems in communicating clearly
- a lack of interpersonal skills
- affiliation-orientated, rather than achievement-orientated behaviour
- insufficient knowledge of business concepts
- lack of confidence and unwillingness to ask questions
- lack of ability to apply theoretical knowledge practically.

With respect to American black managers, similar types of criticisms have been levelled against them by white management. It is held that although these deficits are not necessarily peculiar to the black manager and nor do they apply to all blacks, their incidence appears to be greater and more pronounced than amongst their white counterparts (Nasser, 1980b). Obviously, such evaluations are relative. Since industry in South Africa is largely initiated, owned and controlled by whites, criticisms of the black managers' performance are likely to rest, to a considerable degree, on highly ethnocentric and biased value judgements (Allen, 1984). Furthermore, there is undoubtedly an element of prejudice and stereotyping in particular white judgements that black managers often perform less effectively or less appropriately than whites. Nonetheless, such evaluations are probably based on some kernel of truth, albeit generalized and distorted. Thus, one should take cognizance of the complaints of white management and supervisors, but with a degree of scepticism and reservation.

Research in both South Africa and the United States of America has tended to attribute the pervasive so-called "underperformance" amongst black managers to three major variables, namely, qualification deficits, racial discrimination and cultural factors (Fernandez, 1975; Gathercole, 1981; Human, 1981a, 1981b, 1984; Van Rooyen, 1982). However, Human (1981a, 1981b, 1984) suggests that the "marginal position" of the black managers represents an additional set of factors that compounds their situation. These arguments will now be discussed at greater length in order to provide a backdrop to, and insight into, the present study.

1.1 The Qualifications Argument

An explanation offered for the underperformance of black managers (both in South Africa and in America), is that the blacks lack the education, technical and professional knowledge, and experience to be successful. Fernandez (1975) notes that education is the cornerstone of the qualifications argument.

The educational issue as it pertains to South African blacks was discussed in detail in Chapter 2, Section 3.1.4 as one of the institutional barriers to black job advancement. Obviously, the qualifications argument is particularly germane in the South African context since it seems that it is not only the blacks' lack of education that hinders their performance and progress, but also the inferior quality of their education when compared to that of whites (Hofmeyr, 1982). Such a disadvantage unequivocally places the black individual in a poor position within the job market. Notwithstanding this, however, the qualifications argument cannot fully explain the alleged unsatisfactory performance of black managers in South African corporations.

1.2 The Racial Discrimination Argument

This perspective views racial obstacles rather than cultural differences or educational deficits as the primary factors preventing aspiring black managers from realizing their full potential. Fernandez (1975:90) sums up the issue as follows: "To be black is, simply, unacceptable". This problem of racial discrimination constituted an underlying theme in the examination in Chapter 2 of institutional obstacles to black job advancement (epitomized by legal restraints, the negative attitudes of management and white employees, and the abysmal state of black education).

In terms of the racial discrimination argument, institutional factors militating against the black managers' satisfactory job performance can usefully be identified according to Allen's (1984) schema. That is, Allen proposes that in South African society at large, one may differentiate between:

- (i) Formal discrimination - for example, as evidenced by inadequate education and training for blacks, which then effectively stunts their skills, ability and outlook;

- (ii) Relatively informal discrimination in the form of pervasive racial prejudice held by the ruling white population.

In addition, within industry there exists:

- (i) Formal discrimination - for instance, in the form of inadequate black training; poor placement of blacks; discriminatory allocation of jobs (blacks are usually found in "black" orientated jobs);
- (ii) Informal discrimination based on whites' negative racial prejudices, stereotypes, job insecurities, material interests, status anxieties and the like. This is manifested, for instance, by a lack of white co-operation, exclusion of blacks from informal work groups and from communication networks.

As Keenen-Smith (1977) points out, such discriminatory practices tend to reinforce the in-group versus out-group situation and create in the disadvantaged employees feelings of rejection, resentment, hostility and frustration. This in turn can lower their motivation to achieve or, alternatively, the discriminatory environment can effectively prevent the minority individual from disproving white attributions of undesirable characteristics.

Murphree (1978) includes racial factors in what he terms the "situational argument". This approach suggests that underperformance on the job by black employees arises from a restricted occupational structure which denies them access to adequate training, housing and work opportunities. Underperformance (or poor performance) is thus seen as a response to factors such as second-rate housing conditions, poor placement techniques and sectional white employee resistance (Hofmeyr, 1982).

Given the racial-caste conditions in South Africa, where the pigmentation of one's skin automatically dictates one's life chances and opportunities, one may propose that the racial discrimination argument is a logically appealing explanation for the black managers' alleged poor job performance.

1.3 The Cultural Argument

Management practices in the white-dominated industrial organizations in South Africa are essentially Anglo-American in orientation (Allen, 1984;

Coldwell and Moerdyk, 1981; Moerdyk, 1983; Nasser, 1980b). Proponents of the cultural argument claim that the indigenous blacks have had to adjust to an imported, alien industrial system. This stands in stark contrast to Japan, for instance, where the western industrial system has been adapted to meet the needs of the local people. Economic imperialism in South Africa, so the argument goes, results in a fundamental mismatch between the individual and organizational characteristics - as manifested, for example, by the poor job performance of black managers.

In effect, then, it is held that because of their cultural make-up, black managers lack, *inter alia*, the necessary entrepreneurial attitude or "protestant ethic", as well as the ambition, initiative, self-directedness and reliability necessary for success in the business world (Fernandez, 1975; Hofmeyr, 1982; Human, 1981b; Templer, 1980). It is believed that blacks have been brought up in an environment antithetical to a strong interest in, or aptitude for, business careers. This places them at a disadvantage in terms of skills and attitudes important for success in commerce and industry.

Fernandez (1975:82) points out that even though blacks may have the requisite education and work experience, it is believed by many white managers that blacks cannot interact effectively with whites in higher business circles, particularly in social activities where much business is informally transacted. The reason offered is that blacks' speech, personal mannerisms and social mores generate a 'culture gap' which makes it difficult for them to assimilate into the white business world. By contrast, it is felt that whites are raised in a cultural setting that is geared to a career in business and the professions.

Following on from this, it is suggested by Coldwell and Moerdyk (1981) that South African blacks in general, and black managers in particular, are confronted by a perpetual dilemma generated by the two co-existing yet dissonant cultural paradigms held by blacks and whites. They sum up the situation thus:

"Just as in the West, Calvinism generated a philosophy and value system which is still evident today in the industrialized world - even if its precise connection with Calvinistic doctrine is forgotten - so Africa has

evolved its own philosophy and corresponding world view.... this African philosophy, however amorphous and ill-defined, pervades black managers' thinking and inadvertently affects their performance in Western-oriented organizations" (Coldwell and Moerdyk, 1981:70).

Coldwell and Moerdyk suggest, for instance, that while many of the black managers appear to value "ubuntu" (humaneness), and the importance of community spirit, they may feel that the materialistic competitiveness and self-assertive individualism which pervades western society, is unavoidable if they wish to be upwardly mobile within the present social system. It is suggested that unless the black managers accept western cultural paradigms more fully, there will possibly remain a certain degree of detachment from, lack of involvement in, and general rejection of western bureaucratic organizations. Above all, the perpetual discord between the contrasting world views will continue to have a deleterious effect on the black managers' work performance. Similarly, Reese (1981:23) argues that:

"The message seems obvious: only after our black management candidates have been 'deculturized' can they benefit from present training programmes. Whether or not the blacks are willing and able to 'dump' their cultural heritage to succeed in white business remains to be seen."

Reese's ethnocentric statement is typical of the viewpoints held by many proponents of the cultural argument. The black managers are expected to suppress their cultural heritage in order to be assimilated into the business world or else they will not be accepted or accommodated by the culturally rigid white in-group.

Another variation of the cultural argument is that espoused by Nasser (1977, 1980a, 1980b, 1981a, 1981b) and Tabane (1980). They posit that major interpersonal, perceptual and communication gaps exist between blacks and whites in South Africa, which are the product of differences in their socio-cultural value systems. Their work is based on McClelland's (1961) three-band theory of motivation which classifies human motivational needs according to the need for Affiliation (nAff), the need for Achievement (nAch) and the need for Power (nPow).

Nasser (1980a, 1980b) claims that as a result of their cultural upbringing, the black managers manifest a need for affiliation along with related characteristics such as a need for support, group-mindedness, follower behaviours, evasion of obstacles and a lack of tenacity. However, the industrial and commercial environments call for people who possess a high need for achievement and who are also independent, individualistic self-starters, with leadership qualities, tenacity and problem-solving abilities. Studies conducted so far (see Nasser *et al.*, 1978; Reese, 1981; Tabane, 1980) indicate that only one percent of blacks as opposed to 20 percent of white South Africans display high achievement needs. With this in mind, Nasser (1980b) and Tabane (1980) argue that the socio-cultural values of the blacks should be transformed if South Africa is to have the managers, supervisors and entrepreneurs it needs for economic development.

Although cultural differences clearly exist and influence psychological variables, it is difficult in practice to distinguish between the effects of culture and variables such as education, access to power structures and a number of socio-economic factors (Moerdyk and Verster, 1981). For instance, low achievement needs may merely represent a realistic adjustment to an unresponsive environment. That is, many blacks may in fact manifest patterns of achievement orientation if placed within a supportive, responsive organization where participation is encouraged (Thompson and Godsell, 1981). Indeed, Phala (1980), Tlhopane (1979, 1981) and Yannakou (1981) argue that the blacks' social, economic and political standing in South Africa leads to a need for affiliation and group support. For example, Yannakou (*op. cit.*) contends that the affiliation norm is generated, in part, by a concern for security both in the workplace and township. Tlhopane (1981:76) remarks that:

"One wonders what would happen if those social, economic and political aspirations were satisfied. It is possible that there would be a shift from affiliative to an achievement orientation."

A comment by a black student interviewed by Gurin and Epps (1975:35) in an American study, is relevant here:

"The trouble with psychologists is that they always assume the problem lies with the person. They never see the social aspect of the problem. It is not a matter of motivation. It's a problem of opportunities and social restrictions. We ought to work on that not motivation."

Although this statement is an overgeneralization, it nevertheless drives home the danger of ignoring the influences of contextual factors when, for instance, trying to account for the poor performance of black managers at work.

In addition, cross-cultural research findings tend to highlight the substantial similarities among divergent cultures with respect to cognitive and personality structures, while often confirming the reality of marked differences in levels of expression (Moerdyk and Verster, 1981). In the light of this, Moerdyk and Verster (1981:5) suggest that "... basic potentialities may be comparable across cultures, but that differential patterns of opportunities mediate levels of realized development". Similarly, Templer (1980) and Hofmeyr (1983a) point out that the "culture gap" is compounded by the implicit and explicit policy of separation in South Africa. This has resulted in a situation in which the average white manager has little understanding of black employees. The norms which prescribe that black and white people should not mix with one another socially, militate against the creation of an environment conducive to bridging the culture gap. Hofmeyr (1982) quotes an Anglo-American Corporation investigation (1979) which suggested that the policy of segregation inhibits the black child from grasping the fundamental assumptions which underlie the dominant institutions of the society. By comparison, the white child internalizes these assumptions as an integral component of his educational process. Likewise, Schlemmer (1983), as quoted by the *Daily News*, (May 5, 1983:2) argues that:

".... through segregation there is such a terrific gulf between what happens in black townships and the market place that they might as well be foreigners."

Therefore, one may argue that many of the so-called "inappropriate" cultural traits of the black managers are accentuated by (or perhaps in some cases are solely the product of) the socio-political situation in South Africa.

Interestingly, Fullager (1983:15) criticizes South African industrial psychologists for emphasizing cultural rather than individual differences. He attributes this state of affairs to the apartheid structure of the society which "encourages industrial psychologists to construct theories of black and white behaviour which ignore socio-political determinants...." (*ibid.*).

Thus attempts to account for the black managers' apparently poor job performance in terms of cultural factors only, are unacceptable. That is, the influence of such political and socio-economic factors as separate development, influx control and inadequate union representation, may fundamentally affect the productivity, efficiency and overall work performance of black managers. Notwithstanding this, however, it must be emphasized that the author is not denying the existence of cultural factors. However, one must be aware of the complexity of the issue in terms of trying to unravel cultural influences from other relevant variables in a multivariate context.

1.4 The Marginality Argument

Closely related to the cultural argument, especially that espoused by CoIdwell and Moerdyk (1981), is that proposed by Human (1981a, 1981b, 1984). She claims that the South African black managers find themselves in a "marginal" situation and that this significantly accounts for what is perceived by white management as their persistently unsatisfactory level of performance. Since the notion of marginality links up with the issue of stress experienced by the black managers which, to reiterate, was explored in Phase II of the present study, it is important to examine this concept in greater depth.

The terms "marginality" and "marginal man" were conceived by Park (1928) and elaborated upon by Stonequist. Park (1928:892) spoke of the marginal man as:

"A cultural hybrid, a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples, never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with his past and his traditions, and not quite accepted, because of racial prejudice, in the new society in which he now sought to find a place."

Similarly, Stonequist (1937:8) viewed the marginal man as:

".... one who is poised in psychological uncertainty between two (or more) social worlds,.... one of which is often 'dominant' over the other; within which membership is implicitly based upon birth or ancestry (race or nationality)...."

The dominant or more powerful group does not expect to adjust itself to the subordinate group - it is the latter that has to do the conforming, adjusting

and assimilating - or alternatively remain apart (Stonequist, 1935).

Park added that the marginal man was on the edge of two cultures and two societies which never fully interpenetrated and fused. The duality of cultures produced a duality of personalities which the marginal individual experienced as a conflict of the "divided self" which could not be quelled (Park, 1928:892). Du Bois (1903:3) regarded this as a kind of "double consciousness" - as if the marginal person regarded himself through two looking-glasses presenting clashing images.

Stonequist argued that the marginal individual could develop a complex of personality characteristics based on his cognizance of his social predicament. More specifically, he argued that:

"... a certain degree of personal maladjustment is inherent in the marginal situation, but it varies both in terms of individuals and situations. At a minimum it consists of an inner strain and malaise, a feeling of isolation or of not quite belonging" (Stonequist, 1937:201-202).

Conversely, it could lead to a disintegration of self-identity and extreme imbalance. Typical personality characteristics of the marginal man include emotional conflict, chronic nervous strain, excessive self-consciousness, restlessness, irritability, ambivalence, moodiness, lack of self-confidence, hypersensitivity, anxiety, disillusionment and feelings of purposelessness.

At this point it is instructive to note that Kerckhoff and McCormick (1955) and Cuber (1964) distinguish between "objective" and "subjective" marginality. Human (1981a) labels these "sociological" and "psychological" marginality respectively. Objective marginality is identified in terms of features and events that can be independently observed by an outsider. Although some writers (for instance, Johnston, 1976) confine the concept of objective marginality to culture-conflict situations, this constitutes only one type of marginal situation (Human, 1984). The author favours a broader definition of objective marginality as referring to a person who is a member of two different groups that exert contradictory demands upon him and thereby place him in a marginal position [Turner, (1964) as quoted by Mann (1973:215)].

On the other hand, psychological (subjective) marginality involves reactions to an objectively defined marginal context. Such responses reflect the attitudes, experiences and feelings of the individual to being in a marginal situation. According to Dickie-Clark (1966:196), "...these attitudes may be held without undue turmoil or emotional imbalance".

Applying the concept of marginality to the South African situation, it is evident that the white group is ranked above the non-white aggregates in the societal hierarchy of privilege, power and status. Therefore, while the blacks constitute a majority population, they nevertheless possess minority social and political status. Although members of the "subordinate" black out-group, the black managers have achieved a certain level of assimilation on an economic level. However, despite increasing integration within the economic sphere, the black managers are still subject to the inequities of the apartheid system. For instance, although they may interact on an equal basis with their work associates within the company, their interaction with them in the social, political and educational arena is severely circumscribed.

This situation is summed up by Human (1981a, 1981b) who argues that the black manager is placed in a marginal situation as a result of the ambiguities, inconsistencies and conflicts that he encounters by virtue of his involvement in three diverse and discordant environments. Firstly, the black manager is expected to function in "the world of the black township and black urban culture" (Human, 1981b:105); secondly, as a non-white, voteless, second class citizen in apartheid society; thirdly, as an equal to his white work associates (as a "white" in the white-dominated business world).

Therefore Human (1981a, 1981b, 1984) argues that the black managers' behaviour at work (such as their disappointing job performances) must be understood through the filter of their marginal position. That is, problems such as underperformance, a lack of assertiveness, affiliative tendencies, dissatisfaction and the like may result as much from the cumulative effects of the black managers' marginal situation, as from racial discrimination, educational factors or cultural discrepancies.

In conclusion, it appears that all four arguments from the literature as to why black managers seem to be performing poorly at work, help to explain the dynamics of the problem in its totality. The effects of inadequate education, of racism, of cultural factors and of marginality may be seen as mutually reinforcing one another and thereby compounding the issue further. Clearly, the structures of the apartheid system need to be dismantled if the major underlying cause rather than the symptom (that is poor job performance of the black manager) is to be tackled. Unfortunately, however, this is unlikely to occur in the immediately foreseeable future.

SECTION 2 : A LITERATURE REVIEW ON BLACK MANAGERS AND BLACK JOB ADVANCEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

In the light of the discussion on the arguments put forward to explain the disappointing job performances of black managers, it is informative to examine recent research pertaining to blacks at managerial levels.

Mackay *et al.* (1980) interviewed 30 upwardly mobile black managers. They were drawn from a variety of companies situated in the Pretoria - Witwatersrand - Vereeniging area and they were mainly involved in personnel and industrial relations. The results obtained revealed a need for greater freedom in decision-making, a desire for better interpersonal relationships with white colleagues, and improved career planning. Although social contacts were problematic for many of the subjects, the majority enjoyed moderate to high levels of job satisfaction.

However, Gathercole (1981), who interviewed 30 black managers drawn from a variety of firms in metropolitan Durban, Pietermaritzburg and Cape Town, found that 80 percent of informants interviewed were generally negative about the positions they held. In an attempt to determine why so many blacks expressed overall dissatisfaction with their jobs, Gathercole compared them with their white colleagues. She suggested that the black subjects were possibly comparing themselves with their white colleagues in similar positions. Consequently, they perceived themselves as being denied certain rights in their positions, and also of being discriminated against in the company as they were treated differently from their white

colleagues. Gathercole discovered that the black managers were generally far more dissatisfied and negative about their positions than were their white colleagues.

The findings of Wella (1983), who interviewed 61 black managers drawn from a variety of companies in metropolitan Durban, throws light on the influence of age and experience on the black managers' assimilation at work. Wella discovered that the younger, better qualified black managers, by virtue of their age and shorter experience with their employing organizations, were less accepted and not recognized for what they were by the company. Consequently, such individuals were generally more frustrated, more dissatisfied with their jobs, more alienated and were more critical of the company than their older counterparts. The latter, even if poorly qualified, had longer company service and therefore were relatively more accepted as individuals, better recognized and thus less frustrated than the younger black managers.

Other general research findings include the following:

Black managers typically seem to be overqualified for the positions they hold. Their jobs largely depend on their blackness - for instance, black advertising, black marketing, black personnel and other colour-coded jobs (Moerdyk, 1983; Wella, 1983). There appear to be few blacks involved in the real management decision-making process (Mphahlele, 1981; Wella, 1983).

The black managers generally feel that black job advancement is proceeding at too slow a pace and that their respective company is insincere in any efforts to speed it up (Gathercole, 1981; Mackay *et al.*, 1980; Wella, 1983). Therefore the black managers complain that they are not being given the opportunity to advance and prove their worth (Gathercole, 1981; Hofmeyr, 1981; Mackay *et al.* (1980); Wella, 1983). Top management has been blamed for "buying" the black job advancement programme, but not closely supervising its implementation down-the-line, and for not preparing whites for such changes. Certain whites' attitudes have been mentioned frequently as the reasons for the inability of black employees to advance, or to be elevated rapidly enough. Whereas top management has been regarded as

holding enlightened attitudes, whites at lower levels who are threatened by the entry of blacks into traditionally white jobs, have been identified as a major problem (Gathercole, 1981; Mackay *et al.*, (1980); Mphahlele, 1981; Wella, 1983). Indeed, according to Mackay *et al.*, (1980:57), the upward mobility of some blacks has caught many whites unawares.

"Apart from those working on lower levels who have obvious fears about Black advancement, there are those at lower and middle management levels who find themselves with an "outdated" racial stereotype which they now try to apply inappropriately to a new genre of Black managers" (*ibid.*).

Lastly, Boule (1978) noted that there were feelings of inadequacy among the black managers he studied. Many appeared to have adopted self-defeating attitudes towards success and advancement in the business world. They also experienced problems in tapping the organizational political network. This put them at an immediate disadvantage in terms of power and influence patterns in the company.

To sum up, the literature and general facts pertaining to blacks at managerial levels and the process of black job advancement in South Africa have been covered so far in this chapter. In the following section, the problems encountered with the movement of blacks into higher-level jobs in the American business world will be examined since this brings insights to the South African situation. Although American writings have already been referred to in the text, it was decided to present the main body of this literature independently so as not to confuse it with South African findings.

SECTION 3 : AFFIRMATIVE ACTION - THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

INTRODUCTION

While direct extrapolation is not possible when the upward occupational progress of blacks in South Africa is compared with that of blacks in the United States, many similar influences and trends are evident. Prior to World War II, blacks in America as well as in South Africa were mainly labourers. They were mostly involved in agriculture and segregation was

the norm (Mackay, 1980). Black job advancement as a specific, deliberate programme started in the United States in the mid sixties, as a result of affirmative action legislation generated largely in response to the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements. By contrast, the general phenomenon of black upward job mobility in South Africa only gained momentum in the late 1970's and it is not enforced by legislation. Not surprisingly, then, a larger body of research is available on the American situation, given that it stretches over a longer period of time. Therefore, an overview of the major problems and issues pertaining to the upward progression of blacks in corporate America throws light on some of the difficulties that currently are being experienced in South Africa as blacks move into traditionally white positions. In effect, such information had a direct bearing on the present study in terms of providing an input into the formulation of the research design and by assisting in the interpretation of the research results.

3.1 Historical Perspective

In the United States, the experience of the early sixties showed that passive adherence to non-discrimination policies proved to be inadequate in breaking the historical institutional barriers to employment. Such "benign" neutrality merely perpetuated the effects of past discrimination, thereby maintaining the *status quo*. Consequently, during the mid and late sixties the United States government introduced statutes and regulations geared towards eliminating discrimination in the work environment in a more active and goal-orientated manner. The launching of such "soft" forms of affirmative action involved special recruiting aimed at blacks, along with extra training programmes (Mackay, 1980).

In January, 1970, it became law in America for most industries to implement written affirmative action programmes (Hall and Albrecht, 1979). The latter involved a plan of steps that would be taken with definite time-tables and goals, to ensure the equal and fair employment of blacks and other minority groups. This meant moving beyond colour blindness to deliberate efforts to compensate for racial disadvantage, either through explicit consideration of race in hiring and admissions or through numerical goals and quotas.

Individual organizations reacted differently towards integration. Some managements deeply resented having pressures placed on them to redress "social ills". Others initially made some attempts to recruit and advance blacks, but subsequently stopped - possibly because they did not reap the desired profits (McCall, 1973). Some organizations feared that the employment of minorities would have a negative bearing on efficiency, sales and the like (Ackerman, 1973).

Whereas top management was usually positive about integration policies, middle management was often threatened by such policies and therefore opposed to their implementation. (This too has been reported in South African studies - see Gathercole, 1981; Mackay *et al.*, 1980; Wella, 1983.) Some organizations embarked upon very ambitious integration programmes and realized that they could not meet deadlines and objectives. These companies ultimately encountered a stronger backlash from disappointed black employees than that experienced by more conservative organizations (Purcell and Cavanagh, 1972).

White reaction to integration tended to follow a pattern. Whites tended to react with shock, followed by resistance. However, where management adopted a firm approach towards such opposition, it typically diminished with contact with black employees and was followed by resigned acceptance. Where management made efforts to prepare whites for change, fewer difficulties were encountered. (The Fine Spamer 1981 survey on black job advancement in South Africa, also reported this.) Indeed, most whites were more amenable to change than management had anticipated. (This was also noted by Watts, 1980, with respect to the South African situation.) Although integration on the shop floor materialized with time, social groupings at tea and lunch as well as after work, continued along racial lines (Fernandez, 1975; Purcell and Cavanagh, 1972).

Black expectations were often unrealistic and rested on misconceptions, lack of information and misunderstandings of industrial ways. It appeared that older blacks were assimilated into managerial ranks more easily than their young counterparts "who felt that society was indebted to them because of past wrongs, real or imagined" (Mackay, 1980:7).

An overall evaluation of the effectiveness of affirmative action over the years in American corporations reveals that while it has been a major stimulant for widening opportunities, it can ironically exacerbate problems

of adjustment. For instance, it has resulted in many cases of backlash since the white workers feel that the companies are practising "reverse discrimination" (Ackerman, 1973; Hill, 1978; Mackay, 1980; Purcell and Cavanagh, 1972).

In fact, it is arguable that affirmative action actually jeopardizes the advancement of blacks and other minority groups (Bramwell, 1972). For example, since some black executives are known to be "affirmative action appointments", there is a tendency for white employees to assume that any black executive is such. Thus, those blacks who could have made it on their own, now have an additional burden to carry - they may be assumed (by other blacks as much as whites, and perhaps even by themselves as well), to have "arrived" by artificial means, and consequently not really able to carry their weight.

"Thus, the whole cycle of expectation of black incapability may actually be fortified by the very attempt to do away with it." (*Frontline*, July 1982:13.)

With these sobering thoughts in mind, it is instructive to survey the literature on studies of black managers in the American corporate world.

3.2 Experiences of American Black Managers

Davis and Watson (1982) interviewed more than 140 black managers and experts in regard to black life in corporate America. They maintain that integration in the upper levels of the white-collar workforce is a myth. Furthermore, America and Anderson (1978) argue that a barrier against black participation in top executive positions prevails. This is, in part, because of doubts about their loyalty and about their visceral commitment to all corporate goals, particularly those that are fundamentally political. America and Anderson note, however, that the job ceilings have been substantially raised, and increasing numbers of black candidates are moving into, and upwards within, the management ranks. Although they seldom achieve executive appointments, they are no longer excluded from middle management positions that traditionally provide the training, experiences and competitive opportunities required to advance to executive leadership.

It appears that the few blacks in American corporations that have attained higher status jobs are generally in research, public affairs or staff

positions directly related to interracial concerns, rather than in decision-making line positions with formal power and influence (America and Anderson, 1978; Bramwell, 1972; Fernandez, 1975; Nason, 1972; Taylor, 1982). It was noted by Taylor (1982) that even those blacks in positions which have large salaries and impressive titles complain that they have been placed in high visibility, dead-end jobs. Such posts often provide little experience in managing subordinates or in critical decision-making. Hall and Albrecht (1979) make the general observation that minorities as a whole are often placed in staff positions that are peripheral to the usual major lines of progression. (Therefore, this probably applies to South African black managers as well.)

As pioneers in a career development process, American black managers face some challenges and uncertainties unknown to most white managers (America and Anderson, 1978). A pervasive feeling amongst the black managers is that they have an extra responsibility to maintain high performance levels to bridge the "credibility gap" (Bramwell, 1972; Dickens and Dickens, 1982; Fernandez, 1975; Jones, 1973; Nason, 1972; Taylor, 1982). They also report a sense of competition that will tolerate only slight failure. Davis and Watson (1982) conclude that even where overt discrimination does not exist, black managers feel that they must not only outperform their white competitors to get ahead, but also hide their racial identity behind the mask of the organizational man. Consequently, the more outspoken or less accommodating blacks do not get promoted and companies are deprived of their particular viewpoints and skills. (One may propose that this is likely to be so in the case of South African black managers as well.)

Related to the issue of performance, it appears that many employers only select candidates with clearly demonstrated promise of outstanding performance - that is, "superstar" ability or unique credentials (America and Anderson, 1978; Nason, 1972). Not surprisingly, then, Bramwell (1972) found that black professionals were extraordinarily gifted individuals who were usually overqualified for the jobs they held. Similarly on the topic of promotions, America and Anderson (1978:40) quote a black manager as saying:

"We often try to prove we are better and work harder to get the same recognition. The top people need to be able to feel comfortable in elevating a black candidate. You've got to give them some extra justification."

America and Anderson admit that the accuracy of such perceptions is difficult to judge. Yet it seems that black managers must be better informed than their white peers about various seemingly peripheral issues in order to ensure opportunities for themselves. In that sense, they possibly do have to work harder and plan more carefully to be rewarded equally. (Once again, this state of affairs also possibly applies to South African black managers as well.)

Jones (1973) recounted his own lonely struggle as a black manager in a large corporation in America. He maintained that most companies in the United States fail to provide blacks with much needed organizational support to realize their potential in the face of the many obstacles that pervade the colour sensitive corporate environment.

"In short, U.S. business has failed to recognize the embryonic Black manager's increased chances of failure due to the potentially negative impact of racially based prejudgements. Gaining acceptance in the organization, which the embryonic White manager takes for granted, can be a serious problem for his Black counterpart." (Jones, 1973:108,109.)

Jones claims that besides his feelings of a lack of closeness, support and protection, he was extremely ill at ease and tense as a result of being a black man in a unique (managerial) position in a white organization. He claims that as black and white people generally come from different environments which condition them differently, this makes understanding and genuine communication difficult to achieve. From his side, Jones concedes that:

"Levels of sensitivity, polish, and tact which were foreign to me were now necessities of life. The world of white business presented me with an elaborate sociopolitical organization that required unfamiliar codes of behaviour." (Jones, 1973:113.)

Similarly, Dickens and Dickens (1982:1) maintain that black managers are "operating in foreign social space with unfamiliar protocols; with habits, manners, values and styles that until recently were very new to them". Thus they may find themselves excluded from vital channels of informal communication and separated from certain key white peers by discrepancies in socio-economic background, attitudes, perceptions of the environment and, in some cases, by fundamental personal values (America and Anderson, 1978; Davis and Watson, 1982; Fernandez, 1975; Jones, 1973; Nason, 1972). In this respect, Jones (1973) proposes that many of the difficulties that he himself experienced were due to his lack of compatibility with the "informal organization" which is built on white norms. He was out of the "place" usually occupied by blacks in the company and since no black person had preceded him successfully, his white peers and superiors doubted that he could "make it". (Most black managers in South Africa probably experience these problems as well.)

A review of the studies of black managers in American corporations reveals that racism is generally regarded as the fundamental problem confronting these blacks. (See for instance, America and Anderson, 1978; Bramwell, 1972; Davis and Watson, 1982; Dickens and Dickens, 1982; Fernandez, 1975; Nason, 1972; Taylor, 1982).

Fernandez (1975) argues that racism has generally become more refined than in the past. Typically, it is no longer overt, blatant and unsophisticated. Instead, it manifests itself in more subtle, indirect and insidious forms of "neoracism" and "institutional racism". The former refers to individual racist attitudes, whereas "institutional racism" pertains to exclusionary procedures, rules and regulations (Fernandez, 1975:197). For example, this is illustrated by the self-perpetuating characteristics of the boards of directors which consist of a culturally homogeneous group with similar social mores, personal mannerisms, styles of dress and modes of speech.

On a lighter note, however, the fact that blacks and whites now often work side by side has helped to clarify, to an extent, the biases and preconceptions often held by each race of the other. Purcell and Cavanagh (1972) suggest that racially integrated companies therefore seem to be notable agencies for social change as they provide meeting

places for different racial aggregates, and opportunities to get to know and trust each other. (Hopefully this is happening in South African organizations as well.)

Lastly, America and Anderson (1978) note that American black managers may be disadvantaged because of the newness of their managerial experience, as well as by a lack of sponsors and influential supporters to open doors to higher positions. Consequently, they conclude that it is likely that most senior black managers will be drawn from the next generation rather than from the current generations now moving into middle management positions. (This too is likely to be the case with respect to black managers in South Africa.)

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER

Drawing together the main themes of this chapter, the following points emerge:

The four basic explanations for why some black managers seem to be performing poorly at work (namely, because of racial discrimination, inadequate qualifications, cultural factors or marginality) highlight the extreme disadvantages under which the black managers are expected to operate at work. Clearly, no one explanation fully accounts for why the black managers' job performance is generally disappointing - rather, the aforementioned impeding variables are interrelated and mutually reinforce one another, thereby accentuating and exacerbating the black managers' failure to meet the expectations of their respective companies.

A recurrent issue that emerged from the literature on black managers both in South Africa and in the United States, was the problem of negative white prejudices, stereotypes and discrimination directed against the black individuals. Many of the black managers also seemed to be culturally and socially estranged from the white-orientated corporate world.

What strikes the author is that despite the fact that "hard forms" of affirmative action have been implemented in the United States since 1970, fairly recent American literature (such as that of Davis and

Watson 1982; and Dickens and Dickens 1982) still report similar interpersonal problems to those highlighted by authors writing at an earlier date (see Bramwell, 1972; Fernandez, 1975; Nason, 1972; Purcell and Cavanagh, 1972). This seems to indicate that, although legislation may change, deeply entrenched attitudes, prejudices and stereotypes still persist and are harder to alter. Thus one may surmise that in terms of the South African situation where racial discrimination is legally entrenched, the abolition of racially discriminatory labour laws may not readily change whites' racist attitudes within the work environment, especially since such attitudes are bolstered (or at least "legitimized") by the apartheid system. This is an interesting point to bear in mind when examining the attitudes and perceptions of the black managers' work associates who participated in the present study.

Overall, the literature documented in this chapter formed a background to the present project in terms of providing insight into areas that were to be investigated by this study, and by offering explanations for the perceptions and attitudes of the participants.

CHAPTER 4

INTERPERSONAL PERCEPTION AND RELATED CONSTRUCTS AND ISSUES

INTRODUCTION

Since the present investigation focused, in the main, on the perceptions and attitudes held by South African black managers and their bosses, peers and subordinates, the overall objective of this chapter is to present an overview of these, and related constructs and processes. The content of the chapter is broadly arranged as follows:- In section 1, the nature of the perceptual process, of self-perception and of person perception, is described. Organizational research into perceptions held by various employees is examined in section 2. A brief overview of related concepts such as attitudes, beliefs, values and opinions, is presented in Section 3, along with a discussion on the link between attitudes and behaviour. Lastly, the issue of organizational socialization as it relates to job advancement, is considered in section 4.

Although some of the constructs that will be dealt with in this chapter (for instance, attitudes such as racial prejudice and ethnocentrism, as well as the concept of world views), have been alluded to in previous chapters, they will now be defined and discussed at greater length to clarify how they were conceptualized by the author.

SECTION 1 : PERCEPTION, SELF-PERCEPTION AND INTERPERSONAL PERCEPTION

1.1 Definition of Perception and its Relevance to the World of Work

Szilagyi and Wallace (1980:71) describe perception as an individual process whereby people deal with incoming stimuli and organize or interpret these stimuli into a message which they then react to in terms of action or behaviour. Perception is therefore an important filter which determines the particular person's unique approach to dealing with organizational factors and other stimuli; it is a means of interpreting stimuli and is based on factors such as the person's motives, previous learning and personality. Moreover, Hofmeyr (1982) argues that perception is a primary mechanism by which employees interact with and adjust to their jobs, informal groups and the formal organization. Consequently, the way

in which black managers, for example, perceive their work milieu, will influence their adjustment to that environment and their behaviour at work in general.

Finally, Hellriegel and Slocum (1979:61) elucidate the relevance of perception for understanding behaviour of employees in the work environment as follows:

"The importance of perception lies in the understanding of how people perceive reality..... To understand that people react to situations as they themselves see it, allows us to understand individual behavior and tailor our communication to individuals based on our perception of them. Perception allows the individual to filter and select the stimuli that enter his environment and lets him organize the impact of the stimuli into his concept of reality. Thus, when the individual finally acts he is acting on his interpretation of the stimuli and will only do those things that are in harmony with his conception of reality. In this way perception is the key to understanding what influences an individual's behavior in an organization."

At this point it must be emphasized that the term 'perception' as applied in this study will refer to the perception of self, of other persons, and of the settings in which people function.

1.2 Perception of Self

One may propose that the way in which an individual perceives himself will have profound repercussions, *inter alia*, on his work behaviour, his relationships with colleagues, his work-related aspirations, expectations and attitudes.

1.2.1 Self-concept

According to Super (1963:18), a self-concept is "... the individual's picture of himself, the perceived self with accrued meanings". It is important to note that each person harbours a large array of self-concepts relating to perceptions of himself in different roles and in various types of situations. Furthermore, the self-concept is not a mere conglomeration of isolated concepts about the person, but a patterned interrelationship or "Gestalt" of all of these (Burns, 1979), which Super (1963) labels the "self-concept system".

Laing, Phillipson and Lee (1966:5) use the term "self-identity" rather than "self-concept" and include the concept of "meta-identity" as follows:

"Self-identity (my view of myself) and meta-identity (my view of your view of me) are theoretical constructs, not concrete realities. *In concreto*, rather than *in abstracto*, self-identity ("I" looking at "me") is constituted not only by our looking at ourselves, but also by our looking at others looking at us and our reconstitution and alteration of these views of the others about us."

Thus, Laing *et al.* (1966:5) regard self-identity as "... a synthesis of my looking at me with my view of other's view of me". This perspective can be traced back to Cooley's (1902) concept of the "looking glass self". Cooley argued that a person's self-image is formed on the basis of perceiving how others react to him.

"Each to each a looking glass reflects the other that doth pass." (Cooley, 1902:152.)

1.2.2 Self-esteem

Most writers employ the term "self-esteem to designate the self-evaluation component of self-concept. By self-esteem, Coopersmith, (1967:4) refers to:

".... the evaluation that the individual makes with regard to himself; it expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval and indicates the extent to which the individual believes himself to be capable, significant, successful and worthy."

Self-esteem, then, is a term that denotes the process in which an individual assesses his performance, capacities and attributes according to his personal standards and values, which have been internalized from society and significant others. Consequently, a positive self-image, according to Burns (1979:57), can be equated with positive self-evaluation, self-respect, self-esteem, and self-acceptance; conversely, a negative self-concept is associated with negative self-evaluation, self-hatred, feelings of inferiority and a lack of self-acceptance.

1.3 Interpersonal Perception

With regard to interpersonal perception*, Massarick and Wechsler (1979:201)

* "Person perception", "social cognition" and "person cognition" are other labels that have been assigned to the activity which is designated here as "interpersonal perception".

describe it as: "... the means by which people form impressions of and, hopefully, understand one another". They maintain that "empathy" or "social sensitivity" reflect the degree to which one succeeds in developing "accurate impressions", or actual understanding of others.

As Hastorf *et al.* (1958:54) note, behavioural scientists have long been interested in the manner in which people perceive each other. This interest originates not only from a concern with perception in general, but also from the assumption that differences in interpersonal perception are functionally related to other dimensions of interpersonal behaviour. That is, the way in which individuals behave in relation to each other is clearly, in part, determined by the manner in which they perceive each other. Furthermore, the mode in which people learn to relate to others is presumably affected by their ability to perceive them accurately. Laing *et al.* (1966) also propose that although people cannot actually see themselves as others see them, they act in the light of how they assume others view them, or what they perceive as the intention of others. Thus,

"The other I am for the other is a constant concern of us all."

However, the nature of the interaction between person perception and interpersonal behaviour is complex and as yet incompletely known.

Three basic aspects of interpersonal perception have commonly been identified (Tagiuri, 1958; Massarick and Wechsler, 1979). They are:

- (i) The "perceiver", the person who selectively perceives events;
- (ii) "The perceived", the individual or group perceived; and
- (iii) "The situation", the total setting of social and non-social forces within which the act of social perception is embedded.

1.3.1 Patterns of Perceiving

The process of interpersonal perception can be symbolically portrayed in a number of ways. Massarick and Wechsler (1979:202) illustrate the process as follows:

If "I" represents "individual" and "G" stands for any grouping of individuals, and if the arrow indicates the act of perceiving, then the following relations

can be identified:

- (i) $I \longrightarrow I$ (interindividual perception);
- (ii) $I \longrightarrow G$ (an individual's perception of a grouping);
- (iii) $G \longrightarrow I$ (a grouping's perception of an individual);
- (iv) $G \longrightarrow G$ (intergroup perception).

The extent to which one accurately recognizes someone else's reactions to oneself reflects a certain form of "social sensitivity" - the ability to correctly assess what another person "thinks" about one. This entails the "perception of a perception". One may conceive of a theoretically infinite series of social perceptions (Massarick and Wechsler, 1979:203), such as:

- (i) "First-order perceptions": how the perceiver views the perceived;
- (ii) "Second-order perceptions": how the perceiver thinks the perceived views the perceiver;
- (iii) "Third-order perceptions": how the perceiver thinks the perceived views the perceiver's perception of the perceived, and so on.

Clearly, additional higher order perceptions involve problematical and complex patterns. Fortunately, most people's perceptions that govern interaction with others probably involve only first- or second-order perceptions.

Reminiscent of the levels of perception espoused by Massarick and Wechsler (1979) described above, Laing *et al.* (*op cit.*) introduced the notion of a spiral of reciprocal perspectives. They propose that 'direct perspectives' are person X's views of issue Z; metaperspectives are person X's views on person Y's views on issue Z; meta-metaperspectives are person X's views on person Y's views of person X's views on issue Z, and so forth. In addition, Laing *et al.* formulated the following hierarchical framework depicting the conjunction between interpersonal perspectives:

- (i) Comparison between one individual's direct perspective and the other person's direct perspective on the same issue reflects agreement or disagreement;

- (ii) Comparison between one person's metaperspective and the other person's direct perspective on the same issue denotes understanding or misunderstanding;
- (iii) Comparison between one person's meta-metaperspective and his own direct perspective indicates the feeling of being understood or misunderstood;
- (iv) Comparison between one person's meta-metaperspective and the other person's metaperspective on the same issue signifies realization or failure of realization - the latter refers to being correct or incorrect in feeling understood or misunderstood.

1.4 Individual Differences in Perception

It is important to note that what an individual experiences or perceives from his particular vantage point may be substantially different from what another individual experiences in the same situation or from what an outside observer would describe as 'objective reality' (Cantril, 1957; Combs *et al.*, 1976; Kelly, 1955; Krech *et al.*, 1962; Sofer, 1972). Silverman (1970) and Schein (1980) point out that people assign meanings to situations and to the actions of others and react in terms of the interpretation suggested by these meanings - that is, how they react will depend largely on what Thomas (1923:42) called their "definition of the situation". This arises from their collective perceptions of, assumptions about, and expectations they have for that situation. Thus,

"Perception is other than what is physically out there. Yet what is perceived is reality for the perceiver, the only reality by which he can guide his behavior" (Burns, 1979:32).

This viewpoint is in keeping with the famous and classic dictum of Thomas (1928:572) that "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences".

According to Krech *et al.* (1962), every person holds an individualized image of the world because his perceptions are the product of the following determinants:

- (i) His physical and social environment;
- (ii) His psychological structure;

- (iii) His values, needs and goals;
- (iv) His past experiences.

Similarly, Mitchell (1978) notes that there seem to be two sets of variables that are instructive in comprehending what affects perception. Firstly, the individual's own social and personality characteristics - for instance, Triandis and Triandis (1965) found that people who were more independent, secure and who had a high tolerance for ambiguity, were more accepting of others who were different from themselves, especially with respect to race. This may have implications in the South African work context, since employees working at the black-white interface may, in many cases, lack these personality characteristics. Secondly, an individual's self-confidence and knowledge seem to influence his perception of others. Research seems to indicate that, in general, people with accurate self-perceptions are more accurate in perceiving the characteristics of others. In addition, the more confidently and optimistically people view themselves, the more positively they tend to evaluate others (Hofmeyr, 1982).

Hellriegel and Slocum (1976) stress the importance of historical factors, such as an individual's past experience, culture and learning, in influencing the perception of a situation, such as the work milieu. That is, "... when individuals enter organizations they bring with them their own unique ways of perceiving and responding to their environment as a result of their past experience" (*op. cit.*:87). The latter includes the person's own direct experiences as well as the general interpretations, meaning systems and world view of their group.

1.5 Factors Distorting Perception

It is important to examine the types of perceptual processes that may distort an individual's perceptions and judgements of himself, of other people and of the outside world, since such factors should be borne in mind when considering the perceptions held by the subjects in this present study. Inaccurate or unrepresentative perceptions may be the product of, *inter alia*, cognitive selectivity, implicit personality theory, the halo effect, stereotyping and stability of perceptions (Krech *et al.*, 1962). Clearly, such distorting elements will affect how an employee perceives his work environment and how he behaves. Each of the abovementioned distorting influences will now be elaborated upon.

1.5.1 Cognitive Selectivity

Only certain aspects of an individual's physical and social environments are selected and incorporated into his perceptions. Thus particular items must then be interpreted in the context of his experience. Such 'cognitive selectivity' or 'selective perception' is governed by characteristics of the stimulus object (stimulus factors) and characteristics of the perceiving individual (personal factors). The meaning which any given 'objective' stimulus has for an individual is inextricably bound up with the needs and values of the person. That is, according to Cantril (1957:123), "We seem to give meaning and order to sensory impingements in terms of our own needs and purposes and this process of selection is actively creative".

Hence people often distort stimuli so that the events are more congruent with their motivations and wants, than they actually are. In this respect, Burns (1979:31) points out that the old adage "seeing is believing" is perhaps closer to the truth when expressed in reverse, "believing is seeing". Not surprisingly, then, selective perception presents a barrier to communication designed to change a person's perception of a particular phenomenon.

1.5.2 Halo Effect

A factor that can bias the way in which one perceives an individual, is the "halo effect". Krech *et al.* (1962:67) define this as: "The tendency in forming an impression or judgement of a particular characteristic of an individual to be influenced by one's general impression of him". If the general impression is favourable, he will be over-rated on desirable traits and *vice versa*.

In work organizations, halo effects may have a serious impact on performance ratings (Mitchell, 1978:103). For instance, in many cases a supervisor only observes a small sample of an employee's actual behaviour. If the supervisor happens to sample an area where the employee performs well, then the supervisor may assess the individual's performance to be excellent in other areas about which he possesses limited information. Obviously, the reverse is also true.

1.5.3 Implicit Personality Theory

Closely related to the "halo effect" is the notion of "implicit personality theory". The latter denotes "The beliefs of an individual about the way in which traits are generally interrelated in people, that is, the belief that when you find trait X in a person, he will also have trait Y (Krech *et al.*, 1962).

Implicit personality theories may be divided into two types. Firstly, there are implicit personality theories held by individuals. Secondly, there are those that are shared by a group or culture. These are stereotypes (Gahagan, 1975).

1.5.4 Stereotypes

Stereotypes reflect the "...tendency to attribute to an individual traits which one assumes characterize his group...." (Krech *et al.*, 1962:53). Thus, stereotypes are oversimplified cognitions of social groups which blind the individual to differences among the members of any aggregate (for instance, based on race, ethnicity, age, sex, social class). Stereotypes are commonly, but not necessarily, accompanied by prejudice.

The issue of white stereotypes of blacks was discussed in Chapter 2, Section 3, of this thesis as one of the obstacles to black job advancement. From that discussion it is clear that the influence of stereotypes in forming impressions of people is pervasive and socially significant in that they prejudice many of the perceptions held by people about members of groups. Since a stereotype is an overestimation, it cannot be true of every member of a particular group. Yet, it may be based on some kernel of truth.

It should be noted that in some cases, the use of stereotypes may be extremely helpful as they permit one to handle and understand large bodies of complex information (Mitchell, 1978; Massarick and Wechsler (1979; Gahagan, 1975). Such social categorizations reduce ambiguity of the interpersonal world and enable one to classify people quickly and easily as representatives of a class or aggregate. In fact, Massarick and Wechsler (1979) argue that one needs to be able to type people by means of broad, oversimplified and flexible generalizations. In that sense, a realistic perspective (a type of "accurate" stereotype) may increase the likelihood of correct perceptions of others.

However, as indicated in the discussion in Chapter 2 on management stereotypes of black employees, the stereotyped individual may unfortunately come to share a stereotype of himself and act in accordance with it. Indeed, Gahagan (1975) adds that smoother interaction arises if people behave in accordance with others' expectations of them. A shared need for some predictability in social life also provides a powerful force for inducing people to behave as others want them to.

1.5.5 Stability of Perceptions

Once an individual has achieved a satisfactory organization of the world, he tends to retain it, even in the face of contradictory information. Considering the perceptual processes discussed above, it can be seen that they can all contribute to the protection and persistence of existing perceptual organizations. In the first place, a person tends to select those sources of information which will present facts in harmony with his existing pattern, and to avoid sources of information which are not congruent with his perceptual organization of the world. Beyond this, if a person is confronted with discrepant information, it is a characteristic of human mental processes to distort the material, to reject or overlook it, to reinterpret it or explain it away, and as a final resort, to eliminate it gradually through selective forgetting (Haire, 1956). Thus, as Cantril (1957:123) notes, we create constancies concerning people and social situations. This eases our interpretation of the world, and makes our actions more effective "... so long as there is some correspondence between the attribution we make and the consequence we experience from it in our own action".

1.6 Attribution Theory

An important characteristic of self-perception and person perception that warrants discussion is what Heider (1958) called the "attribution process". More specifically, attribution theory deals with the rules that the average individual uses in attempting to infer the causes of observed behaviour. As suggested by Heider's (1944, 1958) seminal work in this area, behaviour may be attributed to either internal, dispositional causes or to external, situational factors.

It appears that the actor (the person whose behaviour is in question) will tend to attribute the causes of his behaviour to stimuli inherent in the situation, while the observer (the individual who perceives his behaviour)

will usually perceive the actor's behaviour as a manifestation of the actor (Heider, 1958; Jones and Nisbett, 1972; Seidenberg and Snadowsky, 1976). Ross (1977) dubbed this the "fundamental attribution error". That is, "We tend to look *outside* ourselves to explain our own behavior, but *inside* others to explain theirs" (Hamacheck, 1982:24). A convincing and impressive array of research supports this notion (see Arkin and Duval, 1975; Goldberg, 1978; Harvey *et al.*, 1975; Jones and Nisbett, 1972).

Jones and Nisbett (1972) suggest the following possible reasons for the attribution error. Firstly, it reflects the differential salience of the information available to both actor and observer. The actor knows his own intentions, personal history and feeling states, and he is aware of the discrepancies in his behaviour from one situation to another. By contrast, the observer does not have this information. Consequently, he is inclined to perceive the actor's behaviour as stemming from stable personality characteristics. However, Eisen's (1979) research indicates that the better an observer knows an actor, in the sense of having more information about him, the less likely he will be to attribute personality characteristics to the actor's behaviour arbitrarily.

Secondly, actors and observers may process the available information in different ways. That is, because of their different physical perspectives, different types of information are highlighted. The actor's words, facial expressions and movements are salient to the observer. By contrast, since the actor cannot see himself directly, he is inclined to focus his attention on the ambient environmental factors. This encourages the actor to perceive such external factors as the major cause of his behaviour.

Thirdly, Jones and Nisbett (1972:92) propose that people all feel that "... personality traits are things other people have". Individuals believe that they themselves are complex and flexible - too responsive to changes in situations to be characterized by a small list of personality traits. Therefore, they describe their own behaviour in terms of situations, and attribute the behaviour of others to stable dispositions.

Applying attribution theory to the work context, it is clear that divergent perceptions of the causes of an employee's behaviour will often be held by the actor himself and by his observers (such as his co-workers).

Conflicting or incorrect causal attributions obviously could lead to interpersonal friction, misunderstandings, poor communication networks and other work-related problems. In view of this, attempts should be made by organizational members to see others at work in their true light and to be more humane and fair in their perceptions and evaluations of each other. Hamachek (1982) suggests that practising empathy, listening more carefully, and not jumping to conclusions are useful ways in which to achieve these objectives. Indeed, research by Storms (1973) and Wegner and Finstuen (1977) reveals that having empathy aids in perceiving more accurately how dispositional and situational factors can influence behaviour. Furthermore, Seidenberg and Snadowsky (1976) propose that attribution errors and biases may be relieved by some form of attribution training.

SECTION 2 : RESEARCH INTO WORK-RELATED PERCEPTIONS

Research into employees' perceptions of various job-related issues have highlighted numerous perceptual discrepancies between people at different hierarchical levels within an organization (see for instance, Baird, 1977; Henemann, 1974; Kahn, 1958; Lieberman, 1956; Maier *et al.*, 1961; Morse, 1953; Smircich and Chesser, 1981). Stouffer *et al.* (1949) in their investigation into adjustment to army life, for instance, noted that officers overestimated enlisted men's (i) desire to be soldiers; (ii) job satisfaction; (iii) importance they attached to the infantry; and (iv) pride in their companies. A possible reason for some of the misperceptions held by the officers may have been that the behaviour of many of the men was not in keeping with their personal attitudes. Furthermore, Kahn (1958) found that:

- (i) Foremen and general foremen misjudged the importance their subordinates attached to some, if not all, qualities of the subordinates' job;
- (ii) Supervisors overestimated the desire of workers for economic rewards and for not working too hard;
- (iii) Supervisors underestimated the importance that subordinates attached to social approval and self-expression - getting on well with one's supervisor and fellow workers, and having a chance to do work of a high quality and interesting content;

- (iv) Interestingly, the perceptual differences applied to general foremen's ratings of foremen as well as to foremen's rating of workers;
- (v) Supervisors misperceived the job attitudes of their subordinates despite the fact that there were some fundamental similarities in what both parties wanted from their positions.

Tannenbaum (1966) contends that these divergent perceptions may be attributed, in part, to the fact that people in different positions are motivated in different ways. They also have different sources of information and vantage points from which to view organizational events. Moreover, their immediate social and psychological environments are strikingly and systematically different - Tannenbaum illustrates this point by claiming that people at higher levels invariably experience relatively little dissatisfaction regarding authority, self-esteem and self-actualization. They may often be in touch with persons who share a relatively positive picture of organizational life - "It should not be surprising therefore to find them wondering occasionally why everyone in the organization does not have the same enthusiastic view they have" (Tannenbaum, 1966:46).

Organizational research has also revealed marked dissimilarities in superiors' and subordinates' perceptions of the subordinates' job performance (Baird, 1977; Henemann, 1976; Smircich and Chesser, 1981; Thornton, 1968). For instance, Smircich and Chesser (1981) found that subordinates believed that their superiors would rate their performance higher than they actually did. The implications of these perceptual disparities may signal ineffective or incomplete communication, with subsequent subordinate dissatisfaction with the appraisal and reward process of the employing organization.

Striking perceptual dissimilarities were reported by Maier *et al.* (1961) with respect to how high-level managers and their immediate managerial subordinates described aspects of the subordinates' jobs. A large disparity in perception was noted with regard to the obstacles which these persons saw as preventing the subordinate from performing well on the job. Obviously, potential (if not real) conflict exists when a boss and his subordinate characteristically perceive different kinds of factors as interfering with the subordinate's attempts to do his job. Tannenbaum (1966) suggests that part of the difficulty is due to authority and status distinctions, which

prevent subordinates from communicating freely with their superiors about key work-related issues.

Lastly, perceptual incompatibility between employees of different racial groups *apropos* various job-related issues such as promotion, compensation, hiring practices, job satisfaction and treatment, was documented in an American study by Jedel and Kujawa (1976). They found that many of the so-called differences in treatment of blacks and whites only existed in terms of perceptions rather than in actuality.

Considering the literature presented in this section on divergent work-related perceptions, it is useful to bear in mind the following comment by Tannenbaum (1966:55):

"... discrepancies in members' perceptions and cognitions make the job of ... coordination more difficult; at worst, they contribute - in the context of differences in rewards, satisfactions, interests, ideals, involvements, and loyalties - to resentment, distrust, hostility, and opposition."

Applying the literature discussed in this section to the present investigation, one may expect to find disparities in the perceptions held by the black managers as against their work associates, because of hierarchical and racial differences between them.

SECTION 3 : CONCEPTS RELATED TO PERCEPTIONS

Frequent reference has already been made in this thesis to attitudes, values and beliefs as they apply to blacks and whites in South Africa. However, it is instructive to pay specific attention to them here as they are critical factors which help to explain the experiences and behaviour of black managers and their work colleagues. What ensues, therefore, is a discussion on attitudes, followed by an examination of related theoretical constructs.

3.1 Attitudes

For the purpose of this study, the extensive literature on the nature, development and measurement of attitudes need not be reviewed. Suffice to say, however, the concept of attitude is among the most widely used in the social sciences and has long been regarded as close to the core of social

psychology. Attitudes have been referred to by Allport (1968a:63) as "the primary building stone in the edifice of social psychology". Such diverse substantive topics as prejudice, self-esteem, job satisfaction, alienation, personal values, political and religious ideologies, social desirability and many others are, in effect, branches of attitudes study (Seidenberg and Snadowsky, 1976).

3.1.1 Definition of Attitude

Professional use and definition of the term "attitude" range widely, from the operationally bound to the metatheoretical. Seidenberg and Snadowsky (1976) feel that the reason for the diversity of definitions is that theorists have so often sought to account for this phenomena rather than merely to describe it. Despite variations in the definition of the term, it is generally accepted that the prevailing definitions agree on one common characteristic. That is, an attitude exemplifies an existing predisposition to respond to social objects which, in interaction with situational and other dispositional variables, guides and directs the overt behaviour of the individual (Cardno, 1955). Similarly, in distilling the essence of most accepted definitions of the concept of attitude, Burns (1979) suggests that attitudes seem to be comprised of the following four components:

- (i) A belief or knowledge or cognitive component;
- (ii) An affective or emotional dimension;
- (iii) An evaluation;
- (iv) A predisposition to respond.

More specifically, for the purposes of this study, an attitude was defined as:

"A relatively enduring system of evaluative, affective reactions based upon and reflecting the evaluative concepts or beliefs which have been learned about the characteristics of a social object or class of social objects" (Shaw and Wright, 1967:3).

3.1.2 Dimensions of Attitudes

In addition to being predispositions to respond to social objects, attitudes have been said to possess, *inter alia*, the following general characteristics:

- (i) They are construed as varying in quality and intensity (or strength) on a continuum from positive through neutral to negative (Krech *et al.*, 1962; McGrath, 1964; Newcomb *et al.*, 1952; Shaw and Wright, 1967);
- (ii) They are learned, rather than being innate or the result of constitutional development and maturation (McGrath, 1964; Sherif and Sherif, 1956);
- (iii) They have specific social referents, or specific classes thereof (Newcomb *et al.*, 1952; Sherif and Sherif, 1956);
- (iv) They possess varying degrees of inter-relatedness to one another (Krech *et al.*, 1962; McGrath, 1964);
- (v) They are relatively stable and enduring (Newcomb *et al.*, 1952; Sherif and Sherif, 1956).

Given the above brief overview on attitudes, (as conceptualized in this study), it is instructive to consider two specific types of attitudes which appear to be pervasive among South African whites (namely racial prejudice and ethnocentrism) and which are therefore germane to this present investigation.

3.1.3 Prejudice

Prejudice is literally a "prejudgement" of a situation in the absence of specific evidence about it (Calhoun, 1976). Chaplin (1976:401) defines prejudice as "... an attitude, either positive or negative, which has been formulated in advance of sufficient evidence and which is held with emotional tenacity". More specifically, *racial prejudice* may be viewed as:

"... an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group" (Allport, 1954:9).

In South Africa, the social system serves to maintain and perpetuate existing racial prejudices held by the white population towards other racial groups. As Lever (1978:127) points out, the black man, more so than his Asian or coloured counterpart, is placed in a position which operates to "....

confirm the White man's view of him". For example, because the benefits of education are not freely extended to blacks, whites can find "sufficient proof" to support the belief that blacks are stupid, backward, illiterate and ignorant (Lever, 1978).

The pervasiveness of racial segregation in South Africa represents a further factor which serves to reinforce existing patterns of ethnic attitudes. Since interracial contacts are limited to the work context (if that), individuals rarely have the opportunity to get to know members of other racial groups. Unfortunately, mistaken beliefs and unfounded stereotypes flourish under such conditions. According to the historico-cultural approach to the study of inter-group relations, ethnic attitudes such as racial prejudices form part of the cultural stream which is transmitted from generation to generation through the process of socialization (Lever, 1978). It is not so much contact with out-groups which shape the attitude, but rather contact with the prevalent in-group attitude towards those out-groups. Fortunately, however, although prejudiced attitudes have an enduring quality, they can undergo changes in response to altered circumstances.

3.1.4 Ethnocentrism

Another type of attitude that could be argued to have a bearing on this study, and which has been mentioned already in the text, is that of ethnocentrism. This literally means the attitude centering on one's ethnic or national group (Calhoun, 1976). More specifically Biesanz and Biesanz (1969:126) define ethnocentrism as:

"The tendency to judge other groups and cultures by the norms and values of one's own, and therefore to regard them as inherently inferior."

Since it is based on generalizations, it may be regarded as a prejudice. However, Gilbert (1980) notes that it goes beyond prejudice since the latter pertains to a specific object or group, whereas ethnocentrism denotes a frame of mind towards out-groups in general.

With respect to South Africa, a superordinate political structure exists. Fundamental to this lack of dispersed power is an historical ethnocentrism which implies that white culture is superior and that blacks should endeavour to emulate it (Gilbert, 1980). Although it could be argued that the

Nationalist government's separate development policy attempts to allow the black population to develop along their own lines, the prevalence of white ethnocentrism is epitomized by the fact that the adoption of western culture is regarded as desirable. This is demonstrated in the white-dominated, western-orientated industrial world where blacks, as the out-group, have to adapt to the "superior" *modus operandi*, norms and values of the white in-group since the latter do not accommodate "square pegs in round holes". The Protestant work ethic is seen as the only model of economic activity. No attempt is made to structure jobs and systems in terms of local needs and values - this would be seen as a "lowering of standards" (Moerdyk, 1983).

3.2 Attitudes and Behaviour

As Glen (1975) indicates, the original and basic interest in attitudes is that they have been assumed to be related to how people act. However, Newcomb *et al.* (1952) reveal that there are many instances in which people can be observed to behave in ways that seem contrary to their attitudes. This is obviously an important point to bear in mind when considering the attitudes expressed by participants in the present study.

Such attitude-behaviour contradictions can arise, *inter alia*, because of the following three major reasons:

- (i) Behaviour is determined not only by attitudes but also by the immediate social situation as well (Mann, 1969; Mitchell, 1978; Newcomb *et al.*, 1952; Rokeach, 1968). Within this context, Rokeach (1968) differentiates between two kinds of attitudes that mediate social behaviour, namely: "attitude-toward-object" and "attitude-toward-situation". Rokeach regards the latter as being roughly equivalent to the "definition of the situation". For instance, people may refrain from behaving in a manner consistent with their attitudes when such behaviour would be socially undesirable. Merton's (1949) distinction between an "unprejudiced discriminator" and "prejudiced non-discriminator" are instances of this from the area of ethnic relations;
- (ii) Many different attitudes may be relevant to a single action (Mann, 1969; Newcomb *et al.*, 1952);

- (iii) If there is no "action orientation" in a particular attitude, there is little reason to expect consistency among attitudes and behaviour (Mann, 1969:112).

The centrality or importance of an attitude also determines, to some extent, our readiness to respond (Hamner and Organ, 1978). According to Katz (1960), other characteristics of attitudes that affect behaviour include the "intensity" of an attitude (the strength of the emotional reaction) and the "specificity or generality" of the attitude (for instance, whether an individual dislikes black people or merely a specific black person). Situational factors and norms (such as social pressure) may also intervene between an individual's attitude and his behaviour. Mitchell (1978:124) elucidates the relationship between these components by contending that:

"Attitudes are *related* to behaviour. They indicate a person's predisposition to respond in a particular way.... The important point is that if these external forces (norms, situational factors) did not exist, the individual would probably behave in line with his or her attitude. Therefore, if we can help to form or change a person's attitude, we can usually influence their behaviour."

3.3 Attitudes and Consistency

Individuals seek consistency among their attitudes as well as between their attitudes and behaviour. In a broader sense, it may be assumed that people need to attain harmony and congruency among their cognitions of objects and persons in the environment (Hamner and Organ, 1978).

According to Robbins (1979) and based on the research of Festinger (1957), when inconsistency exists, forces are initiated to return the individual to a state of equilibrium where attitudes and behaviour are again congruent. This is achieved by either changing the attitudes or the behaviour, or by developing a rationalization for the discrepancy. Festinger's cognitive dissonance theory is explained by Calder and Ross (1973:27) as follows:

"Theoretically, when an individual's behaviour is inconsistent with his attitudes he will experience cognitive dissonance, a state of psychological discomfort or tension that can be eliminated only by reducing the inconsistency.... To reduce the attitude-behaviour inconsistency and, therefore, discomfort, the person may convince himself that he does, in fact, hold the attitude implied by his behaviour."

Calder and Ross cite the example of a person who is required to fulfill a specific role which clashes with his attitudes. This would generate cognitive dissonance which the individual could alleviate by shifting his attitudes so that they correspond more closely with his behaviour.

One may hypothesize that in the case of white South Africans, those who hold racist attitudes towards blacks but who have to work civilly alongside black peers, will possibly experience cognitive dissonance. Hopefully, such discord will be reduced by altering their negative prejudices towards their black colleagues (and perhaps, more generally towards all blacks) so that they are congruent with their publicly expressed attitudes and behaviour enforced by the norms of the situation. Unfortunately, however, the reduction of white prejudices and discriminatory behaviours may be situation specific and not generalized to other black employees or to blacks outside the workplace. This is likely given the fact that white racist attitudes and behaviours towards blacks are bolstered by, and gain "legitimacy" in, the apartheid regime within which the employing organizations are embedded. An American study by Harding and Hogrefe (1952) illustrates the specificity of attitude changes. They found that significantly more white department store employees who had worked with blacks on an equal status basis, were willing to do so again than those who had never worked with blacks. Nevertheless, no changes in other action tendencies towards blacks, or in feelings toward them, were observed.

3.4 Attitudes and Similar Theoretical Constructs

To further clarify the conceptualization of attitude presented here, it is necessary to differentiate the term from similar entities. The constructs that an attitude is distinguished from, clearly depends, *inter alia*, on:

- (i) Convention within the discipline - which is remarkably loose on this matter;
- (ii) The user's own theoretical purposes, which vary from one investigator to another (Scott, 1968).

The author feels that attitudes may be differentiated from beliefs, values and opinions. The relationship between perceptions and attitudes will be discussed below.

3.4.1 Attitudes and Perceptions (of Self and of Others)

There is an interplay between attitudes and social perceptions. For instance, Kelly (1980) conceptualizes attitudes (as well as values, needs and expectations) of an individual as influencing their perceptions. The attitudes with which a person approaches the task of understanding others will therefore play an influential role in determining what he perceives (Massarick and Wechsler, 1979:207). Attitudes basically operate as organizing forces that order, in some preliminary manner, the potential chaos and complexity confronting an individual. They offer meaning to what he is prepared to see and hear. By the same token, change and development of attitudes depends upon the way in which a person and his message are perceived.

3.4.2 Beliefs

Some writers use the terms belief and attitude interchangeably, while others carefully distinguish between them. Unfortunately, the distinctions are never quite the same. According to Shaw and Wright (1967:4), the term "belief" emphasizes "...some level of acceptance of a proposition regarding the characteristic of an object or event". English and English (1958:64) define "belief" as "... the emotional acceptance of a proposition or doctrine on what one considers to be adequate grounds".

A belief is generally regarded as an attitude when it coexists with an affective dimension embodying an evaluation of the preferability of the characteristics or existence of the object. Most attitude theorists regard the attitude concept as a summary of beliefs (Mitchell, 1978; Shaw and Wright, 1967).

3.4.3 Values

Definitions of the term "value" are scarce and imprecise. In general, however, values are regarded as a subclass of attitudes which include the belief that the focal object is desirable or undesirable, independently of the person's own appraisal of it (Scott, 1968). Therefore, values are broader, more encompassing concepts than attitudes. Mitchell (1978) contends that they constitute a summary of many attitudes.

3.4.4 Opinions

Lastly, English and English (1958:358) define an "opinion" as "... a belief that one holds to be without emotional commitment or desire, and to be open to re-evaluation since the evidence is not affirmed or convincing". Scott (1968), however, suggests that an "opinion" usually denotes one type of verbal manifestation of an attitude - the articulation of an evaluative appraisal or prediction concerning the object. In comparing opinions with attitudes, Hovland *et al.*, (1953) highlight the following differences:

- (i) Opinions are verbalizable, while attitudes are sometimes communicated by non-verbal processes or are "unconscious";
- (ii) Opinions are responses, while attitudes are response pre-dispositions.

3.5 World Views

A final concept which is linked to constructs such as attitudes, values, beliefs and perceptions, is the individual's "world view". This concept was formally defined in Chapter 3, Section 1.3 of this thesis. To recapitulate, the world view of a person may be regarded as representing his overarching orientation to reality. More specifically, it consists of the sum total of perceptions, attitudes, values and beliefs that an individual has about the world around him. It influences the way he perceives, defines and above all, interprets his experiences, and the meanings he attaches to them. Thus, the term world view implies a set of definitions of situations which are largely acquired through the process of socialization.

Applying the notion of world view to the present study, one may conceive of the black managers, their bosses, peers and subordinates, as all holding particular world views which reflect, to a large extent, those that are held by their respective ethnic group and class.

SECTION 4 : ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIALIZATION

Closely linked to the issue of attitudes, beliefs, values and perceptions, is the notion of organizational socialization. Since this process has a

bearing on the job advancement of employees (and therefore is germane to the present investigation on black managers), it will now be examined.

Organizational socialization may be defined as:

".... the process by which an individual acquires the social knowledge and skills necessary to assume an organizational role" (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979:211).

Socialization is more generally viewed as "... the incalcation of 'appropriate' or 'approved' modes of thought, affect, and behaviour in the individual" (Moerdyk, 1983:33). Although the socialization process continues throughout an individual's life, there are fundamental discrepancies between child and adult socialization processes. The latter differs from the primary socialization of childhood in that it basically involves a re-socialization or acculturation process requiring the acquisition of new symbolic relationships, the learning of roles and so on, as well as the suppression of those responses that are no longer appropriate.

Godsell (1980) contends that organizational or occupational socialization is perhaps the most important area of adult socialization. The results of an organizational socialization process for an employee involves the development of a cultural perspective for interpreting his work experiences. In fact, Shibutani (1962) proposes that this perspective provides the person with an ordered view of his work life that guides experience, orders and shapes personal associations in the work context and supplies the ground rules which influence everyday conduct.

Van Maanen and Schein (1979) differentiate between "formal" and "informal" organizational socialization. The former refers to those processes in which a job incumbent is more or less separated from regular organizational members while being exposed to a set of experiences tailored explicitly to meet the requirements of his work role. Orientation, induction and training are examples of this process. On the other hand, "informal" socialization processes involve "... a sort of *laissez-faire* socialization for recruits whereby new roles are learned, it is said, through trial and error" (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979:237). As the functioning of informal processes cannot always be readily observed, it is difficult to detect when such processes are functioning inadequately for certain individuals or groups.

Schein (1965) regards the individual's socialization to the dominant norms of an organization as an important process involved in job mobility. He developed a three-dimensional model of the organization which illustrates the various boundaries that must be crossed (and at which organizational socialization takes place) if career progress is to occur.

The model is depicted as a cone with the base representing functional dimensions such as administrative staff, personnel, production, marketing, finance, research and development. The vertical axis of the cone represents the "hierarchical distribution of rank" within an organization (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979:219), with advancement involving the passing of a number of boundaries between labour, skilled, managerial and executive echelons. The "radial" dimension denotes the "inclusion" of a person within a company. This entails a movement toward the central power axis - the nearer the centre, the greater the influence one possesses - "... to cross inclusionary boundaries means that one becomes an *insider* with all the rights and privileges that go with such a position" (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979:222). The sorts of filtering processes used to screen and select those members who pass across inclusionary boundaries, mainly involve evaluations made by the insider as to another's "fitness" for membership.

The relevance of Schein's model to the black job advancement issue is that only the functional barriers are explicit and visible. Hence, they may be crossed as a result of new skills and competencies acquired through training and other formal socialization processes (Godsell, 1980; Moerdyk, 1983; Van Maanen and Schein, 1979). By contrast, the inclusion and hierarchical realms have largely informal and implicit boundaries. Godsell (1980:7) observes that "Personality, attitudes, political insights and perspectives may be crucial in passing these boundaries". Schein (1965:1) also maintains that:

"It is my assumption that attitudes and value change is not only an important consequence of shifts in organizational role, but may well be a prerequisite for such shifts.... advancement into the higher levels of management is as much or more a function of having the right attitudes, values, and perspectives as it is a function of having the right skills and abilities."

The attributes vital for upward movement in an organization, insofar as they are not inherent, must be acquired mainly by means of informal

socialization. Godsell (1980) mentions two implications of this system. Firstly, the individual cannot actively attempt to acquire the appropriate attributes, since they are rarely explicitly articulated and few formal processes exist whereby he could acquire them even if he knew what they were. Secondly, those people who have already crossed these implicit boundaries may establish informal norms for the selection of members so that "stereotyped replication of leadership" may occur (Godsell, 1980:8).

Research has supported Schein's notion of inclusion boundaries. For instance, Vroom and Yetton (1973) found that those subordinates whose personal attitudes and beliefs were not congruent with what their superior regarded as central organizational goals, were unlikely to cross inclusion boundaries. Rosen and Jerdee (1977) discovered that minority and low status employees were consistently evaluated as being less likely to make good judgements, or as considering personal goals before organizational objectives.

The implications of these findings for black managerial advancement in South Africa are clear. It may be proposed that perceived cultural and ethnic differences between blacks and whites militate against the progression of blacks inwards towards the power core and upwards within white-dominated industrial organizations. That is, they may be seen to lack certain desirable (but often unspecified) characteristics. Referring to the problems that women, as a minority group, face in this respect, Kanter (1977:52) remarks that:

"There is much research evidence that leaders choose to promote the careers of socially similar subordinates... One manager put it this way: 'Boy wonders rise under certain power structures. They're recognized by powerful persons because they are very much like him. He sees himself in younger version in that person.... Who can look at a woman and see himself!'"

Similarly, "...which white executive chooses to look at a black subordinate and see himself mirrored there" (Moerdyk, 1983:38). It appears, then, that until management becomes less culturally rigid and more accommodating, the hierarchical and inclusion boundaries may remain largely impermeable for most blacks and other minority status groups, such as women.

OVERVIEW OF THE CHAPTER

Given the fact that the present study focused largely on the perceptions and attitudes of black managers and their work colleagues, this chapter sought to define and examine the nature of perceptions, attitudes and related hypothetical constructs.

With respect to an individual's perception of himself, of others and of the world in general, it was argued that what is seen through the "eyes of the beholder", is not always isomorphic with the real world (Hamner and Organ, 1978). It was also pointed out that a study of how people perceive their work-related world is a prerequisite to the understanding and explanation of work behaviour in all its variety and complexity. This is because man's behaviour depends not on what is actually "out there", but on what he sees; not on how the world and its reality are organized, but on the way he organizes it (Cantril, 1957; Likert, 1959).

It was pointed out that behaviour may be attributed to external, environmental causes or to internal personality dispositions. It was noted that actors tend to perceive their own behaviour as being caused by environmental forces whereas observers tend to regard this same behaviour as a product of the actor's personal disposition.

Research into work-related perceptions was reviewed, since it highlights the types of perceptual discrepancies that may occur between different categories of people in the organization. On the basis of the studies outlined, perceptual discrepancies can be expected to emerge in the present study, between the black managers and their work associates, at least in part because of hierarchical and racial differences between the individuals.

The relationship between perceptions and attitudes was briefly noted. The link between attitudes and behaviour was examined, followed by a discussion on the tendency towards attitude congruency as well as attitude-behaviour consistency. Constructs that are closely associated with attitudes, namely values, beliefs and opinions, were briefly defined. The notion of world views was also raised.

In addition, the process of organizational socialization as developed by Schein (1965, 1971) was discussed, since it entails the adoption of values, attitudes, beliefs and norms that are required to fulfill an organizational role. It was indicated that various boundaries (at which organizational socialization takes place), must be crossed if the individual is to advance within the organization. It was proposed that in the case of South African black managers, their movement across hierarchical and inclusion boundaries could be hampered by the fact that, as minority status members in a white majority group setting, they could be perceived by the white in-group as possessing inappropriate "internal" attributes (such as attitudes, values and beliefs) and undesirable "external" characteristics (for instance, physiognomy, skin colour, speech, manners and so on).

In conclusion, the theoretical constructs discussed in this chapter, namely person perception, self-perception, attitudes, values, beliefs and opinions, were tapped during the course of the present research on black managers and their work associates. Although the process of organizational socialization was not directly examined in this investigation, it possesses theoretical and explanatory value when considering the slow job progression of blacks in both commerce and industry in South Africa.

CHAPTER 5

ORGANIZATIONAL STRESS

INTRODUCTION

As pointed out in Chapter 1 of this dissertation, research and literature on black managers in South African industries have taken implicit and direct cognizance of the fact that these managers appear to be under considerable work-related stress because of a melange of extra-organizational, organizational, interpersonal and individually-located factors. (See for instance, Coldwell and Moerdyk, 1981; Gathercole, 1981; Human, 1981a, 1981b, 1984; Mackay *et al.*, 1980; Moerdyk, 1983; Wella, 1983.) However, little has been written on what the black managers themselves experience as stressful and how they reconcile the stress and pressures with which they must cope.

Since Phase II of this investigation examined the black managers' perceptions, experiences and reactions in regard to stressful work conditions, this chapter will review the issue of stress. It will be divided into five major parts. The first section reviews literature on, and defines, the stress concept. Sections 2 and 3 present the models of the stress process used as explanatory frameworks in the study. The fourth section examines the various components of the general stress model described in Section 3. In the fifth section of the chapter, work stress in the South African context is considered, with special emphasis upon the black manager.

At this point it is useful to note that Selye (1975) has drawn a distinction between "distress" which is unpleasant or disease-producing stress, and "eustress" which is pleasant or curative stress. In this study, stress as something negative or undesirable, was examined (Kiev and Kohn, 1979).

SECTION 1 : A CONCEPTUALIZATION OF STRESS

Stress in organizations is increasingly becoming an important issue in both academic research and organizational practices (Schuler, 1980). However, a great deal is still unknown about organizational stress

(Beehr and Newman, 1978; Cooper and Marshall, 1976; House, 1974). Schuler (1980) argues that the attention being given is warranted and perhaps overdue. At present, the preponderance of knowledge on stress stems from investigations conducted in the medical and health sciences. Hence, the application of that knowledge and the generation of new research knowledge of organizational stress from a psychological perspective, is sorely needed.

In essence, stress is an imprecise, complex "umbrella" concept which is comprised of a number of components. That is, a seemingly diverse range of topics are loosely assimilated under the label "stress". The term has been used widely and with varying meanings in the behavioural science literature.

The fact that stress seems to be related to a large number of conditions has, to an extent, prevented systematic focus on stress in organizations (Beehr and Newman, 1978; House, 1974; Selye, 1973). In other words, it has been argued that stress is ".... too all encompassing a phenomenon, too large to investigate" (Schuler, 1980:185, 187). Consequently, researchers have tended to use the term "stress" in a broad sense to denote: pressure on the individual (for instance, work overload), its effects (for example, job dissatisfaction) and also reactions (such as drug abuse). This state of affairs has added to definitional and conceptual confusion in this field (Beehr and Newman, 1978; Cox, 1978; Mason, 1975).

It is a sobering experience to bear these points in mind when reviewing the available literature on stress.

1.1 Definitions of Stress

Although Lazarus (1971) has noted that defining stress and related concepts makes for dull reading, the author feels that it is necessary to clarify these concepts. A survey of the available scientific literature reveals that the stress phenomenon has been investigated on at least three different levels (namely: physiological, psychological and social), according to the focus of the study or interest of the researcher (Lazarus, 1966; Monat and Lazarus, 1977).

Physiological stress is primarily concerned with the disturbances of tissue systems (for example, Cannon, 1929; Selye, 1956); psychological stress with cognitive factors leading to the evaluation of threat (see Lazarus, 1966); and social stress with the disruption of a social unit or system (for instance, Smelser, 1963). Although many believe that these three kinds of stress are related, the nature of this association is far from clear (Mason, 1975; Monat and Lazarus, 1977).

Within each of these three levels, various operational kinds of measures can be applied, such as: subjective reports, aided or unaided observation, trace measures or archival records (McGrath, 1977). Alternative measures within level and types do not always agree, nor is there always convergence of measures across types and/or levels. This lack of congruence amongst measures can be attributed to methodological weaknesses (alternate measures of the same property - stress - yield discrepant results), or to substantive information (alternative measures represent alternate and generally substitutable responses to stress).

In the present study, the focus was on the psychological stress experienced by the black manager sample.

Stress has also been delineated, not in terms of the level at which it functions, but with respect to its focus. Within this context, Cox (1978) suggests that stress research can be conceptually divided into three approaches, using a:

- (i) Response-based definition of stress;
- (ii) Stimulus-based definition of stress;
- (iii) Person-environment interactional definition of stress.

Although there is common ground between these approaches, they differ most in where they lay the emphasis in the definitions they propound, and in the methods they use (Cox, 1978). In each approach, the term "environment" is applied broadly. Hence it denotes both the individual's internal and external environments, as well as his physical and psychosocial milieu.

The different approaches will now be examined briefly.

1.1.1 Response-based Definitions

Cox (1978) points out that this approach treats stress as a dependent variable for study, describing it in terms of the person's response to disturbing or noxious environments. There is a concern with the specification of the responses or pattern of responses which are regarded as evidence that the individual is, or was under pressure. The work of Selye (1956, 1975) illustrates this orientation. He proposed that stress involved the non-specific response of the organism to any demand made upon it.

Several difficulties arise when applying a response-based definition of stress. For instance, the same response pattern (such as increased blood pressure or heart rate) may be generated from entirely different stimulus conditions, such as heavy exercise or extreme fright (Chalmers, 1981; Monat and Lazarus, 1977). Furthermore, the psychological meanings of these situations are typically quite different (Chalmers, 1981; McGrath, 1970; Monat and Lazarus, 1977). Lastly, any stimulus which produces the particular stress response under consideration, must be regarded as a stressor even though this may not meet with general acceptance.

1.1.2 Stimulus-based Definitions

This approach describes, and views stress in terms of the stimulus characteristics of disruptive or disturbing environments. Stress is usually treated as an independent variable for study. The model used is, in effect, an engineering one which regards "stress" as an external force exerting pressure on a system. This gives rise to a stress reaction or "strain" within the individual (Cox, 1978; Kahn, 1982). According to Strümpfer (1983), prominent authors who have adopted this type of definition include Kahn *et al.*, (1964), French and Caplan (1973) and Caplan *et al.*, (1975).

Such stimulus-based approaches have several shortcomings. Firstly, there is the problem of identifying what is stressful about certain life

situations - which may not always be obvious. Secondly, the engineering analogy in stress research assumes that an undemanding situation is stress-free. Nevertheless, undemanding, boring situations are often as stressful as those in which demand is excessive (Cox, 1978; Ivancevich and Matteson, 1980). Thirdly, unless the stress-strain relationship in man operates unconsciously and automatically, some intervening psychological process which mediates the outcome of that relationship, must be recognized (Cox, 1978). Consequently, stimulus-based definitions of stress are incomplete because any situation may or may not be stressful, depending on characteristics of the individual and the meaning of the situation for him (Monat and Lazarus, 1977). That is, there are always individual differences in the quality, intensity and operation of reactions to the same environmental event (Chalmers, 1981; Glass and Singer, 1972; Lazarus and Launier, 1978). Thus, "A situation will be reacted to as a threat by one person, a challenge by another, and mostly irrelevant ✓ by a third" (Lazarus and Launier, 1978:294).

1.1.3 Interactional Definitions

The final category of definitions, which regards the concept of stress as involving a dynamic and complex person-environment transaction or interaction, appears to be the most widely used approach in stress research in industrial and organizational psychology (Moerdyk, 1983; Schuler, 1980). Proponents of this approach include Chalmers (1981), Cox (1978), Harrison (1978), Lazarus (1966, 1977), McGrath (1976).

Stress is generally viewed in terms of a misfit between the characteristics of the person and the demands of his environment. It is this mismatch which gives rise to anticipation of harm or failure (Blau, 1981; Harrison, 1978). Two types of person-environment mismatches can be identified. Firstly, the individual may be regarded as being "under stress" when the demands of the environment exceed (or threaten to exceed) his capabilities and resources to meet them (that is, stress equals job demand - perceived abilities misfit). For example, McGrath (1976:1352) maintains that the potential for stress exists when:

".... an environmental condition is perceived as presenting a demand which threatens to exceed the

person's capabilities and resources for meeting it, under conditions where he expects a substantial differential in the rewards and costs from meeting the demand versus not meeting it."

Secondly, the individual may experience stress because his needs are not being supplied by the environment (that is, stress equals need - perceived supply misfit).

Thus, where either an environmental (job) demand exceeds a person's response capability (overload), or the person's capabilities exceed the environmental demand (underload), the resulting mismatch represents stress (Blau, 1981; Schuler, 1980).

Lazarus and Launier (1978) suggest that in psychological terms, stress requires a judgement that the person-environment transaction involves jeopardy (threat), harm-loss, or an opportunity to overcome hardships and grow (challenge) by drawing upon more than routine resources.

All three stressful appraisals entail some negative evaluation of one's present or future state of well-being. However, challenge involves the least negative and most positive feeling tone. Harm-loss implies damage that has already occurred. Threat refers to harm or loss that is anticipated. The difference between threat and challenge appears to rest on ".... whether one emphasizes in the appraisal the potential harm in a transaction (threat), or the difficult-to-attain, possibly risky, but positive mastery or gain" (Lazarus and Launier, 1978:304). Whether or not the transactions are stressful, always depends on the balance of power (or "goodness of fit") between two opposing forces, namely: demands and resources (Lazarus, 1966).

In the final analysis, the "person-environment mismatch" view of stress is eclectic in that it deliberately draws from both the response-based and stimulus-based definitions, but in doing so, it emphasizes the ecological and transactional nature of the phenomenon.

This approach was favoured by the author because it:

- (i) Highlights the fact that stress is an individual, perceptual phenomenon rooted in psychological processes;

- (ii) Recognizes the critical role of individual differences in the stress experience; and
- (iii) Regards stress as arising from a particular relationship between the person and his environment.

As Cox (1978) concedes, however, this approach perhaps does not account for those conditions where such a severe demand is placed on the body that physiological fatigue or damage are caused directly, without the immediate involvement of other more psychological processes. Such situations may be dealt with more effectively by one of the other two approaches to stress.

1.2 Stress Terminology

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, there is little coherence in the theory and research on stress. Not surprisingly, then, there are no agreed-upon conventions concerning terminology (Lazarus, 1966). Thus, to avoid confusion, it is necessary to make explicit the terminology used in the present study to delineate the various components of stress.

The source of stress, or stimulus (an aspect of the environment in the person-environment transaction) will be referred to as the *stressor*. Before the stressor has any effect, however, it must be perceived and evaluated by the individual. In the cognitive-phenomenological analysis of psychological stress applied here, then, the individual is seen to experience *stress* when he feels that the environmental demands, internal demands or both *tax* or *exceed* his adaptive resources, thereby creating a person-environment mismatch. Thus, stress depends on the way the environmental events (stressors) are construed by the individual - that is, their appraised significance for well-being, and the coping resources and options available and used (Lazarus, 1966). The physiological, psychological or behavioural effects of stress will be called *strains* or stress symptoms.

Given the foregoing discussion on the conceptualization of stress, the next two broad sections will now largely centre around the elucidation of

two models of organizational stress, namely: the Role Episode model and a Person-Environment Fit model. Both models served as theoretical frameworks and as explanatory tools for the research conducted.

SECTION 2 : ROLE THEORY VIEW OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRESS

Recent years have seen an increased interest in the use of role theory to describe and explain stress associated with membership in organizations (Van Sell *et al.*, 1981). A conceptual framework applied as a descriptive, explanatory and interpretive tool in this thesis was that developed by the group of researchers at the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research. They have conceptualized the job stress problem as one of a person-environment misfit (Cox, 1978; Jamal, 1984; Newman and Beehr, 1979), and the underlying theory of their stress research is role theory. Kahn *et al.*, (1964) were the pioneers in this respect. They gave the role concept a central place in their theory of organizations, arguing that an organization is ".... a network of interrelated roles (or more precisely, of role behaviours)" (Kahn *et al.*, 1964:388).

Indeed, Katz and Kahn (1966:171) claim that the concept of role:

".... is at once the building block of social systems and the summation of the requirements with which the system confronts the individual member."

2.1 Role Theory Concepts

2.1.1 Definition of Role

An organization may be regarded as a system of positions (that is, locations in the system) and their associated roles (Gross *et al.*, 1958). For the purpose of this investigation, a role was viewed as:

".... the pattern of wants, goals, beliefs, feelings, attitudes, values and actions, which members of a community expect should characterize the typical occupant of a position" (Krech *et al.*, 1962:338).

2.1.2 Role Sets

Every member of an organization is directly associated with a relatively small number of others. The latter usually occupy positions adjacent

to that of a given individual in the hierarchy of authority or in the work-flow structure (Katz and Kahn, 1966). They constitute his "role set" (Merton, 1949) and usually include his immediate senior, his subordinates and other work associates with whom he works closely.

2.1.3 Role Expectations and Sent Role

The role set possesses role expectations for any given position and its occupants. The activities which define a role are maintained through the expectations of members of the role set and these expectations are communicated or "sent" to the focal person*. Members of a role set are called "role senders", and the term "sent role" denotes their communicated expectations (Katz and Kahn, 1966:175).

2.1.4 The Received Role

The members of ego's role set, along with the influential pressures that they direct to him, constitute his objective environment. However, each person responds to the organization and its members in terms of his perceptions thereof, which may be compatible with or differ in certain respects from what is actually "out there". Therefore, besides the "sent role", there is also the "received role". The latter is composed of the individual's ".... perceptions and cognitions of what was sent" (Katz and Kahn, 1966:177).

Furthermore, each person himself is a "self-sender" (Katz and Kahn, 1966:178). That is, the individual also has a concept of his position and a set of attitudes and beliefs concerning how he should behave in the position. Through an ongoing process of socialization during the course of his life, each individual will have acquired a set of values, beliefs and expectations about his own behaviour and abilities, about the nature of human organizations, and the conditions for membership in them.

* The term "focal person" or "ego" will be used to denote any person whose role is being examined. In the case of this investigation, the black managers were the "focal" individuals.

2.1.5 Role Behaviour

The individual responds, then, to his subjective perceptions and interpretation of the role expectations of his role set, rather than to the "objective" set roles. (This issue of "perception" was discussed in Chapter 4.) Therefore, the expected behaviour of a position must be distinguished from ego's actual role behaviour in that position.

Newcomb (1950) refers to the actual behaviour as distinct from the role itself as "role behaviour" while Sarbin (1954) uses the term "role enactment". Differences between role prescriptions of a position and the incumbent's role behaviour may stem from a variety of factors such as the clarity and specificity of the role expectations themselves, how ego interprets them, and his ability to carry them out (Mitchell, 1968).

2.1.6 The Context of Role-Taking

Katz and Kahn (1966:186) maintain that the context consists of "... the more or less stable characteristics of the situation within which a role episode takes place". They divide the "context" into three categories, namely: organizational and ecological factors, personal attributes of the individuals and interpersonal variables. These three categories broadly correspond to what McGrath (1976:1368) terms the physical-technological system, the person-system and the social-interpersonal environment.

✧ Organizational factors include the technology of the company, formal policies, organizational climate and culture, size of the company and role requirements of the organization. Clearly, the organizational conditions surrounding and delineating the positions of one's role senders will partly determine the organizational experiences of the role senders, their expectations and the pressures that they exert upon the focal person.

Interpersonal aspects of the situation involve the dynamics of interpersonal perception, modes of communication, type of interaction, frequency of interaction, feedback, participation and importance of the role senders to the role incumbent.

Personal attributes of the individual consist of demographic characteristics such as age, sex, race, education, tenure, status and personality. The beliefs, values, norms and expectations of the person about himself and his physical and social environments, are also relevant here.

128 In addition to the three contextual factors discussed above, the author incorporated extra-organizational factors as another dimension which impinges upon the process of role-sending and role-receiving within any organization. One may argue that organizations and their members cannot be viewed as operating within a societal vacuum. As Sofer (1972:219) notes: "Organizations are products of their societies, subsystems or larger systems". Extra-organizational factors may include, *inter alia*, socio-political and economic conditions within the country. Family and community conditions, place of residence, and the like may also have an important bearing on the overall work-related stress experience.

Hence, to recapitulate, role behaviour is the product of the interaction between situational factors and the cognitions, wants, expectations, attitudes and interpersonal response traits of the individual.

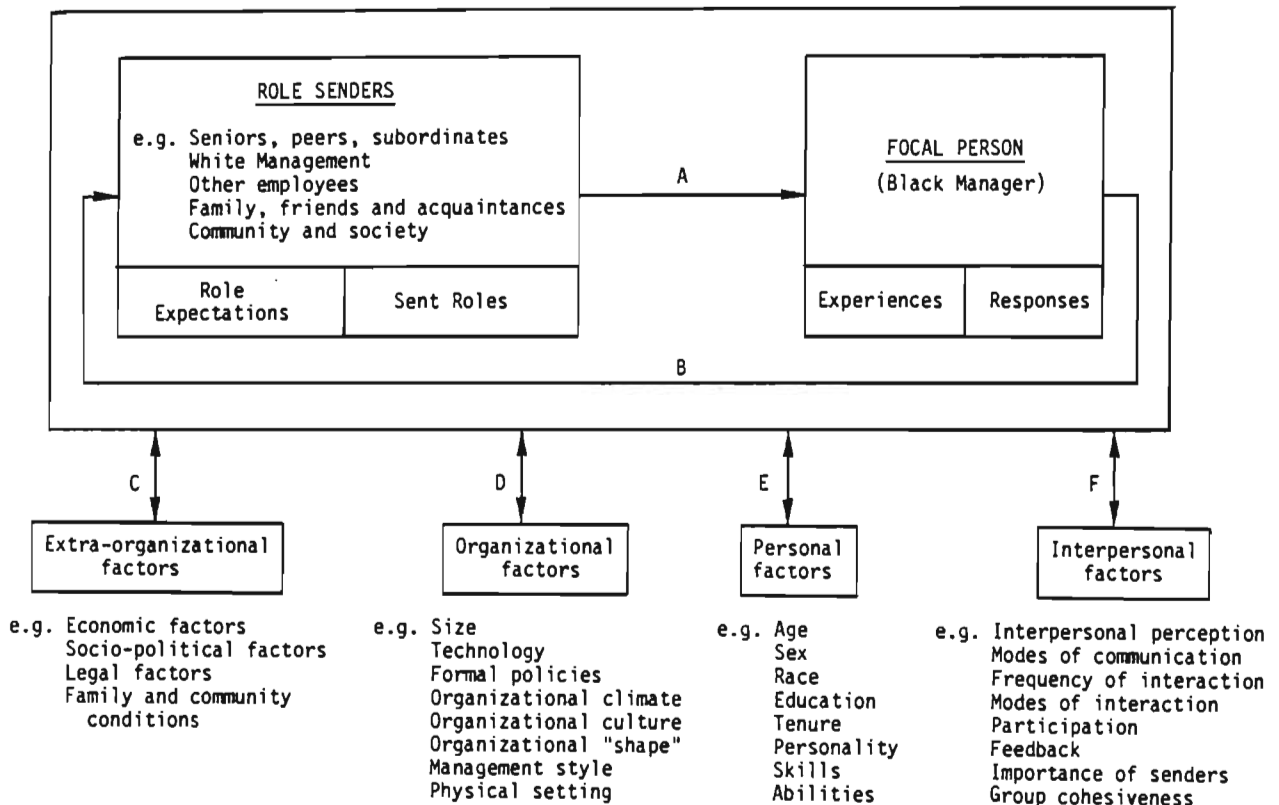
2.2 The Role Episode Model as Applied to the Black Manager

Considering the preceding discussion on role theory concepts, role-sending and role-receiving may be viewed as constituting a "sequence" or "role episode" (Katz and Kahn, 1966:182). A model of the role episode may be applied to the South African black manager (as the focal person), and his boss, peers and subordinates (as the role senders). People who hold role expectations of the black manager in a work capacity may extend beyond his immediate work associates to include other employees in the company. Furthermore, his family, friends, acquaintances and community may also act as role senders. Similarly, society at large may harbour a variety of negative or positive expectations of the black manager.

Piron *et al.*, (1983) made use of the Role Episode model in their article on black supervisors in South African organizations. Human (1984) also refers to it in her discussion on black managers. However, the author applied this theoretical schema to the present investigation in 1981.

Figure 1 presents the Role Episode model (with the contextual factors included), with the black manager as ego.

FIGURE 1 : The Role Episode Model with the South African Black Manager as the Focal Person (Adapted from Kahn *et al.*, 1964).



In Figure 1, arrow A represents the process of role-sending, while arrow B is a feedback loop which illustrates the process whereby: (i) the role senders estimate the degree to which the focal person's behaviour conforms with the expectations held for him at one point in time and (ii) another cycle of role-sending is initiated. The feedback loop from the focal person to the role senders suggests a transactional relationship between role senders and the focal person. Consequently, there may be mutual influences over several time periods (Van Sell *et al.*, 1981). Thus the role episode is cyclic and ongoing. Furthermore, arrows C, D, E and F indicate that there is a two-way interaction

between the role episode and the contextual factors, so that each may alter, change or maintain the *status quo* of the other.

It must be emphasized that the Role Episode model sketched in Figure 1 is an oversimplified abstraction of a complex, dynamic process involving all members of an organization. That is, organizational life is continuous rather than made up of discreet role episodes. Members of a role set also often disagree among themselves in regard to what the focal person should do.

2.3 Role Stress

The immediate work associates, namely: the boss, peer(s) and subordinate(s) of the black manager (the focal person in this investigation) may be regarded as representing key role senders in his work milieu. In terms of role theory they may be assumed to exert role pressures upon the black manager to make his role behaviour congruent with their expectations. Kahn *et al.*, (1964) contend that such pressures will induce in the focal person an experience which has both perceptual and cognitive properties, and which in turn will lead to certain adjustive or maladjustive responses. These responses will then be observed and evaluated by the role senders whose expectations and demands will be correspondingly adjusted. NB

In the light of the person-environment fit notion of stress, one may argue that if the focal person cannot match (that is, satisfy) the role expectations of his role senders (who constitute "environmental demands impinging upon him), or alternatively, if the environment (represented by his role senders) does not meet his expectations and needs, then this incongruity will result in the subjective experience of stress - only if the black manager perceives the mismatch to exist. These, however, are general predictions which cannot be expected to hold for all black managers. Moreover, although Kahn *et al.* (1964) assume that role expectations lead to role pressures, they concede that there is no simple correspondence between them.

The theory of role dynamics developed by Kahn *et al.* (*op. cit.*) focuses largely on the existence of organizational stress arising from

conflicting, incompatible or unclear expectations. They identify two major types of role stress, namely: role conflict and role ambiguity. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

2.3.1 Role Conflict

Katz and Kahn (1966:184) define role conflict as:

".... the simultaneous occurrence of two (or more) role sendings such that compliance with one would make more difficult compliance with the other."

At least some degree of role conflict is characteristic of human organizations, since complete consistency and consensus between role senders is unlikely (or seldom) to be obtained. Obviously, however, the extent to which it occurs may vary widely within and between individuals.

Kahn *et al.* (*op. cit.*) have identified the following types of role conflict:

(i) Interrole conflict occurs whenever the sent expectations for one role are in conflict with those for another role played by the same person. One of the most frequent forms of interrole conflict is the clashing demands of job and family (McGrath, 1976). In the case of the South African black manager, it could be argued that his role as a manager (supposedly on an equal footing with his white co-workers), conflicts with his role as a black second class citizen in the broader apartheid society of South Africa;

(ii) Intersender conflict arises when the expectations sent from one role sender are in conflict with those from one or more other senders. Using the South African black manager once again to illustrate this case, one may cite the following hypothetical example: white management may expect the black manager to represent and further the company's interests whereas the black workforce may expect him to be their "Saviour" who will represent their interests. Clearly, to comply with the expectations of either group, is to spurn those of the other.

Such an invidious position is not unique to the black manager. Indeed, a corpus of literature exists on the classic problem of the first-

line supervisor who is the "man in the middle", the "master and victim of double-talk" - a position in which, on the one hand, he is expected to identify with and represent the worker's point of view, and on the other, to be responsible to management (Alverson, 1975; Orpen, 1976);

(iii) *Intrasender role conflict* exists when the expectations from a single member of a role set may be internally contradictory. For instance, the black manager's boss may encourage him to be more assertive. Despite this, the boss may expect the black manager to act in a submissive and subservient manner in keeping with the traditional master-servant relationship between white and black South Africans. A general example of intrasender conflict is epitomized by a boss asking his subordinate to present some complex material briefly, but in detail;

(iv) *Person-role conflict* manifests itself when role requirements violate the needs, values or capacities of the focal person. For instance, a black manager may be expected by his seniors to communicate and "sell" what he feels are morally indefensible company decisions, to the black workforce.

Thus, person-role conflicts result from a mismatch between externally sent role expectations and those that the black manager possesses himself. By contrast, the other three types of role conflict described above reflect conflicts in the content of the "sent role". They exist as conflicts in the objective environment of the focal person. Whether or not they generate psychological discord within the focal person depends, of course, on whether he perceives the conflicts as such.

Other more complex types of role conflict may also be identified. For instance, *role overload* is regarded by Katz and Kahn (1966:185) as typically denoting "... a kind of intersender conflict in which sent expectations of various members of the role set are legitimate and are not logically incompatible". Nevertheless, the focal person cannot complete all the tasks required of him within the stipulated time limits and requirements of quality. That is, the environmental demands for a particular role exceed the response capability of the individual

occupying it (Pettigrew, 1972). He is likely to experience overload as a conflict of priorities or as a conflict between quality and quantity. Within this context, French and Caplan (1973) differentiate between "quantitative" role overload (too much work) and "qualitative" role overload (work that is too difficult).

In addition, role underload (the underutilization of ability) may be just as stressful as overload, if not even more so (Pettigrew, 1972). This condition arises when:

".... the individual's balance between environmental demand and response capability is upset either by a reduction of environmental demands: or by a rise in his response capability, when the demands either remain constant or fall" (Pettigrew, 1972:100).

Within this context it is instructive to note that the relationship between psycho-social environmental stimulation and stress can be represented by a U-shaped curve (Levi, 1981). The highest stress levels are found at both extremes of the stimulation continuum depicting over- or understimulation. As Levi (*op. cit.*) explains, deprivation or excess of almost any influence generally seems to be stress-provoking. In the case of insufficient environmental stimulation (role underload), the individual becomes mentally impoverished, alienated, bored, and easily distracted. Attention levels are reduced, as is initiative and capacity for involvement. A typical example of role underload is when an individual is given repetitive, routine tasks to perform that do not allow him to prove his worth.

2.3.1.1 Effects of Role Conflict

This general construct has been shown to be associated with unfavourable personal and organizational outcomes. Widely documented effects of role conflict are job dissatisfaction and job-related tension, which have been manifested among a variety of occupational aggregates (see, for instance, Beehr *et al.*, 1976; Brief and Aldag, 1976, Gross *et al.*, 1958; House and Rizzo, 1972; Keller, 1975; Miles, 1976a; Tosi, 1971; Tosi and Tosi, 1970).

X

Role conflict has been shown to be correlated with several other organizationally dysfunctional outcomes, among them unfavourable attitudes towards role senders (Miles, 1976b), lower commitment to the organization (Baird, 1969), less confidence in the company (Kahn *et al.*, 1964), inadequate perceived leader behaviour (Rizzo *et al.*, 1970), and unsatisfactory work group relationships (French and Caplan, 1972).

Evidence with respect to associations between role conflict and personally dysfunctional outcomes include a positive relationship to somatic complaints, depression, irritation (Caplan *et al.*, 1975), fatigue (Beehr *et al.*, 1976), heart rate (Caplan and Jones, 1975), a sense of futility, and a negative relationship between role conflicts and reported happiness (Hall and Gordon, 1973). Positive associations between role conflict and the propensity to leave have also been highlighted (Brief and Aldag, 1976; Hammer and Tosi, 1974, Johnson and Graen, 1973).

2.3.2 Role Ambiguity

Like role conflict, role ambiguity is a prevalent condition in work organizations. However, this construct has not been elaborately conceptualized in the literature (McGrath, 1976). According to Van Sell *et al.* (1981), role ambiguity is generally viewed as the extent to which clear information is lacking with respect to:

- (i) the expectations associated with a role;
- (ii) the methods for fulfilling known role expectations, and/or;
- (iii) the potential consequences of role performance or nonperformance for ego, his role senders and the organization in general.

Role ambiguity may be divided into two fundamental types (Kahn *et al.*, 1964). Task ambiguity arises when, for instance, there is a lack of clarity regarding the definition and parameters of the job and its objectives. By contrast, socio-emotional ambiguity occurs when the person is uncertain of how he is evaluated and esteemed by others. Such ambiguity may also revolve around the connections of behaviour and intended goals (what leads to what).

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Kahn *et al.* (*op. cit.*) propose that ambiguity in a given position arises because information is nonexistent or because existing information is poorly communicated. One may expand upon this by arguing that role ambiguity may also arise because the role incumbent lacks the necessary experience and socio-cultural background to equip him with knowledge about his organizational position. Thus a South African black manager could, for example, experience role ambiguity because racially prejudiced white colleagues deliberately withhold important information from him; because white associates are unaccustomed to communicating with and interacting with blacks in managerial capacity; because the black manager does not have immediate or easy access to informal organizational networks; because the black manager's educational and socio-cultural background have not equipped him with indepth knowledge about social conventions at work; or because the black manager does not attempt to seek out information for fear of being perceived as "incompetent" or "stupid".

2.3.2.1 Effects of Role Ambiguity

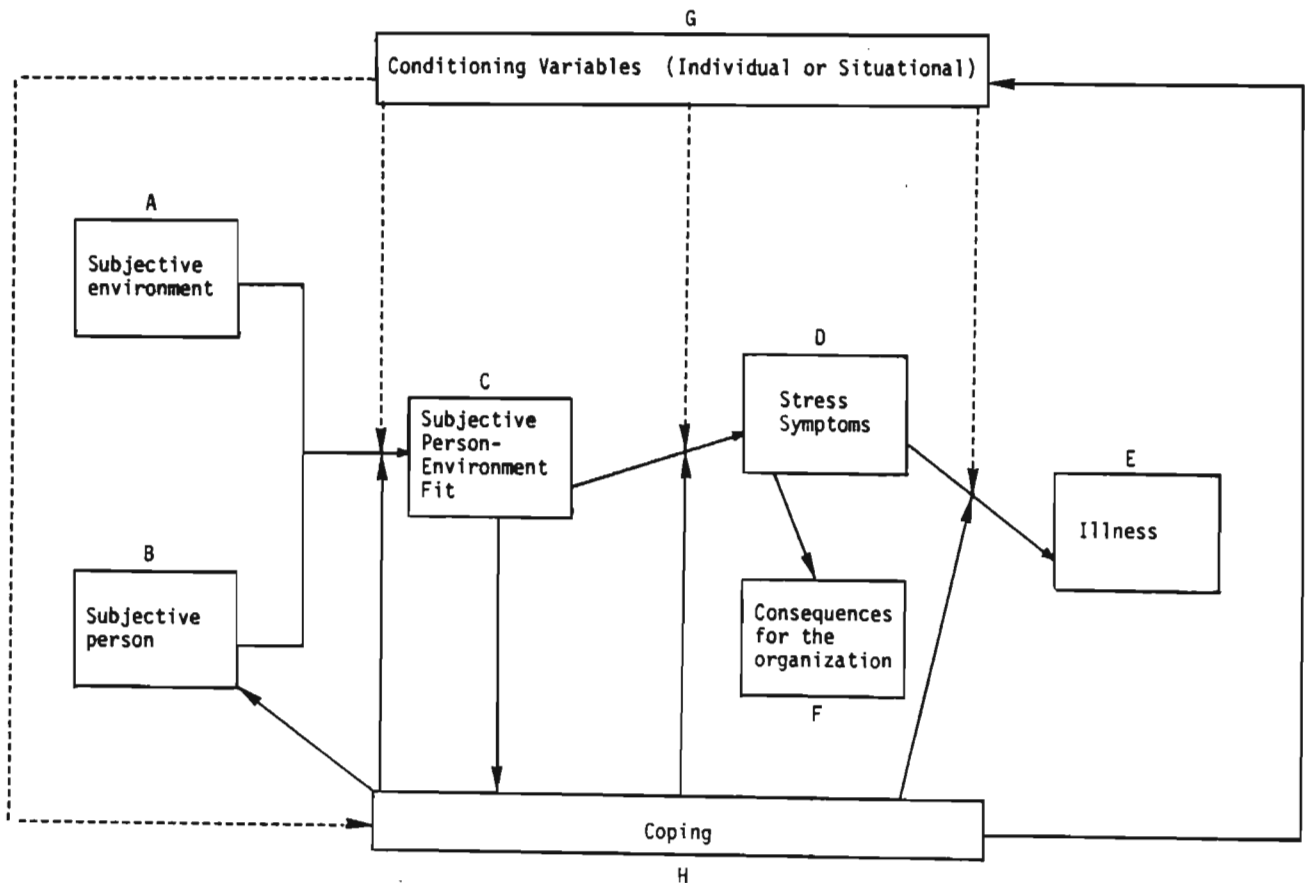
Van Sell *et al.* (1981) point out that experimental and longitudinal investigations into the effects of role ambiguity demonstrate that lack of clarity about behavioural expectations results *inter alia*, in lower job satisfaction, less concern for or involvement with the group, lowered productivity, unfavourable attitudes towards role senders and increased tension, anxiety and resentment. There is also evidence that role incumbents with high levels of role ambiguity suffer from depression, a sense of futility, lowered self-esteem, reduced organizational commitment, and physical symptoms (Brief and Aldag, 1976; Greene, 1972).

Thus, the general effects of ambiguity parallel those of role conflict namely: intrapersonal tension, lowered job satisfaction and reduced self-esteem (McGrath, 1976).

SECTION 3 : A GENERAL MODEL OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRESS

It may be hypothesized that South African black managers ~~do not suffer from role-related stress only~~. Because of this, it was deemed necessary to conceptualize stress from a broader perspective that would take into account role-related stress (as depicted by the Role Episode model), as well as other forms of stress. For this purpose, stress was broadly portrayed in terms of a Person-Environment Fit model (see Figure 2). Similar models have been proposed by other investigators (for example, Caplan *et al.*, 1975; French, 1963; House, 1974; Strümpfer, 1983).

FIGURE 2 : A Person-Environment Fit Model of Organizational Stress



NOTE: Solid arrows reflect hypothetical causal relations between components of the model. Broken arrows depict processes that condition (weaken or strengthen) components or the interaction between them.

3.1 Basic Elements of the Model

In Figure 2, the *subjective environment* (A) represents the individual's perception of the objective world. Obviously, such perceptions may be accurate or distorted pictures of this environment. The *subjective person* (B) denotes the individual's perception of himself (his self-concept). *Subjective person-environment fit* (C) entails the individual's perceptions of the congruency between these two factors. If there is a discrepancy between the person's needs and corresponding job supplies for those needs (or a perceived abilities - job demand misfit), then the individual will experience stress.

A central hypothesis of the model is that perceived stress is a primary cause of physiological, psychological and behavioural *stress symptoms* or *strains* (component D of Figure 2). According to French (1976), as quoted by Blau (1981:282), "... strain refers to any deviation of normal responses in a person". Prolonged job-related strains may culminate in *illness* (E) such as mental ill-health (for example, chronic depression) and/or physical ill-health (for instance, heart disease or peptic ulcers). The *organizational consequences* (F) of such stress symptoms can include lowered productivity, increased wastage, bigger overheads, greater labour turnover and financial loss. Individual and situational *conditioning variables* (G) will affect the stressor-stress link, the stress-strain relationship and influence the *coping mechanisms* (H) adopted by the individual.

The subjective person-environment fit will change continuously according to the varying demands made upon ego (by his role senders' general contextual factors and himself) and his responses to such pressures. Consequently, feedback relationships are necessary to describe the functioning of the model over time. For example, as the experience of a poor person-environment match results in strain and illness (Harrison, 1978), the individual may seek to improve the fit between himself and his role-senders' expectations of his role behaviour in his job, through the use of coping strategies.

Other factors may also affect the person-environment fit over a period of time. Strain and illness may produce changes in the person which intensify the mismatch. For instance, an employee who cannot keep up with the work load may begin to experience severe anxiety. If the anxiety decreases the person's ability to handle the work load, a vicious circle will begin and result in an even greater person-environment mismatch.

The transactional view of the process of organizational stress, complete with feedback loops, should not be seen as lending itself to a set of notions of linear causation. Consequently, regarding variable "a" as preceding, and determining variable "b" should be viewed as depending on where one decides to break the stress cycle. Indeed, one could regard variable "b" as determining subsequent alterations in variable "a". Despite criticism levelled by some academics (for example, Schuler, 1980; Kasl, 1978) that person-environment conceptualizations of stress are tautological, the author agrees with Coyne and Lazarus (1980:146) who contend that:

"The fact that a transactional description is inherently circular is not to be deplored but exploited in observation, description, and theory building."

Given the fact that it is not possible to disentangle cause and effect, then, the researcher studying stress is forced to use correlational methods (as in the case of the present investigation on the work stress experienced by black managers).

Major components of the Person-Environment Fit model depicted in Figure 2, namely: work-related stressors, strains, coping strategies, individual and situational conditioning variables, will now be examined in greater depth.

SECTION 4 : A REVIEW OF MAJOR ELEMENTS OF THE PERSON-ENVIRONMENT FIT MODEL OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRESS

4.1 Organizational Stressors

All stressors are environmental in origin (Ivancevich and Matteson, 1980). Such stressors are represented by component A (subjective environment) of the Person-Environment Fit model of organizational stress portrayed in Figure 2. Cooper and Marshall (1976) divide the potential sources of work-related stressors into the following broad categories.*

- (i) The nature of the job;
- (ii) The individual's role in the organization;
- (iii) Career development;
- (iv) Relationships at work;
- (v) Organizational structure and climate;
- (vi) Extra-organizational factors.

Obviously these broad groups of potential stressors are not mutually exclusive. Nevertheless, their separation aids their examination. Each category will now be discussed in greater depth.

4.1.1 Stressors Intrinsic to the Job

These include: time pressures and deadlines, having to make too many decisions, excessive travelling, long hours, having to cope with changes at work, and the expenses (monetary and career) of making mistakes (Cooper, 1981; Cooper and Marshall, 1976).

4.1.2 Role-Related Stressors

Sources of role stress in terms of role conflict, role ambiguity, role underload and overload were discussed in detail in Section 2.3 of this chapter. Other role-related stressors include problems such as having too little responsibility and no participation in decision-making, a

* Cooper and Marshall (*op. cit.*) identify a seventh source of stress, namely, that which is intrinsic to the individual. The present author conceptualized this as falling within the domain of "individual conditioning variables" (discussed in Section 4.3 of this chapter).

lack of managerial support and explanation of orders, and having to meet successively higher performance standards (Cooper and Marshall, 1976). Being located at organizational boundaries in "boundary spanning" positions is also a well-documented role stressor (Adams, 1976; Cooper, 1981; Cooper and Marshall, 1976, 1978; Kahn *et al.*, 1964; Miles, 1976b; Moerdyk, 1983). That is, a manager's role which is at an intra- or interorganizational boundary is generally characterized by extensive communication networks, high role conflict and stress potential. Adams (1976) suggests that this is so because the occupants of such positions are subject to behavioural and role expectations that are located in separate social systems.

Another potential role stressor is "responsibility for people". For instance, Wardwell *et al.*, (1964) discovered that responsibility for people was more stressful than "responsibility for things" (such as equipment and budgets). Similarly, French and Caplan (1973) found that while there was a high positive correlation between responsibility for people and the measures of stress utilized in their investigation, no such relation was found with responsibility for things. Within this context, it is noteworthy that the vast majority of South African black managers are placed in people-orientated positions which usually deal with the company's black workforce, black consumers or black clients. ✕

4.1.3 Interpersonal Stressors ✓

These stressors pertain to the nature of the relationship with one's boss, colleagues and subordinates (Cooper and Marshall, 1976; Cooper, 1981). It appears that the interpersonal climate in the organization, and especially the individual's relationship with his colleagues and superiors, are important since they affect the person's social and esteem needs (Moerdyk, 1983).

According to French and Caplan (1973:48) poor relations may be defined as "... those which include low trust, low supportiveness, and low interest in listening to and trying to deal with problems that confront the organizational member". Kahn *et al.* (1964) and French and Caplan (1970) discovered that mistrust of persons one worked with was positively

related to high role ambiguity. This resulted in inadequate interpersonal communication, in psychological strain in the form of low satisfaction, and in feelings of job-related threat to one's well-being (Cooper and Marshall, 1976).

Poor interpersonal relationships and low trust also generate a lack of identity with and commitment to the organization, and feelings of dissatisfaction resulting in stress (Cooper and Marshall, 1976; French and Caplan, 1972; Kahn *et al.*, 1964). It is argued by Fiedler *et al.*, (1979) that the relationship with the superior is particularly important. They suggest that:

"Since the superior is the primary judge of one's job performance [and hence the greatest or most immediate source of potential harm], stress in the relationship with this person should be particularly anxiety arousing" (p.636).

For example, Buck (1972) found that behaviour indicative of respect, mutual trust, friendship and a warmth between boss and subordinate were associated with what he termed a "consideration" factor. He reported that workers who felt that their boss was low on "consideration", experienced more job pressure.

4.1.4 Career Prospects Stressors

A fourth category of environmental stressors relates to the issue of career development and prospects. This includes, *inter alia*, problems of overpromotion, underpromotion, status inconsistency, job insecurity, fear of redundancy, obsolescence, early retirement and thwarted ambition (Cooper and Marshall, 1976; Cooper, 1981).

Arthur and Gunderson (1965) found that promotional lag was significantly linked to psychiatric illness. Similarly, case studies undertaken by Brook (1973) highlighted behaviour disorders resulting from either overpromotion (when an individual is given responsibility exceeding his capacity) or underpromotion (responsibility not commensurate with ability level).

Erikson, Pugh and Gunderson (1972) utilized the term "status congruence"

to describe the matching of an individual's advancement with his experience and ability. They found that navy personnel experienced greater job satisfaction when their job advancement rates exceeded their expectation to a moderate extent; dissatisfaction increased as job progression rates were retarded. Those individuals who had advanced the least were inclined to perceive the most stress in their lives. Status congruency was also reported to be negatively related to the incidence of psychiatric disorders and positively associated with military effectiveness in a study by Erikson, Edwards and Gunderson (1973).

The status congruency issue has also been explored from a sociological perspective. For instance, Shekelle, Ostfeld and Paul (1969) as quoted by Cooper and Marshall (1976:19), discovered that men whose social class in childhood, or whose wives' social class in childhood, was higher or lower than their current class level, were more susceptible to coronary heart disease than others.

Jackson (1962:469) concludes that:

".... all forms of status inconsistency are psychologically disturbing, but ... response to stress varies with the relative positions of the inconsistent person's achieved and ascribed status ranks."

With regard to blacks at managerial level in South African organizations, one may propose that they are subject to considerable status incongruencies. For instance, their pervasive working class origins stand in stark contrast to their current middle class rank. Furthermore, their managerial status at work is inconsistent with their second class, minority group status within the broader apartheid system outside the organization.

4.1.5 Organizational Structure and Climate Stressors

A fifth potential work stressor relates to "being in the organization" and the constraints it imposes on the individual's autonomy, freedom and identity (Cooper, 1981:210). Problems in this respect include *inter alia*, issues such as the "shape" of the organization (in terms of

hierarchical and authority levels), little or no participation in the decision-making process, tensions of office politics, lack of effective consultation and communication, budgets, and no sense of belonging (Cooper, 1981; Cooper and Marshall, 1976; Moerdyk, 1983).

One may propose that the research most relevant to this study (when one considers the out-group status of black managers in white-dominated South African corporations), is that of a lack of participation in decision-making. Research seems to indicate that greater participation typically leads to higher productivity, high self-esteem and job satisfaction. By contrast, a lack of participation appears to induce job dissatisfaction and higher levels of physical and mental ill-health (Cooper and Marshall, 1976; French and Caplan, 1970; Kasl, 1973; Margolis *et al.*, 1974).

4.1.6 Extra-Organizational Stressors

People, like organizations, are inescapably bound up with the conditions existing beyond the work place (Ivancevich and Matteson, 1980). Indeed, as Cooper and Marshall (1976) point out, there is a feedback loop between work and the outside environment. That is, a "spiral effect" may arise where external events can affect the individual at work and this in turn can exacerbate the problems outside work and so on.

Extra-organizational stressors that have been documented as affecting the physical and mental health of an individual at work include: life satisfaction and crises (Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend, 1974), family problems (Pahl and Pahl, 1971), financial difficulties, community and residential conditions, societal changes and economic factors (Ivancevich and Matteson, 1980). Extra-organizational stressors may be work-related (such as neglect of family and social relations in pursuit of career goals) or they may be unconnected to work issues (for example, family crises, illness, death, and the like).

With regard to black managers in South Africa, the plethora of prohibitive legislation, poor housing facilities (such as no plumbing or electricity), cramped and overcrowded dwellings, physical threats of

township life, harrassment from black workers after hours, and accusations from the community of being sellouts to the black cause, all may contribute to high levels of uncertainty and dissatisfaction (Moerdyk, 1983).

4.2 Stress Symptoms (or Strains)

A major hypothesis of the Person-Environment Fit model put forward in Section 3 of this chapter, is that organizational stress may lead to a complex pattern of psychological, physiological and behavioural strains. Although various stress symptoms have already been alluded to at certain points in this chapter, the issue will now be discussed in greater detail. The three major classes of strains may be highly interrelated (Schuler, 1980). Nevertheless, they will be discussed separately for sake of clarity. The effects of role conflict and ambiguity were discussed in Section 2.3 of this chapter.

4.2.1 Physiological Symptoms

Short-term physiological symptoms are basically geared to muster bodily resources rapidly to deal with the threat. These effects involve a change in the autonomic nervous system functioning and endocrine activity as part of the so-called "flight or fight response" (Cannon, 1929). Such changes include an elevation of metabolism, blood pressure, heart rate, respiratory rate and an increase in the discharge of epinephrine and norepinephrine, the production of gastric acids and the distribution of blood away from the viscera and cerebrum to the skeletal muscles (Moerdyk, 1983; Schuler, 1980).

When stress is prolonged and unavoidable however, long-term effects or "diseases of adaptation" (Schuler, 1980:201) arise. These include, *inter alia*, chronic high blood pressure (hypertension), gastric and duodenal ulcers, cardiovascular and kidney diseases, headaches, insomnia, upset stomachs, sinus attacks, certain rheumatic or allergic afflictions. X

These long-term strains do not seem to accompany every stressful condition. That is, since stressors and stress are additive, physiological symptoms

may only arise when several stressors occur simultaneously or continue to manifest themselves over a long time.

4.2.2 Psychological Symptoms (Affective and Cognitive)

Affective or emotional stress reactions include depression, irritability, anxiety, apathy, job dissatisfaction, lowered self-esteem, feelings of persecution, boredom, uncertainty about whom to trust and psychological fatigue (see for example: Cooper and Marshall, 1976; House, 1974; Moerdyk, 1983; Schuler, 1980). Stress may also lead to a number of deficits in cognitive ability such as: forgetfulness, loss of concentration, inattentiveness, or a low frustration threshold.

4.2.3 Behavioural Symptoms

In terms of individual consequences, behavioural symptoms may involve a loss of appetite, sudden noticeable loss or gain of weight, drug abuse, as well as forms of withdrawal and escape such as daydreaming. Stress symptoms with a direct bearing on the organization include low performance, reduced job involvement, lack of concern for the company or for colleagues, absenteeism, voluntary turnover, and accident proneness (Moerdyk, 1983; Schuler, 1980).

The various types of strains discussed above can occur in isolation or concomitantly with other stress symptoms as job stress increases.

4.3 Individual Conditioning Variables

As depicted in the Person-Environment Fit model of organizational stress (See Figure 2, Section 3 of this chapter), individual conditioning variables influence the stressor-stress relationship as well as the stress-strain link and the stress symptom-illness association. That is, individual differences represent intervening variables within the organism which condition the individual's perceptions of, and responses to, stressful conditions.

According to Ivancevich and Matteson (1980), individual differences include demographic variables (such as age, sex, education and similar attributes)

and personality factors. Although the term "personality" has been described in different ways by those who study it, these definitions usually include the notion of ".... stable differences in manner of responding to one or more classes of situations" (Hamner and Organ, 1978:164). With reference to role stress, Kahn *et al.* (1964) argue that personality characteristics

- (i) Evoke or facilitate certain responses and role pressures from their role senders;
- (ii) Act as conditioning variables between the objective and experienced situations; and
- (iii) Lead to individual differences in the use of coping techniques.

Examples of the types of personality dimensions that have been documented as moderators of the stress process include: emotional sensitivity, introversion-extraversion, flexibility-rigidity, Type A-Type B personality patterns, locus of control, tolerance of ambiguity, self-esteem, abilities, experience, needs and values. Furthermore, Gowler and Legge (1975) argue that in terms of the "mismatch theory" of stress, the "anxiety-prone" individual is likely to be one who perceives more mismatches in his environment than others and/or experiences more compulsion to resolve them than others.

Other individual conditioning variables include genetically determined constitutional predispositions (in terms of the state of organs and bodily systems) as well as nongenetic physical factors (such as physical fitness, prior history of overwork, the individual's medical history and addictions). These characteristics will either increase or decrease a person's vulnerability to stressors (Strümpfer, 1983).

In conclusion, then, individual differences have an impact on a person's perceptions and appraisal processes with respect to the stressor-stress link (McGrath, 1976; Schuler, 1980). Furthermore, when stress is experienced such individual conditioning variables will be instrumental in influencing the strains that emerge, as well as the coping tactics adopted by the stessee.

4.4 Social Situational Conditioning Variables

4.4.1 Social Support

As illustrated in the Person-Environment Fit model of organizational stress (see Figure 2), social situational conditioning variables (such as social support networks) may moderate the stressor-stress link, the stress-strain relationship and the strain-illness association. In this respect, social support networks will be discussed as a primary example of such conditioning factors.

Social support systems or social networks refer to the interpersonal linkages that exist among a set of individuals (Dyal, 1980). Caplan and Killea (1976:41) define social support systems more fully, as follows:

".... attachments among individuals or between individuals and groups that serve to improve adaptive competence in dealing with short-term crises and life transitions as well as long-term challenges, stresses, and privations through

- (a) promoting emotional mastery;
- (b) offering guidance regarding the field of relevant forces involved in expectable problems and methods of dealing with them, and
- (c) providing feedback about an individual's behaviour that validates his conception of his own identity and fosters improved performance based on adequate self-evaluation."

Following on from this, House (1981:26) describes social support as "a flow of emotional concern, instrumental aid, information and/or appraisal (information relevant to self-evaluation) between people".

According to Seers *et al.* (1983), the "buffer hypothesis" about social support was formulated by Caplan *et al.* (1975). This perspective regards social support as a conditioning variable that can "buffer" individuals against the adverse effects of stress by facilitating efforts at modifying objective social conditions, or by altering the person's perception of the situation so that it appears to be less threatening or stressful. Social support may also reduce the importance

of perceived stress (without actually altering the perception thereof) and accordingly, reduce the extent to which the stressor reacts to it (House, 1981).

In general, then, it appears that social support systems may assist members to mobilize their psychological resources, master strain, share tasks and obtain necessary supplies such as information and skills (Caplan and Killea, 1976; Levi, 1981). Various reviews have shown the benefits of social support for psychological and physical health in the face of general life stress (see for instance, Cobb, 1976; Dean and Lin, 1977; Kaplan *et al.*, 1977) and for occupational stress in particular (Mansfield, 1972).

In terms of work stress, a supportive social relationship with superiors, colleagues and subordinates will usually reduce levels of perceived stress directly. Helpful and supportive work associates are less likely to create job pressures. Empathetic, supportive bosses also bolster self-esteem. Overall, such support generates positive employees' perceptions about themselves and their work (McClellan, 1979). Furthermore, persons outside of work, especially spouses and perhaps close friends or relatives, can be effective in buffering the impact of work stress on mental and physical health (McClellan, 1979; Slote, 1969).

4.5 Coping Strategies

4.5.1 Introduction

Since the experience of a poor person-environment match results in stress and strain, the individual may attempt to improve the fit between himself and his job through coping devices. The Person-Environment Fit model of organizational stress portrayed in Figure 2 (Section 3 of this chapter) indicates the points at which coping devices may be implemented.

Surprisingly little research has been conducted into how employees cope with organizational stress (Van Sell *et al.*, 1981). An investigation by Pearlin and Schooler (1978) of coping behaviour across the major areas

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of life concluded that individuals' coping interventions are least effective in the work situation. This finding may be explained by the observation of Mechanic (1974:34) that job stressors may be among those that ".... are not amenable to individual solutions, but depend on highly organized cooperative efforts that transcend those of any individual.... no matter how well developed his personal resources".

NB Clearly, then, further research on this topic is required. This appears to be particularly so with respect to the black managers in South Africa who seem to be experiencing considerable work stress. One may hypothesize that they are often inadequately equipped in terms of their experience and "modus operandi", to deal effectively with work stressors.

4.5.2 The Nature of Coping

As an inconsistency between a person and his environment is a source of stress, the individual concerned is likely to seek some means of reducing it to a tolerable level. Gowler and Legge (1975) maintain that the common denominator of coping behaviours is the attempt to resolve a perceived person-environment mismatch.

The author feels that an examination of coping should not be confined to "effective" coping behaviours only. Coping attempts are not necessarily effective (as seen from the individual's frame of reference and/or from management's viewpoint and/or from an outsider's perspective). Consequently, the concept of coping as discussed here will be delineated by the behaviours subsumed under it, rather than by how successful the devices are in dealing with any stressful condition. Within this context, then, coping may be regarded as attempts by ego to bridge the gap between perceived stress and perceived inability to deal with stress. Such attempts may take place before, during or after the occurrence of a stress-inducing event (Sells, 1970). More specifically, coping may be defined as:

".... efforts, both action-oriented and intrapsychic, to manage (that is, to master, tolerate, reduce, minimize) environmental and internal demands and conflicts among them which tax or exceed a person's resources" (Lazarus and Launier, 1978:311).

Authors differ in the way in which they categorize coping strategies. For instance, Kahn (1964) distinguishes between Class I and Class II coping mechanisms. The former may be seen as ".... activities of the individual directed to changing the objective environment or changing the objective person in ways to improve the fit between the two" (Harrison, 1978:178). Class II responses include mainly affective reactions to stimuli such as hostility, withdrawal, aggression, defence mechanisms and group affiliation.

In a similar vein of thought, Coyne and Lazarus (1980) formulated a taxonomy of coping which emphasizes two major categories, namely, "direct actions" and "palliative" modes. Direct actions are behaviours, such as fight and flight, designed to alter a person-environment transaction. Such tactics correspond to Class I coping mechanisms identified by Kahn (*op. cit.*). A typical example of a direct action approach would be meeting the threat head on, and deliberately determining the course of action to control or master it. Other instances of such coping styles are: requests for additional resources or for changes in regulations, seeking more information from others, and clarification of incoming information where ambiguity exists. French *et al.* (1974) label those strategies described above, which involve altering the objective environment, as "environmental mastery". Alternatively, the individual could, for example, seek training to improve his abilities to handle his work load. Coping of this nature, which involves changing the objective person, is viewed by French *et al.* (1974) as "adaptation".

Direct action coping mechanisms, then, essentially involve strategies aimed at solving problems and at removing the stress-producing stimulus. Behling and Holcombe (1981:59) contend that:

"Confronting reality, when it can be changed to meet the employee's abilities or preferences, is a nearly ideal situation response. The ingredients of a healthy coping response are knowledge of the situation and a means for shaping or controlling the situation."

They also add that "facing reality" has traditionally been "a bench mark of positive mental health" (*ibid.*).

The second type of coping mode listed by Coyne and Lazarus (1980), namely "palliation", refers to thoughts or actions aimed at relieving the emotional impact of stress (that is, bodily or psychological disturbances). Palliation apparently is resorted to when direct action is either too costly to undertake or when the person is unable to manage the environmental transaction successfully. These modes of coping include intrapsychic methods such as ego defence, selective attention, meditation and yoga; or somatically oriented methods, such as taking antidepressants, tranquillizers, alcohol or other drugs; or engaging in a variety of techniques such as biofeedback therapy. Palliative forms of coping are geared at reducing the affective, visceral or motor disturbances of the person as opposed to attempts to change the stressful situation itself. For instance, defence mechanisms are psychological manoeuvres which generally produce a benign appraisal of the actual condition of threat, by means of self-deception. Such strategies may include *inter alia*, denial, suppression, projection, or displacement.

It is interesting to note that although defence mechanisms are generally regarded in a negative light because they are not reality-orientated *apropos* the stressful situation at hand, they may, at times, be functional. That is, the short-term respite which they provide may delay confrontation with the threat to a more opportune occasion. However, when the defensive actions postpone a problem-solving approach indefinitely, they can result in inappropriate behaviour which in turn may exacerbate the stress-inducing condition.

It should also be realized that success in reducing potentially debilitating emotional tension does not imply success in coping with the core problem, nor is the reverse true. For example, an individual who somatizes his hostility, or who denies his feelings of anxiety, may be able to cope adequately with the objective role pressures even though he has not dealt with the emotional turmoil engendered in him by the stressor. The stereotype of the successful though ulcerous executive illustrates this point, and testifies to the importance of distinguishing between the two classes of problems (Kahn *et al.*, 1964).

In the light of the foregoing discussion on "direct action" and "palliative" coping mechanisms, it is noteworthy that Lazarus (1980) warns against assuming that the former kind of coping is more effective than the latter. For instance, defences such as denial, avoidance or intellectualization can be adaptive, particularly in situations where little can be done to eradicate the sources of stress. Notwithstanding this, Shinn and Mørch (1983) claim that several researchers have found emotion-orientated strategies to be less useful than problem-focused strategies and, in some instances, actually associated with greater strain.

Clearly both "direct action" and "palliative" techniques may be used together. For instance, an individual may adopt a constructive problem-solving approach while concomitantly using a defence mechanism such as rationalization to stave off heightened anxiety which could interfere with his problem-solving behaviour. Consequently, the individual may utilize a range of strategies simultaneously or individually, which together enable him to "cope" with the situation at hand.

The broad classificatory schemes of coping strategies described by Kahn (1964) and Coyne and Lazarus (1980) were used in the present investigation.

4.5.3 General Perspectives on Coping

Like the entire stress process, coping occurs over time. Mechanic (1970) discovered that a person's interpretation of the nature of a situation and his relation to it will probably alter substantially over long time periods. Such modifications in stress perception are possibly produced by various coping procedures which alter the meaning of the stress situation for the individual, and hence the stress level involved in stages of the coping process (Chalmers, 1981). The role of feedback accounts for this dynamic component of stress. Clearly, then, the coping process is ".... a dynamic constellation of many acts, and both the demands and strategies of the person changes as the transaction unfolds" (Coyne and Lazarus, 1980:155).



Mechanic (1970) suggests that some personality types will possibly not be able to cope with stress. He contends that poor copers are those

personalities who feel that they are unable to exert control over their lives. They seem to establish few plans or alternatives for dealing with some of the problems that they face. Although Mechanic views such "externally controlled" individuals (Rotter, 1966) as poor copers, he concedes that such acceptance of "fate" or "giving up" may be adaptive in that it seems to produce less tension or anxiety in comparison to those who actively struggle against difficult odds. Chalmers (1981) notes that these somewhat contradictory findings may, perhaps, be reconciled in that the "giving up" approach may enable the individual to adapt or cope well prior to the stressful condition, but does not facilitate good adaptation subsequent to the emergence of the stress event. Moreover, Beck (1972) proposes that individuals who have realistic perceptions of the stressfulness of threatening situations will be better able to cope with the event than those who exaggerate the dangers involved.

4.5.4 An Overview of Coping Strategies

In summary, the various types of coping strategies that individuals can adopt to deal with work stress (or the emotional consequences thereof) may be broadly grouped into "direct-action" strategies and "palliative" (emotional-defensive) mechanisms. Given this general classification scheme, it is useful to note that coping behaviours can be implemented at various stages in the stress sequence. The stressor, for instance, can be modified by "direct-action" coping mechanisms. The person's coping ability can also be improved by skills training and education, or can be supported by help from others while dealing with the stress. In addition, the individual's perception of stress may be altered by drugs, alcohol, meditation, psychotherapy or religion (Chalmers, 1981). Solutions may also include shifting one's level of aspiration, reducing ego involvement in one's job, pursuing alternative channels of gratification, or establishing new standards of behaviour. Lastly, the physiological stress response may be artificially manipulated as a coping strategy by drugs such as antidepressants and tranquillizers.

Overall then, conceptual dichotomies such as preventative versus corrective actions, off the job versus on the job, tackling the problem

diagnostically and logically versus working through the emotional dimensions of the problem, solving by oneself versus receiving help from others, are but a few of the coping mechanisms that can be used by individuals.

Now that major components of the Person-Environment Fit model of organizational stress have been reviewed (namely: organizational stressors, stress symptoms, conditioning variables and coping devices), the issue of work stress in South Africa, especially as it pertains to South African black managers, will be considered.

SECTION 5 : WORK STRESS AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK MANAGER

5.1 Work Stress in South Africa

The work stress experienced by black managers can be seen against the broader background of occupation-related stress among the country's workforce as a whole. According to Manga (1983), occupation-related stress is costing the South African economy more than R1 000-million a year in lost production time, sick pay and falling labour productivity. Industry pays out an average of R4 million in workmen's compensation due to industrial accidents - a significant proportion of which can be related to mental stress at the workplace.

As pointed out in Chapter 2, Section 1.1, the ratio of management staff to workers in South Africa is very high especially when compared to the ratios of the United States, Australia and Japan (Sadie, 1980). Thus job overload is apparently an extremely common cause of stress, far more frequent in South Africa than in most industrialized countries. Nasser (1981b:6) goes so far as to suggest that "The South African executive is probably the most overworked and underpaid executive in the world". Since the vast majority of such higher level occupations are held by white males, it is revealing that white South African males have the highest incidence of coronary heart disease in the world (Strümpfer, 1980). This led Strümpfer (*op. cit.*) to identify job-related stress in the form of qualitative and quantitative role overload, and responsibility for others, as possible mediating factors. Strümpfer

explains that:

"The coronary-prone behaviour pattern results from an interaction between susceptible personality and challenge from the environment; in the present manpower situation Whites may be over-challenged" (p.2).

Manga (1983) adds that unless the quality of life and work for management and line staff is improved through stress-management programmes, and through training, falling productivity will continue to hinder economic growth.

5.2 Work Stress and South African Black Managers

Considering the South African work stress profile described above, it is noteworthy that Strümpfer (1983:393) suggests that black managers in South Africa face even more stress-provoking work and life situations than their white counterparts. He cites the following as factors that should be considered in the case of black managers:

"Problems of 'Black advancement' (with varying degrees of sincere and cosmetic intent) prejudice and hostile reactions from White fellow-workers at various levels, and problems of organizational socialization after education in an inadequate system ... [and] also problems of rejection by fellow-Blacks for 'selling-out' to White business."

Indeed, considering the literature on South African black managers (see Gathercole, 1981; Human, 1981a, 1981b, 1984; Mackay *et al.*, 1980; Moerdyk, 1983; Mphahlele, 1981; Tlhopane, 1981; Wella, 1983), it appears that these individuals are encountering numerous work-related problems. As noted in Chapter 3, Section 1.4, for instance, Human (1981a, 1981b, 1984) argues that these black managers are "marginal" middlemen caught in a twilight existence within the white industrial world, apartheid society, and the black township. Within this context, it is useful to note that Piron *et al.* (1983) suggest that role conflict and role ambiguity are closely related to marginality in that the marginal man is subjected to a high level of role conflict and role ambiguity. Moreover, the psychologically marginal condition is

similar to the psychological state created by role conflict and role ambiguity. Lastly, the latter two forms of role stress, as well as the marginal experience, seem to generate:

".... a strong relationship with a tendency towards dissatisfaction, distrust, tension, lack of loyalty, turnover, absenteeism, low performance and lower productivity, anxiety, stress and psychological withdrawal from the work group (Van sell *et al.* 1981, p. 44 and p. 66; Human, 1981a; 1981b)" (Piron *et al.*, 1983:10).

These points should be borne in mind when considering the work stress experienced by black managers.

Interestingly, there has been a steady but gradual increase in the incidence of stress-related diseases (such as coronary heart disease, hypertension and duodenal ulcers) among urban blacks in South Africa over the last 50 years, this having escalated in the past two decades (see for example, Blumberg, 1983; Bremner, 1972; Cooke, 1977; Levin *et al.*, 1981; Robbs and Moshal, 1979; Seedat *et al.*, 1982; Segal *et al.*, 1978, 1983).

Segal *et al.* (1978) found that sufferers from duodenal ulcers admitted to Ga-Rankuwa Hospital near Pretoria, were generally the younger, urbanized, upwardly mobile and educated black men in the higher employment categories in the Johannesburg area. It was proposed by Segal *et al.* (1983) that the following factors may be important in the pathogenesis of such duodenal ulcers:

- (i) Upward socio-economic mobility;
- (ii) The "powerlessness" of South African blacks; particularly with respect to autonomy and control in the work situation;
- (iii) Adverse dietary and social changes.

Undoubtedly, the issue of work stress as experienced by black managers in South Africa, is an important topic that should be explored, particularly since blacks can be expected to play an increasingly more important and prominent role at managerial levels. If they do indeed feel that they are encountering unreasonable levels of stress, then attempts should

be made (by their employing organizations, by other concerned parties and by the black managers themselves) to alleviate or, if possible, even eradicate many of the stressful conditions.

NB

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER

Since Phase II of the present study concentrated, in the main, on the work stress experienced by black managers, this chapter examined the general concept of "stress".

It was pointed out that the field of stress research is replete with competing terminologies, definitions and conceptual models. For the purposes of the current investigation, stress was conceptualized from a psychological perspective in terms of a lack of "fit" between the person and his environment. More specifically, work stress may be said to arise when there is an imbalance between a person's perceived skills and abilities, and the demands of his work environment - or alternatively, when there is a mismatch in terms of a person's needs supplied by the work environment (Schuler, 1980).

The Role Episode model of organizational stress espoused by Kahn *et al.* (1964) was examined. The 'role episode' *per se*, was conceptualized as occurring within a broader Person-Environment Fit model of organizational stress. Major elements of the latter model were considered in detail, namely: stressors, stress symptoms, individual and situational conditioning variables, and coping mechanisms. Both the Role Episode model and Person-Environment Fit model were useful conceptual tools which assisted in the description, explanation and interpretation of the results of the present project - and especially those of Phase II of the study.

Lastly, work stress in the South African industrial context, as it applied to South African black managers, was discussed.

CHAPTER 6THE RESEARCH PROBLEM, RESEARCH DESIGN AND RELATED ISSUES

INTRODUCTION

The overall objective of this chapter is fourfold. Firstly, in Section 1, current research methodologies in the field of organizational psychology and in the social sciences as a whole, are examined along with their associated epistemological and ontological assumptions. This discussion is important, since it provides a background to the research problem and research design of the present investigation. The author spells out her own epistemological, ontological and methodological assumptions as well as her metatheoretical stance. Secondly, the research problem and research design are discussed in Section 2 (Phase I of the study) and Section 3 (Phase II). Thirdly, the techniques used to analyse the research data are outlined in Section 4. Fourthly, Section 5 considers potential sources of errors and biases in the data.

SECTION 1 : RESEARCH METHODOLOGY, EPISTEMOLOGICAL AND ONTOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS
PREVALENT IN ORGANIZATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY1.1 A General Overview

According to England (1976), industrial and organizational psychology does not possess a unified and generally accepted theoretical or conceptual foundation. The discipline represents a young field composed of many specialities working on complex and diverse problems.

"Thus it seems small wonder that we lack what Kuhn (1962) calls a "scientific paradigm" which provides a set of rules and examples specifying of what reality is composed, identifying legitimate problems in the field, outlining acceptable rules and interpretation and setting forth those puzzles that can be potentially solved within the framework" (England, 1976:15).

Given this state of affairs, it is important to note that there has been some interest and concern recently about the underlying assumptions of social science knowledge in general and of organizational inquiry in particular. In an attempt to clarify such issues, Burrell and Morgan (1979) classify the ontological, epistemological, methodological and human nature assumptions of social scientists into subjective-objective

dimensions. The subjective orientation to social science possesses an idealist metatheoretical stance, a nominalist assumption for ontology, an antipositivist epistemology, a voluntaristic conception of human nature and an ideographic, qualitative methodology. By contrast, the objectivist approach (which has a positivist metatheoretical orientation), is characterized by a realist ontology, a positivist epistemology, a determinist view of human nature and a nomothetic methodology. The dominant orthodoxy in organizational psychology and in the social sciences as a whole, unequivocally favours a positivist, objectivist, quantitative approach (Shrivastava and Mitroff, 1984). This positivist orientation will be briefly outlined below.

1.2 Positivism

Positivism is an epistemological position "... the distinguishing feature of which is the attempt to apply to the affairs of man the methods and principles of the natural sciences" (Heather, 1976:13). Human beings are usually regarded as passive "objects" who can be manipulated and controlled; who respond to events in predictable and determinate ways as a result of the stimuli in their environment that condition them (Human, 1981b).

In the social sciences, the dominant positivist methodologies are varieties of systematic empiricism as illustrated by model building and by the hypothetico-deductive method proposed by Popper (1961). The impersonal nature of these systems of rules and protocols for gathering and discovering the "truth" is relied upon to produce results unbiased by human value or judgement.

Typically, positivist studies take the form of quantitative analyses in which the social meanings of statistical associations are ignored (Coldwell, 1979). Only those variables which can be easily measured and publicly verified, have been examined. Furthermore, research is often designed so that it is as elegant and tight as possible. As Argyris (1972:6) points out: "It is executed with as little tinkering as possible, with the original premises".

In psychology, positivism manifests itself in an extreme form in the school of behaviourism, which emphasizes behaviour at the expense of the individual's

experience of the world. Thus, as classical scientists, psychologists have adopted the methodological standpoint of external, detached and disinterested observers, viewing individual's behaviour merely as a sequence of objective events - rather than trying to appreciate the meaning of their actions.

1.2.1 Criticisms Levelled Against Established Organizational Research Methodology, Epistemology and Ontology

In recent years, the organizational sciences (organizational psychology, organizational behaviour, organizational development, organization theory), have been subjected to a considerable number of criticisms of their established positivist research methods and philosophy. Thomas and Tymon (1982:345) note that "Although these topics have been discussed since the early days, the frequency and magnitude of recent criticism seems unprecedented".

For instance, there is a troubling distance between the generalized principles which have been postulated for the behaviour of individuals, groups and organizations, and the specific contextual understandings and explanations offered by social actors. Indeed, Motamedi (1978) and Morgan and Smircich (1980) have proposed that organizational investigations have been inclined to rely too heavily on ontological assumptions of realism or objectivism, which assume that phenomena exist independently of individuals' perceptions thereof. According to this argument, fundamental subjective and intersubjective phenomena have therefore been largely overlooked (Dandridge *et al.*, 1980). Moreover, it has been asserted that the hegemony of conventional notions of methodological and scientific rigor have resulted in "... isolated, tightly defined studies that focus on narrow discipline-bound problems. These studies are elegant and rigorous, but fail to make explicit the connection between their own results and the host of other organizational variables that may be internally connected to them in practice" (Shrivastava and Mitroff, 1984:24). This serves to distort important aspects of organizational reality and has resulted in the exploration of questions that have little relevance to "real" problems. Argyris (1972:6) feels that:

"The lack of relevance does not arise because there was no attempt to be rigorous. On the contrary, it comes because rigor was carried to the point where the potential users found little help from the data obtained."

Referring to psychology as a whole, Kruger (1979) maintains that we must question to what extent the discipline has really succeeded in confronting its basic subject matter. This inquiry certainly should be directed at the field of organizational psychology and related organizational sciences. Kruger (*op. cit.*:6) quotes Allport (1968b:4) as arguing that:

"Because of the stress on research methods, students operationalize the problem till it fits some measurement model and having operationalized the problem out of existence, then go on and test a highly artificial set of hypotheses."

Criticisms have also been levelled at the tendency of organizational studies towards reductionism at the expense of complexity; of trying to understand a research problem by breaking it into parts that can be more readily examined and understood (Mitroff and Pondy, 1978). There is also growing concern about the extent to which organizational research procedures have become so ritualized that the necessary connection between measure and concept has disappeared (Van Maanen, 1979). Such rigorous research procedures demand control over the range of responses the subject generates. This control may assure the researcher that he is obtaining what he hopes for, yet it may frustrate the subject since part of his response spectrum is systematically ignored. In this regard, Susman and Evered (1978) contend that: "...norms of scientific detachment have further encouraged researchers to treat and conceptualize organizational members as reactive entities to be manipulated" - rather than as active agents with independent volition (or at least some degree thereof).

Clearly, the breadth and intensity of the criticisms documented above appear to be heralding the start of an important reappraisal of some of the fundamental values and assumptions of organizational psychology, of the organizational sciences and of the social sciences as a whole. Susman and Evered (1978) regard this state of affairs as reflecting a "crisis of usefulness".

In the face of such disillusionment with the traditional positivist orientation of the social sciences, the pendulum appears to be swinging towards what was identified in section 1 of this chapter as a "subjectivist" orientation. This involves, to reiterate, a nominalist assumption for ontology, an antipositivist epistemology, a voluntarist human nature and a qualitative methodology. The phenomenological approach will be examined below as an example of an antipositivist approach in the

social science field.

1.3 Phenomenology

The phenomenological movement emerged initially as a descriptive philosophical method to challenge analytic/deductive philosophies (Sanders, 1982). The term "phenomenal" has its origins in the Greek word "phainesthai" which means "as it appears". In effect, then, phenomenology is concerned with people's perception of reality, not with reality itself. Assumptions about the phenomena under study are bracketed so that the investigator will be able to enter into the reality of the phenomena as it really is, and not as distorted by preconceptions. Therefore phenomenologists seek "... to make explicit the implicit structure and meaning of human experience" (Sanders, 1982:354). The world is seen as largely indeterminate and problematic. Man is assumed to be an active, unique, unpredictable and irrational organism, who creates and recreates his psychosocial reality, rather than being (as positivists believe), a passive recipient of external forces beyond his control.

Since all concepts or theories emerge from the data of consciousness, an inductive approach to phenomenological research is required, that cannot be replicated easily (Sanders, 1982). Such investigations usually consist of interpretive, in-depth qualitative analyses. Moreover, phenomenologists believe that being "rigorous" or "objective" is actually an "... intellectual attitude of someone who pursues his study in an unprejudiced fashion and allows his judgement to be determined by what really presents itself" (Strasser, 1969:59).

This places the qualitative, phenomenological method in direct opposition to "scientific empiricism" which at all times views phenomena in terms of overarching hypotheses, theories and assumptions. In fact, one may argue that phenomenology has enriched psychological praxis by encouraging psychologists to commence research by describing the phenomena "as they are" - before formulating theories and hypotheses - thereby placing, above all else, a respect for the phenomena.

1.4 Alternative Perspectives

The last few years have seen an increasing call for innovative and broadening methodologies for organizational research. For example, Hackman (1982:8)

argues that:

"The methodologies used in research on organizations have been far too limited and conventional.... Because the need for higher quality organizational research is pressing, now may be the time to try to break through the constraints of traditional methodologies and seek new approaches to organizational research."

There has been a growing awareness and recognition of the fact that although positivist- and phenomenologically-orientated researchers operate with diametrically opposed views of reality (an objectivist versus a subjectivist perspective respectively), and in particular of man's "being in the world", the two approaches should not be regarded as mutually exclusive. Coldwell (1981), for instance, calls for a dialectical approach to industrial research. That is, he favours the dialectical use of both nomothetic and idiographic methodological paradigms. He believes that the use of these approaches conjointly will offer greater conceptual clarity and result in a more complex criterion of validity for the particular concepts used.

Van Maanen (1979) argues that qualitative studies should precede quantitative research. Once an interpretive framework emerges from the data obtained by means of qualitative research, analytic formulas can be established and "focusing devices" put into place such that the investigator is able to conduct quantitative studies. In this sense, according to Van Maanen, quantitative and qualitative work are connected. Likewise, Human (1981b:104) states:

"... it would appear that positivism and phenomenology, quantitative and qualitative, behaviour and experience, are not mutually exclusive and that one must rather think in terms of one supplementing the other."

The use of multiple research methods is, in fact, gaining popularity. This form of research strategy is usually labelled as one of "convergent methodology", "multimethod" (Campbell and Fiske, 1959), or "triangulation". These various notions share the conception that qualitative and quantitative methods complement each other. For example, triangulation has been defined by Denzin (1978:291) as "... the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon". According to Jick (1979:604): "The effectiveness of triangulation rests on the premise that the weaknesses in each single method will be compensated by the counter-balancing strengths of the other".

1.5 Metatheoretical Stance of the Author

The author feels that the development of organizational psychology, along with other social science disciplines, would be assisted if researchers were more explicit about the nature of the beliefs that they hold regarding their subject of study. Morgan and Smircich (1980:499) point out that:

"Much of the debate and criticism over methodology involves researchers who are failing to communicate with one another because they hold varying basic assumptions about their subject. When the varying assumptions become explicit, less effort can be devoted to arguing about the relative superiority of this method over that, and greater effort devoted to more basic issues."

Considering the present investigation, the author adopted a "double hermeneutic" metatheoretical stance. Hermeneutics may be defined as "... the theory or philosophy of meaning" (Bleicher, 1980:1). It is interesting to note that Shotter (1975:127) proposes that psychology should become a hermeneutical science of man, that "... it should be a science concerned not with objective things 'outside' our agency to control, but with our interpretations". However, the author agrees with Giddens (1976) that social scientists actually have to contend with a "double hermeneutic" - that is, unlike natural science, social science deals with a pre-interpreted universe which is "... already constituted within frames of meaning by social actors themselves..." (Giddens, 1976:158). Thus, the problem of the double hermeneutic constitutes a shift in perspective. It has arisen out of the realization that human expression contains a meaningful component that has to be recognized as such by the researcher and transposed into his own more general, abstract conceptual frameworks and theories. In other words, a person's account of subjective perceptions, interpretations and experiences are mediated by the interpreter's (in this case the researcher's) own subjectivity. The social scientist must always be informed by the experiences and interpretations of the subjects and then move beyond this to interpret them in terms of his own theoretical concepts and meaning systems (Berger and Kellner, 1981).

More specifically, then, the author believes that psychological concepts should not be models of thought imposed from without (as positivists are wont to do). They must relate, instead, to the individuals' experiences and interpretations that are already operative in the area being studied. The purpose of psychological interpretation would be to "bring out" these

meanings, perceptions and experiences more clearly, and to relate them to the researcher's theoretical frames of reference (Berger and Kellner, 1981). Using Schutzian language, psychological concepts and theories may be viewed as second-order abstractions. The interpretations held by the subjects themselves constitute first-order constructs. Hence, all psychological concepts are "ideal types". Their construction entails a translation of individuals' interpretations into a scientific frame of reference. This transposition is at the core of social scientific interpretation.

With respect to organizational research, then, the author feels that it should include more subjectivist, ideographic, qualitative, insider perspectives, but that these should generally be able to be translated into objectivist, quantitative, nomothetic, outsider terms. That is, the insider's (subject's) viewpoints must later be translated into outsider's (the researcher's) perspectives for purposes of quantitative analyses (if need be), and generalizations.

Furthermore, the author accepts an image of man that is a rapprochement of the two divergent views of man held by positivists and antipositivists. That is, man may be regarded as a conscious being who exhibits observable and measurable behaviour, who is contingently predictable without being inescapably determined, who has an objective existence as well as subjective experience, resembles others without sacrificing his uniqueness, who is capable of rationality although he does not always choose to employ it (Hitt, 1969).

Given the above elucidation of the author's metatheoretical stance, the research problem and research design of the present study will now be described.

SECTION 2 : PHASE I - RESEARCH PROBLEM AND DESIGN

INTRODUCTION

Thus far the dissertation has sought to provide a metatheoretical foundation upon which to base a research investigation into the perceptions, attitudes and experiences of black managers and some of their work colleagues.

While Chapter 1 introduced the study in general terms, Chapter 2 provided a

background to the black job advancement issue by discussing the economic and legal situation affecting black advancement, as well as other institutional restraints. Chapter 3 covered the literature on black managers in South Africa and the American experience of affirmative action. In addition, since the project tapped the perceptions and attitudes of black managers and some of their work associates, such hypothetical constructs and related issues were examined in Chapter 4. The concept of stress was explored in depth in Chapter 5 since Phase II of the research concentrated on the stress experiences of the black managers who participated in the preliminary study.

2.1 The Research Problem

As indicated in the introductory chapter of this dissertation, it appears that the *behaviour* of organizational members has been frequently explored in organizational studies to the neglect or exclusion of *experience* (Human, 1981b). In the case of South African black managers, their behaviour in the work environment has been well-documented in the form of a lengthy list of their job performance shortcomings. (See Chapter 3, Section 1 for details on this topic.) Given this problematic situation, it may be argued that greater cognizance needs to be taken of the black managers' subjective interpretations, experiences and perceptions of their work environment. This would help to *understand* their behaviour in contrast to the prevalent approach of considering their behaviour at the expense of their experience. Indeed, many development exercises implemented by management seem to be based on false premises as to why the black manager behaves as he does. In fact, Human (1981b:104-5) claims that research projects, as well as management training programmes "... only partially investigate the problems the black manager encounters". In other words, meanings are imputed to the black managers' work behaviour without first endeavouring to discover how these black employees perceive the situation at hand, how they feel, and the reasons they offer for their actions. Management then goes on to base ameliorative strategies on such one-sided perspectives. The present investigation sought to redress this state of affairs by focusing primarily on the work-related perceptions, attitudes and experiences of a sample of black managers.

In addition, there is a need to explore the work situation of the black managers as well as general black job advancement issues, from different

frames of reference - for instance, from the vantage points of the black managers themselves and their work colleagues. This would provide a fuller picture of the topic under investigation than has previously been provided by studies in this area (see for instance: Boulle, 1978; Mackay *et al.*, 1980; Schlemmer and Boulanger, 1973; Watts, 1980; Wella, 1983).

In the light of the research problem articulated above, the aim of Phase I of the investigation will now be outlined.

2.2 The Research Design

2.2.1 Aim of Phase I

The *primary objective* of the preliminary phase of research was to explore, by means of in-depth, focused interviews, the work-related perceptions, attitudes and experiences of South African black managers within a selection of industrial organizations. The perceptions, attitudes and experiences of certain work colleagues *apropos* the black managers, were also examined.

It was felt that by considering the perspectives of the black managers as well as "significant others" in their work environment (namely, their immediate boss, a peer and a subordinate), a more holistic, rich, contextually-embedded portrayal of the situation would emerge. Thus, every black manager's interpretation of his situation at work was complemented in each case by his work colleagues' report of how they perceived the black manager. General questions relating to the black job advancement process were also asked of all the subjects.

Secondary objectives of Phase I were:

- (i) to ascertain the extent to which perceptual discrepancies and congruencies existed between the black managers and their work colleagues with respect to the appraisal of the black managers and black job advancement issues;
- (ii) To identify the patterns such perceptual similarities and differences took;
- (iii) To formulate possible reasons for the discrepancies and congruencies;

- (iv) To provide recommendations for the prevention or amelioration of individual, group and organizational problems that seem to exist with respect to the movement of blacks into, and upwards within, managerial echelons.

2.2.2 Phase I Research Hypotheses

Two general hypotheses were formulated as follows:

- (i) There would be fundamental perceptual discrepancies between the black managers and their work associates. More specifically it was postulated that the perceptions and attitudes of the bosses and peers (all of whom were white), would be more congruent than the perceptions and viewpoints of the black managers compared to either those of the bosses or peers. Given the racial heterogeneity of the subordinate sample, it was speculated that their perceptions and attitudes would be more similar to those of the black managers than to those of the bosses or peers;
- (ii) Black managers would tend to attribute their work problems to external, situational criteria whereas the bosses, peers and subordinates would regard them as products of the black managers' lack of certain abilities, skills or qualities (that is, internally-located factors).

2.2.3 Identification of Subjects

The definition of "manager" applied in this study was crucial in identifying the black managers who ultimately participated in the project. The term is discussed below and the definition used is also presented.

2.2.3.1 Definition of the Term "Manager"

According to Drucker (1954:349) "The standard definition is that a man is a manager if he is in charge of other people and their work". (See for example: Human, 1982; Massie and Douglas, 1977). However, Drucker adds that this definition is too narrow. Following on from this, it is the author's contention that the supervision of subordinates does not have to be a necessary prerequisite for a position to be classified as managerial. For instance, an employee with the job title of "manager"

may in fact have no immediate subordinates reporting to him. Instead, he may only have indirect subordinates whom he may, however, guide, organize, motivate and develop.

Drucker (1954:350) argues that "Who is a manager can be defined only by a man's function and by the contribution he is expected to make". Dessler (1976) describes the functions of a manager's job as planning, organizing, staffing, leading and controlling. Kast and Rosenzweig (1970) regard management simply as the co-ordination of human and material resources towards achieving specific objectives. Obviously, there is a clear similarity between the definitions put forward by these writers, and an agreement that the manager's broad functions include planning, organizing and the like.

Paterson (1972) uses the level of decision-making as the criterion for evaluating jobs, describing the manager as someone who makes "interpretive" rather than "routine" or "automatic" decisions; he has to make choices and use his discretion, and decide why something has to be done.

In the final analysis, however, one may propose that the term "manager" cannot be easily defined and categorized. Not only are managerial positions highly complex, but Campbell *et al.* (1970) contend that managerial jobs differ substantially from one another because of discrepancies in individual characteristics, situational variables and organizational context. Moreover, such jobs are constantly changing to reflect and adapt to objectives and to the environment (Hofmeyr, 1982). In other words, there does not appear to be a simple rule of thumb by which it is possible to decide whether or not a person is a "manager". This led Drucker (1974:390) to remark that:

"The words "manager" and "management" are slippery to say the least. They are untranslatable into any other language. In British English they do not have the meaning they have in the United States. And even in American usage, their meaning is far from clear."

With this in mind, the present study used a very broad, structural-functional definition of "manager" which loosely elucidated where a manager is placed in the organizational hierarchy, and what he generally does. Thus a "manager" was defined as:

- (i) One who occupies a position that is lower than that of an executive, but above the first line supervisory rank (Wells, 1983);
- (ii) Someone who sets objectives, who organizes both activities and people, who motivates and communicates, who establishes yardsticks and who develops not only other people but also himself (Drucker, 1974). That is, someone who contributes to the formulation of policy or its administration, rather than someone who produces a service or does the work itself. The notion of forming policy or administering policy takes into account both those who hold staff positions and so act in an advisory capacity (helping to form policy), and those who supervise the work of others, thus applying policy.

At this point, it should be noted that as only two of the black "managers" were females, the author henceforth has used the pronoun referent forms "he", "his" and "him" to simplify style and sentence structure. However, these forms should be understood generically and do not necessarily imply gender.

2.2.3.2 Identification of Work Colleagues

The three categories of work colleagues included in Phase I of this study were identified as follows:

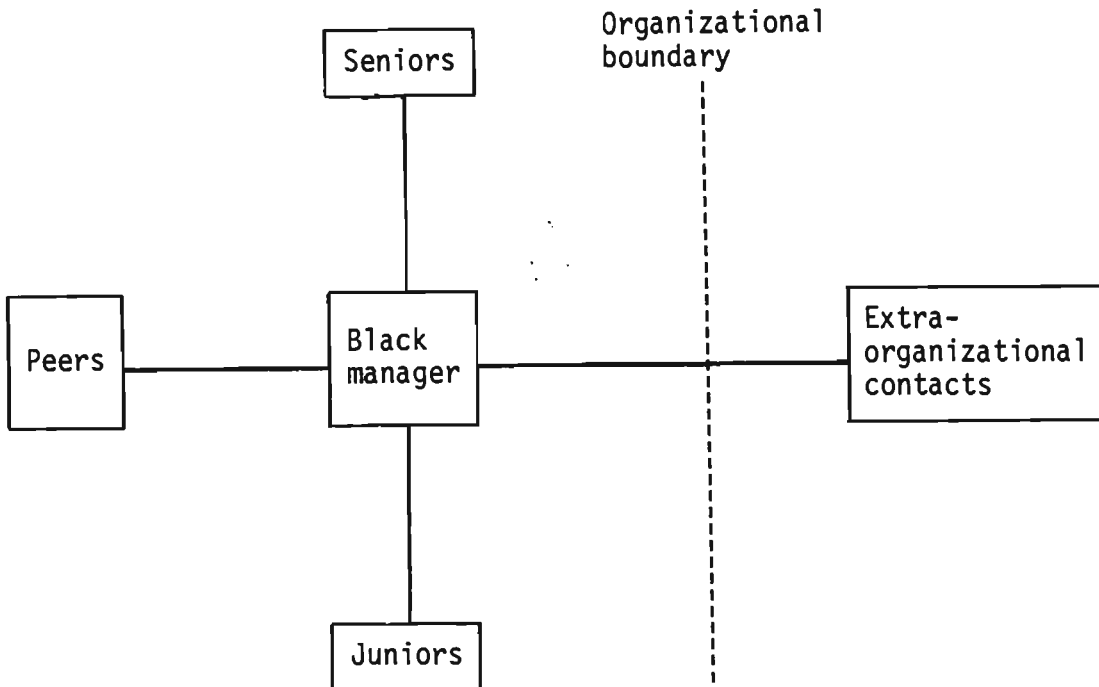
The black manager's respective boss was, in each case, the immediate senior to whom the black manager reported directly. The peers were of the same organizational rank as the black manager. They were adjacent to him in the work flow structure and had direct and frequent contact with him (Kahn *et al.*, 1964). Lastly, subordinates were those employees such as secretaries, assistants, foremen and clerks who reported directly to the black manager as their immediate boss.

2.2.3.3 Rationale for Choice of Work Colleagues

Morris (1975:54) coined the term "cross of relationships" to denote those work-related social influences that impinge upon an employee. He maintained that the most important influences flow from four directions - from an individual's seniors, from his immediate juniors, from his peers and from a variety of people outside the organization. This "cross of relationships"

as applied to the black manager is depicted in Figure 3 (after Morris, 1974:54).

FIGURE 3 : The Cross of Relationships



The above diagram is admittedly a simplistic portrayal of social-psychological reality. Nevertheless, it is a useful device for illustrating the work-related context within which the black manager finds himself.

For practical reasons, the black managers' extra-organizational contacts were not included in the investigation. However, each black manager's immediate superior, a peer (if possible) and a subordinate (if available) were selected on the *a priori* assumption substantiated by the literature, that these individuals would be influential in their work life (Kahn *et al.*, 1964; Katz and Kahn, 1966). In role theory terminology, for instance, the black managers' boss, peers and subordinates may be regarded as important "role senders" whose role expectations of the black managers will affect their role perceptions and role behaviour.

2.2.4 Universe

Industry in South Africa is largely concentrated in the country's four major metropolitan complexes, namely: the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging

(P-W-V) region, Western Cape, Durban-Pinetown and Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage (Rogerson, 1982:53). The present study was mainly concentrated in the metropolitan Durban area, with a few cases drawn from the adjacent metropolitan Pietermaritzburg area and the Richards Bay region. Practical limitations of time and finance made this restriction necessary. Furthermore, it appeared that most of the studies concerning skilled blacks in industry, had been conducted largely within the P-W-V area. Hence a study that focused solely on black managers in the Natal industrial region would be of practical use to companies and employees in the region.

2.2.4.1 Selection of Sample

Since a complete sample frame of black managers in the metropolitan area of Durban did not exist, the following procedure was adopted for selecting a sample of black managers:

The researcher built up a list of 18 industrial organizations which were considered to be possible employers of black managers. The list was drawn up from a number of informed sources, namely: from personal knowledge obtained from previous research (Watts, 1980); from informal meetings with academics in Durban, Johannesburg and Pretoria who were *au fait* with the area of study, and from interviews (before the research design was finalized), with businessmen stationed in Durban to whom the author was referred by various academics.

As was pointed out in the introductory chapter of this thesis, the investigation was restricted to the private sector only since as Templer (1980) noted, such organizations would be most likely to employ blacks at higher levels. It was necessary to draw on the more "progressive" companies in the private sector in order to find a sufficiently large sample. In 1981, when the fieldwork for Phase I of the investigation was undertaken, most companies in the private sector did not employ blacks at managerial levels. Thus, it was only those multinational companies (whose parent companies were demanding that there be equal employment opportunities for minority groups in South Africa) or South African companies with enlightened leadership, that were recruiting or promoting blacks into the managerial echelons. Within this limitation, then, an attempt was made to obtain a cross-section of companies operating in different industries.

2.2.4.2 Obtaining Access to the Organizations

The personnel managers of the organizations were telephonically contacted and meetings were arranged with them to discuss the exact nature of the study and to ascertain whether they in fact employed black managers. (The definition of "manager" used in the study is described in Section 2.2.2.1 of this chapter.)

No firms refused to participate in the investigation. However, three of the organizations approached were excluded from the final sample since they did not have black employees at managerial levels. Interviews were set up in those companies that met the requirements of the investigation.

2.2.4.3 Characteristics of the Sample of Organizations

The final sample of 15 companies from which the subjects were drawn possessed the following characteristics:

<u>Location:</u>	Metropolitan Durban	n = 12
	Metropolitan Pietermaritzburg	n = 1
	Richards Bay area	n = 2
<u>Nature of business:</u>	Industrial Holding	n = 2
	Manufacturing - Foodstuffs	n = 3
	Manufacturing - Chemical products	n = 2
	Manufacturing - Petroleum products	n = 2
	Manufacturing - Metal	n = 1
	Service (Personnel Consultants)	n = 1
	Retail (Motor)	n = 1
	Finance (Banking)	n = 1
	Stevedoring	n = 1
	Market Research	n = 1
<u>Majority Ownership:</u>	South African	n = 7
	Multinational	n = 8

Sixteen of the black managers (and their respective colleagues) were drawn from South African organizations while the remaining 18 subjects, along with their colleagues, worked at multinational companies.

2.2.5 Profile of Subjects

The requirements of the project necessitated a scheme for intensive, in-depth research rather than a far broader, but less detailed plan of research design with a widely representative sample typically used for surveys in the social sciences. Hence, only 100 subjects were included in Phase I of the investigation. It was decided that approximately 30 black managers should be interviewed for two reasons:

- (i) Given the dearth of blacks at managerial levels in organizations in South Africa, and more specifically in the Durban-Pietermaritzburg metropolitan areas (from which the sample of black managers was drawn), it was realized that to locate 30 black managers (if that), would be difficult;
- (ii) It was calculated that, together with the black managers' work associates (namely their boss, a peer and a subordinate), the total sample size would be inflated to a size of roughly $n = 100$ which, given the intensive nature of the study, was deemed adequate.

The number of subjects in the four distinct groups that ultimately constituted the respondent sample were:

Black managers	$n = 34$
Bosses	$n = 34$
Peers	$n = 21$
Subordinates	$n = 11$
TOTAL	$n = 100$

Each black manager was asked to provide the name of other black managers known to him in the geographical area being covered. By this means, it was established that the sample interviewed did not omit black managers in any important industrial organizations in the region.

Thirteen of the black managers had no readily identifiable white co-workers or peers. This was because they were in specialized "black" positions dealing with, for example, black employees, black consumer markets or black clients. Furthermore, 23 of the black managers had no immediate subordinates reporting to them directly.

Only one peer and one subordinate were interviewed for each black manager. In the few instances where a black manager had more than one peer and/or subordinate, the individual who had the closest and most frequent contact with the black manager (as assessed by the black manager and his boss), was purposefully selected. The reason for this was that the literature suggested that such an employee would exert the greatest influence on the black manager, in terms of being an important "role sender" of the black manager (Kahn *et al.*, 1964; Katz and Kahn, 1964).

With respect to the 34 immediate bosses, all were white males bar one senior who was a white female with a female black subordinate. Of the 21 peers interviewed, 17 were males as opposed to females. All were white. Interestingly, the subordinate group ($n = 11$) was a heterogeneous aggregate in terms of race and sex. There were five males in all, three of whom were black, whilst one was a white and another was a coloured. Of the six females, four were white and two were black. Table 3 below lists the biographical characteristics of the informants.

TABLE 3 : Biographical Characteristics of the Respondents

Biographical characteristics	Black managers	Bosses	Peers	Subordinates
Mean ages (in years)	35,06	42,18	37,38	34,54
Mean educational level	12,74	12,12	11,62	10,36
Mean company service (in years)	2,41	3,97	3,48	2,45
TOTAL	34	34	21	11

NOTE: The year of high school graduation (Standard 10 or matric), was coded as "10". Thus, matric plus one year of study would have a score of 11, and so on. Standard 10 usually constitutes the twelfth year of schooling. More recently, however, black pupils, unlike their white counterparts, have to complete a thirteenth year of study. That is, their matric classes span two years instead of one.

The black managers occupied the following functional domains:-

TABLE 4 : Functional Domains of Black Managers

Function	n	%
Personnel, Industrial Relations, Training	19	55,9
Computer Services	2	5,9
Finance	2	5,9
Production	5	14,7
Research and Development	2	5,9
Marketing, Sales	2	5,9
Public Relations, Advertising	2	5,9
TOTAL	34	100,0

NOTE: Although it is conventional to recommend that percentages should not be calculated unless $n \geq 100$, they are used in this report on the grounds that readers are usually very familiar with the use of percentages (even more so than fractions) when summarizing descriptive material. However, the small size of this sample must be borne in mind and the number of cases to which a particular percentage refers is frequently given as a reminder of this. In all cases, percentages will be rounded off to the first decimal place in order to avoid giving a spurious impression of accuracy with a small sample. With calculations other than percentages, results are rounded off to two decimal places unless otherwise indicated.

Table 4 reveals that the respondents were drawn from a wide range of job categories. However, over half of the respondents were concentrated in the areas of personnel (including training) and industrial relations. Obviously the black managers' work colleagues were, in every case, drawn from the same functional area as their respective black colleagues.

2.2.6 The Data-Gathering Technique

In Phase I of the research, in-depth, semi-structured interviews were used as the main data-gathering approach. In the light of experience gained by the author from an earlier research project (Watts, 1980), this technique was decided upon because of the flexibility it allows for probing the responses of the informants to obtain rich, holistic data. Thus, it allows the investigator to tap the experiences, interpretations and

perceptions of informants in a way that is not possible with a highly structured, formalistic type of interview using scaling techniques and multiple choice answers. Furthermore, the open-ended questions minimized bias in terms of expected information and encouraged freedom of expression on the part of the respondents. In other words, this overcame the inevitable weakness of closed ended questions, which place a deterministic grid on the subjects' possible range of answers so that simplistic, superficial and often misleading data are generated.

2.2.6.1 The Data-Gathering Instruments

Two Phase I interview schedules were drawn up, namely:

- (i) The black managers' inventory (See Appendix A for the interview protocol);
- (ii) The interview schedule for the bosses, peers and subordinates (see Appendix C for a copy of the schedule).

The interview questions were generated largely from information obtained from literature on black managers and black upward job mobility in South Africa and in the United States (see for instance, America and Anderson, 1978; Fernandez, 1975; Hall and Albrecht, 1979; Jones, 1973; Mackay, 1980; Mackay *et al.*, 1980; Nasser, 1980a, 1980b; Tabane, 1980; Watts, 1980).

2.2.6.2 The Black Managers' Interview Schedule

The black managers' interview protocol consisted of open-ended questions which covered the following broad areas:

- (i) Biographical profile;
- (ii) Characteristics of the job;
- (iii) Perceived job performance;
- (iv) Job and career satisfaction;
- (v) Career prospects and aspirations;
- (vi) Relationship with black employees;

- (vii) Relationship with, and attitudes of, white colleagues and employees;
- (viii) Problems encountered;
- (ix) Factors impeding black job advancement;
- (x) General questions on the issue of black job advancement both within the employing organization and elsewhere.

Therefore, issues (i) - (viii) related to personal questions about the black manager himself, while categories (ix) and (x) dealt with more general issues. First order perceptions (how the perceiver (the black manager) viewed the perceived (himself or others)), as well as second order perceptions (how the perceiver (the black manager) thought the perceived viewed the perceiver), were tapped. Direct perspectives (the black manager's views on issue Z) and metaperspectives (the black manager's views on person Y's views on issue Z) were also explored.

2.2.6.3 Sentence Completion Exercise

The black managers were required to fill in, by hand, a list of 20 incomplete sentences which tapped their self-perceptions, social perceptions, feelings and experiences (see Appendix B for a copy of the specimen). The stems of the incomplete sentences largely referred to work-related issues, although a few of the stimulus words were of a more general nature (such as, "I often wish that", "My family view me as").

The author compiled the incomplete sentence blank after a review of the literature on black managers in South Africa and in America. The rationale for including this instrument in the study of the black managers was that it allowed the subjects to express their own feelings and self-concept from a phenomenological perspective (Burns, 1979). The value of this projective technique lies in the removal of the restriction imposed by the rating scale technique. The latter forces individuals to choose among limited alternatives to circumscribed questions or statements, so that their responses may not necessarily reflect their true feelings.

2.2.6.4 Interview Schedules of Work Colleagues

The same interview protocol was used for the bosses, peers and subordinates to facilitate comparison of responses across the three groups.

The format of this inventory was very similar to that of the black managers. The same general areas covered in the interviews with the black managers were also covered in the interviews with the work colleagues. However, whilst in many cases the black managers were asked to report their self-perceptions (first-order perceptions), the work colleagues were at times required to report their metaperspectives (their perception of how the black manager viewed issue X). Their direct perspectives and first-order perceptions of, experiences of, and attitudes towards, the black manager and general black job advancement issues were also explored.

2.2.7 Procedure

Personnel managers of each company either helped to set up the interviews with the subjects or else the researcher approached the individuals themselves and arranged a suitable time to interview them at work. In those cases where a personnel practitioner assisted in arranging the meetings, they were carefully briefed to tell the subjects that the interviews constituted the fieldwork for a post-graduate thesis on black job advancement. All the participants were interviewed at work, either in their own office or in a room that had been set aside for the purposes of the interviews by the personnel manager of the particular organization.

A primary concern of the researcher was to establish a relationship of rapport and trust with the respondents that was conducive to a productive, authentic interaction between the principals in the interview situation. Considerable care was taken to avoid being identified with management (and particularly with the personnel staff), as this could have resulted in deliberate or unwitting attempts by the interviewees to impress the researcher with their abilities or to avoid criticisms that could boomerang on them. Furthermore, as one executive pointed out, management did not want their employees to develop expectations that changes would be forthcoming because of research into black job advancement issues. Therefore it was emphasized that the researcher was an independent agent whose objective was to complete the fieldwork for her

thesis and to contribute to knowledge about, and insights into, the process of job progression of blacks into and upwards within managerial echelons in South African industrial organizations.

With these objectives in mind, introductory remarks about the interview covered the general nature and purpose of the study. Each respondent was assured that the interview was strictly confidential and that the thesis would be written up in such a way that neither the informants nor their companies could be identified.

Each interview protocol consisted of a detailed verbatim written record of the respondents' answers. Speedwriting was used to record the responses. The interviews were not taped as it was believed that this may have reduced the honesty of the subjects' remarks. #

At the end of the interview, each black manager was asked to fill in, by hand, the list of 20 incomplete sentences, writing down the first thoughts that came to his mind in regard to each stimulus. After every interview, the researcher chatted with the black manager to obtain his impressions of the interview, as well as criticisms and recommendations about the study. # nb

The interviews with each black manager's respective work colleagues were only conducted once the black manager had been interviewed. These interviews lasted between one-and-a-half hours to three hours. As in the case of the interviews with the black managers, these subjects' comments were frequently probed to obtain a detailed, comprehensive account of their perceptions of the black manager and related issues.

Particulars about the various employing organizations were obtained from the personnel managers of each company, or from company pamphlets given to the researcher by the personnel departments of the organizations.

2.8 Conceptual Framework Utilized in the Study

Beginning with Glaser and Strauss (1967), much has been written about generating "grounded theory", "being open to what the site has to tell us", and gradually evolving a coherent framework rather than imposing a deterministic framework on the study at the outset (Miles, 1979). Yet a loose working frame needs to be established at the start of the fieldwork.

With respect to the present study, a general explanatory framework pertaining to self perception and social perception in general, served as a foundation for the first phase of preliminary, exploratory research which examined how the black manager was perceived through his own eyes as well as by certain categories of work colleagues. During the course of the Phase I research and content analysis of the Phase I material, a Role Episode model emerged as a useful conceptual tool for partly explaining the data. That is, it became clear that the black manager's work associates could be viewed as "role senders" of the black manager. Their role expectations seemed to be exerting role pressures upon the black manager, which generated role stress such as role conflict and role ambiguity. Such role stress was in turn conceptualized within the broader framework of a Person-Environment Fit model of organizational stress (as explained in Chapter 5, Sections 2 and 3).

SECTION 3 : PHASE II - RESEARCH PROBLEM AND RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 The Research Problem

Phase II of the investigation was a logical outgrowth and continuation of the exploratory first stage of the study. Therefore, material from Phase I was used both as data in its own right and as a basis for the development of a second phase of research.

Analysis of Phase I data seemed to indicate that the black managers were experiencing a considerable amount of stress, for instance as related to their role in the organization. Recent literature on black managers in South Africa has implicitly or directly indicated that these individuals either seem to be, or can be assumed to be, under a lot of work stress (see for example, Beckett, 1980, 1981; Coldwell and Moerdyk, 1981; Gathercole, 1981; Human 1981a, 1981b; Mackay *et al.*, 1980; Moerdyk, 1983; Wella, 1983). Nonetheless, there is a dearth of actual research into this topic. As pointed out in the introductory chapter of this thesis, Moerdyk (1983) has written a theoretical report on the work stress that South African black managers appear to be facing. However, at the time of writing (1984), no empirical research findings seemed to have been published on the specific work-related factors that the black managers themselves perceive as stressful, their reactions to such stressors, and how they cope with the stress-provoking conditions and/or with the emotional

consequences thereof.

As pointed out elsewhere in this thesis,* there is a paucity of research in the field of organizational psychology on how employees cope with stress (Lazarus *et al.*, 1974; Lazarus and Launier, 1978; Moerdyk, 1983; Van Sell *et al.*, 1981). More specifically, Dickens and Dickens (1982) claim that very little seems to be known about the coping mechanisms adopted by American blacks in white organizations. This state of affairs seems to apply even more so in the case of South African black managers. Clearly, it is important to gain insight into this issue because the kinds of coping mechanisms adopted by black managers could help to prevent or alleviate their stress. Indeed, the coping strategies adopted by the black managers could ensure their survival, failure or success in the corporate world.

In addition, a study focusing on the work stress experienced by black managers in South Africa may be viewed as socially relevant. For instance, Nasser (1980a:1), referring to the South African economic scenario, argues that:

"Too little attention is paid to the executive/manager, who is among the most overworked and overstressed management in the world. The negative consequences of this pressure are substantial in terms of both his organizational and personal life."

Indeed, as pointed out in Chapter 5, work stress can have destructive effects on the individual, for instance, in terms of mental and physical ill-health; on interpersonal relationships both within and outside the organization; and on the company in terms of absenteeism, accidents, low productivity and the like.

In the case of black managers in the erstwhile almost completely white managerial arena, it was hypothesized that they were under even more stress than their white counterparts. This was because of the additional stressors that they are exposed to in the form of white prejudices, stereotypes, discrimination and so on. Hence, this topic needed to be researched to ascertain how the black managers themselves perceive their work situation. The results of such a study would have applied significance in terms of pointing to possible preventative and curative actions that could be implemented. In addition, the findings could provide information on the topic of minority group work stress.

* See Chapter 1, Section 4 and Chapter 5, Section 4.5.1.

3.2 The Research Design

3.2.1 Aim of Phase II

The major aims of Phase II of the study were to:

- (i) Identify what the black managers themselves perceived as work stressors;
- (ii) Examine their reactions to job stress and the kinds of coping strategies that they reported as adopting to deal with stressful work situations or with the emotional consequences thereof;
- (iii) Determine the kinds of organizational and extra-organizational social support systems to which they had access;
- (iv) Ascertain the relationship between the stress experienced by the black managers and: self-reports of stress symptoms; their management level; whether they were in a line or staff function; the size of the perceptual discrepancy between themselves and their boss; and whether they were "Type I" or "Type II" individuals (a dimension obtained from analysis of the sentence completion exercises from Phase I of the investigation).

3.2.2 Phase II Research Hypotheses

With the insights gained from the literature and from Phase I of the study, five general hypotheses were formulated for Phase II of the investigation, namely:

- (i) The major stressors experienced by the black managers would be role-related;
- (ii) The greater the perceptual discrepancies between the black manager and his immediate boss (highlighted in Phase I of the project), the greater the work stress experienced by the black manager.
- (iii) Black managers in staff positions would be under more work stress than those in line jobs;
- (iv) Those black managers in middle management positions would be under more work stress than those at junior or senior management levels;

- (v) 'Type II' black managers would be under more work stress than their 'Type I' counterparts.

3.2.3 The Respondent Sample (Phase II)

Thirty-one of the 34 black managers who participated in Phase I of the investigation took part in the follow-up study. Unfortunately, three of the subjects were not included because they were overseas - two for post-graduate study purposes and one on a two year secondment to the parent company of his employing organization. One of the two individuals who were studying abroad had in fact resigned from his particular company. The other black manager was on sabbatical leave.

3.2.4 The Data-Gathering Instrument

In-depth focused interviews were conducted. The semi-standardized interview schedule consisted largely of open-ended questions with a few closed-ended questions with multiple-choice answers. (The inventory is found in Appendix D.) The interview protocol covered the following issues:

- (i) The extent to which the black managers' work situation had altered (if at all) since they were last interviewed;
- (ii) Sources of stress on the job - that is, conditions or events which they regarded as stressful or as leading to tension;
- (iii) Merged with the discussion of sources of stress, a series of intensive questions were used to elicit information about tactics or behaviour by means of which the black managers coped with stress or handled its emotional consequences;
- (iv) The social support rendered by their boss and significant others (at work and elsewhere);
- (v) Stress symptoms;
- (vi) Advice they would give to a young black graduate joining the company and their opinion of the way in which a young black could achieve a senior management position in commerce or industry.

The schedule also included a list of 40 statements describing potentially stressful work-related conditions. (See Appendix D for a specimen thereof.) The interviewees were required to respond to each statement in terms of two closed-ended answers indicating firstly, how often they experienced the stressor, and secondly, how much tension they felt as a result of the stressor.

This "Stress Indicator" was based largely on the preliminary National Institute for Personnel Research (N.I.P.R.) stress questionnaire (1982) which was devised specifically for administration to black managers in South Africa. According to Moerdyk (1982), this stress questionnaire, which was comprised of 100 statements, was formulated largely from a ranking on 57 organizational stressors described by Turcotte (1980). However, additional items were generated from pertinent information yielded in the N.I.P.R. reports by Mackay (1980) and Mackay *et al.* (1980) on black managers and black job advancement. For the purpose of this study, items were also included that seemed relevant in the light of the results generated from Phase I of the investigation. In addition, certain items from the role conflict and ambiguity scales developed by Rizzo *et al.*, (1970) and from the job-related Tension Index of Kahn *et al.* (1964), were included.

Overall, then, the Stress Indicator statements described a range of stressors which fell into the seven broad categories of stressors identified by Cooper and Marshall (1978), namely, stressors stemming from: the individual, the job, interpersonal relations at work, the organizational structure and climate, career prospects, the manager's role in the organization and extra-organizational factors.

3.2.5 Procedure

The black managers who had participated in Phase I of the investigation were telephonically contacted by the researcher and asked whether they would be willing to participate in the follow-up study. The broad nature of the investigation was carefully explained to them. All 31 of the black managers that the researcher was able to contact, readily agreed to be reinterviewed.

The interviews were conducted in the black managers' own offices or in a secluded room in their department where they felt that they could talk in privacy and without interruptions.

Each semi-structured interview lasted for approximately two to three hours. At the end of every meeting, the researcher and black manager chatted informally and the respondent was encouraged to give his opinion and impressions on the interview session as a whole.

3.2.6 Time Lapse between Phase I and Phase II Fieldwork

The data collection process for both parts of the study took well over a year to complete. Phase I fieldwork began in the latter half of 1981, while Phase II commenced in 1982. The 31 subjects who participated in the follow-up study were each interviewed about eight months after their preliminary Phase I interviews.

SECTION 4 : ANALYTICAL TECHNIQUES (PHASE I AND PHASE II)

In this section the analytical techniques employed in analysing the data will be reviewed.

4.1 Content Analysis of the Data

The mass of qualitative data from the open-ended questions of the interviews conducted in both phases of the investigation, as well as from the sentence completion exercise, were subjected to content analysis. As this is a well-known and accepted technique used for the categorization and analysis of qualitative verbal statements, it is unnecessary to discuss it in detail (see Cartwright, 1953, for a discussion of this analytical technique).

In order to assess the validity of the categorizations, the material was independently check-coded through the kind co-operation of a second researcher. A relatively larger proportion of material was check-coded earlier on in the coding process and tapered off as coding stabilized. Thereafter, a random sample of material was selected and examined. Thus intersubjective agreement and reproducibility of the item categories were ensured.

Once the consistency and accuracy of the content analysis had been established, the data were coded and computer processed. A variety of statistical analyses were performed using a mainframe computer. Unless otherwise stated, the programming for the computer analyses used the Social Science Statistical Package (SPSS). A comprehensive write-up on most of the methods employed in

the analyses may be found in the SPSS manual (Nie *et al.*, 1975), as well as in the SPSS Primer (Klecka *et al.*, 1975).

It is important to note that in those instances where parametric statistical techniques were used which required at least an interval level of measurement, the items were recoded. The scoring categories were selected by the author and an independent judge*. (See Appendix G for specific details on the scoring procedure.)

Hence, a relatively uncomplicated form of analytical triangulation was utilized in this study. This took the form of the quantification of qualitative data by means of rating scales. This approach is supported by Morey and Luthans (1984) who claim that the richness of patterns emerging from qualitative material may be clarified by factor analysis or by other multivariate statistical techniques:

"For example paired results of responses of managers and subordinates could be correlated and analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The precision of quantification would be balanced by the context and richness of the qualitative data" (Morey and Luthans, 1984:34).

A summary of the major statistical techniques employed in the study follows immediately. Specific details on the nature of the statistical techniques used to analyse the material, and the rationale for using them, will be discussed (when deemed appropriate) in the chapters outlining the results of such analyses.

* Mr. C.O. Murray, Senior Lecturer in the Psychology department at the University of Natal, Durban, and supervisor of this thesis.

4.2 A Summary of Major Statistical Techniques Used in the Investigation

<u>Data</u>	<u>Statistical Technique</u>
4.2.1 PHASE I	
<u>BLACK MANAGERS</u>	
Biographical data	<i>Factor analysis</i> to summarize the relationship among the variables.
Interview data on job perceptions and attitudes	<i>Factor analysis</i> to locate the main structural features of the responses.
Biographical and interview factor score variables	<i>Multiple Regression</i> to assess to what extent the black managers' job attitudes and perceptions were conditioned by antecedent life history factors.
Incomplete sentences	(i) <i>Q-factor analysis</i> (analysis of units, i.e. subjects rather than variables) to discover 'Types' of black managers according to their sentence completions. (ii) <i>Chi-square tests</i> to identify significantly different sentence completions between 'Types' of black managers determined from the Q-factor analysis.
"Types" of black managers and biographical factor score variables	<i>Discriminant analysis</i> to ascertain whether Type I and Type II differences were related to biographical variables.
<u>BOSSSES</u>	
Interview data	<i>Factor analysis</i> to discover the complexity of the underlying structures that emerged from their responses.
<u>BLACK MANAGERS, BOSSES, PEERS AND SUBORDINATES</u>	
Interview data	Calculation of <i>Euclidean distance measures</i> (representing perceptual discrepancies) between the following six dyads: black manager-boss; black manager-peer; black manager-subordinate; boss-peer; boss-subordinate; peer-subordinate.

DataStatistical Technique

4.2.2 PHASE II

BLACK MANAGERS

Phase II interview data

Factor analysis to identify the dimensions underlying the responses.

Biographical and interview factor score variables

Multiple regression to analyse the relationship between the interview (dependent) variables and the biographical (predictor) variables.

40 "Stress Indicator" items

Item analysis to select items for subsequent analysis.

Reduced Stress Indicator items (n = 26) as the dependent variable and the following independent variables:

Discriminant analysis to assess differences between the groups on the Stress Indicator items.

- (i) Management level of subjects
- (ii) 'Type' of subjects
- (iii) Functional domain (line or staff)
- (iv) Black manager-Boss perceptual discrepancy measures (Euclidean distance scores from Phase I)

Reduced Stress Indicator items (n = 26)

Multidimensional scaling (MDS) to examine the structures underlying the responses to Stress Indicator items.

Composite MDS stress dimension scores and biographical factor score variables

Multiple regression to see to what extent the stress dimensions experienced by the black managers were conditioned by antecedent life history factors.

Composite MDS dimension scores and stress symptom measures

Multiple regression to determine whether certain stress dimensions predicted stress symptoms of the black managers.

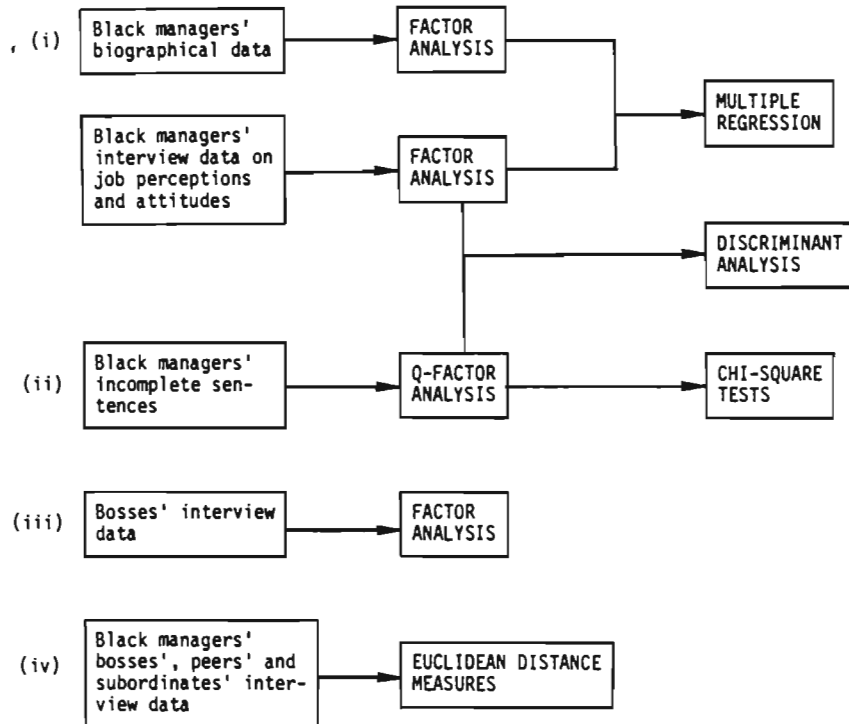
NOTE: Descriptive statistics such as percentage distributions, means, standard deviations and correlation matrices were also calculated.

Significance tests were computed. It must be realized that the cases were not a simple random sample as an attempt was made to obtain black managers in the major companies in the regions studied. However, a complete enumeration was not obtained and the exact extent of sampling error was therefore unknown. Hence, significance tests were used to give an approximate idea of whether or not the patterns and differences found were more than what random chance fluctuations would create.

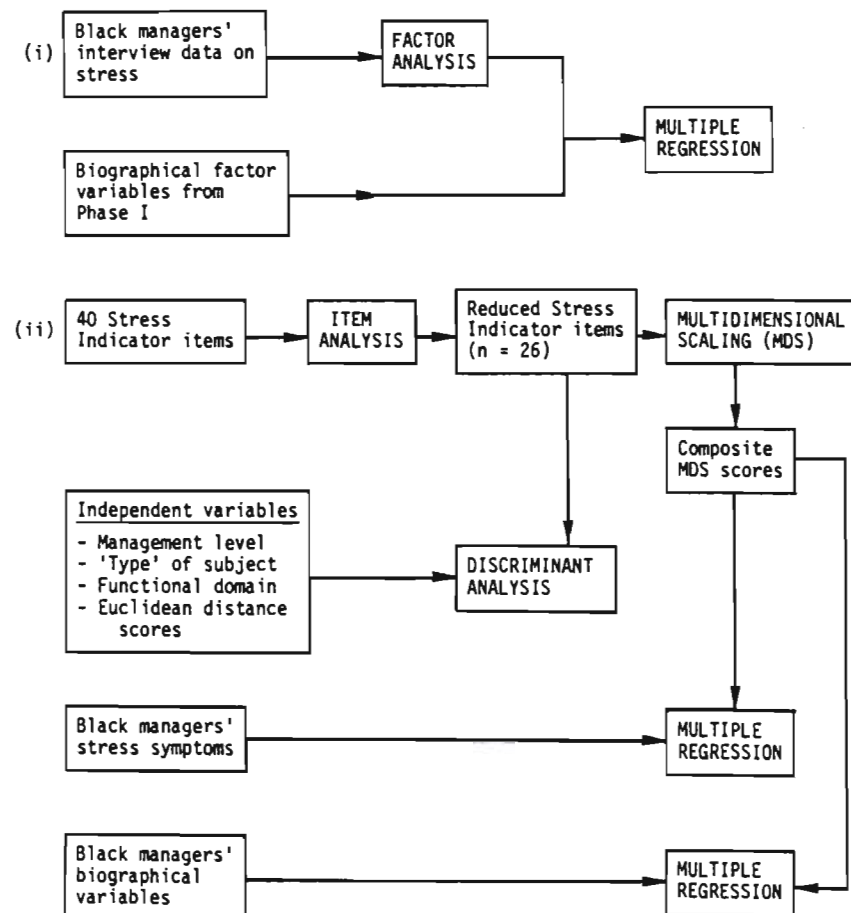
Flow charts illustrating the major statistical techniques applied to the data are presented in Figure 4.

FIGURE 4 : Flow Charts Depicting the Main Statistical Analyses Employed in the Study

PHASE I



PHASE II



SECTION 5 : POTENTIAL SOURCES OF BIAS AND ERROR IN THE DATA

The amount of research indicating the existence of interviewer effect in the fieldwork situation is voluminous. For instance, many studies have shown that factors such as race, sex, religion, social class and education may influence the quality of communication occurring in an interview (see Denzin, 1978; Ferber and Wales, 1952; Ferman, 1968; Fernandez, 1975; Kahn and Cannell, 1957; Lenski and Leggett, 1960; Marx, 1967; Moser and Kalton, 1971; Pettigrew, 1964; Purcell and Cavanagh, 1972).

In this particular piece of research, there was the danger of bias occurring in the interviews with the black managers because the interviewer was a white female. However, the author is of the opinion that the personal relationship established with the respondents is far more important than the colour of one's skin or one's sex. As Kahn and Cannell (1957:198-9) note:

"Experience shows that the atmosphere which the interviewer sets for the interview process, his reactions to the expressed attitude of the respondent, and his technical skill are in most cases far more important than his background characteristics. These characteristics have importance primarily as they affect first impressions, while the basic skills of the interviewer have deeper and more enduring effects upon the interviewer-respondent relationship and therefore on the product of the interview."

In short, the researcher believes that she was able to establish an atmosphere of trust and candour which overcame the potential sources of bias within the interview process. Steps were taken to ensure honesty on the part of the respondents. For example, the interviews were conducted in private, the participants were guaranteed complete anonymity and confidentiality, and they were informed about who was to be interviewed and how they were chosen. Furthermore, the long and free-flowing nature of the interviews facilitated the establishment of genuine rapport with the subjects. Ultimately, one may propose that the best test of validity of one's methods is the interviewees themselves. With respect to the present investigation, typical remarks volunteered by both the black and white participants were:

- "It's been good chatting to you and getting everything off my chest."
- "You really made me think about things that I often brush over - it helped me clarify my ideas on a lot of issues."
- "It's about time that someone did research into this."
- "People must know how we actually feel - or else nothing is going to change."

In conclusion, then, the following quote by Purcell and Cavanagh (1972:309) sums up the author's sentiments on the matter.

"... when bias is recognized and compensated for, the interview can lead to a much more open, human, and honest response than other types of research methods."

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER

This chapter first of all examined the predominant and alternative epistemologies, ontologies and research methodologies in the field of organizational psychology and in the social sciences as a whole. The general criticisms that have been levelled against the predominant positivist, "objective", quantitative approach were explored in some depth. While phenomenology as an alternative orientation was discussed, it was pointed out that there has been a growing call from academics to view positivism and phenomenology (as well as other antipositivist orientations) as complementary approaches that overlap and contribute to one another. Arguments for "methodological pluralism" or "triangulation" and for a dialectical approach to industrial research, were also mentioned. It was emphasized that the author was in favour of such alternative approaches. The "double hermeneutic" metatheoretical stance of the writer was also explained. It was argued that psychologists should be concerned not only with reporting the subjects' meaning systems (a first order abstraction), but with the interpretation thereof within their own frame of reference as psychologists (a second order abstraction).

With the clarification of such metatheoretical, methodological, and epistemological issues, the research problem of Phase I of the study was explained.

The need for a study on South African black managers, and on the black job advancement issue from the perspective of the black managers themselves, as well as from other frames of reference, was noted. It was felt that this would provide a fuller picture of the "reality" of the situation. In effect, then, the aim of Phase I was to study the work-related perceptions, attitudes and experiences of black managers and to complement their account by that of selected work colleagues (namely, their boss, a peer and a subordinate, if possible). Direct perspectives and metaperspectives of the subjects were tapped.

Phase II of the investigation was a follow-up study which was a logical continuation of Phase I. It explored the work stress and coping mechanisms adopted by the black managers interviewed in the first part of the project. It was emphasized that the investigation as a whole was an exploratory one which aimed at laying the groundwork for subsequent more rigorous studies on the experiences and behaviours of blacks (and other minority groups) in white-dominated industrial organizations.

In the following five chapters, the research findings from both phases of the study will be presented and discussed in detail.

CHAPTER 7PHASE I : BLACK MANAGERS AND BOSSES - A DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

INTRODUCTION

The findings of Phase I of the investigation along with a discussion thereof, will be presented in the following three chapters. The results will be organized as follows:

- (i) In the present chapter, the biographical information of the black managers will be examined and factor analysed. Thereafter, the qualitative material obtained from the interviews with the black managers and their bosses will be reported and compared.
- (ii) In Chapter 8, the 21 peers' interview responses will be discussed and contrasted with those of their 21 black coworkers (in other words, the black managers). The 11 subordinates' perceptions and attitudes will also be elucidated in conjunction with those of their black bosses (that is, the black managers);
- (iii) Chapter 9 presents the results of multivariate statistical analyses undertaken on the Phase I data.

Phase I provided a wealth of interview material which was fascinating in the insight it gave into the perceptions and experiences of the black managers and their role set at work. Unfortunately, within the confines of a thesis, it is not possible to give detailed reports on all the interview material. By necessity, then, some selection and omission of results was inevitable. However, not only will the more important findings be reported in some detail, but an attempt will be made to give an overview of the pattern which emerged from the interviews in such a way that the reader will get a feel for the "lived" experiences of the informants.

In the presentation of the Phase I findings discussed in Chapters 7 and 8, reference will not always be made to specific frequency tables in each case, as this will be unnecessarily tedious. Any percentage total that is greater than one hundred will be indicative of the fact that the informants volunteered more than one response to the question.

Cross tabulations for nominal data were prepared to ascertain the extent to which the black managers and their respective colleagues held congruent perceptions with one another. Since the restrictions on the use of chi-square tests with small expected frequencies applied in all cases, no chi-square test results will be presented (Siegel, 1956).

In reporting the actual comments made by respondents, use of quotation marks will be avoided when remarks have been condensed in order to make presentation and organization of the data less cumbersome. The quotations in the text are not atypical or sensational statements, but were chosen to deepen understanding of a majority or even a minority position. (The author has indicated when a person did not speak for the majority.) Some subjects have been quoted simply as individuals because their experiences or ideas throw light on important problems or issues. In quotes where a subject's name has been mentioned, it has been replaced by an "X" to preserve the identity of the individual.

In the final analysis, the qualitative data should, perhaps, be seen as "confirmable", and "credible". Indeed, as Miles (1979:590) argues, qualitative material has the advantage of being "... rich, full, earthy, holistic, "real"; their face validity seems unimpeachable". In addition, such material seems to have a quality of undeniability (Smith, 1978).

The interview schedules are placed in Appendix A (black managers' inventory) and in Appendix C (interview schedule for the bosses, peers and subordinates).

SECTION 1 : DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES OF THE BLACK MANAGERS

1.1 A General Overview

Of the 34 black managers who participated in this study, two were females. However, as mentioned in Chapter 6, the black subjects and their work colleagues will generally be referred to in terms of the male gender to simplify sentence construction.

1.1.1 Ages

The ages of the black managers ranged widely - from 21 years to 54 years of age, with a mean age of 37,06 years (SD = 8,61 years). Table 5 below highlights the age distribution of the informants.

TABLE 5 : Distribution of Black Managers According to Age

Age	n	%
20-29 years	6	17,6
30-39 "	16	47,1
40-49 "	8	23,5
50-59 "	4	11,8
TOTAL	34	100,0

It is apparent that nearly two-thirds of the black managers (64,7%) were in their twenties and thirties. This indicates that the sample was relatively young and it also emphasizes the recent nature of black job advancement.

1.1.2 Management Function

Two-thirds of the black managers (67,7%) were concentrated in staff*

* Logan (1964:356) explains the line-staff concept as follows: "... line departments are those directly engaged in producing or selling the goods or services the enterprise exists to provide. All other activities are staff".

positions (such as personnel, including training and industrial relations). The remaining 11 respondents were in line management (namely: production, product development, sales, marketing or public relations). This sparse representation of black managers in line functions has also been noted in American studies on black managers (as pointed out in Chapter 3, Section 3.2), and in some South African investigations (Gathercole, 1981; Moerdyk, 1983; Wella, 1983). The subjects generally held positions that depended on their blackness and, bar five individuals, did not have any whites reporting to them.

1.1.3 Management Levels

The black managers were categorized according to their management levels as follows:

- (i) *Senior Managers* were heads of departments (or plants) and assistant managers of major departments or divisions who reported to the board (Kahn *et al.*, 1964; Marshall and Cooper, 1979);
- (ii) *Middle Managers* were section heads, assistant managers of smaller departments or divisions, or technical and scientific specialists (Kahn *et al.*, 1964). They reported to senior managers or to heads of smaller departments or subareas of larger departments (Marshall and Cooper, 1979);
- (iii) *Junior Managers* in general reported to middle managers and had specialist roles within departments.

About three-fifths of the black respondents (61,8%) were at junior management levels. Over a third (35,3%) of the informants were in middle management echelons, while only one individual had reached a senior management position.

1.1.4 Educational Qualifications

All the black managers had obtained a matric level of education (or its equivalent), with the exception of one individual who only had a standard

eight level of education. He was one of the oldest black respondents and had clawed his way up the corporate ladder over a period of 24 years of company service. The mean educational level of the subjects was a matric plus 2,74 years (SD = 1,64 years). As a whole, then, the educational levels of the 34 black managers were impressive, with 70,6% having attained the equivalent of a matric plus three or more years.

Since the quality of black education is inferior to that of the whites (Corke, 1980; Dhlomo, 1983), the question of education was further probed. Over four-fifths (85,3%) of the subjects had obtained at least a degree (or degrees) and/or a diploma (or diplomas).

Further insight into their educational backgrounds was gained by examining the types of universities attended (or still being attended part-time) by the black managers. This is because it is commonly recognized that the standard of education at the black (homeland) universities is lower than that offered at white South African universities, and at the University of South Africa (UNISA)* (Beckett, 1980; Moerdyk, 1983). Six of the black managers (17,6%) had not gone to university (although three of these subjects had diplomas). Thirteen (38,2%) of the 34 blacks had attended a black university only. The remaining 44,1% of the black managers had either attended UNISA (n = 10), a white university (n = 1), a Southern African university (n = 1) or an overseas university (n = 3). Thus, almost half of the black managers had obtained their degrees from universities with a relatively higher academic status than that accorded to black universities.

Of the 28 out of 34 black managers who attended university, 13 (46,4%) had degrees in the humanities (that is, in the arts, social sciences, theological and legal disciplines). Nine of the 28 black managers (32,1%) had completed their training in the commerce fields, while only six (21,4%) had obtained degrees in the science or applied science faculties. This leaning by the blacks to the humanities is an oft-quoted phenomenon in South Africa (Gathercole, 1981; Mackay *et al.*, 1980; Moerdyk, 1983;

* UNISA is a correspondence university, on which the Open University in Britain was partly modelled.

Wells, 1983) which has also been observed in the United States (America and Anderson, 1978; Bramwell, 1972; Fernandez, 1975; Nason, 1972). Reasons for this state of affairs include the fact that the black educational system has not, in the past, geared blacks to the more mathematically or scientifically orientated fields (as pointed out in Chapter 2, Section 3.1.4 of this thesis). As a result, further studies in these areas have been effectively closed to them. Moreover, upwardly mobile blacks seem to be very aware of the needs of their fellow blacks and therefore are highly motivated to enter the helping professions (Mackay *et al.*, 1980). Legal barriers (such as job reservation) have also, until recently, prevented black entry into certain technical positions.

1.1.5 Job History of the Black Managers

Approximately three-fifths (61,8%) of the black managers had always held upper white collar positions. The remaining black subjects had more "convoluted" job histories, with nine (26,8%) of these respondents having progressed upwards from either blue collar or lower white collar positions to upper white collar levels. However, four of the black managers had more chequered job histories. They had, in the past, dropped from a white collar occupational status to a blue collar position. This can be attributed mainly to the fact that they had put themselves through their academic courses, often while supporting members of their extended family. Thus, they performed manual labour and other blue collar jobs to maintain an income while studying.

The black managers had worked in industry, on average, for $\bar{x} = 13,50$ years (SD = 9,35 years). The mean job tenure of these informants was 6,09 years (SD = 6,74 years). Fifteen (44,1%) had worked for their company for two years or less; two-thirds had been employed by their firm for five years or less. This perhaps indicates that, rather than climbing their way up the corporate hierarchy, the majority of the black managers had been recruited to occupy a managerial position at the outset. Interestingly, however, five of the 34 subjects (14,7%) had worked for their present company for 15 years or more. Four of these individuals had slowly progressed up

through the ranks while the remaining respondent had stayed in his current "managerial" position for 17 years.

The mean length of time that the black managers had been in their present positions was only 2,88 years (SD = 2,86 years). This indicates that, in most instances, the informants had been appointed to their managerial positions very recently. Indeed, over a third of the 34 black managers (35,3%) had been in their current job for one year or less. A cumulative total of 27 out of 34 (79,4%) of the respondents had held their positions for three years or less.

1.1.6 Family Background of the Black Managers

Just over three-quarters (76,5%) of the 34 black respondents had urban township backgrounds (as opposed to a traditional, rural upbringing). This is an important finding since urbanization may be viewed as an indicator of modernization. This implies that urban blacks are exposed to western-orientated norms, values, beliefs and ways of life relevant to the white-dominated industrial world based on the protestant ethic. Consequently, urban blacks can be expected to be better equipped to cope with the industrial environment than their rural counterparts.

The vast majority of the black managers were married (that is, 30 out of 34 of the subjects). Overall, almost two-thirds (63,3%) of the married subjects had spouses in lower white collar jobs. Sixteen of these 19 spouses were nurses or nursing sisters, while the other three were clerks. This highlights the fact that the nursing profession is viewed by the black community as a "respectable" profession for black women to pursue. In addition, apart from teaching it was, for many years, virtually the only occupation readily open to black females. It was also easier to obtain a training as a nurse rather than as a teacher because nurses were paid during their training period.

Five of the 30 married blacks (16,7%) had spouses who were teachers. A fifth were not gainfully employed (that is, four were housewives, and the other two were university students).

The educational and occupational levels of the black managers' parents provide some idea of the socio-economic backgrounds of the black informants.

Eleven (32,4%) of the blacks maintained that their fathers were either illiterate or semi-literate. This figure could be further inflated if one were to include the fathers of the three black respondents who contended that they did not know what their father's educational qualifications were. In each case, the author felt that these black managers were actually aware of their father's educational level, but were too embarrassed to admit that it was very low. If this hunch is accurate, then the figure of semi-literate or illiterate fathers would be raised from 32,4 percent to 41,2 percent. A further 11 (32,4%) of the fathers had obtained a standard five to standard seven level of education, while only four (11,8%) had a standard eight to ten education (or its equivalent). Finally, only four out of 34 of the fathers had post-matric qualifications.

Overall, then, the general educational levels of the fathers were very low, especially when compared to the educational qualifications held by their sons. Indeed, when one considers the educational credentials of the fathers, it makes the educational attainments of the black managers all the more remarkable.

In regard to the fathers' occupations, three (8,8%) were unemployed, and exactly half were in either upper or lower blue collar positions. A total of 41,2 percent (14 out of 34) fathers were in white collar jobs - four (11,8%) of these were in lower white collar occupations while the remaining 29,4 percent were at upper white collar levels (such as in independent, commercial and managerial capacities or in professional, higher administrative or higher white collar technical fields). It is noteworthy that there was a moderate, positive correlation between the fathers' educational levels and their occupations ($r = 0,45$). That is, there was a moderate tendency for the better educated fathers to be in higher occupations than those fathers with lower educational qualifications.

With respect to the mothers' educational levels, three-quarters were illiterate or semi-literate. Over half (58,8%) were housewives. Only two

were nurses, while nine (26,5%) were teachers. Two were clerks and one was a domestic servant.

1.2 Factor Analysis of the Black Managers' Biographical Data

Since many items in the biographical description of the black managers were correlated, the intercorrelations of 15 biographical items for the black managers were subjected to factor analysis in order to summarize the relationships among the variables in a concise but accurate manner. The general purpose was to search for, and define, the main dimensions of covariation underlying the original variables. (See Appendix F for the factor correlation matrix.) Three variables were not included in this analysis, namely: the proportion of siblings in white collar positions (because this measure did not include a full count of all siblings), as well as the educational level and occupation of the black managers' mothers (since a preliminary factor analysis revealed that these items were virtually unrelated to the other biographical variables).

The method of principal components, followed by an orthogonal varimax rotation, was used to conduct the factor analysis. The scree test was applied to determine the optimum number of factors which could be extracted before the intrusion of non-common variance became serious (Child, 1970). Four factors were identified. Since they cumulatively accounted for 67,2 percent of the common variance, it seems reasonable to conclude that these four factors were the main structural dimensions along which the biographical data varied. The results of the factor analysis are presented in Table 6.

With respect to the criterion used for choosing the significant loadings on each factor as an aid to interpreting the factors, Child (1970) notes that the factor loadings can be treated in a similar fashion to correlation coefficients. He suggests that: "Because of the uncertainty surrounding the assessment of error in factorial work, it would, perhaps, be safer to adopt the one percent level as the criterion for significance" (p.45). For a sample of 35, a correlation coefficient value of 0,417 is required (at the one percent level). Although in this study the sample size was 34, an even higher cut-off point of 0,45 was adopted because the author decided to err on the side of rigour rather than leniency.

TABLE 6 : Factor Matrix of the Black Managers' Biographical Items

Variables	Factors			
	1	2	3	4
Age	<u>0,94</u>	0,02	-0,12	0,13
Staff/Line	-0,00	0,34	<u>0,68</u>	0,09
Management level	-0,11	0,18	-0,09	<u>0,88</u>
Educational level	-0,25	<u>0,89</u>	0,06	0,14
Educational quality	-0,14	<u>0,90</u>	0,18	-0,01
Father's education	-0,36	0,08	<u>0,50</u>	<u>-0,08</u>
Father's occupation	0,01	-0,09	<u>0,77</u>	-0,11
Number of companies worked for	0,14	-0,04	<u>-0,54</u>	0,16
Job history	<u>0,54</u>	-0,26	-0,06	-0,14
Perception of management level	-0,05	0,20	-0,23	<u>0,86</u>
University attended	0,05	<u>0,81</u>	-0,04	0,23
Rural/urban background	-0,37	-0,15	0,35	0,35
Work experience	<u>0,92</u>	-0,20	-0,21	0,03
Company service	<u>0,91</u>	-0,20	0,06	-0,13
Length in position	<u>0,62</u>	0,16	-0,16	-0,25
EIGENVALUE	4,40	2,59	1,92	1,17
PERCENTAGE OF VARIANCE	29,4	17,2	12,8	7,8
CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE	29,4	46,6	59,4	67,2

NOTE: (i) Significant factor loadings have been underlined;

(ii) The coding categories of the items are discussed in Appendix E;

(iii) As explained in Chapter 6, Section 4.1, nominal and ordinal data were scored to obtain data which could be correlated and factor analysed. Appendix G outlines the scoring procedure used for both Phase I and Phase II material.

Factor 1, which was labelled "work experience", had significant loadings on five items, namely: age (0,94), length of work experience (0,92), length of company service (0,91), length in present position (0,62), and job history (0,54). Clearly, then, this factor grouped together a number of age-related variables in the biography. Thus, the older black managers had greater work experience, longer company service and had held their current position for a longer time period. Moreover, their job history reflected a more "tortuous" path to their present position. That is, they appeared to have worked their way up through the ranks - for instance, from blue collar to white collar jobs. This progression was either in terms of a consistent upward movement or alternatively, it was characterized by a reversal of job status during the course of their work history.

The second factor was called "quality of education" since the significant factor loadings were: number of years of completed education (0,90), the number of degrees and/or diplomas obtained (0,90), and university attended (0,81). Therefore it emerged that those blacks with higher educational qualifications (in terms of number of years of study successfully completed) also had obtained more degrees and/or diplomas. Furthermore, they had attended universities possessing greater academic status (for example, a white South African university or overseas institution as opposed to a black or 'homeland' South African university).

Factor 3 was bipolar. The positive pole comprised three items, namely: father's occupation (0,77), staff/line function (0,68), and father's educational level (0,50). A significant negative loading of -0,54 was present for the item listing the number of companies that the individual had worked for. The factor was named "career orientation".

This dimension suggests that those black managers who had fathers in higher status occupations and with better educations, were inclined to follow a career in line management and had worked for less companies than those informants in staff functions. A possible reason for this contrast may be that those black managers with higher socio-economic status backgrounds had the ambition and confidence to pursue what is still very much a "white" line management domain. By contrast, as pointed out in

Section 1.1.4 of this chapter, the general trend is for blacks to take degrees in the humanities and to branch into black-orientated areas in the staff functional domain, such as personnel, and industrial relations. However, those black line managers, especially in the production arena itself, had obtained degrees in the natural and applied sciences. This emphasizes once again that they had broken away from the traditional areas pursued by the majority of aspirant white collar blacks. Interestingly, of the sample of 34 black managers, three had studied at overseas universities and one had attended a university in a Southern African country. Three of these four subjects had completed degrees in the natural or applied scientific fields, and all were in line positions.

Lastly, the fact that the line managers had worked for fewer companies than their staff counterparts is, perhaps, indicative of fewer job openings for blacks in line - as opposed to staff - managerial positions. Undoubtedly, some companies are willing to recruit blacks in industrial relations and training fields where their black expertise is required. However, one may question whether many organizations currently really feel the need for black line managers. This possible lack of job opportunities could account, to an extent, for the smaller numbers of job changes of those informants in line functions.

Factor 4, titled "management status", comprised only two significant factor loadings on the following two items: the black manager's "objective" management level (0,88) - as defined by the researcher in conjunction with a personnel practitioner, and the black manager's own perception of his management level (0,86). Hence it seems that those black managers at high management levels, correctly judged themselves as being at this management echelon. The converse was true as well. In other words, the "objective" situation and the "subjective" perceptions of the black managers thereof, were congruent. This point is illustrated by the high correlation between the two variables ($r = 0,78$).

None of the work history variables (such as age, work experience, company service) or educational items had significant loadings on this management status factor. One might expect that black managers with better

educational qualifications or longer company service would have advanced to higher managerial levels than others. This factor could be an artifact of the sample (that is, all subjects held some managerial status) or it could reflect a tendency among the companies studied to advance any suitable black employee to managerial levels.

SECTION 2 : A COMPARISON OF KEY BIOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF THE BLACK MANAGERS AND WHITE BOSSES

TABLE 7 : A Comparison of the Mean Age, Education and Company Service of the 34 Black Managers and 34 Bosses

Variables	Black Managers	Bosses
Age (in years)	$\bar{x}$ = 37,06 SD = 8,61	$\bar{x}$ = 42,18 SD = 8,10
Education (in years)	$\bar{x}$ = matric + 2,74 yrs SD = 1,64	$\bar{x}$ = matric + 2,12 yrs SD = 1,99
Company Service (in years)	$\bar{x}$ = 6,09 SD = 6,73	$\bar{x}$ = 12,03 SD = 8,40

Table 7 reveals that, as expected, the bosses were the older group. There was a statistically significant difference between the ages of the bosses as opposed to their black subordinates (that is, the black managers) ($t = -2,43$; $df = 66$; $p = 0,018$; two-tailed test). Moreover, there was a statistically highly significant difference between the bosses' length of service as opposed to that of the black managers ($t = 3,19$; $df = 66$; $p = 0,001$; two-tailed test). Thus, the bosses had been with their employing organization for a considerably longer period of time. This probably reflects, in part,

the "chequered" job histories of many of the black managers. "Job-jumping" was common, possibly because job disappointments and disillusionment had encouraged the black subjects to move onto "greener pastures". However, although the education of the black managers was a bit higher than that of their bosses (12,74 years as opposed to 12,12 years respectively), this was not a statistically significant difference ($t = 1,39$; $df = 66$; $p = 0,168$; two-tailed test).

SECTION 3 : PERCEPTIONS, ATTITUDES AND EXPERIENCES OF THE BLACK MANAGERS AND WHITE BOSSES

INTRODUCTION

Before contrasting the data obtained from the interviews with the 34 black managers and their white bosses, it is useful to point out that of the 34 black managers interviewed, eight had no peers or subordinates, but only a boss over them. Fifteen (44,1%) of the black managers had both a boss and a peer, but no subordinate. In five cases, the black manager had a boss and a subordinate, but no readily discernable coworker. Lastly, only six of the 34 black managers had a peer and a subordinate besides their boss.

The interview material of the black managers' bosses will be focused on in greater depth than that of the peers and subordinates for two reasons. Firstly, a full complement of bosses (but not of peers and subordinates) was obtained for all 34 black managers. Secondly, management literature has identified an individual's boss as a primary "role sender" who influences the person's job-related attitudes and behaviours (Kahn *et al.*, 1964; Moerdyk, 1983). Hofmeyr (1982) and Roberts (1974) also argue that the most powerful and important influence in the development of a manager is the individual's superior. Besides planning relevant work experiences and opportunities, the individual's boss has to help in the formulation of clear job objectives and performance standards and then evaluate performance against these goals and criteria in order to generate development plans aimed at improving performance. Furthermore, Hofmeyr (1982) claims that the boss also guides, coaches and encourages the development of his subordinates.

3.1 Aspects of the Black Managers' Job

Both the black managers and their respective bosses were questioned about aspects of the black manager's job. Information about the black manager's predecessor, remuneration and benefits, job responsibility and authority will be discussed below.

3.1.1 Predecessor

Seven of the black managers were in newly created positions, half of the black informants had white predecessors, and almost three-tenths (29,4%) had black predecessors. Interestingly, six of the seven black managers in newly formed positions were in staff rather than line functions. This is in keeping with the general observation that most black managers are to be found in personnel jobs and other staff positions, where they deal with black employees or with black-related issues.

All 17 black managers with white predecessors were the first black incumbents to occupy their position. Consequently, along with the black managers in newly established positions, they constituted a cohort of pioneers who were infiltrating traditionally white occupations and management echelons. In sum, then, seven-tenths (70,6%) of the 34 black managers had no black predecessor. This finding drives home the point that the movement of blacks into managerial ranks is a relatively new phenomenon in South African organizations.

3.1.2 Remuneration and Benefits

Almost two-thirds (64,7%) of the black managers in comparison to over four-fifths (82,4%) of the bosses maintained that the black managers' salary and fringe benefits were comparable to that of their white counterparts. The other black managers either complained that their salary was lower than that of whites, or argued that both their remuneration and benefits were lower. For instance, one black manager contended that if he were a white, he would earn more, have a company car and his own office. He interpreted this state of affairs as white protectionism and as enabling the company to

get "the same goods for less".

In all, 24 of the 34 black manager-boss dyads held congruent perceptions with one another on this matter, with 21 of these pairs claiming that the particular black manager's pay and benefits compared favourably with that of whites in similar positions, or with his predecessor.

3.1.3 Job Responsibility

Over four-fifths (82,4%) of the bosses as opposed to approximately three-quarters (76,5%) of the black managers maintained that the latter had job responsibility. Four black managers (11,8%) claimed that they had no responsibility, while a further four informants stated that they merely had limited authority.

Typical reasons offered by those black managers who claimed that they had limited or no responsibility included:

- The company fears a white backlash (n = 2)
- A "fire-fighter" and therefore only consulted when there are black worker problems (n = 2)
- The managers with whom he liases prefer to consult with his boss rather than with him (n = 2)

The few bosses (n = 6) who disclosed that their black subordinates had little or no responsibility, cited the following as reasons for this state of affairs:

- Has not shown that he can handle more. For example, he does not meet deadlines, falls asleep at meetings, not punctual (n = 5).
- Not ready in terms of expertise, self-confidence or credibility (n = 1)

A question which arises is whether the paternalistic white attitude which traditionally characterizes the approach towards black employees, had not

led to some of them developing an acquired pattern of behaviour in which it was not necessary for them to accept any responsibility, because all decisions were made on their behalf. In reality, therefore, many black employees may be reacting to what is expected of them.

In regard to those 28 bosses who claimed that their black subordinates had responsibility, quite a few explicitly emphasized that their black subordinate was not in a token, hollow position. Only one boss contended that his black subordinate was in a "showcase" job.

It is interesting that almost three-quarters (73,5%) of the black manager-boss dyads held common perceptions on the question of the black informant's job responsibility - with all agreeing that the black manager possessed responsibility in his position.

3.1.4 Authority

For the purpose of the question on whether the black manager possessed authority in his job, the researcher explained to each subject that by this she meant "... the right or power to issue commands and to discipline for violation; an accepted source of information" (Logan, 1964:357). This would also involve:

- (i) Authority to make decisions and/or;
- (ii) Line authority. That is where a manager exercises direct control over a subordinate.

The distribution of the black managers' and bosses' answers are shown in Table 8.

TABLE 8 : Perceptions of Black Managers and Bosses as to Whether the Black Manager Possessed Job Authority

Authority	Black Managers	Bosses	Intra-Dyad Agreements
Yes	12	19	7
No	8	6	3
Limited	14	9	2
TOTAL	34	34	12

It is evident from the table that, whereas just over a third of the black managers unequivocally claimed that they had authority, over half of the bosses (55,9%) maintained that this was the case.

Reasons given by those bosses who admitted that their black subordinate only had limited authority were, for instance:

- Because of the nature of the job itself, he is merely in an advisory position (n = 7)
- Everything is screened by the boss and no-one reports to the black manager (n = 3)
- He is not forceful enough. For example, he prefers the security of someone else making decisions; he always checks things with his boss first (n = 2).

Those black managers who argued that they had no authority maintained that their boss had to be consulted on all issues. The fact that their senior was always looking over their shoulder and checking their work, was deeply resented. This state of affairs was interpreted by the black managers as reflecting the white man's suspicion of blacks' abilities, as well as revealing their fears that blacks with authority would try to "rock the boat". An issue alluded to by many of the black managers was that whereas white managers are immediately given authority, the blacks must prove themselves first before being given authority. Typical remarks illustrating this were:

"Blacks have to prove competence. Whites can be assumed to have it. Blacks don't fit the white picture of a manager so the company tests blacks."

"The thing that tires me out is having to over-explain why I want to do certain tasks in certain ways. I have to exert greater influence than whites around issues because I lack credibility."

In stark contrast, those bosses who maintained that their respective black subordinate had no authority, contended that this was because he had not proved that he could handle this. Expanding upon the above reason,

actual comments were:

"I don't want to give him authority until he has learned to carry responsibilities and show that he is able to work at the required level."

"How can he be given authority when he lacks expertise and credibility with others?"

"Because of a combination of his background and personality, he is not ready to be put in a position of authority. It would be like trying to make a baby walk before it could crawl."

From the remarks volunteered by the bosses, it is clear that they generally explained the black managers' lack of authority (where this was an issue) as being a product of the black individual's lack of attributes necessary for a position with authority. By comparison, the black manager interpreted the state of affairs as arising from external, situational factors in the form of racial discrimination, white prejudices, and fears.

Considering intra-dyad perceptions on the question of job authority held by the black manager, approximately two-thirds of the black managers and their respective bosses possessed divergent perspectives on the issue (see Table 8).

One can only surmise why such marked interpersonal disparities existed. Perhaps the black managers' expectations of the type and extent of authority they should possess at work were unrealistic, given their management level - thus accounting for the widespread feeling that they had insufficient authority. Alternatively, it could be that the bosses' definition of the situation was based on a different frame of reference. That is, considering other black employees, the bosses may have perceived their black subordinate as possessing sufficient job authority when, in reality, this was not so if compared to whites at similar levels.

The apparent lack of authority and influence on the part of many of the black managers may be explained, in part, by what Cohen and Roper (1972) call the "interaction disability" faced by status-disadvantaged individuals. According to Ridgeway (1982), members of a group who possess lower external

status characteristics than other members of the group, experience difficulty in achieving proportionate influence over group decisions (See for instance, Berger *et al.*, 1972; Katz, 1970; Strodbeck and Mann, 1956; Torrance, 1954.) Cohen and Roper (1972) regarded the interaction disability of blacks in interracial groups as a type of status generalization, as explained by expectation status theory. The latter describes the internal status system of small groups in terms of the differential performance expectations members hold for one another. Status generalization arises when, in the absence of specific information on task competence, members generate their performance expectations for each other according to their differing external status characteristics (such as age, race or sex). Members with low external status characteristics are assumed by the in-group to be less competent, as a whole, than their counterparts with a high state of the characteristic. Such an individual is required to prove himself in the face of a sceptical dominant elite by demonstrating superior performance. He also has to prove his ability to himself (Moerdyk, 1983). These inequalities were mentioned by Cohen and Roper (1972) when discussing the interaction disability faced by American blacks when they interact with whites. Most of the black managers in the present study mentioned, in regard to the question of job authority, that they had to overcome this "burden of proof" before they could gain authority (or additional authority) and influence.

3.2 Black Managers' Personal Attributes and Job Performance

3.2.1 Person-Role Fit

The black managers and bosses were asked to list the fundamental personal properties (talents, skills, knowledge, character traits and other qualities) that an individual in the particular black manager's position should possess. The respondents were also questioned on what characteristics the black manager seemed to possess and/or lack, and the possible reasons for any shortcomings. The black managers' evaluation of themselves in this regard produced significant material about their self-confidence and self-esteem. As a whole, both groups' replies were useful in highlighting role expectations pertaining to the black managers' positions. Table 9 presents the major categories that emerged.

TABLE 9 : Characteristics that an Individual in the Black Manager's Position Should Possess - Black Managers' and Bosses' Perceptions

Characteristics	Black Managers	Bosses
Human relations skills	31	26
Technical knowledge/academic base	12	10
Assertiveness	10	5
Self-confidence	6	3
Integrity	6	4
Patience	6	3
Helicopter perspective	6	1
Stress tolerance	7	7
Objective/impartial	6	-
Technical proficiency	6	8
Analytical abilities	5	11
Drive	5	4
Initiative	4	8
Good command of English	4	2
Dedicated to work	3	-
Good at decision-making	3	-
Intelligence	3	4
Insight	2	4
Time management	2	6
Administrative skills	2	4
Methodical worker	2	2
Planning and organizing skills	2	4
Supervisory skills	1	5
Sense of humour	-	3
Pleasant personality	1	4
Leadership skills	-	6
Literacy	-	2
Responsibility	-	3
NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	34	34

NOTE: Since the informants could provide more than one response, the categories are not mutually exclusive.

Fourteen of the 34 black managers (41,2%) declared that they did not lack any of the required qualities, skills and knowledge needed for their job. The characteristics most frequently mentioned as strengths were: human relations skills, technical know-how and integrity. The weaknesses cited by the 20 black managers who conceded that they had certain shortcomings, fell into three broad categories, namely:

- (i) Inadequate technical knowledge (n = 6);
- (ii) Social skills, such as poor persuasive and counselling skills (n = 8);
- (iii) Certain personal qualities (n = 12). These included impatience, overreacting when challenged as a black, insufficient self-confidence, temper tantrums, irrational thought processes and misinterpreting the motivations of colleagues.

A compelling admission by one of the black managers was that:

"I can't get over being black. It's my biggest drawback. I regard myself as a black first and as a manager second, and therefore the interests of the black workforce loom prominently in my thinking. Management believes that I must stay aloof from the workforce and support management - but I can't do this, no matter how high my position is."

It is important to note that the majority of the black managers (70%) who admitted to having weaknesses, regarded them as being induced by a hostile corporate environment. Those informants, for instance, who proposed that their persuasive skills should be improved, all contended that this was because white employees were very uncooperative and un-receptive towards them. Similarly, those subjects who maintained that they were not very patient, or lost their tempers, felt that these problems were provoked by their frustrating working conditions (for instance, in the form of troublesome clients or employees).

Against the backdrop of the bosses' list of the major qualities and skills that they believed their black subordinate should possess (outlined in Table 9), the majority of the bosses claimed that their subordinate

possessed the following characteristics: interpersonal sensitivity/human relations skills, sound technical knowledge, analytical and intellectual ability, and a pleasant personality.

Only five of the bosses (compared to 14 of the black managers), declared that their respective black junior possessed all the attributes necessary for their job. The remaining bosses cited a lengthy list of faults, the main ones of which are presented below, in descending rank order:

- Lacks initiative (n = 7)
- Poor management of time (n = 5)
- Inadequate leadership skills (n = 4)
- Not technically proficient (n = 4)
- Underdeveloped administrative skills (n = 3)
- Deficient analytical skills (n = 3)
- Poor planning and organizational skills (n = 3)
- A yes-man (not assertive) (n = 3)
- No drive (n = 3)
- Lacks self-confidence (n = 3)
- Reaction to stress not as good as could be (n = 2)
- No impact/not dynamic enough (n = 2)
- Insufficient experience (n = 2)

Of the 25 bosses who felt that their black subordinate lacked certain qualities, skills or knowledge necessary for his position, only three attributed such shortcomings to external, situational factors. One of these bosses suggested that his black subordinate's lack of assertiveness, drive and initiative was possibly the product, at least in part, of the black-white racial situation in South Africa. Not surprisingly, another boss proposed that his subordinate's enthusiasm and motivation probably had

been stifled because he had been in the same position for 17 years.

Overall, then, 88 percent (22 out of 25 bosses) ascribed their subordinates' weaknesses to internally-located criteria. That is, characteristics ultimately possessed by the black manager himself, namely:

- No experience (n = 7)*
- Cultural factors (n = 6)*
- Personality traits (n = 6)
- Educational deficits (n = 5)*
- Lack of ability (n = 2)

The bosses were more critical in evaluating the shortcomings of the black managers than the latter themselves. An important question is, of course, whether this is typical of bosses' versus subordinates' perceptions and not merely a black managerial phenomenon. Unfortunately, this point could not be answered in the present investigation.

In keeping with the fundamental "attribution error" (discussed in Chapter 4, Section 1.6), the black managers were inclined to ascribe their shortcomings to external, situational factors. By comparison, the white bosses tended to attribute the black manager's weaknesses to what they interpreted to be internally-located variables.

Considering the litany of complaints raised by many of the bosses *apropos* their black subordinates, it could be argued that in certain cases, the

* One may argue that the black managers' work experience, cultural heritage, and educational level were the product of structural or situational conditions in the South African environment. However, in the final analysis, the bosses seemed to regard such deficits as internal attributes of their respective black subordinates, and glossed over the environmental circumstances that possibly induced these shortcomings.

vicious circle of self-fulfilling prophesy (as discussed in Chapter 2, Section 3.1.2 on management attitudes), was in evidence. As Livingston (1969) maintains, in the world of management the way bosses treat their subordinates is subtly influenced by what they expect of them. If the bosses' expectations are high, performance is likely to be good, and *vice versa*. This led Livingston (1969:82) to propose that: "What a manager expects of his subordinates and the way he treats them largely determine their performance and career progress". Livingston suggests that if a boss believes that his subordinate will perform badly, it is invariably impossible for him to hide such expectations since the message is generally communicated without conscious action on his part.

"What seems to be critical in the communication of expectations is not what the boss says so much as the *way he behaves*. Indifferent and non-committal treatment, more often than not, is the kind of treatment that communicates low expectations and leads to poor performance" (Livingston, 1969: 84).

A further important point is that an employee may possess the qualities, skills, knowledge and motivation to satisfy his job requirements. Nevertheless, he may be seen to lack them if his perceptions of the types of role behaviours and activities required of him, differ substantially from his senior's role expectations (Hofmeyr, 1982). Hence, some black managers in this study possibly lacked accurate "how to do it" perceptions to indicate how they should convert their energies into the attributes and performance desired by their boss (Orpen, 1976). Thus, supervisors should articulate their implicit role expectations of their black subordinates, who can then endeavour to meet them. This is particularly required when the black managers have no black precedent, since role expectations of the black incumbent may then be ill-defined or based on "white" standards that need revision.

Obviously, however, the bosses' appraisal of their black subordinate may have been impaired by racial prejudices, ethnocentrism, stereotypes, the "halo effect", cognitive selectivity and other confounding factors (see Chapter 4, Section 1.5 for a discussion on factors distorting perception).

3.2.2 Self-Confidence

All the black managers maintained that they had confidence in themselves job-wise, whereas four-fifths (79,4%) of the bosses felt that their black subordinate possessed self-confidence in this regard. One boss wryly commented that "X possesses an almost false confidence. He gives off the impression that everything is dead easy".

The remaining seven bosses either felt that their black subordinate lacked confidence ($n = 2$), or that he possessed self-confidence in some areas, but not in others ($n = 5$). One of the bosses who felt that his black subordinate lacked self-confidence, suggested that this was because he realized that he was being watched under a "magnifying glass" - "I think this worries him and has undermined his confidence".

It is notable that four-fifths of the black manager-boss dyads agreed with one another that the black manager had self-confidence. A possible reason for this high level of perceptual congruency is that self-confidence is a trait that a manager should possess. Thus, by implication, the black subjects must have been seen to possess this attribute before they were promoted to a managerial position.

3.2.3 Job Performance

Closely related to the foregoing discussion on required job attributes, was the question of the black managers' job performance. The responses of the black informants, along with those of the bosses, are presented below.

TABLE 10 : The Black Manager's Job Performance, as Perceived by the Black Managers and Bosses

Job Performance	Black Managers	Bosses	Intra-Dyad Agreements
Below average	-	7	-
Satisfactory	7	13	2
Good	26	5	4
Above average	1	9	1
TOTAL	34	34	7

Table 10 reveals that the black managers all viewed their own job performance in a positive light, with almost four-fifths rating their performance as good or above average. By contrast, only about two-fifths of the bosses perceived their black subordinate's performance in this light.

Interestingly, those black managers who assessed their performance as merely satisfactory, revealed that this was because they were still relatively new in their job and "learning the ropes".

It was frequently noted by the black managers that they had to work to gain credibility as a black, and to ensure that they did not let other blacks down. For example, one of these interviewees remarked that:

"I do more than is expected of me because I'm aware of my responsibilities. I wouldn't like to fail because I would then be failing my people by reinforcing negative white stereotypes about blacks."

Several black managers remarked that they were better qualified and more experienced than their white colleague. A few also complained that although their performance was good, they had not been allowed to prove their worth. Instead, they were kept on "safe", routine assignments. This was also noted by Wella (1983) in her investigation on black managers in South Africa.

Anger and resentment was expressed, at times, over the extra and sometimes excessive energy that had to be used to get simple tasks done when interacting with whites. Dickens and Dickens (1982) also reported that American blacks felt this way. They noted that:

"The anger gets intensified when blacks stop to think about how whites operate with each other in relation to how they operate with blacks." (p.92).

Turning to the bosses' evaluation of their black subordinate's job performance, it is noteworthy that only about a fifth of these 34 subjects argued that their black subordinate's performance was below average. (This contrasts with the literature discussed in Chapter 3, Section 1, which documents

widespread dissatisfaction, among South African businessmen, with what has been alleged to be the disappointing job performance of blacks at managerial levels.) Complaints by the dissatisfied bosses related to their subordinate's lack of certain fundamental managerial qualities and skills, such as initiative, assertiveness, drive and administrative skills. For example, one boss commented that:

"I would like X to have more drive. He should be more assertive. He is also a bit slow, withdrawn and apathetic."

Another boss grumbled that:

"X does not respond to my prompting and pushing. I've really tried to motivate him. I'm disappointed in his performance because I feel that he is letting me down particularly as I get assessed partly on how he performs. As a result, a small degree of misapprehension and wariness has crept into the relationship."

Only one of these bosses attributed his black subordinate's underperformance to the socio-political conditions in South Africa (as opposed to cultural, educational or personality factors). He stated that:

"X's performance is below average because he's living a schizophrenic existence. He's treated as an equal to the whites here at work. People hang onto his words because he's useful, but outside he's a second class citizen. He's lacking quite a bit of confidence because industry is a different environment that he has to get used to."

One of the bosses who was satisfied with his black subordinate, explained that:

"X spent eight or nine years studying and working in the U.K. His family lives overseas. He is very westernized and living overseas has given him the ability to make full use of his technical qualifications because of the way of life he has been exposed to. Had he remained in South Africa, he wouldn't be so productive because he wouldn't have the same ability to communicate, mix, and talk with whites. His experience is rare in South Africa. He is a good example of a black who has made it in a middle management position."

It could be argued that if the structures of apartheid were dismantled in this country, thereby allowing blacks to be exposed to mainstream society (rather than being kept on the periphery thereof), then more black managers would "make it" in middle management positions as had subject X described above.

Other positive comments volunteered by various bosses included:

- Has particular expertise because of specific insights he holds as a black on black issues (n = 5)
- Does more than is expected of an individual in the job (n = 2)
- The best black graduate in the company. He is versatile and has the potential to run the department ultimately (n = 2)
- Has phenomenal ability. The brightest prospect in terms of blacks and whites in the company (n = 1).

In conclusion, a finding of considerable importance is that there was a very low level of interpersonal perceptual agreement between each black manager and their respective senior concerning the appraisal of the former's job performance. That is, only approximately a fifth (20,6%) of the black manager-boss dyads possessed the same perceptions on the issue. As a whole, there seemed to be a tendency for the majority of the bosses to rate their particular black subordinate's performance slightly lower than the black manager himself did. Such perceptual disparities probably reflect the different criteria used by the two parties in appraising the black manager's job performance. As one of the black informants remarked: "Whites judge blacks by what they (the blacks) have already done. Blacks judge themselves by what they are capable of doing, but haven't been given the chance to do."

3.3 Selected Job Attitudes

3.3.1 Job Satisfaction

The black managers' and bosses' responses to the question of whether or

not the black informant was satisfied with his job, are listed in Table 11.

TABLE 11 : Black Manager's Job Satisfaction, as Reported by the Black Managers and Bosses

Job Satisfaction	Black Managers	Bosses	Intra-Dyad Agreements
Satisfied	18	18	10
Reasonably satisfied	8	13	2
Ambivalent	1	-	-
Dissatisfied	7	2	1
Don't know	-	1	-
TOTAL	34	34	13

As Table 11 indicates, just over half of the black managers (52,9%) maintained that they were satisfied with their job. The majority of comments offered indicated that their job fulfilled their higher-order needs for self-actualization, achievement and challenges. More specifically, five of the black subjects felt that they were making a worthwhile contribution to the interests and aspirations of the black workforce. A further six (17,6%) pointed out that their job offered growth, self-fulfillment and stimulation. Typical comments in this regard, were: "job has responsibility and decision-making powers"; "calls for creativity and initiative"; "involves the challenge of working with different racial groups".

Approximately a quarter (23,5%) were only "reasonably" satisfied with their job. Remarks included:

- Would like to have more responsibility, authority and a say in own career development (n = 1)
- Restrained by white attitudes and perceptions (n = 1)
- The situation in South Africa prevents him from making the contribution and impact he would like to make. He has also gone as far as he can in his field and therefore must make a lateral move, or change his career to gain fulfillment and challenges (n = 1).

One black manager who had "mixed feelings" about his job, complained that:

"I'm satisfied with the technical aspects of my job, but very unhappy about the human relations aspect. When white employees impede my progress, management comes in as a neutralizing agent rather than as a corrective body, because the company is white-orientated."

One fifth (seven out of 34) of the black managers were dissatisfied with their jobs. Reasons for this were:

- Because overqualified and underutilized in his job (n = 5)
- Unhappy about getting a trainee's salary for doing managerial work (n = 1)
- Black workers accuse him of accepting bribes and some are difficult to deal with (n = 1)

Turning to the bosses' evaluation of their respective black subordinate's job satisfaction, it is noteworthy that whereas 18 bosses suggested that the black manager was satisfied, only 10 of these bosses' metaperspectives were accurate.

The comments of the 10 bosses who felt that their black subordinate was dissatisfied with his job, included the following:

- X would like to be at a higher level (n = 4)
- Feels his job is too mundane - would like to have more responsibility (n = 3)
- Feels bypassed; that he is not accorded the level of recognition he deserves (n = 3)

It is interesting that, despite the bosses' apparent confidence that they knew how satisfied their black subordinate was with his job, three-fifths (that is, the majority of the sample) possessed incorrect metaperspectives on the issue. As pointed out in Chapter 4, Section 2, the existence of substantial discrepancies in the perceptions by one hierarchical group

of the attitudes of another, have been well documented (Kahn, 1958; Stouffer *et al.*, 1949; Tannenbaum, 1966). One possible reason for such perceptual disparities is that persons in different hierarchical positions have different sources of information and vantage points from which to view and interpret organizational events. Moreover, their immediate social and psychological environments are strikingly and systematically different. Tannenbaum (1966) argues that, for example, senior executives may feel relatively little dissatisfaction regarding job authority, self-esteem and self-actualization. Consequently, they may incorrectly assume that others lower down the corporate ladder also feel this way.

3.3.2 Ideal Job

The black managers' answers to the question "What would be the characteristics of your ideal job?", were most revealing in that they highlighted, *inter alia*, their aspirations and needs. There was wide range of answers that were not mutually exclusive. The following list comprises the most frequently mentioned characteristics:

- Ideal job would be in the same field as his present job, but at a higher level (n = 13)
- The job would extend him; be full of action, meaning and challenges (n = 9)
- Would have authority to make final decisions (n = 5)
- Would be self-employed (n = 4)
- Present field he's in, is his ideal (n = 3)
- Present job, is his ideal (n = 2)

A number of the subjects mentioned the ideal of work relations untainted by the racial problems that permeate South African society. For instance, desires for credibility amongst people of all races, and being trusted by one's seniors, were mentioned. One black manager revealed that in his ideal job, "Social relationships with my white work colleagues would extend

beyond the job". Two black managers wanted jobs that would promote their dignity. Another subject, who had a science degree, maintained that his ideal job would have been that of an engineer or astronaut. Yet as he pointed out: "Being a black man in South Africa poses limitations on one's career choices which are governed by colour, so I couldn't pursue these occupations".

3.3.3 Desire to Continue Working Even if Financially Unnecessary

All the subjects stated that they would go on working even if they had enough money not to work. This was because they generally seemed to feel that work was vital for mental health, stimulation and growth. In addition, it was seen to be an intrinsic aspect of their life.

However, most of the black managers proposed that they would branch into an area unrelated to their current field. About two-fifths (41,2%) of the informants claimed that they would open their own business (such as a consulting company in their area of specialization, a retail store or a grocery shop). Others thought that they would lecture at a university (n = 3), farm (n = 2), or make lateral moves into other functional domains in industry (n = 4).

3.4 Career Development

As Hall and Albrecht (1979) note, the problems of promotion, advancement and mobility constitute part of the larger issue of career development. The latter represents ".... the process of achieving one's vocational potential - to choose, to grow, to become involved and to perform" (Hall and Albrecht, 1979:118). The subjects were asked a number of questions which all related to general career development issues concerning the black manager (such as their career path satisfaction, whether or not they deserved a promotion, the positions in which they expected to be in future years, and the like). The attitudes and perceptions of the black managers and bosses on these topics will be discussed below.

3.4.1 Career Path Satisfaction

Over half of the black managers (52,9%) were satisfied with the course that their career path had taken so far. Reasons for this included the following:

- Achieving what he set out to do (n = 4)
- Better than the course he had originally envisaged (n = 3)
- Feels that he is advancing and is optimistic about the future (n = 3)
- Surprised and pleased that he has been promoted in a short period of time (n = 2)

Five of the black managers (14,7%) were only 'reasonably satisfied' with their career tracks, while the remaining one-third were dissatisfied with their career development. Both sets of these informants attributed this state of affairs to external criteria, such as the socio-political system, poor in-company training and racial discrimination.

One of the subjects who remarked that his organization had never plotted out his anticipated career path, interpreted this as a deliberate management strategy "... so that they (management) can't be accused of not adhering to an advancement plan when I don't get upgraded". Several black managers also bitterly noted that they, unlike their white counterparts, could not readily be transferred or freely seek a new job in another city. That is, the Group Areas Act and similar legislation served to provide a plethora of "red-tape" which inhibited their geographical mobility. Thus it is apparent that many of the black managers felt that their career development had been (or was being) curtailed by extrinsic, situational conditions in the form of socio-political factors and white racism.

The bosses typically felt that any career path dissatisfaction on the part of their particular black subordinate was of the black individual's own making (for example, a lack of drive could result in stunted career development and, therefore, lead to career-related dissatisfaction).

More specifically, however, over half of the bosses (52,9%) in fact, claimed that their respective black junior seemed to be satisfied with his career path. The distribution of responses of the remaining informants were:

- Reasonably satisfied (n = 8)
- Dissatisfied (n = 6)
- Don't know (n = 2)

Reasons offered by those bosses who assessed their subordinate as being satisfied or reasonably satisfied with his career path were:

- Has done well in comparison to most blacks (n = 6)
- Indicated by the black manager's behaviour (n = 5)
- He has progressed in his job (n = 5)
- Has told his boss this (n = 4)

In the final analysis, almost half of the bosses (47,1%) possessed accurate metaperspectives concerning their black subordinate's career path satisfaction, with 11 bosses correctly assessing their junior as being satisfied, and five rightly judging them to be dissatisfied.

3.4.2 Job Progress

Close to half (47,1%) of the 34 black managers contended that their job progress had been too slow. Studies by Gathercole (1981), Mackay *et al.* (1980) and Wella (1983) on South African black managers, also noted this. Reasons for such tardiness were attributed, without exception, to external conditions and events beyond their control. In the main, white racial discrimination was once again perceived to be the primary impediment. A few subjects also revealed that their company had experienced a few disappointments with black employees in the past, and were now over-cautious in promoting blacks. The demotivating experience of having white peers promoted over their head, was frequently mentioned with bitterness and

anger. In all cases, the black informants believed that they had been bypassed because they were black. The following quotes illustrate the general sentiments and perceptions of those informants who had experienced minimal or no job advancement.

"I should have been in this position 15 years ago. The company is a white man's institution and a black man's interests come last. Therefore, whites with much lower qualifications than me have been promoted over me."

"Although I feel that I'm capable of a higher position, I'm made to feel inferior because I'm given basic, menial work to do. It's as if the company is trying to push me down to that level."

"I'm better qualified than my white counterparts, yet I have to perform better than them to advance, at a slower rate than them."

In view of these findings, the following point made by Marshall and Cooper (1976:22) is relevant:

"Management has always been a competitive career, and derives much of its attraction from this fact. But competition loses its appeal when there are few chances of winning."

Indeed, those subjects who could not foresee personal advancement in their company experienced considerable frustration and claimed that the blockage had a demoralizing and stultifying effect on their aspirations and drive. As compensation for these pressures, some of the subjects tended to pursue extra-organizational activities that offered them personal growth and satisfaction.

Several of the black managers also complained that they had initially been given menial tasks to perform. In some instances, the situation had gradually improved as the manager gained credibility. Within this context, companies should note that an important factor in organizational socialization is the establishment of the correct level of goals for initiates (Godsell, 1980). Van Maanen and Schein (1977:60) in fact reveal that:

".... one of the primary reasons for a new member's disillusionment.... is receiving, on entry, an assignment that is either too difficult or too easy."

Furthermore, Berlew and Hall (1966), as quoted by Godsell (1980:5), found that managers who were initially assigned demanding jobs performed better over several years, than their counterparts who were not presented with an initial challenge. The authors explained such results by proposing that feelings of success contingent upon meeting challenges result in the internalization of positive job attitudes and high standards.

Twelve of the 34 black managers (35,3%) felt that their progress had been satisfactory. Interestingly, two of these 12 individuals blamed themselves for not having progressed faster. The one subject noted that he had neglected his self-development work-wise and academically when he had joined an unsavoury circle of "drinking mates". However, he stated that "One day I turned over a new leaf and then things started happening". Likewise, the other black manager remarked that:

"It took too long for me to give it a go. Yesterday one couldn't get up as a black, but now there are more opportunities. Because there were no opportunities earlier on, I didn't try. But the moment I was made a supervisor about twelve to fourteen years ago, I realized that there was room for me to advance and that I could make it - so I started to polish myself up and I said to myself: "Come on boy, move it"."

Lastly, several subjects, in passing, complained that their company was not taking their career interests, expectations and needs into account through careful career planning and development. As Beaty (1983:148) warns, organizations who are guilty of this ".... run the risk of having human resources who are in positions where they feel underutilized, unchallenged, unproductive and uncommitted to corporate goals and purposes".

3.4.3 Job Prospects

The black managers were asked whether they were optimistic or pessimistic about their job prospects in their current employing organization. Over

half of the black managers (55,9%) were optimistic without reservations because opportunities for occupational advancement existed. The distribution of the remaining subjects' responses were as follows:

- In between; neither optimistic nor pessimistic (n = 9)
- Optimistic with reservations (n = 4)
- Sometimes optimistic, sometimes pessimistic (n = 1)
- Pessimistic (n = 1)

Reasons cited by the informants who felt neither optimistic nor pessimistic about their future job prospects were varied, such as:

- Waiting for a dead man's shoes (n = 2)
- Despite long company service, has received no promotion.
The company still seems to be uncertain about his abilities
(n = 2)
- Near retiring age (n = 1)

Those black managers who were optimistic, but with reservations, were waiting to see what would materialize.

In terms of Schein's (1971) conceptual scheme delineating an individual's possible career tracks within an organization (discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4), it appears that while some of the black managers had progressed upwards in their employing organization, very few had acquired a more central, influential role in the company. Since the majority of black managers were in black specialist positions with no line authority, some bitterly felt that they had been assigned to the "corporate ghettos". This, as Wella (1983) points out, can give the impression of parallel advancement and can raise suspicions in the minds of the black managers, as to their company's sincerity in trying to advance and develop black employees. Schein (1971:418) claims that such "parallel ladders" are typically evident in the case of "specialists", and that this movement ".... provides rank but often deprives the professional in industry of the kind of power and sense of influence which is associated with centrality".

In addition, a few black managers had made lateral moves without vertical progression. It is enlightening to consider Schein's (1971:418-419) observation that:

"Such circumferential or lateral movement is also a way in which organizations handle those whom they are unwilling to promote or get rid of. Thus they are transferred from one job to another, often with the polite fiction that the transfers constitute promotions of a sort."

One may conclude, then, that the black managers' career tracks were characterized by vertical or lateral mobility rather than by radial (or "inward") movements. Hence they were kept at the periphery of the organization as outsiders.

In many instances it seems that the black managers' loyalty and commitment to the organizations' objectives were questioned. In addition, as noted in Chapter 4, Section 4, there is evidence that leaders choose to promote the careers of subordinates who are perceived as being "socially similar" to them in terms of possessing congruent attitudes, values, beliefs and other relevant (but often unspecified) characteristics (Kanter, 1977; Moerdyk, 1983). Consequently, minority group organizational members may be seen to lack certain desirable qualities (Rosen and Jerdee, 1977; Vroom and Yetton, 1973). This probably accounts for why most of the black managers had failed to cross the inclusion boundaries operating within their white male-dominated employing firms.

3.4.4 Bosses' Perceptions of their Black Subordinate's Job Aspirations

It is revealing that approximately a fifth of the bosses (20,6%) felt that their black subordinates possessed very high, but unrealistic aspirations. Their remarks about this were as follows:

- True of many blacks. This creates tension because of thwarted expectations (n = 3)
- Seems to have the attitude that he's already "made it" and that things will automatically fall into his lap, so he's coasting now (n = 2)

- He may have hidden talents, but at the moment his capabilities will hold him back (n = 2)

Three bosses were not sure what their black junior's job aspirations could be because the black manager had not communicated his feelings on this issue. As one of these bosses professed:

"X is not very communicative. It's really difficult to talk to him. He'd get suspicious if I broached the subject of his career ambitions."

Another boss conceded that:

"I'm reluctant to ask him, because although the company policy is promotion on merit, I fear that despite the big noise that is being made, it is not sincere."

The remaining 24 bosses all felt that their black subordinate's aspirations were realistic.

3.4.5. Eligibility for Promotion

In regard to the question of whether or not the black manager deserved to be promoted, the majority (70,6%) of the black managers themselves declared that they should be advanced because their performance warranted it. By contrast, over three-quarters of the bosses (76,5%) maintained that their black subordinate was not ready for a promotion. Reasons cited for this included:

- Not performing at the level expected of him (n = 7)
- Needs to gain more experience (n = 5)
- Currently lacks the attributes that an employee at a higher job level, should possess (n = 4)
- Has not proved that he could handle such a job (n = 4)

Typical remarks by those black managers who claimed that they should be promoted were:

- Performance indicates that can handle increased responsibility and authority (n = 8)
- Underutilized in present position (n = 3)
- Possesses too much responsibility given his present job grade (n = 2)
- Doing the work of a manager, but getting a trainee's salary (n = 2)

The 10 subjects (29,4%) who maintained that they did not currently deserve a promotion cited as their reasons for this the fact that: they needed to consolidate their knowledge and skills and gain more experience (n = 4); they had just received a promotion (n = 4); it was difficult to be promoted since they had not been allowed to prove their worth (n = 2).

As mentioned in other contexts, there was a pervasive feeling among the black managers that they had to be "high-fliers". The belief, in this instance, was expressed in relation to promotion. Firms were seen to be more cautious in promoting black employees because they wanted to be sure that the blacks would succeed before promoting them. As noted in Chapter 3, Section 3.2 of this thesis, black managers in America have also claimed this. For instance, Fernandez (1975) reported that the black managers in his sample maintained that they had to be "superblacks" - highly over-qualified and achieving, before they were promoted. In the words of one of his informants:

"Most black executives are superblacks - mediocrity is the privilege of the white male." (Fernandez, 1975:89.)

In toto, just under two-fifths (38,2%) of the black manager-boss dyads agreed with one another on the issue of whether the black subject deserved a promotion. That is, 10 pairs maintained that a promotion was warranted, while three proposed that it was not. It was evident that substantially more

bosses than black managers rated the latter as not ready for a promotion.

In view of these findings, it is enlightening to consider Fernandez's (1975:215) suggestion that minorities such as blacks and women, most often hold jobs that fail to utilize their potential. This reflects a "double bind situation". Their bosses may be reluctant to promote them because they have not demonstrated the greater abilities needed for a more challenging job. Yet their present position does not require the manifestation of further capabilities.

Similarly, Tlhopane (1981) points out that a critical problem is the low expectations of white managers with respect to the ability of blacks to perform certain tasks.

"It is again a self-fulfilling prophesy - "after all he's Black and he can't make it". So the Black is kept at that level, is not promoted and he becomes frustrated. This type of situation is demoralizing and saps productivity." (p.75)

However, the possibility also exists that some black managers in the present study may have had unrealistic expectations of promotion, and overrated their capabilities because they were exceptions in the black community. By contrast, white managers (at all levels) are common in the white community. Moreover, Moerdyk (1983) contends that, because of the inadequacies of the black education system, the distribution of results is typically lower than that of the white schools. Consequently, intellectually superior black individuals may overestimate their ability when competing with whites. Feelings of disappointment and of discrimination may then result when they do not make the job progress they anticipated.

3.4.6 Predictions of Career Progress

Both the black managers and their respective white bosses were asked to predict the job position of the black manager in years to come. The informants gave specific job titles which were then classified by the researcher into broad managerial levels. The number of black

manager-boss dyad agreements are outlined below.

<u>Intra-Dyad Agreements</u>	
Position in: 5 years time	n = 23
10 years time	n = 13
15 years time	n = 18

Table 12 presents a break-down of the responses of the two groups.

TABLE 12 : Predictions by the Black Managers and Bosses of the Black Manager's Future Occupational Position

Occupational Position	Black Managers			Bosses		
	5 years	10 years	15 years	5 years	10 years	15 years
Junior management	8	2	2	11	6	4
Middle management	20	10	1	19	16	7
Senior management	4	15	20	2	9	17
Self-employed	2	4	7	0	0	0
Retired	0	1	2	1	1	2
Don't know	0	2	2	1	2	4
TOTAL	34	34	34	34	34	34

An overall evaluation of the black managers' and bosses' projections reveals that there was a noticeable (though slight) tendency for the bosses' expectations of the black managers' future career progress, to be lower than that which the black managers themselves envisaged. What is of interest is that none of the bosses realized that their black subordinate might want to open his own business.

The perceptual discrepancies in how the bosses and black managers foresaw the latter's career progression appears to have been due, at least to some extent, to differences in their personal predictions of future socio-political changes in South Africa. Many of the black managers assumed that by the year 2000, substantial political changes (such as the implementation of black majority rule) may have occurred. Hence, they believed

that a promising occupational future possibly lay ahead for them. Yet some black managers were less optimistic (or at least more cautious) in terms of their views of possible structural changes in the country.

Qualifying statements were:

"Unless there is a dramatic change in the South African political situation, I don't expect to go further."

"Besides my own merits, experience and performance, there are outside social and political influences that will play a crucial role in slowing down or speeding up my advancement."

The bosses generally seemed to base their evaluations on the assumption that the present inequitable political structure will have persisted. Nonetheless, several bosses added riders that, in the final analysis, it all depended on the pace of socio-political change in South Africa.

Comments included:

"It all depends on how he develops and on South Africa's economic market and political structure."

"I don't think he'll ever occupy my job unless for artificial, political reasons."

"He'll only be M.D. if the country goes to the blacks."

Interestingly, three bosses (but none of their subordinates) suggested that their black junior could possibly become a politician in the future.

Hence, as a whole, it appears that both the bosses and the black managers were acutely aware that political factors would be instrumental in determining the course of the black managers' career paths in the long-term.

3.4.7. Mentors

The black managers were asked whether they had a mentor. This was deemed an important question given the fact that studies have revealed that mentorship is a critical on-the-job training and development tool for successful

upward career progression in organizations (Hunt and Michael, 1983; Jennings, 1971; Levinson *et al.*, 1978; Mafuna, 1982; Roche, 1979; Shapiro *et al.*, 1978). For instance, Roche (1979) found that nearly two-thirds of the top executives in America that were included in his survey, had a mentor. Research studies show that mentorship is the most important element of the psychosocial development of men (Levinson *et al.*, 1978) and is an important device for influencing commitment and self-image (White, 1970). Hunt and Michael (1983:478) maintain that:

"Not only do these relationships help young professionals learn technical knowledge, but they also aid them in learning the organizational ropes, developing a sense of competence and effectiveness, and learning how to behave at successive management levels."

In the case of the black manager, Mafuna (1982:14) argues that a successful mentor "is neither a cheap liberal nor an affable paternalizer", but one who is concerned with the needs and development of subordinates.

Only a third of the black managers maintained that they had mentors. These were identified as:

- An immediate boss (n = 4)
- A white senior and his boss (n = 3)
- A white senior to his boss (n = 2)
- An older black colleague (n = 1)

A further five black managers stated that they used to have a mentor. These had been, in each case, a former white boss or white senior. Two of these five subjects commented, however, that they no longer needed a mentor anyway. As one of these black managers remarked:

"Right now, I've reached a stage where I have been 'weaned', so there is no need for a mentor. I've been lucky because I've had mentors who dealt with technical, social and emotional factors at a theoretical and practical level, and who helped me deal with situations outside the company as well."

Interestingly, this black manager was the only respondent in the sample who was in a senior management position. One could argue that the fact that he had had a series of mentors during the course of his career may have been a deciding factor in helping him to reach this level.

The fact that only one of the informants had a black mentor is a reflection of the obvious paucity of minority role models, sponsors, and mentors in traditionally white male-dominated managerial fields. Several of the black managers expressed their doubts as to how useful a mentor would be - primarily because, as in the words of one of the subjects, "I've never seen some in operation - I've only heard about people having mentors". It was also suggested that poor interracial conditions prevented blacks from acquiring white mentors. As one informant observed:

"Relationships between blacks and whites in South Africa are not really as open as that. There are a lot of whites you can trust, but it takes a long time before you can trust them."

One black manager cynically observed that:

"As soon as blacks leave this company for other organizations, they perform for the first time. This suggests that something is wrong with this company. I'm not just being 'black' in my thinking. No-one takes an interest in the well-being of senior blacks in this company."

In view of the abundant evidence of the important contributions of mentors to the career success of employees, it is disturbing that the majority of the black managers did not have one. Although it is possible to proceed upwards without a mentor, America and Anderson (1978) reveal that this kind of support is helpful in giving employees exposure and opportunities to reach senior management. Considering the numerous hurdles that the black managers have to surmount in the work environment, it may be argued that they particularly need mentors. In fact, Nasser (1980a:12) proposed that the mentor process, combined with the pygmalion effect (positive expectations of the individual by significant others) "... may provide a major break-through in the development of black managers".

3.5.1 White Employee Reactions to the Black Managers

Table 13 presents the black managers' and bosses' perceptions of white employee reactions towards the black manager.

TABLE 13 : Reactions of White Employees Towards the Black Managers, as Perceived by the Black Managers and by the Bosses

Reactions	Black Managers	Bosses	Intra-Dyad Agreements
Well accepted	14	20	8
Relationship kept at superficial, contractual level	5	-	-
Mixed, from negative to positive	4	2	1
Accepted by the majority, though a few prejudiced whites resent him	2	7	-
Fine with colleagues; with others, reactions vary from negative to positive	5	-	-
Higher level whites are positive towards him; those in lower levels are negative	4	-	-
Resigned acceptance	-	2	-
Not well accepted	-	3	-
TOTAL	34	34	9

It is noteworthy that approximately two-fifths ($n = 14$) of the black managers felt that they were accepted by white employees. However, a typical rider added by the black managers is illustrated by the following quote:

".... but both the whites and myself are careful and diplomatic when dealing with one another. A strained atmosphere is created by the apartheid system in South Africa."

A further 15 of the 34 black managers reported that at least some of the whites reacted positively towards them. In all, none of the black respondents believed that all white employees held negative attitudes towards them, while three bosses categorically believed this to be the case.

In general, the black managers perceived negative white attitudes to be based largely on the fact that certain employees were threatened by them. Such feelings were buttressed by traditional racial prejudices. The lower level whites were, in the main, regarded as being the most directly threatened by the infiltration of blacks into an erstwhile white domain - and thus the least receptive to the black managers. As one respondent pointed out "The lower one goes down the line, the stiffer the relationship becomes". However, some informants noted that once the whites had worked with them, and got to know them, they gradually accepted them.

Other typical comments were:

"I've got a reasonable working relationship with the foremen now. Though, at first they were threatened by me and they wanted me to regard them as my seniors. They didn't want me to call them by their christian names or share their tea-cups."

"There's a degree of negativity - I'm often not included in social functions. It's a very superficial relationship. I'm regarded as a black man first and as a work colleague second. They only approach me when they want help with a black employee problem."

It was repeatedly raised by the black managers that failure of one black cast a stigma on all blacks. This problem has also been noted in the literature on American black managers (see, for instance, America and Anderson, 1978; Bramwell, 1972; Dickens and Dickens, 1982; Fernandez, 1975; Nason, 1972).

Several incidents of exclusion or rejection seemed to be interpreted by the black managers in a racial light rather than in personal terms. For instance, exclusion from some informal group discussions may merely have epitomized the rejection that every newcomer experiences when trying to break into a well-established group (Moerdyk, 1983). Similarly, *apropos* the perception of prejudices, Schlemmer and Wella (1979:6,7) argue that:

".... upper level management in general does not encourage actual involvement of junior executive employees in decision making. Hence what may be perceived by blacks as a problem of racial exclusion in fact may be a fairly typical characteristic of hierarchical corporate decision making."

One may conclude that, because of racism, blacks can sometimes be hypersensitive. As Campbell (1982), referring to the American experience notes, there exists the danger of interpreting any criticism as racism; of using racism as a defense mechanism. In the light of this, the personal experience described by Jones (1973), a black manager in a corporation in America, sums up what many of the black subjects seemed to feel. That is, Jones believed that many of his colleagues:

".... could not differentiate between objective ability and performance and subjective dislike for me, or discomfort with me. I was filling an unfamiliar, and therefore uncomfortable, "space" in relation to them. Even in retrospect, I cannot fully differentiate between the problems attributable to me as a person, to me as a manager, or to me as a Black man." (p.114).

Approximately three-fifths of the bosses (61,8%) as opposed to two-fifths (41,2%) of the black managers believed that the latter were accepted and liked by the white employees. The remaining bosses' assessments of white reactions reflected at least some awareness of the prevalence of negative attitudes. In terms of comments relating to reactions by whites that ranged from negative to positive responses, one boss admitted that:

"The relationship between X and myself is not good. X is scared of me and I don't know why. He doesn't trust me and we're not on the same wavelength, so there is a communication gap. X won't confide in me, so I can't help him."

Another boss admitted that there was tension between the black manager and those whites who were threatened by him. In fact, this particular black manager had been transferred to a "backroom" position that made him "harmless" because it was felt that he was too outspoken about racial issues, and could alienate the black workforce (who viewed him as their "Messiah").

Almost three-quarters (73,5%) of the white bosses and their respective black subordinates disagreed with one another in terms of their evaluation of the attitudes and reactions of white employees towards the black manager. Even when the responses of both groups of subjects were collapsed into

broader categories, intra-dyad perceptual agreements only rose from 26,5 percent to 35,3 percent. In effect, more white bosses than black managers believed that white reactions to the black manager were positive.

Such perceptual discrepancies reflected a marked cleavage in the way in which the black managers' interpersonal relations at work were viewed. Regardless of whose perceptions were closer to the "objective reality", the fact that the vast majority of the black managers and their respective bosses perceived the reactions of white employees towards the black manager in a different light to one another, is problematic. A provocative question that should be asked, is to what extent are the bosses and their subordinates aware of their differing perceptions in this regard? For instance, a boss may not realize that his instruction to his black subordinate to liaise with a white foreman without delay, could be perceived by the black manager as an insuperable task since he may view the foreman as uncooperative, and antagonistic towards him.

3.5.2 White Attitudes to Black Advancement

The subjects were also asked to evaluate the attitudes of whites in their company, to the upward job mobility of blacks. Only 12 of the 34 dyads (35,3%) held congruent perceptions on the issue of white attitudes. Notwithstanding this, nearly half of the black managers and about three-fifths of the bosses argued that attitudes ranged from acceptance to opposition to black job progression.

It was commonly felt by the black managers that, whereas top management accepted and encouraged black occupational mobility, the lower level whites (and often those in junior and middle management echelons) resisted such advancement, chiefly because of racial prejudice and job insecurity. In Chapter 3, Section 2 of this thesis, similar findings (reported by Gathercole, 1981; Mackay *et al.*, 1980; Mphahlele, 1981; and Wella, 1983), were noted.

The black managers suggested that those whites who were struggling work-wise, feared that "advancement" meant "replacement", "reverse discrimination"

and the "black peril". Shop-floor whites were also seen to be worried that the inclusion of blacks would result in a lowering of production standards, especially with respect to trades. (Watts (1980) also noted this in her study on white male attitudes to black job advancement.) It was further suggested by the black managers that several whites also seemed to fear that blacks would be considered for jobs before whites because they were "cheap labour".

Many of the black managers complained that top management was at fault because it had not "sold" or explained the issue to whites "down the line" to reassure them that their apprehensions were unfounded, and to obtain their commitment and cooperation. Accordingly, it was noted that whites were often reluctant to train blacks or to impart knowledge because they wanted to maintain a competitive edge over black employees.

In view of the informants' perceptions on the matter, Fernandez's report (1975) on resistance to black occupational mobility in American organizations, should be borne in mind. A consistent theme that emerged throughout responses from both black and white managers in Fernandez's sample was as follows: As blacks move up the occupational ladder and begin to compete with whites, the resistance at the middle and upper levels increases because of the threat posed by blacks to white positions. Fernandez (*op. cit.*) quotes one white manager as commenting that:

"When a minority gets more power to make decisions, upper level managers get uptight. They believe in affirmative action until it begins to affect them."
(p.49)

Indeed, as pointed out in Chapter 2, Section 3.1.3.4, such a white backlash at higher levels of the organizational hierarchy may arise in South Africa as more blacks infiltrate the management arena (Chalmers, 1983; De Vries, 1978; *Financial Mail*, 24 July, 1981:417). As Moskal (1976:41) observed, "Power is the ultimate question; white people don't want to share that power".

3.6 Perceptions of Black Attitudes Towards the Black Managers

3.6.1 Attitudes of Black Employees

Since most black managers were in positions dealing with black issues and, more specifically, with black employees, the black subjects' relationship with the black workforce was explored.

About three-fifths of the black managers and seven-tenths of the bosses believed that the black manager had a good relationship with other blacks in the firm. In all, however, only 44,1 percent of the dyads possessed congruent perceptions on the issue.

The majority of the 34 black managers (58,8%) believed that blacks, particularly at the lower levels, admired and respected them for being "pioneers", and often approached them for advice. There was also the feeling that most of the black employees were inspired by them.

The remaining black managers perceived their relationship with black employers in a less positive light. The difficulties lay with the black workers at lower levels. It was generally felt that the relationship varied, with some black workers accepting them fully, while others did not trust them and regarded them as "Uncle Toms", "white blacks", "sellouts" and "traitors". Typical comments were:

"Some regard me as a white black and others feel that for any black to be in a senior position, something must be wrong - so they're suspicious of me and perhaps also resent my success."

"When the black workforce is happy about company policies, I'm the black-eyed boy. But when they consider a decision as unfavourable, I'm seen as the "devil" who made the decision. It really upsets me when I'm accused of this even though I know it's because of ignorance on their part."

It appears that, in many cases, the black workers' attitudes towards the black managers were intense, volatile and ambivalent, fluctuating according to the situation at hand and in terms of the role that the black manager was seen to play in it.

The rift between the "old school" of traditional, rural-orientated blacks and the younger, educated township blacks was also evident. One young black manager disclosed that the older black workers with long company service felt that he was big-headed because he had been given a company house for which they themselves were not eligible. They believed that he did not deserve this fringe benefit because he was so young. Nonetheless, this black manager added that their attitude "doesn't worry me at all". As an aside, this black manager was, in fact, stabbed a few months later (though not fatally). It was thought that the attack had been motivated by antagonistic, jealous black workers from his company.

This example once again illuminates the fact that the older, poorly educated black workers did not fully comprehend, or alternatively, accept the *modus operandi* of western-orientated industrial enterprises where rewards and remuneration are based on "meritocracy" rather than on job tenure.

A noteworthy point is that although 61,8 percent of the black managers maintained that their relationship with black employees was "good" or that they were well-accepted, exactly half of the sample later admitted that they felt that the black employees regarded them as a "white man's mouth-piece". This inconsistency in responses could be due to the fact that some of the black managers felt that although they were regarded in this light, their overall relationship with the black workforce was still "good".

Those who maintained that they were not perceived as an "Uncle Tom" fell into two categories. Firstly, some black managers in staff positions argued that they possessed credibility in the eyes of the black employees. Secondly, there were black line managers who contended that the nature of their job did not place them in this position.

Typical quotes reflecting the experiences of black managers who believed that they were perceived as stooges were:

"Some accuse me of being a whitey. At times they're suspicious of me and disappointed in me because they expect me to produce tangible influences in the familial, political, educational and economic spheres. But when the chips are down they ask me for advice."

"When I started here, the black workers wanted me to be their mouthpiece, even though they had their own representative. I thought this was unfair, so I shifted them away from this idea. I'm now viewed as being on management's side and I've lost part of their friendship. But I have to accept that when one has responsibility, this happens."

An interesting point is that an employee who has risen through the ranks to a managerial position, can be expected to think and feel like a manager and no longer like a worker (following Berger, 1963). This would be even more so with black managers who have not come from the ranks. However, it seems that the black workers did not expect the black managers to think this way. This reflected, at least in part, the naiveté of the black labourers about the nature of industry, characterized as it is by hierarchical structures and conflicting interests. It also probably revealed the black workers' perception of a need for black unity, regardless of status.

Many of the black managers actually accepted their invidious position philosophically by pointing out that it happens in all industries and that it was an "occupational hazard" that they had to live with and come to terms with. Moreover, most of the black managers seemed to empathize with the black workers' perceptions of them, admitting that if they were in these employees' shoes, they too would feel the way they did. Yet a few black managers adopted a harder approach and claimed that it was the incompetent blacks who were jealous of their achievements, that accused them of being sellouts. Alternatively, some interpreted such accusations as reflecting the black employees' ignorance of the workings of industry.

While half the black managers believed that the black employees saw them as white men's mouthpieces, only a third of the bosses thought this as well. Altogether there was perceptual agreement with 15 of the 34 (44,1%) black manager-boss dyads. Most of these pairs agreed that the black manager was not regarded as a stooge.

A possible reason for the intra-dyad perceptual discrepancies was that the white bosses did not deal with the black workforce directly (as many of the black managers did) and so were "out of touch" with the blacks' perceptions of, and reactions towards, the black managers.

3.6.2 Community Relations: Black Managers and the Black Community

Turning to the black managers' community relations, it is useful to take heed of the assertion of Beckett (1981:10) that "... a very large proportion of the so-called 'black community' looks on the black managers with around the same degree of affection as a mielie farmer looks on a swarm of locusts". Such negative feelings are a product of the community's belief that the black managers have been co-opted by the white sector and have forgotten the black struggle for liberation from the white racist regime. In view of this, the black managers were questioned whether they were regarded as community leaders as a result of the job they held.

Interestingly, just over half of the black managers (58,8%) believed that they were regarded as community leaders. Many of the black managers were active in welfare work, school committees, church, sports clubs and youth organizations. Other comments supporting their contention that they were viewed as leaders were:

- Asked for advice (n = 9)
- The community is proud of him and respects him (n = 7)

One of these black managers explained that:

"I help all the township. Even the minister wants me to assist with funeral arrangements. They pick my brains. The neighbours nickname me the 'Good Samaritan'. If I ever say 'no' when asked for advice, people get so 'het-up' - so I'm afraid to say no. I feel that I'm committing myself to too much. I have no time to myself. I'd love to find some escape. The problem is I'm just a very helpful character."

Another informant grumbled that the community had unreasonable expectations of him now that he was regarded as a member of the black middle class. He added that:

"I find myself in the limelight. It makes me feel terribly cramped. I have to be careful of what I do because of my position. I bought a BMW and this pushed me up into another bracket in the eyes of the community. I'm fed-up with the car and I want to buy a Golf - but I'm expected to keep up the image that the blacks have created of me."

However, the remaining 13 (or 38,2%) black managers felt that they were not regarded as community leaders. Comments included:

- Few people know about his job; keeps a low profile (n = 9)
- Do not get very involved in community affairs (n = 4)

Those black managers who kept a "low profile" pointed out that they were careful not to flaunt their affluence. One reason for this was security considerations. That is, exhibiting their achievements could be construed as wealth, and this could invite the unwanted attention of burglars and muggers. Another reason was that being perceived as a middle-class manager was often interpreted by the black community as a desertion of the "black cause", and this subjected them to abusive remarks and ostracism. One black manager explained that: "Even if you have a nice house and a flashy car, you keep as silent as you can about your success. In fact, it's essential if you want a quiet life". Notwithstanding this, however, it was mentioned that there was a lot of hypocrisy in that those individuals who vehemently accused the managers of "living like whites" would jump at occupying their job if they were given the opportunity to do so.

Two informants pointed out that the rank and file view Inkatha* people as leaders, and that they were not members of this organization. As one of these subjects remarked:

"Leadership depends on what you do for the community. A good position in a company does not automatically give you leadership in the community. Some see me as a black who has "made it" while younger blacks often see me as a black who has made it at the expense of his people."

Several black managers professed that they did not participate in the politics of the community, which was largely the domain of the militant,

* Inkatha is a Zulu "cultural liberation movement" which is mainly, but not exclusively Zulu-based in terms of its support. Its leader is Chief M.G. Buthelezi. Followers seem to be drawn mainly from the less educated, rural Zulus, rather than from the urban black intelligentsia.

often younger blacks in the township. As one informant admitted, "I'm an armchair revolutionary". Another respondent professed that "I'd rather make a contribution to my people via non-political means". These stances are in keeping with the observation that the political behaviour of the upwardly mobile individual is marked by conservatism (Jackman, 1972; Lipset, 1959) or by withdrawal from the political order. Lipset (1959) suggests that this is possibly due to their exposure to politically relevant cross-pressures.

With respect to the bosses, 20 of these subjects (58,8%) thought that their black subordinate was regarded as a community leader. Twelve of the respective subordinates of these bosses also claimed this. Of the six bosses who argued that the black manager was not regarded as a community leader, four of their respective black subordinates also maintained this. Nine bosses were not sure how the black manager was received in his community. Thus, 16 of the 34 black manager-boss dyads (47,1%) held congruent perceptions of the black manager's role in his community.

The fact that the majority of the bosses held perceptions different from the black subordinates on this issue, highlights the fact the bosses knew very little about their black subordinate's personal life and extra-organizational activities. This can be expected to be so with many bosses and subordinates (regardless of racial differences). Yet the author feels that the situation was exacerbated in the case of the black managers and their white bosses - precisely because the apartheid system in South Africa, with its enforced social and residential racial segregation, militates against interracial interaction outside the work environment.

3.7 Nature of the Black Managers' Place of Residence

Marais (1978) makes the general observation that urbanization and increase in income often results in ethnic differences being replaced by class differentiation. Upwardly mobile individuals tend to move away from their original place of abode to residential areas where better housing, schools and other social facilities are available. However, the Group Areas Act prevents South African urban blacks from moving to more affluent areas as

- Role overload (n = 4)
- Role underload (n = 3)

While nine of the 34 black managers described problems relating to the black workforce, only one boss alluded to this. Examples given by the black managers in this respect were:

- Dealing with predominantly illiterate blacks who therefore do not understand commercial and industrial practices and policies (n = 4)
- Some blacks think that he is big-headed and don't like him (n = 2)

Furthermore, whereas six of the black managers complained that they had insufficient authority and responsibility in their job, none of the bosses saw this as a problem. In addition, five of the 34 black managers disclosed that lack of experience and inadequate theoretical or practical knowledge was a handicap, whereas once again none of the bosses mentioned this.

Extra-organizational problems noted by the bosses included domestic issues, financial problems, and not being able to get a telephone in the township. The extra-organizational factors listed by the black managers (n = 3), were of a different nature, namely:

- Cannot discuss business issues with family because they wouldn't understand them (n = 1)
- Housing shortage in the township and too late to get a company house (n = 1)
- Because of residential segregation of races, he does not have access to white gossip, which would be useful for his job (n = 1)

A noteworthy point is that six bosses (but none of the black subordinates) maintained that the black manager was afflicted with certain personal and

behavioural problems such as a drinking problem (n = 1); a "sleeping disease" - the tendency to fall asleep in meetings (n = 1); and an unsatisfactory way of dealing with whites (n = 4). Examples of the latter problem are highlighted by the following quotes:

"X tends to be a "ja baas"* to the white foremen, overseers and machinists, and then swings to the opposite extreme. This gets their backs up because he is not consistent in his approach towards them."

"He blanks out if a white line manager or supervisor becomes too assertive, rude or arrogant - he steps down."

"A real problem is his overdeference towards his senior white colleagues. He's almost awestruck by them. He still quakes in front of the Chairman and Chairman's secretary. It's because of historical reasons. When he was young the white man was in ascendance He took time to accept the relative informality of this fairly democratic company. But he is now modifying his behaviour for the better. He is less submissive."

The fact that none of the black managers acknowledged any internally-located problems such as those described above, points to the general tendency of the "actor" to attribute problems to external, situational factors, rather than to personal dispositions (Gathercole, 1981).

A worrying factor is that over four-fifths (82,4%) of the bosses held somewhat different perceptions from their respective black subordinate about the latter's work problems. This implies that the bosses lacked insight into the major work problems suffered by the black managers. The problems raised by the bosses admittedly could have represented actual problems experienced by the black managers. Yet the fact that there was such low intersubjective agreement within the black manager-boss dyads, implies that the bosses were not pinpointing the salient work problems of their particular subordinate. This state of affairs should be rectified, for it is possibly indicative of a lack of communication and rapport between both parties. As long as such a situation exists, the

* A "yes-man".

likelihood of job dissatisfaction, of feelings of being misunderstood (on the part of the black managers), of poor interpersonal relations and of other negative consequences at the individual, group, or organizational levels, prevails.

3.10 Discrimination

Related to the issue of work problems, was the question of whether the black manager was discriminated against at work. The perceptions of the black managers and white bosses on this matter, as well as the frequency of intra-dyad agreements, are listed below.

	<u>Black Managers</u>	<u>Bosses</u>	<u>Intra-Dyad Agreements</u>
Discriminated against (negatively)	20	11	8
Discriminated against (positively)	-	2	-
No discrimination	14	20	8
Don't know	-	1	-

It is evident that whereas more than half of the black managers (58,8%) argued that they were negatively discriminated against, only about a third of the bosses also perceived this to be the case.

The most frequently mentioned form of discrimination cited by the black managers was that their progress was being delayed or was non-existent because of racial discrimination. Besides the oft-mentioned grievance of watching their white counterparts being promoted before them, it was also held that certain positions were still reserved for whites only. In addition, two-fifths of the black managers who felt that they were discriminated against, maintained that it was social, in the form of subtle negative white attitudes and behaviour towards them. For example, one black manager explained that:

"At the Christmas party, and on my birthday they (departmental colleagues) shake my hand, but they kiss one another "Happy Birthday" or "Merry Christmas."

Unable to surmount long-held biases in the workplace, many black managers also felt that they were equally cut off from the social circles that revolve around every company. Even those who wanted to fraternize with fellow workers away from the office, complained that they were rarely included, even when this was possible. This negatively affected their daily relations with colleagues and kept them out of the old-boy network so useful for an individual's career.

Lastly, it is revealing that those 14 black managers who declared that they were not discriminated against, had all, with the exception of one individual, experienced considerable career progress. As one black manager admitted:

"I'm one of the lucky "muntus"*. I often forget that I'm black. But I still want to feel black at times."

In sum, then, over half of the black manager-boss dyads (52,9%) disagreed with one another on the issue of discrimination. More black managers than white bosses believed that, as blacks, they were negatively discriminated against.

3.11 Locus of Control

According to Rotter (1966), individuals differ consistently in their belief in internal versus external locus of control. The individual who perceives events around him as being the result of his own efforts, or within his power to alter, is said to have an internal locus of control. On the other hand, the externally oriented person regards events around him as being independent of his own actions, and controlled by external forces such as fate, chance, and powerful others.

In view of the work problems experienced by the black managers, they were asked to what extent they believed their lives were determined by their own actions, or by external circumstances, beyond personal control. The majority of the subjects (52,8%) claimed that their failures and successes

* A Zulu word meaning "man". It tends to be used in a somewhat derogatory way by whites when referring to black men.

were products of both their own doing as well as external factors beyond their control (such as racial factors). Only three subjects claimed that their lives were governed completely by external factors in the form of the repressive socio-political system in South Africa.

What is of interest, then, is that the majority of the black managers did not regard events around them as being completely shackled by political or racial factors in South Africa. This was possibly because they themselves had achieved their managerial status against environmental odds through their own efforts via ability, motivation, skills and experience.

Of those subjects who alluded to racial criteria as governing their existence, comments included:

"You can influence events, but the colour of your skin covers everything. It determines your job, salary, residence, and life chances."

"Jobs above me are for whites - so even if I try to develop and improve myself, outside factors will influence my promotional opportunities."

Riordan (1978) notes that individuals who are restricted by societal barriers and by limited access to opportunities (that is, the socially and economically disadvantaged), are characterized by expectations of greater external control affecting them. The converse appears to be more characteristic of socially advantaged persons (such as whites in South Africa). Obviously, the combined external/internal orientation of many of the black managers reflected a realistic appraisal of their circumstances.

3.12 Sense of Belonging

Since the black managers were often the only black in their department, or one of the few black managers in their company - what Jones (1973:109) described as being "a speck of pepper in a sea of salt" - the interviewees were asked whether the black managers felt that they belonged in their organization. The response frequencies of the black informants and white

bosses, as well as the number of intra-dyad agreements, are presented below:

	<u>Black Managers</u>	<u>Bosses</u>	<u>Dyad Agreements</u>
Belongs	17	26	14
Partially belongs	7	1	-
Does not belong	10	3	1
Don't know	-	4	-

As outlined above, over half of the white bosses (55,9%) held inaccurate metaperspectives. It is apparent that too many bosses categorically believed that their black subordinates possessed a "sense of belonging" when this was not the case.

Those black managers who felt that they belonged maintained that this was, for example, because they felt needed when included in decision-making and when asked for advice (n = 7); they believed that they were making a worthwhile contribution towards helping black employees, and that they were appreciated and valued (n = 3); or they believed that management had confidence in them (n = 2).

By contrast, those bosses who argued that their black subordinate felt he belonged offered reasons such as:

- Because of the way he talks and because of his attitude (n = 7)
- Because of the positive way in which he has been treated within the company (n = 3)
- Although he has had other job offers he has stayed on with the company (n = 1)

Comments volunteered by the 17 black managers who either felt that they partially belonged, or not at all, primarily indicated that they felt that they were "outsiders" who did not "fit" into the white corporate system. These black managers admitted that their experiences of social isolation and powerlessness at work, had alienated them from their employing organization.

In conclusion, the bosses generally assumed that their black subordinate felt he belonged when, in fact, only half of the black managers actually felt this way. Besides the reasons given by the bosses, as quoted above, another explanation as to why the bosses felt that their black subordinate belonged, was because they probably had a sense of belonging themselves. Therefore they possibly automatically assumed that their black junior would feel this way as well.

3.13 Changes Wrought by Job

3.13.1 Attitudinal Changes

Given the black managers' exposure to, and involvement in the erstwhile exclusively white managerial world, based on essentially secularized "western" philosophies, outlooks, and ways of life*, the informants were asked whether the black managers' attitudes, values, beliefs and lifestyle had changed as a result of their job.

In terms of attitudinal changes, the response frequencies of the white bosses and of the black managers themselves, along with the distribution of intra-dyad agreements, were as follows:

	<u>Black Managers</u>	<u>Bosses</u>	<u>Intra-Dyad Agreements</u>
Attitudes have changed	31	20	18
Remained the same	3	5	-
Don't know	-	9	-

As revealed by the figures above, over nine-tenths (91,2%) of the black managers, as opposed to 58,8 percent of the white bosses, believed that the black manager's attitudes had altered.

Most of the attitudinal modifications were perceived to be people-related. More specifically, comments provided by the black managers included:

* This in fact includes South-East Asian achievements (Allen, 1984).

general social skills and interpersonal sensitivity had been refined - for instance, in terms of gaining greater insight into, and understanding of both blacks and whites and of black/white relationships (n = 10); exposure to whites at senior company levels had taught them how to deal with and interact with whites more easily and with greater confidence (n = 5); their attitudes towards whites were now more moderate (n = 4). Typical quotes illustrating these attitudinal shifts were: "I realize that not all whites are inflexible and fit my stereotypes"; "I used to hate whites, but now I see people as people and not in terms of colour"; "I used to be militant, but now I'm more moderate, because exposure in my job to white colleagues has made me see things differently"; "I now realize that not all whites are bad".

Moving away from interpersonal attitudes, a fifth of the black managers indicated that they had acquired a stronger self-identity and an increased sense of self-worth, along with the qualities and attitudes necessary for a managerial position. Quotes illustrating this included: "I've learnt to accept negative feedback about myself and to give it to others"; "My job has given me self-respect and discipline"; "I've got more confidence and initiative to do things without being spoonfed".

Lastly, five of the black managers revealed that their job had helped them to acquire more "informed" attitudes towards the nature, demands and stresses of industry. One subject lamented that "Industry is not as nice as I thought because I now realize that I have to contend with factors outside my technical capacity - for example, interpersonal factors".

Some of the comments of those bosses who felt that their black subordinate's attitudes had changed, also alluded to behavioural modifications and the acquisition of business knowledge as a result of the black manager's exposure to the white-controlled corporate system. Remarks were as follows:

- Learnt about the realities of the business world and about the business ethic (n = 7)
- Can see both sides of the black-white issue now; understands management's viewpoint (n = 4)

- Social horizons have expanded; more open and receptive towards people and issues (n = 2)
- Feels more valued and accepted (n = 2)
- More confident and assertive, more aware of who he is and what he stands for (n = 1)

The lack of insight, however, on the part of some of the bosses on the issue of attitudinal changes, is epitomized by the following comment made by one of these informants:

"I don't know anything about X's attitudes or background. For all I know, he could have lived in a grass hut out in the sticks somewhere, just five years ago."

Obviously, such a dismissive, flippant attitude hardly constitutes a sound base for the establishment of an empathetic, warm and friendly relationship with the black manager. It is unfortunate that some black managers were placed by their company under seniors with this type of impersonal approach.

3.13.2 Changes in Values and Beliefs

Over half of the black managers (55,9%) maintained that their job had not changed their values and beliefs. About a third of the 34 bosses (n = 11) judged this to be the case as well. A further 10 black managers (29,4%) and 10 bosses claimed that certain values and beliefs of the black managers had altered. The remaining bosses (almost two-fifths, or 38,2%) admitted that they did not know whether or not their black subordinates' values and beliefs had changed.

Examples of changes cited by the black managers largely reflected the effects of modernization. The following responses illustrate this point:

- Now more polished and sophisticated (n = 3)
- Regards some Zulu beliefs (such as witchcraft) critically, but still values and believes in certain things, such as the ancestors (n = 2)

- Have tried to adopt the values, beliefs and ideas of educated, experienced white and black colleagues (n = 1)
- Would hate his children to work in industry because now realizes that the environment is not supportive towards blacks (n = 1)

Examples cited by the bosses all alluded to the fact that their subordinate's political values and beliefs had been tempered and influenced by exposure and experiences in industry, to the extent that they were now more "moderate" and impartial with respect to racial issues. Davis and Watson (1982) also reported this about black managers in America. They suggest that this perhaps indicates that it is hard to exist in the mainstream if one does not suppress militant values and beliefs.

Overall, almost four-fifths of the bosses (79,4%) possessed different perceptions from their black subordinate in regard to the question of whether the black manager's values and beliefs had changed. The frequency distribution of intra-dyad agreements was as follows:

- No changes taken place (n = 5)
- Changes have occurred (n = 2)

Perhaps it is not surprising that only seven black manager-boss pairs possessed congruent perceptions on this matter. That is, values and beliefs, as hypothetical constructs, cannot always be identified or reported readily and are open to wide variations in interpretation, depending on whether one is the "actor" or the "observer".

3.13.3 Changes in Lifestyle

Nearly all the black managers (85,3%) maintained that their lifestyle had altered as a result of their job. However, just over a quarter of these subjects pointed out that the modifications were small. The changes essentially entailed a higher standard of living.

Five of the black managers added that their lifestyle differed socially because they had broadened their contacts and now mixed with individuals of higher socio-economic status. Other typical comments were:

"I'm a little bourgeois in the way I live and do things and I want to give my children things I never had."

"I'm now a member of the "black middle class" which is determined on black standards. I'd like to be a middle class black which is based on world-wide criteria."

In all, over half of the bosses (55,9%) possessed accurate perceptions, all of them correctly stating that their black subordinate now enjoyed a more affluent lifestyle.

3.14 General Black Job Advancement Issues

The subjects' attitudes and perceptions of various matters relating to the occupational advancement of blacks, were explored. Topics that will be examined below include the issue of tokenism, management sincerity, the codes of conduct, reverse discrimination, the place of blacks in the industrial environment, cultural problems, and factors impeding the job progression of blacks.

3.14.1 Tokenism and Company Sincerity about Black Advancement

Half of the 34 black managers felt that there was cosmetic advancement of blacks in their employing organization. The rest of these informants argued that there was none. By contrast, almost four-fifths (79,4%) of the bosses claimed that there was no window-dressing. In all, about a third (32,4%) of the 34 dyads agreed that there was no tokenism, while one pair agreed that there was a little window-dressing in their company.

Two of the black managers angrily noted that they themselves were token blacks. They alleged that they had been placed in highly visible positions to be shown off to visiting dignitaries as "meeting and greeting" managers. An oft-quoted example of window-dressing in their firms was that blacks

were frequently given the title of "trainee manager", but with no job into which they could subsequently be placed. They were then kept in this capacity for years. Wella (1983) also noted this in her study on black managers.

It is evident from the comparative material on the question of window-dressing, that there was a marked discrepancy between the perceptions of the black managers and the white bosses on this issue - with the black managers being more inclined to interpret the company's "black advancement" attempts as tokenism. Regardless of whose perspectives were more accurate, companies should bear in mind the suggestion of Likert (1961:103) that:

"Each member of the organization should feel that the organization's objectives are of significance and that his own particular task contributes in an indispensable manner to the organization's achievement of its objectives. He should see his role as difficult, important and meaningful. This is necessary if the individual is to achieve and maintain a sense of personal worth and importance."

It is not surprising, in view of the above findings, that only approximately a third (32,4%) of the bosses possessed accurate metaperspectives in regard to whether their black subordinate felt that their company was sincerely trying to advance blacks. Whereas less than a quarter (23,5%) of the black managers categorically stated that their organization was genuinely attempting to upgrade black employees, about two-fifths (41,2%) of the bosses thought that their respective black subordinate felt this way. Overall, then, about three-quarters of the black managers expressed at least some doubts as to their company's sincerity and commitment to black job advancement.

A prominent theme that emerged during the discussion with the black managers was that senior management had not communicated the issue properly to middle and lower management. This point was also raised by these subjects when talking about white attitudes to black job advancement (Section 3.5.2 of this chapter). Thus, insufficient "spadework" had been done to ensure a supportive company climate conducive to black upward job mobility. This problem was also mentioned by black managers in studies by Gathercole (1981); Mackay *et al.* (1980) and Wella (1983).

Other typical comments by the black managers were:

"The company is advancing blacks because of overseas pressure and because of a shortage of skilled whites and not through moral reasons."

"It's taken more than 20 years for the company to get a handful of black managers, so I doubt its sincerity."

"The company is not approaching its black development programme with the business determination with which it approaches production."

The four black managers who believed that their organization was making a concerted effort to advance black employees, referred to their own experiences of support, career progress and equal employment opportunities as evidence of this.

3.14.2 Codes of Conduct

Given the sceptical attitudes of most of the black managers towards their company's sincerity in trying to upgrade black employees, it is not surprising that over four-fifths (85,3%) of these subjects asserted that the code of conduct to which their firm subscribed was either ineffective or not effective enough. In stark contrast, 70,6 percent of the bosses claimed that their company's code of employment practice was effective or reasonably effective.

There was a pervasive feeling on the part of the black managers that lip-service was being paid to the codes. This situation was exacerbated by the fact that companies did not face legal action if they failed to adhere closely to the requirements of the code. Thus, as in the case of the American situation before the implementation of "hard" forms of affirmative action, passive non-discrimination policies apparently only resulted in benign neutrality. Consequently, the effects of past discrimination were perpetuated. Furthermore, one black manager summarized many of the black managers' perceptions on the issue when he proposed that:

"The South African system and infrastructure is creating a very civilized form of subjugation and the codes are idealistic when you consider the broader socio-political conditions which make it hard to meet the codes."

By comparison, the bosses typically argued that the principles were being adhered to or that that company was actually going beyond the requirements of the code.

Considering the black manager-boss dyad comparisons, only four of the 34 pairs (11,8%) possessed congruent perceptions on the matter - these pairs agreeing with one another that the codes were either effective or reasonably effective.

Such intra-dyad perceptual discrepancies reflect deep-seated cleavages between the black managers' and bosses' perspectives about the sincerity and success of attempts by the organizations to introduce and ensure equal employment opportunities and conditions for all employees. Obviously, the two groups of informants were operating from very different vantage points. That is, on the one hand, the bosses were interpreting the situation from their privileged position as white managers in a white-dominated corporation which was allegedly attempting to advance black employees. On the other hand, black managers defined the situation from their out-group position and personal experiences as members of the "subordinate" black "target" group (in terms of being the recipients of "advancement" programmes).

As noted in the discussion on the codes of conduct in Chapter 2, Section 3.3, there appears to be a considerable gap, in the case of many companies, between acceptance of the principles of the codes, and their full implementation (Fine, Spamer and Associates, 1981). On a more general level, Hofmeyr (1982) and Nasser (1981b) were also quoted as arguing that a true commitment to black job advancement by organizations in South Africa, is often lacking. In the light of such reports, the writer suggests that many of the black managers' claims that the objectives of the codes were not being achieved, were possibly closer to the objective reality of the situation than the contention of most of the bosses that the requirements of the codes were being met, or even surpassed.

3.14.3 Reverse Discrimination

In view of the well-documented claims of reverse discrimination sparked in America by the implementation of affirmative action programmes, (see Chapter 3, Section 3.1 for a discussion thereof), the subjects were asked whether reverse discrimination was practised in their company.

Exactly half of the black manager-boss dyads were in accord with one another. The response frequencies of the informants, as well as the intra-dyad agreements, are outlined below.

	<u>Black Managers</u>	<u>Bosses</u>	<u>Intra-Dyad Agreements</u>
Reverse discrimination exists	2	15	1
Non-existent	32	19	16

As a group, more black managers than white bosses believed that reverse discrimination was not evident. This is probably because, as blacks, they felt that they themselves were not being favoured over their white counterparts. Their comments included:

- But whites and Asians fear that they will be swamped by blacks and lose their jobs. This is top management's fault for not explaining reasons for black advancement to these employees at lower levels (n = 10)
- Asians are preferred to blacks because the whites believe that they are better educated, more competent, and have a better command of the English language (n = 2)
- The company is trying to reduce this feeling by placing blacks in jobs on merit (n = 2)
- Reverse discrimination should occur since companies must really try to help blacks if they want advancement programmes to succeed (n = 1)
- Previously whites were favoured - now no-one is (n = 1)

Typical examples of reverse discrimination cited by those bosses who believed that this was occurring were that the company was more lenient with black employees, that blacks were given special training, and that they received loans for study purposes more easily than white counterparts. What these bosses failed to realize was that, as Blackmun (as quoted by Charney, 1982:15) argued: "In order to get beyond racism, we must first take account of race. And in order to treat some persons equally, we must treat them differently".

Two general explanations for the reverse discrimination belief held by whites and Asians can be put forward. Firstly, many companies utilized extensive public relations strategies in the field of equal opportunities, that created the impression that blacks were being given all the advantages while other racial groups were being neglected.

Secondly, any movement towards more equitable employment policies was viewed by many whites, who were accustomed to enjoying a privileged position, as giving blacks an unfair advantage over them.

3.14.4 Blacks' Participation and Place in the Economy

In responding to the question of whether blacks can meaningfully participate in South Africa's economy, the black managers' answers tended to reflect the feeling that socio-political constraints and educational deficits would have to be removed before "real" participation could take place. The following remarks illustrate general feelings on the issue.

"People don't have to be politically emancipated to participate economically, but to do so effectively and positively, they must be politically emancipated."

"In the present situation, it is very difficult for blacks to feel that they must contribute. They would probably rather see the economy collapse than flourish, because they don't achieve anything out of economic growth."

"Blacks do not have the South African economy at heart because they cannot support a system that they don't like."

"Blacks have the feeling that whites are always over them and blacks have to pay for their own education and stay in matchbox houses. Therefore they feel inferior and deprived."

It was also pointed out that to participate meaningfully, one must have a sense of belonging, pride and achievement, which was not experienced by the blacks.

Closely related to the question of black participation, was the inquiry as to whether blacks in general felt that they had a place in white-orientated industry, and whether they could identify with, and accept, the system. While half the black managers argued that blacks felt that they did not have a place, less than a third of the bosses claimed this. In all, 14 (41,2%) of the 34 dyads held similar perceptions on the issue.

Those bosses and black managers who posited that some blacks believed that they had a place, generally maintained that blacks in higher positions felt this way, while those at lower levels did not. It was also noted by several informants from both groups that older blacks accepted the *status quo* more readily than the younger generation who wanted to be advanced more rapidly, and who viewed their role in industry in cost-benefit terms.

Reasons given by those black managers who argued that blacks did not feel that they had a place, were:

- Because they are in frustrating, meaningless jobs with little chance of promotion (n = 8)
- Money is the incentive; they have no intrinsic interest in the company (n = 3)
- Because the firm is run exclusively by whites, blacks are never shareholders or part of the executive body (n = 3)

It was stressed by several black managers that a history of discrimination and impoverishment had instilled in the black workforce a deep resentment and suspicion of everything associated with whites, whether management,

The author found it interesting that just over a third of the black managers mentioned black attitudes and attributes as an inhibiting factor. The following quotes highlight typical examples cited:

"Many blacks have hang-ups - for example, they worry whether they will be accepted by whites at work and if they will be accepted by blacks back at home."

"Blacks often have negative preconceptions about their company."

"There is usually no black precedent for young blacks, so they view the company as the white man's domain. This represses their aspirations."

"As a group, we (blacks) are more accustomed to being managed than being managers."

A few of the black managers maintained that many blacks needed to develop a greater sense of responsibility, commitment and a determination to succeed.

The issue of socio-political obstacles is illustrated by the following two remarks:

"Apartheid stifles the mind because blacks can't discuss their work with anyone at home and therefore feel isolated."

"Black entrepreneurs are channelled into black fields or homelands, which militates against the real growth of entrepreneurs."

Overall, then, the four impeding factors mentioned with the greatest frequency by both the bosses and the black managers were:

- (i) Inadequate black education;
- (ii) Negative white attitudes and behaviour;
- (iii) The blacks' background;
- (iv) "Inappropriate" black attitudes, beliefs, values and conventions.

3.15 Additional Comments

3.15.1 Black Managers

At the end of each interview, the black managers were asked whether there were any further comments that they would like to make. This question yielded a wealth of informative ideas and recommendations related to black job advancement. It also, in many ways, provided a crystallization of the black managers' attitudes, and perceptions of themselves, of other employees and of the general black job mobility issue.

Remarks about black job advancement in companies in South Africa revealed that the subjects believed that the black man has to compete in a climate where the odds are stacked against his success because of racial discrimination and negative white expectations. It was widely felt that it was dangerous for companies to advance blacks for publicity purposes or just to meet quotas because black aspirations would be raised, and if not met, could lead to many grievances and frustrations. As one subject remarked:

"Companies must concentrate on fewer people who are made to succeed and they should have an actual programme to follow."

The need for support, encouragement and commitment from their bosses, colleagues and line management as a whole, was repeatedly stressed. It was also mentioned by many of the subjects that there should be more groundwork and preparation with respect to black advancement strategies, as well as tangible proof of attempts rather than mere tokenism and lip-service. It was further suggested that black advancement needs to be sold to whites at middle and lower management levels, so that they see it as security for the future of industry, rather than as a personal threat. The need for clearly defined work standards was also recommended by one black manager who stated that:

"People know and ensure that blacks' abilities, education and environment are not at a point where they can infiltrate areas traditionally set aside for whites. Very unrealistic, high standards are set for blacks. Management should involve blacks in the setting of performance objectives and standards

by which they are judged. Otherwise, after a period you get the feeling that you are not going anywhere because you don't understand white standards. If blacks can overcome this, they will then know what to do to achieve those standards."

An important point is that several bosses maintained (contrary to the black manager's claim quoted above), that performance standards were relaxed in the case of black managers because they could not possibly meet them initially.

The label and concept of "black advancement" was discussed by many of the black managers. It was suggested that companies should emphasize "black development" rather than black advancement since the former covers the broader issues of housing, education and so on. As one black manager argued:

"Industrialists say that these are the government's problems. But many blacks feel that there is no difference between industry, whites and the government. Therefore, for the codes of conduct and other programmes to succeed, all these factors must be taken into account."

Anxiety was also expressed that the term "black advancement" could result in a backlash from other racial groups who might feel that they are being overlooked. Thus it was suggested that companies should rather talk about "advancement for everyone". Yet one individual cynically contended that the catch-phrase "black advancement" should be replaced by a term that indicates that it is actually "black advancement without equal opportunities". He proposed that:

"Black advancement should be advancement according to merit. We would then find many blacks holding senior positions with whites as subordinates. But this doesn't exist, which shows that black advancement is not to the exclusion of political considerations."

The above remark, as well as other comments of the black managers, raised the point that moves by commerce and industry to develop black employees were still largely shackled by political thinking in South Africa. Some respondents admitted, however, that blacks sometimes tend to rely heavily on

the claim of racial discrimination and forget to look at their performance objectively to evaluate if they are doing their job competently. One subject asserted that:

"Blacks react negatively if they are told that they lack a sense of urgency, consistency, initiative and so on. Now I realize that some of these complaints are well-founded. Some blacks have been lax, apathetic and accept the *status quo*. Few really want to fight it meaningfully. Many are trying to fight vocally rather than in action by trying to prove their worth in industry and by trying to disprove stereotypes."

As a whole, then, the additional remarks volunteered by the black managers all alluded to the multitude of problems facing upwardly mobile blacks in industry. The overall picture that emerged was that black employees, as the out-group in white-controlled organizations, were faced with an unsupportive, unfriendly, work environment which had not been "prepared" by top management for the infiltration of blacks into traditionally white jobs and into higher-level positions.

3.15.2 Bosses

Further comments volunteered by the bosses covered a wide range of topics such as their black subordinate, blacks in general, the black job advancement issue, and white attitudes. Their remarks, as in the case of the black managers, highlighted their perceptions and attitudes towards the movement of blacks into higher level jobs.

Six bosses' comments concerned their impressions about the behaviours of black employees. Examples include:

"Blacks tend to be polarized into a "chip on the shoulder" victimized, oppressed group, or a sychophantic, submissive group, both of which impede their advancement. Plus, line supervisors say that blacks don't push and look for opportunities like whites do."

"Black supervisors are reluctant to take disciplinary actions against other blacks because they fear reprisals outside of their job."

It was also noted that blacks performed best in human relations-orientated jobs rather than in more technical positions. An additional point raised was that blacks should realize that although they may possess impressive qualifications, they are not entitled to a job with a higher rank unless they perform well.

Turning to organizational issues, five of the 34 bosses mentioned that certain personnel functions such as selection, recruitment, performance appraisals, and promotional systems pertaining to black managers, should be improved or changed by their company. For instance, it was suggested that companies need more blacks on panels recruiting senior level blacks. It was noted that many black managers had been picked because of a good academic record and because they came across well in the interview - only to reveal themselves as "deadwood" once they joined the company. Such unfavourable experiences were seen to ingrain and reaffirm white prejudices and stereotypes about blacks and thereby produce negative expectations about future black managers.

In regard to statements about black job advancement, the importance of having "the job done properly" was emphasized, rather than the colour of the job incumbent. A few bosses also proposed that companies which attempt to advance blacks quickly, run the risk of window-dressing. It was suggested that, rather than recruiting a lot of blacks at senior levels, and weeding out the bad ones, companies should adopt a tightly focused approach by recruiting less blacks, but making a determined effort to see that they succeed. That is, the black managers should be "hot-housed" and supported by their colleagues.

One boss contended that:

"The black advancement issue is facing a dilemma. On the one hand, blacks don't want affirmative action and special breaks. On the other hand, because of historical factors, white prejudices, and inferior black education, if given a "fair" break, whites will win indefinitely. Therefore, affirmative action is needed. But then whites complain of reverse discrimination and blacks feel that it's paternalism."

A pervasive feeling was that if blacks were promoted on merit, black advancement would succeed and generate the "right" type of managers. Interestingly, one boss questioned whether it was feasible for blacks "... to achieve in a few generations what took whites 2000 or more years to achieve". This view is often heard voiced in general social conversations by whites who ignore the fact that through socialization, each new individual acquires the ambient culture - he does not have to progress personally through the centuries of cultural development that lie behind the present.

In general, while many of the bosses expressed their disappointment in regard to the performance of blacks at higher levels within their organization, the vast majority held favourable attitudes towards their own black subordinate. Gathercole (1981) also reported this in her study on black managers in South Africa.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER

A broad overview of the interview material of the 34 black managers and their white bosses, reveals that:

Four factors emerged from the factor analysis of the black managers' biographical material. These were labelled "work experience", "quality of education", "career orientation" and "management status".

Three-quarters of the black managers were the first black incumbents to hold their positions - which were either newly created posts, or jobs that had previously been reserved for whites only. Two-thirds of the black managers were in staff positions rather than in a line capacity.

Whereas remuneration, fringe benefits and job responsibility were generally reasonable, the majority of the black managers claimed to have either limited or no job authority and influence. This state of affairs seemed to reflect an "interaction disability" commonly experienced by minority status individuals when interacting with members of the majority status in-group.

While all the black managers rated their job performance in a favourable light, a fifth of the bosses judged their black subordinate's performance to be below average. Nevertheless, it is encouraging that the majority of the bosses regarded their respective subordinate's job performance as at least satisfactory. However, in terms of a person-role fit, only five of the bosses as opposed to 14 of the 34 black managers claimed that the black manager possessed all the necessary attributes for his job. As predicted by attribution theory, the black managers (actors) generally ascribed their weaknesses to external, situational factors, whereas the bosses (observers) regarded their shortcomings as internally caused.

The black managers' career tracks were characterized by lateral or vertical movement, rather than by inward progression towards the power core of the organization. While the majority of the black managers believed that they deserved a promotion, over three-quarters of the bosses disagreed with them on this issue. The bosses' predictions of their respective black subordinate's occupational position in future years, were lower than those of the black individuals themselves. Given the evidence that mentorship can play a crucial role in the career success of an employee, it is disturbing that only a third of the black managers claimed to have mentors.

Turning to the issue of interpersonal relationships, the bosses viewed the black managers' relationship with white employees in a more positive light than the black managers did. Nonetheless, it was generally acknowledged that the black managers encountered racial prejudice and opposition, especially from those white and Asian employees in lower occupational positions.

Although the majority of the black managers and their respective bosses rated the formers' relationship with black employees as good, many nevertheless conceded that the black managers were regarded as sellouts and stooges. Feelings of being a middleman were pervasive among the black managers.

The most frequently mentioned form of discrimination alluded to by the black managers was lack of job progression. In terms of changes wrought by their job, alterations in lifestyle, attitudes, values and beliefs - reflecting a process of modernization - were common.

Considering general black job advancement issues, the majority of the black managers expressed varying degrees of doubt and scepticism about their employing organizations' sincerity in trying to advance black employees.

While most of the black managers asserted that the codes of conduct were ineffective or not effective enough in achieving their objectives, the majority of the bosses waxed loud about their merits. The polemical issue of reverse discrimination yielded predictable responses, with substantially more black managers than bosses contending that there was no preferential treatment for blacks. More bosses than black managers believed that cultural differences between blacks and whites generated work problems. The black managers typically perceived the problem to be one of white ethnocentrism. The chief obstacles to black job advancement cited by the black managers and bosses were: inadequate black education; negative attitudes and behaviour of whites; and the blacks' background, attitudes, values, beliefs and *modus operandi*, which prevented them from fitting with ease into the white-controlled corporate environment.

An examination of intra-dyad perceptions reveals that of the 33 questions that were asked to both the black managers and their respective bosses, over half of the dyads held disparate perceptions on two-thirds of these questions. Topics on which there was a particularly low level of intra-dyad agreement are listed in Table 16 below.

TABLE 16 : Summary of Black Manager-Boss Intra-Dyad Agreements
(<50% in agreement)

Items	Intra-Dyad Agreements (%)
1. Codes of conduct	11,8
2. Job performance	20,6
3. Values and beliefs	20,6
4. Blacks' participation	23,5
5. Relationship with whites	26,5
6. Cultural problems	29,4
7. Years till reach senior management	32,4
8. Management sincerity	32,4
9. Job authority	35,3
10. White attitudes to black advancement	35,3
11. Tokenism	35,3
12. Promotion deserved	38,2
13. Position in 10 years	38,2
14. Job satisfaction	38,2
15. Blacks' place	44,1
16. Reverse discrimination	44,1
17. Relationship with blacks	44,1
18. Stooage	44,1
19. Sense of belonging	44,1
20. Career path satisfaction	47,1
21. Community leader	47,1
22. Discrimination	47,1

It seems that the issues on which there were substantial intra-dyad perceptual disparities can be categorized into those topics pertaining to general black job advancement issues (items 1, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 15, 16 and 22 of Table 16); job performance and career development of the black managers (items 2, 7, 12, 13, 20); the black managers' job-related attitudes and similar constructs (items 3, 14 and 19); and the black managers' relationship with other blacks (items 17, 18 and 21).

Those issues where more than half of the black manager-boss dyads agreed with one another, are listed in Table 17 below.

TABLE 17 : Summary of Black Manager-Boss Intra-Dyad Agreements
(> 50% in agreement)

Items	Intra-Dyad Agreements (%)
1. Position in 15 years	52,9
2. Initiative	52,9
3. Attitudinal changes	52,9
4. Lifestyle changes	55,9
5. Middleman	64,7
6. Position in five years	67,6
7. Colleagues' confidence	67,6
8. Renumeration and benefits	70,6
9. Job responsibility	73,5
10. Self-confidence	79,4
11. Job ceiling	85,3

No clear-cut trend emerged in terms of the types of issues on which there were reasonable intra-dyad perceptual consensus. This is not surprising given the fact that there were only 11 questions on which more than half of the black managers and their bosses agreed with one another. Notwithstanding this, however, most of the items listed in Table 17 can be grouped as follows: changes wrought by job (items 3 and 4); self-confidence and colleagues' confidence in the black manager (items 7 and 10); job conditions

(items 8 and 9); short- and long-term management rank (items 1 and 6).

What is of interest is that all the issues with a fairly high level of intra-dyad perceptual agreement, related to the black manager in terms of projected management level and his work conditions. By contrast, there were marked intra-dyad perceptual disparities on all general matters relating to black advancement - such as tokenism, reverse discrimination, cultural problems and the like. The fact that major interpersonal perceptual discrepancies existed between the black manager and their bosses, reflected their different definitions of the black managers' work situation and of the issues relating to the upward movement of blacks at work. In many instances, it appears that there was a substantial communication break-down between the black managers and their respective bosses. A typical remark volunteered by several bosses was that their black subordinate was a "closed book". It also appeared that many bosses were inclined to be paternalistic and overprotective towards their black subordinate - to the extent that they were reluctant to broach sensitive subjects with them, or criticize them.

Finally, the fact that some of the role expectations held by the black managers in their capacity as managers clashed with those held by the white seniors of their respective black subordinate, may account to a considerable extent for the interpersonal perceptual discord that existed between these two parties.

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In the next chapter, the interview material of the peers and subordinates will be presented and discussed.

CHAPTER 8PHASE I : THE WHITE PEERS AND SUBORDINATES - A DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

INTRODUCTION

The interview material of the 21 white peers and of the 11 subordinates who participated in Phase I of this study, will be examined in this chapter. It will be contrasted with that of their black manager associates and, at times, with that of the 34 white bosses. Those 21 black managers with white peers will be referred to as "black peers", "black coworkers" or "black associates" of the white peers. Furthermore, the 11 black managers with subordinates will be alluded to as "black bosses" or "black seniors" when discussing and contrasting their interview data with that of their subordinates.

It must be emphasized that the white peers were not used as a control group against which to compare the black managers' job attitudes and perceptions because:

- (i) Only 21 of the 34 black managers had peers;
- (ii) Relevant variables such as age, sex, educational qualifications, company service and job content, invariably differed from those of their respective black peers. Hence they could not constitute a matched control group for comparative purposes. In view of this, it is interesting to note that Templer (1980) tried to match peers of black and white employees at "higher" organizational levels in South African companies. He maintained that a consistent difficulty was finding black and white employees doing similar jobs. In fact, Templer (1980:113) contended that ".... there is only a small overlap of Black and White jobs". Even where both a black and a white employee had the same job title, he found that the two individuals were actually carrying out different tasks;
- (iii) The aim of the study was to ascertain perceptions held by the peers of the black manager, rather than to examine the peers'

personal work-related attitudes (such as their own job satisfaction) and their self-perceptions;

- (iv) The investigation focused on subjective perceptions and experiences of the black manager, rather than on ascertaining to what extent their interpretations were accurate. Hence, there was no need to have a white peer control group as an external criterion of validity. It was also felt that the peers' attitudes and perceptions were not necessarily an accurate reflection of the objective situation "out there". Since reality is socially constructed (Berger and Luckmann, 1966), the black managers may be expected to possess a certain set of definitions of reality and their white peers may have other interpretations thereof. Yet one cannot be sure that one group's perceptions are any more accurate than the other as a reflection of the "objective" situation.

Considering the subordinates' interview data, it must be borne in mind that the sample was small ($n = 11$) and heterogeneous. Hence, such information cannot be generalized readily (unless the answers are fairly uniform). As pointed out in Chapter 6, Section 2.2.5, the subordinate group consisted of a total of five males (one of whom was white, three were black and one was a coloured), and six females (four of whom were white, and two were black). In terms of occupational level, two subordinates were in blue collar jobs, as foremen. The remaining nine were in lower white collar positions, namely, as a: secretary ($n = 4$), industrial nurse ($n = 1$), development assistant ($n = 1$), clerk ($n = 2$) and sales representative ($n = 1$).

The general format, and areas that will be covered in this section, are generally the same as those that were examined in the case of the 34 black managers and their white bosses. What follows immediately is a brief discussion on the peers' and subordinates' biographical details as opposed to those of their black associates.

SECTION I : A COMPARISON OF KEY BIOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF THE BLACK
MANAGER-PEER GROUP AND BLACK MANAGER-SUBORDINATE GROUP

1.1 The Peers and their Black Counterparts

TABLE 18 : A Comparison of the Mean Age, Education and Company Service of
the Black Managers (n = 21) and their Peers (n = 21)

Variables	Black Managers	Peers
Age (in years)	$\bar{x} = 35,00$ SD = 8,58	$\bar{x} = 37,38$ SD = 9,05
Education (in years)	$\bar{x} = \text{matric} + 2,86 \text{ years}$ SD = 1,79	$\bar{x} = \text{matric} + 1,62 \text{ years}$ SD = 1,80
Company Service (in years)	$\bar{x} = 5,33$ SD = 6,26	$\bar{x} = 10,66$ SD = 9,22

Although the 21 black managers were, in general, slightly younger than their peers (see Table 18), this difference was not statistically significant ($t = -0,88$; $df = 40$; $P > 0,05$; two-tailed test).

The mean educational level of the black managers (matric plus 2,86 years) was higher than that of their white counterparts (matric plus 1,62 years). This difference was statistically significant ($t = 2,23$; $df = 40$; $p = 0,031$; two-tailed test). This finding is in keeping with other research that noted that blacks complained that they had to be more qualified than their white counterparts to achieve the same recognition and occupational status (see Gathercole, 1981; Wella, 1983).

The peers, however, had been with the employing organization statistically significantly longer ($t = -2,17$; $df = 40$; $p = 0,047$; two-tailed test). This, in all likelihood, accounts for why they were at the same (or similar) level as the black managers. That is, although they had lower mean qualifications than their black peers, their longer company service

had possibly enabled them to climb up the corporate ladder to their present position.

1.2 The Subordinates and their Black Bosses

A comparison of the biographical material of the 11 subordinates and their black bosses is presented in Table 19.

TABLE 19 : A Comparison of the Mean Age, Education and Company Service of Black Managers (n = 11) and their Subordinates (n = 11)

Variables	Black Managers	Subordinates
Age (in years)	$\bar{x}$ = 38,45 SD = 9,47	$\bar{x}$ = 34,54 SD = 10,01
Education (in years)	$\bar{x}$ = matric + 2,55 years SD = 2,07	$\bar{x}$ = matric + 0,36 years SD = 1,57
Company service (in years)	$\bar{x}$ = 5,91 SD = 7,02	$\bar{x}$ = 5,45 SD = 4,89

As illustrated in Table 19, the black managers were, in general, older than their subordinates ($\bar{x}$ = 38,5 years as opposed to 34,5 years for the subordinates). Nevertheless, this difference was not statistically significant (t = 0,9; df = 20; $p > 0,05$; two-tailed test) and nor was the discrepancy in their company service (t = 0,19; df = 20; $p > 0,05$; two-tailed test). As expected, the mean educational level of the black managers was statistically significantly higher than that of their subordinates (t = 2,79; df = 20; p = 0,012; two-tailed test).

In the following section, the qualitative interview material of the peers and subordinates will be examined.

SECTION 2 : PERCEPTIONS, ATTITUDES AND EXPERIENCES OF THE PEERS,
SUBORDINATES AND THEIR RESPECTIVE BLACK MANAGER
ASSOCIATES

2.1 Aspects of the Black Managers' Job

2.1.1 Remuneration and Benefits

As with the black manager-boss pairs, the majority of the black manager-peer dyads (71,4%) and black manager-subordinate dyads (63,6%) agreed that the black manager's remuneration and benefits were comparable to those of his white counterparts.

2.1.2 Job Responsibility

More white peers (85,7%) than black managers themselves (71,4%) maintained that the latter exercised job responsibility. Altogether, 13 of the 21 black manager-peer dyads agreed that the black manager had job responsibility, while two pairs agreed that he had none. Thus, as in the case of the white bosses, over seven-tenths (71,4%) of the white peers' perceptions on this issue were congruent with those of their respective black coworker. Nine of the 11 black manager-subordinate dyads agreed that the black manager had job responsibility.

2.1.3 Authority

With respect to the issue of the black manager's job authority, the response frequencies of the white peers and black coworker groups were as follows:

	<u>Black Managers</u>	<u>Peers</u>	<u>Intra-Dyad Agreements</u>
Black manager has genuine authority	4	5	1
Limited authority	11	11	6
No authority	6	4	3
Not sure	-	1	-

Despite the similarity in the distribution of their replies, only ten (or 47,6%) of the 21 black manager-peer dyads held congruent perceptions with one another on the issue of authority.

The majority of the 11 subordinates stated that their black boss had authority in his job ($n = 9$). This is not surprising since a manager who has a subordinate reporting directly to him obviously possesses a certain degree of line authority. By contrast, four of the black bosses complained that they had no authority and the rest argued that they did indeed have it. There was intra-dyad perceptual congruency in 45,5 percent of the cases - in each instance the black manager was perceived as possessing job authority.

2.2 Black Managers' Personal Attributes and Job Performance

2.2.1 Person-Role Fit

As with the bosses and black managers, the peers and subordinates were asked to list the types of personal qualities, skills and knowledge that an individual in the black manager's position should possess. Thereafter, they were required to point out which of these characteristics they believed the black manager possessed or lacked.

In keeping with the 34 black managers and 34 bosses, (see Chapter 7, Section 3.2.1), the peers and the subordinates perceived human relations skills to be the most important qualities that an employee in the black manager's job, should possess. Specific examples of the types of social skills that were mentioned included: the ability to mix well and communicate with people at all levels and of all racial groups, a good relationship with colleagues, the establishment of trust, respect and acceptance by employees, as well as interpersonal sensitivity.

Interestingly, over a quarter of the peers rated stress tolerance, a pleasant personality and integrity (all personality dispositions) as necessary attributes. These qualities would obviously have an important bearing on the type of coworker relationship established with their black counterpart.

Almost two-fifths of the peers also rated a sound technical or academic background as desirable.

Qualities mentioned chiefly by the subordinate group (in comparison to the black managers, white bosses or white peers) were assertiveness (in terms of not being a "yes-man" to seniors, and not being afraid to approach superiors on behalf of the subordinates), patience and impartiality. Such characteristics clearly reflect the kinds of qualities that a subordinate would like his boss to possess when dealing with him, or on behalf of him.

Approximately a quarter of the 21 peers (23,8%), and over half of the subordinates (54,6%) claimed that the black manager possessed all the qualities and skills needed for his position. The black managers' strengths were primarily seen to be their social skills/social sensitivity and their academic know-how. A likeable personality and integrity were also regarded by the peers as strong points while the subordinates added the virtue of an impartial sense of judgement.

Notwithstanding this, however, the two most commonly cited deficits alluded to by both the peers and subordinates were human relations problems (peers: $n = 7$; subordinates: $n = 4$) and a lack of assertiveness (peers: $n = 5$; subordinates: $n = 3$). Three peers also mentioned weaknesses in administrative skills and related management qualities, such as planning ahead, punctuality and neatness.

Examples of the social skills deficits cited by the peers are elucidated by the following quotes:

"X is not community-orientated enough. He should be more tolerant, diplomatic, helpful and understanding towards the black employees. He is not good at dealing with people. He has a harsh, superior, aloof attitude and some whites resent him because they feel that he thinks he knows everything."

"He is too reserved because he feels that he has been overlooked. He should sell himself more."

"X hasn't earned his white colleagues' respect. He doesn't perform at the level expected of him and he doesn't get on well with his colleagues. There is no-one in the department that he can closely relate to."

"He is aggressively bolshy with people - perhaps because he is trying to assert himself in his new position."

Weaknesses cited less frequently by the peers were:

- Insufficient initiative (n = 2)
- Inadequate technical know-how (n = 2)

One peer complained that his black coworker never worked overtime:

"But if I ask him if he is under pressure, he says 'yes'. He doesn't possess protestant ethic values. He sees work as unpleasant and feels that it should be done only in terms of the hours set aside officially. Such attitudes have tangible effects in terms of his work output. He lacks a sense of urgency and he should be more incisive, clinical and cold when dealing with black employees' problems."

The four subordinates who perceived their black boss as having human relations shortcomings, cited the following as being problematic:

- Not completely accepted by white employees. There is a barrier from the whites' side rather than from his side. He is newly appointed to the position so it will take time for the whites to get to know and trust him (n = 1)
- Has a chip on the shoulder about the black-white issue. He is worried about the barrier and too aware of it. He finds it a strain and he is especially awkward with white females (n = 1)
- Sometimes X is reluctant to approach his own senior with problems, possibly because he knows he will get blocked (n = 2)

Other shortcomings mentioned by the subordinates were:

- Sometimes a "yes-man" and not always a source of information and of help, perhaps because he is inexperienced in the field (n = 1)
- Not sure enough of himself to make decisions because of the era he was brought up in (the "older school") (n = 1)
- Administrative skills are poor (n = 1)

Clearly, some of the above weaknesses relate to a perceived lack of assertiveness and confidence on the part of the black manager in enacting his work role, including dealing with his seniors.

It is evident that some of the subordinates (n = 4) seemed to be reasonably aware of the possible external obstacles that could militate against their respective black boss's *modus operandi* in the work situation. One may hypothesize that this apparent sensitivity firstly may have been engendered by the fact that, as subordinates, they may have felt that most individuals are controlled by powerful others or by other extrinsic conditions (an external locus of control). Obviously, such a proposal must be regarded very cautiously and tentatively in view of the small sample of subordinates (n = 11), which makes any generalizations impossible. Secondly, and more importantly, five of the subordinates were black and one was a coloured. Therefore one can argue that they had personally experienced the restrictions imposed against minority racial groups in South Africa.

Overall, the peers tended to ascribe most of the black managers' deficits to what they regarded as internally-located factors. These they saw as including personality predispositions, cultural traits, educational inadequacies and a lack of ability. In view of this, the following observation of Gahagan (1975:45) is relevant, namely, "... in judging the speed and strength of a swimmer, we must estimate the strength and speed of the current in which he swims". With this in mind, many peers failed to consider the various environmental obstacles that their black colleagues possibly encountered at work, and which probably created a person-role misfit.

The pervasive tendency on the part of the peers to attribute the black managers' behaviour to what they believed were internal causes, and to underestimate the influence of external factors, once again reflects the well-documented "attribution error" outlined in Chapter 4, Section 1.6 of this thesis.

2.2.2 Black Managers' Self-confidence

All of the 21 black managers maintained that they had self-confidence job-wise. By contrast, only 15 of their respective peers also judged, on the basis of the black manager's behaviour, that he possessed self-confidence. The remaining peers either claimed that their black associate lacked self-confidence, or did not possess complete self-confidence. Comments included:

- Lacks confidence because has no practical experience (n = 2)
- Has confidence until he strikes a problem. He then goes blank (n = 1)
- Tends to be apologetic to people when nervous. When he doesn't know people, he will defer to them because he lacks confidence in interacting with whites (n = 1)
- Used to have it, but lost it after he made a "tax-up" on a project (n = 1)
- Lacks confidence because he is a black in a white man's world, and because the company brought in two other blacks above him (n = 1)

Nine of the 11 subordinates agreed with their respective black senior's view of himself as being self-confident. One of the remaining two subjects was not sure whether or not his boss had self-confidence. The other subordinate suggested that his supervisor lacked self-confidence, as evidenced by his tendency to check his work with his own immediate boss.

2.2.3 Job Performance

Concerning the question of the black managers' job performance, the peers' appraisals thereof were as follows: bad or below average ($n = 4$), average ($n = 4$), average to good ($n = 8$), very good ($n = 5$). By contrast, 15 of the 21 black coworkers assessed their performance as good, whereas only six of them judged it as satisfactory. None maintained that their job performance was below par. Less than half of the black manager-peer dyads ($n = 9$) held common perspectives about the black manager's job performance - with all these pairs assessing such performance to be average to good or good.

Comments by those peers who claimed that their black associate's performance was below average, referred to their lack of certain managerial qualities such as initiative, drive, assertiveness, planning, and logical thought processes. Besides this, two of these peers also added that:

"X is a very poor performer considering that he has a degree and the work he is doing is not complicated. Yet, he has made some big mistakes because he doesn't like to ask for help."

"X is battling a bit. He's fairly new in his job and still has to settle down. Most of the guys on the shop floor are black and are now more relaxed because they seem to feel that the heat is off them now because they have a black boss."

One peer who judged his black coworker's performance as "average" pointed out, however, that he was outstanding compared to other blacks. Most of the peers who proposed that their black colleague's performance was good or exceptional, pointed out that he more than met his job requirements.

In sum, then, the peers' appraisal of the black managers' performance was generally favourable, though not as positive as the black managers' self-evaluations of their job performance.

Unlike the 21 peers and 34 white bosses, none of the subordinates rated their black senior's job performance as below average. Rather, their black boss's job performance was judged to be at least average or

satisfactory ($n = 3$), as good or better than some white counterparts ($n = 2$), or very good ($n = 6$). Over four-fifths (81,8%) of the dyads were in accord with one another with respect to the black manager's job performance. That is, seven of the pairs rated such performance as good or very good, while two dyads judged it to be satisfactory or comparable to that of white associates.

The fact that the 11 subordinates' evaluation of their respective black boss's job performance was favourable, is an important point. None of the black managers whose boss and/or peer evaluated their job performance as poor, had subordinates. This implies that the 11 black managers with subordinates had perhaps been placed in such supervisory positions because they were regarded as competent employees.

2.3 Job Satisfaction

With respect to the question of the black managers' job satisfaction, less than half of their respective peers (47,6%) possessed accurate metaperspectives in this regard. The peers were inclined to perceive their black counterpart as being more dissatisfied with his job than he actually was. This possibly was because the black managers' behaviour could have implied dissatisfaction, but may not have been in keeping with their actual job attitudes. Alternatively, the peers perhaps felt that if they had been in the black manager's place, they themselves would have been discontented. For example, one peer remarked that:

"X can't be satisfied with his job, unless he's the type of person who is happy without responsibilities. He should be doing something constructive about the situation, such as pushing himself, and being more assertive."

Like the 21 peers and the 34 white bosses, less than half of the subordinates (45,5%) possessed accurate metaperspectives concerning whether the black manager was satisfied with his job.

2.4 Career Development

2.4.1 Career Path Satisfaction

Turning to the question of whether the black manager was satisfied with his career path, 52,4 percent of the peers possessed accurate meta-perspectives in this regard. Over half of the 21 white peers ($n = 11$), judged that their respective black colleague was satisfied with his career tracks, whereas only a third ($n = 7$) of these black informants felt this way.

Reasons offered by those peers who believed that their black coworker was satisfied with his career included the following:

- He is the first black manager in his job/company, and is doing well - a real achievement ($n = 4$)
- Because he has made good progress (by any standard) in a short period of time ($n = 2$)
- He even seems to be a little surprised at the way in which his boss is developing him and encouraging him to grow. It is unlikely that he aspired to experience some of the worldly and material things he has been exposed to, such as flying and staying in a hotel ($n = 1$)

Those peers who claimed that their black colleague either was reasonably satisfied ($n = 2$; both correct) or dissatisfied ($n = 6$; four correct) with his career path, all maintained that their black coworker felt that his career progress had been too slow (or non-existent) and that he was not fully utilizing his knowledge and skills.

Considering the subordinates' metaperspectives on their black boss's career path satisfaction, eight of the 11 subjects judged that their senior was satisfied with the course his career had taken. It was generally suggested that this was so because the black manager had been promoted, or was experiencing considerable upward mobility, and therefore was achieving his goals of advancement. Five of these eight subjects possessed accurate metaperspectives in this regard. Three subordinates

were not sure how their boss felt.

Altogether, then, the majority of subordinates (54,5%) did not correctly assess how their black senior felt about his career tracks.

The main reason for incorrect metaperspectives on the part of the work associates (especially the peers) seemed to be due to the use of different comparative reference groups. That is, several work colleagues, who seemed to compare the black manager's career path to that of other black employees, assumed that he must be satisfied with his career tracks. By contrast, the black managers used their white counterparts, who typically had experienced career development, as their standard of comparison.

2.4.2 Job Ceiling

As in the case of the black manager-boss dyads, there was widespread consensus between the black manager-peer dyads, as well as between the black manager-subordinate pairs, that the black managers had not reached a ceiling job-wise. That is, it was generally agreed that there was scope for the black managers to progress further within their employing organizations.

2.4.3 Promotional Prospects

While 13 of the 21 black managers claimed that they deserved a promotion, only seven peers felt this way as well - primarily because they felt that their black coworker was capable of handling increased authority and responsibility. Six of these seven peers' black associates agreed with them in this regard. Over half of the peers (n = 14) maintained that the black manager did not deserve a promotion. The black colleagues of five of these 14 white peers also felt this way, typically because they had not been given the opportunity to prove their worth. Reasons offered by the peers, however, as to why the black manager did not deserve a promotion were:

- Needs to gain more experience and to consolidate his knowledge (n = 4)

- Recently been promoted (n = 4)
- Not performing at the level expected of him (n = 3)
- At appropriate level at the moment (n = 2)
- Does not have enough formal education or confidence (n = 1)

One peer admitted that his black colleague

".... has been kept behind too long. It's not his own fault because most people are racists especially when their own job is at stake. Fellow white graduates feel worried. Therefore, because he's a threat, he has been kept down."

In conclusion, over half (52,4%) of the 21 black manager-peer dyads possessed common perspectives on the issue of whether the black manager deserved a promotion.

Interestingly, there was complete intra-dyad perceptual agreement between the 11 black manager-subordinate dyads in regard to the question of whether or not the black manager deserved a promotion. Seven of the subordinates and their respective black senior suggested that, given the fact that the black manager was a good, enthusiastic and able performer, a promotion was warranted.

The four black manager-subordinate pairs who argued that the black manager did not deserve a promotion, attributed this to the fact that:

- He is still gaining experience and learning the ropes (n = 2)
- Just been promoted (n = 1)
- No higher position available (n = 1)

2.4.4 Predictions of Career Progress

As in the case of the black manager-boss dyads, the majority of the 21

black manager-peer dyads (71,4%) agreed with one another in regard to the question of what position the black manager would probably hold in five years time. The modal response for both the black manager group (n = 13) and peers (n = 11) was that the black manager would occupy a middle management position.

However, only 47,6 percent (10 out of 21) of the predictions of the black manager-peer pairs as to the black managers' position 10 years hence and in 15 years time, were congruent. Perceptual disparities arose because the white peers, like the 34 white bosses, believed that their black associate would be in a lower position than the black manager himself predicted. That is, more black managers than peers maintained that they would be in senior management positions within 10 or 15 years time. Furthermore, while five of the black managers hoped to be self-employed within 10 to 15 years, only one peer thought that this would be the case.

The subordinates' predictions, like those of the white peers and white bosses, were slightly lower than the estimations given by the black managers themselves. Only three dyads were in accord as to the black manager's occupation level five years hence and in 15 years' time. A total of seven pairs (63,6%) however, agreed with each other that the black manager would occupy either a middle or senior post in 10 years' time. It is evident, then, that there was more consensus about the black manager's possible position in the medium-term (within a decade) than in the short- or long-term.

2.5 Attitudes and Reactions of White Employees and Colleagues Towards the Black Managers and Black Job Advancement

2.5.1 White Employee Reactions to the Black Managers

Less than half of the black manager-peer dyads (42,9%) agreed with one another as to the reactions of white employees towards the black manager. As a whole, the black managers perceived white reactions to be more negative than the white peers did.

Those peers who felt that their black colleague was not completely accepted by all whites in the firm, generally acknowledged (as did the 34 white bosses and the black managers themselves) that it was the whites at lower levels in the company who were the most threatened by the black manager. This "white problem", which reflects the influences of racial prejudices, job insecurities, status anxieties and material interests, was examined in Chapter 2, Section 3.1.3.

Several peers also mentioned that there was considerable animosity on the part of many Asian employees towards the black manager and other senior blacks. The Asians, more so than the whites, were often competing for the same jobs as the blacks. They felt keenly that the company was favouring black employees over their Asian counterparts.

One peer noted that his black coworker socialized with other black employees at lunch-time, rather than with whites. He remarked that:

"X relates to me well, but only on a work level. Our relationship is instrumental in terms of work objectives. It has been a learning experience for both of us. Cultural and personal factors, as well as pressures of work, ensure that we don't mix as much as we should. For example, X has a different personality, sense of humour, background, opportunities and facilities to me. But I respect him from the work point of view."

The type of subtle, neoracist barriers that many of the black managers had to contend with, was clearly articulated by one of the peers, as follows:

"White artisans are not willing to accept X as easily as a white, because of jealousy and prejudices. They do jobs for him, but perhaps not as readily as they did them for his white predecessor. You hear comments from the artisans such as "What do you expect when there is an African running the department?" But X will bring them round. He's a bright character and he must just get the department swinging along and prove himself to the artisans and everything then will be OK."

Another peer observed that:

"My colleague's biggest problem is himself. He has a chip on his shoulder. He should try to be accepted

by whites and attempt to move away from the tribal approach, where elders tell one what to do. His problem is that he likes to be told what to do, rather than telling others what to do."

Similarly, one black manager admitted that "Blacks are used to being managed rather than being managers".

Turning to the subordinates, only three of the 11 black manager-subordinate dyads (27,3%) agreed with one another as to the reactions of white employees towards the black manager - with all three pairs rating such reactions as positive.

Typical comments by the seven subordinates who categorically maintained that their black boss was positively received by white employees, were:

- He gets their cooperation and addresses them by their Christian names. He is the only one in the department to call the boss by his first name.
- His white subordinates accept and respect him as a manager. They don't underrate him because he's black. They carry out their duties as if a white had told them.
- Has earned their respect and has a relaxed, informal relationship with them. For example, he has tea with his white colleagues in the morning and plays tennis with his white peer.

One subordinate, who rated white attitudes and reactions to be "reasonably favourable", pointed out that:

"A few whites like to be superior and look down on X - partly because they are racist and partly because of negative attitudes towards the personnel department. However, with the majority, he enjoys credibility and they consult him."

Of the two subordinates who evaluated white reactions to their black boss as "mixed", one subject attributed this state of affairs to the black

manager himself, explaining that:

"With younger people, who have less authority than he does, he tends to push his authority at times, and they dislike it. Therefore, he's not popular. He also cannot chat easily with white females - a personality trait."

The other subordinate noted that while certain whites accepted the black manager, the majority were shocked that some blacks were in such senior positions - "There is a barrier from the white's side because of racial prejudice".

Like the white peers and white bosses, the subordinates generally appraised the attitudes and reactions of white employees towards the black manager in a more favourable light than the black managers themselves did. Perhaps the black managers exaggerated the extent to which white reactions were negative. As one black manager conceded,

"Often we blacks have chips on our shoulders. We have preconceived ideas about other people. I believe that it is quite normal for a person to disagree with me. But, because of the chip on my shoulder, I get upset when my ideas are not accepted and I think that it is, perhaps, because I'm black in a white organization."

Alternatively, the white bosses, peers and subordinates, as observers, may not have been completely aware of how the black managers were received by various whites. The white informants may also have played down the incidence of negative white reactions because of guilt or lack of insight.

Ultimately, the question of whose perceptions were closer to the objective "reality" of the situation, is not at stake here. What is important is that the black managers' definition of the situation was "reality" to them. Accordingly, their perceptions would have influenced their attitudes and behaviour towards the white employees.

2.5.2 Colleagues' Confidence in the Black Managers

Like the black manager-boss pairs, two-thirds of the 21 black manager-peer dyads agreed with one another that the black manager's work colleagues had confidence in him. In fact, four-fifths (81%) of the peers actually contended that they had confidence in their black colleague. Three only possessed "reasonable" confidence while one peer admitted that he lacked confidence in his black associate because he was a poor performer whose work constantly needed checking. Those peers who possessed only "reasonable" confidence in their black colleague work-wise, pointed out that this was because he lacked expertise in certain spheres of his job.

The majority of the 11 black manager-subordinate dyads ($n = 7$) were in agreement with one another that the black manager's colleagues had confidence in him. An important point is that all the subordinates claimed to have confidence in their black boss. Several subordinates explained that this was because he was helpful, considerate and understanding. A coloured subordinate remarked that:

"I feel more confident in coming to work now that I have a black boss. He has sorted out problems in the plant. I can also relate to, and communicate with a black boss more so than with a white boss, because he understands non-whites' problems. For example, if I'm late for work because I missed the train or bus, he understands - whereas a white would think that I was late because I had been drinking the night before, or because I was not interested in my job."

As a whole, the black managers were perceived by their subordinates as exhibiting more consideration than white managers. This was also noted by Adams (1978) in a study on minority managers in America. Adams suggests that consideration behaviour could be instrumental and effective for minority managers in handling supervisory responsibilities. That is, such behaviour could be a means of gaining approval, credibility, or authority, or even a way of avoiding their minority status from being perceived negatively.

2.5.3 Feelings About Having a Black Work Associate

The 21 peers were questioned on how they felt about having a black as a peer. Over a quarter of these informants (28,6%) maintained that they were "colour-blind" and therefore did not mind at all. The majority of the subjects (61,9%) professed that they were not opposed to it as long as the black deserved the position. However, one subject admitted that he tolerated it "with resentment". Another white informant revealed that, whereas he did not mind working alongside blacks, he would not like to report to a black, since he would find this difficult at his age and because of his upbringing.

An interesting point is that the subordinates, regardless of their race, had no qualms about having a black boss. Two of the white female subordinates did, however, admit that their friends and/or family made snide and derogatory comments about the fact that they had a black senior. Nevertheless, such remarks did not perturb them. A black female subordinate also noted that she had always had a black boss and would like to have a white senior one day, merely for the experience. While her present black boss was not chauvinistic and autocratic, she disclosed that black bosses often treated black female juniors in this manner - in keeping with the traditional sex roles characteristic of patriarchal black society, where women are expected to act submissively and to accept, without questioning, the commands or ideas of the black male.

Within this context it is instructive to note that studies have shown that individuals may come to accept, and even approve of association with members of another social group in specific contexts. Yet this approval is not likely to be generalized to other situations, unless the individuals have quite close personal relationships with members of the other group (Amir, 1969; Cook, 1963; Minard, 1952; Watts, 1980). For example, Watts (1980) found that many white workers feared that the upward mobility of blacks in the work environment might lead to racially integrated residential areas, general amenities and to integrated political authority in parliament. Such apprehensions were also articulated by many of the white informants in this investigation. These results once again indicate that inequality of material rewards and occupational opportunity

in South Africa, rest on economic and political considerations, as well as on factors relating to social position, prestige, material interests, and job insecurities of whites (as pointed out in Chapter 2, Section 3.1.3).

2.5.4 White Attitudes to Black Job Advancement

Less than a quarter (23,8%) of the 21 black manager-peer dyads, and only three (27,3%) of the 11 black manager-subordinate pairs agreed with one another on the question of white employee attitudes to black job advancement.

The black managers, as a whole, perceived whites as being more opposed to such job advancement than did the peers or subordinates - probably because as upwardly mobile black employees, they themselves had borne the brunt of such resistance, while their white peers obviously had not been exposed to such experiences. Notwithstanding this, most of the peers and subordinates conceded that negative attitudes to black occupational progression were held by at least some of the white employees.

2.6 Perceptions of Black Attitudes Towards the Black Managers

2.6.1 Attitudes of Black Employees

Roughly three-fifths (61,9%) of the peers' evaluation of their black counterpart's relationship with other black workers in their employing organization, were congruent with those of their black coworker. More specifically, 12 of the 21 dyads agreed that the black manager had a good relationship with other black employees. However, one dyad proposed that it varied from negative to positive. In this instance, the peer noted that:

"The unskilled, younger blacks from the factory laugh at him and mock him, perhaps because they're jealous of him and feel that he's big-headed. Although he ignores their jeers, it must upset him. But he also has a lot of friends who visit him."

His black colleague remarked that:

"Some of the black labourers resent me because I've been given a company house while they haven't. They feel I'm too young to have been given a house."

Taken as a whole, the modal response for both the black manager group (n = 15) and the white peers (n = 14) was that the black manager was accepted and liked by the black employees. The distribution of the remaining peers' answers were:

- Mixed, with some trusting and respecting him, while others are antagonistic towards him because they are anti-management (n = 4)
- Not applicable because not in contact with black employees (n = 1)
- Very unpopular (n = 1)
- Don't know (n = 1)

The one peer who claimed that his black colleague was unpopular with the black workers, explained that:

"X is often too harsh with them. He adopts a dictatorial, abrupt manner which they find unacceptable. He gets impatient with them because they pester him for work. He treats people as numbers. His manner is changing, but not fast enough. Perhaps it's because of his basic, unsociable personality or because he's a bit immature. It is also his first job in industry and he may not be used to providing a service for people."

Half of the 21 black manager-peer dyads agreed with one another that the black manager was not regarded as a sellout. A further two pairs were in accord with one another that the black manager was perceived as a management puppet.

It is evident that more black managers (n = 10) than peers (n = 4) claimed that they were viewed as stooges by either some or all black employees.

The black managers' own direct perspectives on this issue were probably more accurate than those of the white peers since the latter, unlike the black managers, did not deal directly with the black employees in a boundary-spanning capacity. Therefore, they would not have been as sensitized to the black workforce's perceptions as the black managers were.

Like the white peer group, the majority of the 11 subordinates ($n = 7$) maintained that their black boss was well-accepted and well-liked by other black employees. Five of these seven subordinates' respective bosses also claimed that they had a good relationship with the black workers. Furthermore, just over half of the black manager-subordinate dyads (54,5%) agreed with one another on the issue of whether or not the black manager was seen as a white man's mouthpiece by the black employees - with five pairs contending that he was viewed as a stooge, while one dyad asserted that this was not the case. Typical comments volunteered by those subordinates who argued that their black boss was not perceived as a mouthpiece, were:

"What causes suspicion among blacks is lack of explanation. X is open with them and handles them well. Therefore, they trust him."

"Blacks on the shop-floor prefer a black manager because he understands their language, beliefs and customs."

2.6.2 Community Relations - Black Managers and the Black Community

Like the bosses, very few peers and subordinates were aware of their black associate's personal life, and of the role he played in his community. Only 28,6 percent (or six) of the 21 peers and 18,2 percent (or two) of the 11 subordinates, held perceptions congruent with their black associate on this matter. This drives home the fact that the black manager and his work associates led existences strangely remote from one another, largely because of the apartheid system in South Africa.

2.7 Men in the Middle?

The peers and subordinates were asked whether they thought that their black associate felt that he was a middleman caught between white management and the black employees. Like the bosses, the majority of the peers (that is, 71,4%), possessed accurate metaperspectives on the issue. However, only 45,5 percent of the subordinates correctly assessed how their black boss felt.

More specifically, six peers rightly maintained that their respective black colleague felt that he was a middleman, while nine of the 13 peers who believed that their black associate did not feel this way, were correct. Only two of the peers were not sure how their peer felt.

All the black managers who were perceived by their peers as being caught in a middleman situation, were in boundary-spanning personnel positions. The types of role conflict that were seen to characterize the black manager's invidious marginal position, were interrole conflict (perceived as a problem of whether to be a black first and a manager second, or *vice versa*), and intersender conflict (seen to be a product of clashing role expectations held of the black manager by white management and the black labour force).

2.8 Work Problems Experienced by the Black Managers

The peers' responses to the question of what problems they thought their black colleague was experiencing, are listed below in descending rank order:

- White resistance/lack of acceptance (n = 10)
- Lack of career development and training (n = 4)
- Normal routine problems (n = 2)
- Certain technical aspects of job (n = 2)
- Role underload (n = 2)
- Problems relating to the black workforce (n = 2)

- Inadequate knowledge/experience (n = 1)
- Underpaid (n = 1)
- Extra-organizational, social problems (n = 1)
- Individual, behavioural problems (n = 1)
- Don't know (n = 2)
- None (n = 1)

As with the 34 black managers and bosses, the modal response (n = 10) was the problem of negative white attitudes and behaviour towards the black manager. Since South Africans as a whole are aware of the black/white racial issue, it is not surprising that both the bosses and peers acknowledged that white employees could constitute a problem.

One of the peers contended that although his black coworker had experienced some resistance from white foremen and lower level whites who had to take orders from him, he was not sure if this was unique to the black manager. The peer himself had also experienced difficulties in gaining acceptance and cooperation from such employees.

As an aside, it is interesting to note that one peer maintained that although his black colleague felt that people were against him and critical of him, this belief was not well-founded. Another peer admitted that:

"I've been labelled as a racist by all the blacks who have been my colleagues. But I'm in my job because of my skill for working with black guys. You can't talk to a black as one talks to a white. You have to be subtle, indirect and careful. X sometimes gets a bit aggressive. I have to handle him with kid gloves because he is very sensitive and always interprets things in racial terms."

With regard to problems relating to black workers, one peer noted that his black colleague in personnel had recently been stabbed - probably by a black worker who bore a grudge against the manager because he had not recruited him. The peer added that his black coworker did not enjoy

a cordial relationship with the black employees. He failed to show them sympathy or tolerance. He continued that:

"His stabbing was expected. Some person must have taken joy in doing it. Rumours are circulating among the black workers that he was asked to leave. This is incorrect, but it implies that many blacks would like to see him go. He's had numerous threats and his car was also stolen, possibly by someone who dislikes him."

As the peer concluded: "X's job is very tough and pressurized. He is always being offered bribes by blacks who want to be employed. X often feels desperate about the situation". Clearly, then, some of the peers seemed to possess considerable insight into their black coworker's work problems.

An interesting extra-organizational problem cited by one of the peers was that his black associate had severe problems with his militant son who viewed him as a "sellout" to the whites and a "rotten collaborator with the system". In addition, his wife also criticized his work.

"She has unrealistic expectations of change. She wants results too quickly, and when this does not occur, she experiences intense pain and frustration. She lacks X's breadth of vision. She has not grasped his understanding of the complexity of the situation."

This example once again highlights the cross pressures to which black managers can be exposed as a result of their juxtaposition between the blacks and whites in South Africa. Accusations from the black working class of collusion with the keepers and benefactors of the repressive political regime, were problems that most black managers appeared to face.

What is of interest is that, bar two subjects who mentioned that their black peer felt that he was underutilized (that is, suffering from role underload), none of the other peers perceived their black associate to be experiencing role-related problems - whereas over half of the black managers claimed to be afflicted with problems such as role ambiguity or role conflict. This reflects a fundamental lack of awareness on the part of the peers, of the clashing, inconsistent and ambiguous role expectations communicated to the black managers by their role set at work.

Considering the question of interpersonal perceptual congruency, only a third of the white peers and their respective black associates possessed similar perceptions about the black manager's work problems. Nonetheless, as pointed out in the case of the white bosses, these problems cited by the peers were, in all likelihood, experienced by the black managers. Yet, the fact that the latter did not mention many of those problems themselves, suggests that they did not represent their most troublesome problems.

Turning to the subordinates' perceptions of work problems that their respective black boss experienced, their distribution of responses was as follows:

- Normal day-to-day, petty problems (n = 4)
- Problems with relationship with black workforce (n = 3)
- Problems of gaining acceptance and credibility in the eyes of whites (n = 3)
- Role-related problems such as role overload and interrole conflict (n = 2)
- Production and people problems (n = 1)
- Extra-organizational harrassment from black employees, and always answerable to his boss (n = 1)
- Don't know (n = 1)

The subordinates, perhaps because they were nearer to the black-white interface, appeared to show considerable awareness of, and empathy with, their respective black supervisor regarding his work-related problems.

2.9 Discrimination

Following on from the issue of work problems, more black managers than peers or subordinates declared that, as blacks, they were discriminated against. Several of the white peers remarked that some black managers mistakenly interpreted unfavourable work experiences as racially-induced when, in fact,

they were a product of general conditions to which their white counterparts were exposed as well.

2.10 Sense of Belonging

As in the case of the 34 white bosses, nearly half of the 21 white peers (47,6%) possessed accurate metaperspectives in regard to their black colleague's sense of belonging within his employing organization. Many white peers, like the bosses, assumed that their black associate either felt that he belonged (or partly belonged) when, in fact, he felt estranged and alienated from the white-controlled corporation. As suggested in the case of the white bosses, this was perhaps because the white peers possessed a sense of belonging themselves, and so surmised that their black counterpart also felt this way.

Those peers who assumed that their black coworker felt he "belonged" to his company (n = 7; five correct) typically suggested that this was because of the positive way in which he had been treated in terms of having his career and personal interests looked after by the company.

Of those peers who believed that their black colleague only partly belonged (n = 9; three correct) or not at all (n = 5; two correct), a few claimed that the problem lay with the black manager himself, who had not made an effort to be included in social gatherings. Others felt that their black peer was looking for better prospects elsewhere and would move on when he found them.

Considering the 11 subordinates' metaperspectives on the matter, all of these informants perceived their respective black boss as feeling that he "belonged" within the company. Seven (63,6%) of these 11 subjects were correct.

2.11 Changes Wrought by Job

2.11.1 Attitudinal Changes

Less than half (42,9%) of the black manager-peer dyads agreed with one another on the issue of whether or not the black manager's attitudes had changed as a result of his job - with all these pairs claiming that

attitudinal changes had taken place. The remaining peers either did not know whether any alterations had occurred, or maintained that no changes were evident.

Most of the attitudinal changes cited by the peers pertained to people or to the industrial world. General examples were:

- When he joined the company, he had great expectations about achievement. Now he probably feels disillusioned because he has not progressed and his attitudes towards the company must have soured (n = 3)
- Possesses more objective attitudes towards the management-black worker relationship; more positive towards white management and more critical of black labourers because he now sees both sides of the coin (n = 3)
- Has a more positive attitude towards himself; has more self-confidence, self-esteem and a greater sense of self-importance (n = 1)

Three of the 11 subordinates believed that their respective black senior's attitudes had changed as a result of his job. Remarks to this effect were as follows:

- Probably realizes how the company gives all employees equal opportunity to advance, regardless of race.
- Other black clerks who have worked here for a long time say so. He used to be harsh and strict with the blacks. Now he is only strict, but not harsh.
- His job deals with people at the black/white interface and he must see cases of victimization and discrimination, which must make him bitter.

The remaining eight subordinates either felt that their boss's attitudes had not changed (n = 4), or did not know whether or not this was so (n = 4). In toto, only two subordinates possessed similar perceptions to their black

senior concerning the question of attitudinal changes - with both subordinates proposing that their black supervisor's attitudes had been modified as a result of his job.

2.11.2 Changes in Values and Beliefs

As with the 34 black manager-boss dyads, very few peers ($n = 7$) held similar perceptions to their black associate with respect to whether the latter's values and beliefs had changed as a result of his job. The low level of intra-dyad perceptual congruency arose because more black managers ($n = 10$) than peers ($n = 4$) maintained that their values and beliefs had remained the same. Furthermore, eight peers did not know whether changes had occurred.

The subordinates were generally unsure as to whether their black boss's values and beliefs had changed. None of the subordinates' perceptions of this matter were the same as those of their respective black boss.

2.11.3 Changes in Lifestyle

Less than half of the 21 peers (47,6%) and only two (18,2%) of the 11 subordinates held perceptions congruent with those of their respective black associate concerning changes in his lifestyle. More specifically, eight peers and five subordinates argued that the manager's standard of living had been raised because of the job he held. A further six peers rightly stated that no such changes had occurred. Seven peers and six subordinates were not sure whether the black manager's way of life had been affected by his job. Interestingly, one of the subordinates who believed that his boss's lifestyle had changed observed that:

"Sometimes my boss has sleepless nights because he is worrying about his job and he has to work late at night. This must have changed his lifestyle and recreational pursuits because he has less time for them now."

The generally low level of awareness on the part of the peers and subordinates as to the black manager's way of life, once again reflects the tragedy of South

African society. That is, as pointed out in Section 2.6.2. of this chapter, blacks and whites interact with one another at work, but lead a completely separate existence from one another outside the company. Very little seems to be known on a direct personal basis, about the actual life conditions and backgrounds of colleagues belonging to racial groups other than that of an employee's own racial group.

2.12 General Black Advancement Issues

2.12.1 Tokenism and Company Sincerity About Black Advancement

As in the case of the black manager-boss dyads, there was substantial perceptual discord between the black manager-peer pairs regarding the issue of whether there was token advancement of blacks in their company. Only 38,1 percent (eight of the 21) dyads agreed with one another on this topic.

As a whole, intra-dyad perceptual disparities arose because more black managers than peers believed that upward job mobility of blacks was cosmetic - as evidenced by the hollow, dead-end, high visibility jobs in which they were placed.

Not surprisingly, then, only five of the 21 white peers (23,8%) possessed accurate metaperspectives about their black colleagues' perceptions of their company's sincerity in attempting to upgrade and develop black employees. Many of the white peers were not aware that their black counterpart was sceptical about the organization's commitment to such an exercise.

Turning to the subordinates, all except one of these subjects believed that there was no window-dressing in their company. Five of these 10 subjects' black bosses also maintained this. The single subordinate who accused her company of window-dressing was a white female, who asserted that she had been employed as a political manoeuvre to prove that blacks and whites could work together as a team. She argued that although the firm could have employed a black, Asian or coloured as the black manager's

assistant, a white was specifically recruited to prove a point and to create a favourable company image.

In all, then, over half of the black manager-subordinate dyads disagreed with each other as to whether or not the firm concerned had merely made cosmetic attempts at black job advancement. More black bosses than subordinates claimed that tokenism existed. Most of the subordinates failed to realize that their black senior was either sceptical about the company's attempts, or categorically believed that the firm was not genuinely trying to promote upward job mobility. It was evident that many of the subordinates incorrectly assumed that since their black senior occupied a managerial position, he would regard this as evidence of the sincerity of endeavours by his employing organization to develop and upgrade black employees. Yet the black managers emphasized that equal employment opportunity involved more than placing a black man in a white man's job. They felt that goal-oriented affirmative action was sorely needed to overcome corporate barriers militating against black occupational advancement.

2.12.2 Codes of Conduct

Like the black manager-boss pairs, more than four-fifths (81%) of the black manager-peer dyads possessed dissimilar perspectives with respect to their appraisal of the effectiveness of the codes of conduct implemented by their employing organization. Such perceptual disparities arose because, while the majority of the 21 peers ($n = 15$) contended that such codes were effective, only four black managers felt this way. By contrast, most of the 21 black managers ($n = 15$) rated the employment codes as ineffective or as not effective enough. More specifically, many of the black managers complained that the subscription of their company to a code had not resulted in equal employment opportunities for all. By comparison, several peers grumbled that their firm had gone beyond the principles to the extent of neglecting the interests of white employees.

With respect to the 11 subordinates, most of them were unaware of the existence or nature of any codes of employment practice. Consequently, they could not comment on their effectiveness.

2.12.3 Reverse Discrimination

Most of the 11 subordinates (n = 9) and their black seniors (n = 9) maintained that their company did not practise reverse discrimination. Seven of the 11 dyads (63,6%) agreed with one another on this matter.

Since the majority of the subordinates (n = 6) were either black or coloured, it is not surprising that the subordinates as a whole did not believe that the company was "sheltering" or "pampering" blacks - probably because they did not feel that they themselves were being favoured over other racial groups at work.

Less than half of the peers (42,9%) agreed with their black counterpart on the issue of reverse discrimination. Substantially more peers (n = 12) than black managers (n = 2) grumbled that reverse discrimination was prevalent in their firm - a condition labelled by one of these subjects as "the overswing of the pendulum".

Examples of reverse discrimination provided by the peers were:

- Blacks are given more lenient treatment (n = 5)
- Blacks are given financial support to study in preference to whites (n = 1)
- Company sometimes recruits unsuitable candidates just to meet the required quota of blacks needed (n = 2)
- Whites are put on early pension to make way for blacks (n = 1)

Three peers noted that Asian employees keenly felt that their interests were being neglected in the drive for "black" job advancement. One peer noted that:

"There is a kind of concern, almost bitterness, among Indians at shop-floor level. They are having their opportunities and work stifled because the company is taking in blacks in positions previously held by Indians."

Catch phrases like "preferential treatment" and "reverse discrimination", are undoubtedly polemical. However, many policies and practices labelled as such do not, in fact, seem to favour blacks over whites. Instead, they enable blacks to compete. Purcell and Cavanagh (1972:275) call the latter "equalizing practices", and maintain that it means spending extra money and time to ensure that current opportunities are equal in recruiting, hiring, training and in assisting the promotion of blacks. It may be argued that many apparently nonracial practices actually favour whites more than blacks. Special attempts to overcome these problems do not give the black an advantage over the white individual, but merely make equal competition a realistic possibility.

Surprisingly, two peers remarked that they did not mind that their company was trying to compensate for the black employees' racial disadvantage.

As one informant noted:

"It is unavoidable. We have to push blacks to get them into senior positions fast enough. Things must change quickly because the blacks' patience is running out. White backlash is perfectly normal."

Those peers who maintained that their company's policies and practices were not tilted towards black employees, generally pointed out that change was being perceived as reverse discrimination. As one peer stated.

"Because blacks, who previously had no rights, are now getting some, the whites feel threatened."

Suffice to say, however, the vehemence and anger with which some white peers claimed that blacks were being given preferential treatment, lends credence to the claim by Pati and Reilly (1977) that discrimination (whether direct or reverse, affirmative or negative, implied or explicit, perceived or actual), can lead to:

- (i) The generation of distrust and animosity among individuals;
- (ii) The destruction of healthy, competitive spirit;
- (iii) The perpetuation of existing myths against minorities; and
- (iv) Heightened organizational ineffectiveness.

2.12.4 Cultural Problems

As with the black manager-boss dyads, there was low interpersonal perceptual congruency between the black manager-peer pairs with respect to the question of whether black-white cultural differences caused work problems. Only eight (38,1%) of the 21 dyads held similar views on this matter. The response frequencies, and distribution of intra-dyad agreements were as follows:

	<u>Black Managers</u>	<u>Peers</u>	<u>Intra-Dyad Agreements</u>
A big problem	6	11	5
A small problem	6	9	2
No problem	9	1	1

Like the 34 white bosses, some peers (but none of the black managers) differentiated between certain categories of black employees, claiming that the difficulties lay with the older, uneducated, unskilled or semi-skilled blacks only. Commenting on the delicate nature of the cultural issue, one of the peers explained that:

"Cultural differences create misunderstandings. The company has tried to reduce such misunderstandings by holding talks on "getting to know your black worker". We also need "know your white worker". This hasn't been implemented because of fears of manipulating and bombarding black employees with "superior" technology. It is distressing to see blacks overawed by whites because the whites seem so "clever"."

Another peer suggested that an open climate that allowed for discussion, would help to overcome discord caused by cultural factors. This would encourage people to comprehend the intentions, actions and viewpoints of the groups, and to become more tolerant towards them.

An underlying theme in most of the peers' remarks was that the black employees failed to conform to acceptable (white) standards, norms, and values. The converse was never mentioned. Such ethnocentrism seemed to pervade many of the peers' social cognitions. By contrast, the black managers generally felt that if "cultural clashes" existed, they were caused

by the whites' cultural rigidity and racial bigotry.

It is evident that such perceptual disparities between the peers and the black managers could, for instance, lead to both groups attributing the same problem to different causes - with the white peers regarding it as culturally-induced, and with the black managers interpreting it in racial terms.

In regard to the subordinates' perceptions of whether black-white cultural differences caused work problems, only two subordinates (both of whom were black) argued that this was not the case. They remarked that whites "played up" the issue because they felt threatened by "up and coming" blacks.

Over half of the subordinates (n = 6) contended that cultural factors presented a slight problem. In this respect, only one black manager agreed with his respective subordinate. The remaining three subordinates argued that cultural differences constituted a substantial work-related problem. (The black bosses of two of these individuals also felt this way.) General comments by these peers were as follows:

- No problem with my black boss who has lived overseas. But many blacks have different eating habits, values, beliefs and so on (n = 1)
- Only a problem with unskilled, illiterate blacks, who do not understand how the industrial world operates (n = 2)

Altogether, there was a very low level of intra-dyad perceptual similarity between the black managers and their subordinates (namely four out of the 11 dyads, or 36,4%). As a whole, more black managers (n = 8) than subordinates (n = 3) regarded cultural disparities as causing substantial problems - with the black seniors perceiving white ethnocentrism as the fundamental hindrance.

2.12.5 Blacks' Place and Participation in Industry

About seven-tenths (71,4%) of the black manager-peer dyads disagreed with one another on the question of whether or not blacks in South Africa felt

that they had a "place" in the industrial world. While the majority of the white peers ($n = 12$) believed that the blacks felt that they had a "place" in industry, only five of the 21 black managers also believed this.

In addition, there was very little interpersonal perceptual congruency between the black managers and their respective peers on the issue of whether or not blacks felt that they could meaningfully participate in South Africa's economy, under the current socio-political conditions. Indeed, only 28,6 percent of the pairs were in accord with one another. Whereas the 21 black managers' responses were distributed primarily between those who perceived blacks as feeling that they could participate ($n = 10$) versus those who believed that this was not the case ($n = 11$), the replies of the white peers were more varied. The modal response category of the white peers ($n = 10$) was that only some blacks believed that they could meaningfully participate in South Africa's economy. That is, black attitudes were generally seen to differ according to their job level - with those blacks in higher occupational positions feeling that they could fit in and participate, whereas those at lower levels in unskilled, mundane jobs were more likely to feel alienated from the industrial system.

The three white peers who believed that the blacks felt that they could not be totally involved in industry, posited that:

"Blacks are being held back because of white resistance. Therefore they cannot participate to the best of their ability."

"Blacks feel that they have got where they are by blood, sweat and tears because of their ability, in spite of the system and not thanks to it. They have a strong sense of injustice and feel that they are not appropriately rewarded for their contribution."

The last peer argued that:

"The theory of marginality applies well. Blacks are marginal. Within the company blacks are treated as equals, outside they are treated as nothing but second-class citizens. Therefore, push-pull factors are operating, which affect their performance and perceptions of what they are. It's a global problem 'out there' rather than 'in here'."

Despite the low level of black manager-peer dyad agreements, many of the peers were sensitized to the dynamics of the issue of the participation and place of blacks in the corporate system. This apparent awareness is possibly a product of the burgeoning industrial relations scenario in South Africa. The advent of legalized black trade unions since 1979 heralded a new era of management/worker relationships. This possibly provided the peers with at least some awareness of how certain categories of black employees felt about their lot in industry. Notwithstanding this, the 21 black managers' remarks mostly underlined the far-reaching impediments that black workers have to contend with - such as poor education and training, white racism, social segregation, limited opportunities and their schizophrenic existence. However, the peers, having not personally experienced such problems as privileged whites, generally did not strongly emphasize such restraints.

With regard to the subordinates and their black bosses, intra-dyad perceptual agreement on the topic of the place and participation of blacks in industry, was low (with only 36,4% and 27,3% of the 11 dyads in agreement, respectively). The subordinates were inclined to have a slightly less pessimistic outlook on the issues, generally claiming that at least some of the blacks believed that they had a place and could meaningfully participate in the industrial world. By contrast, the majority of the black seniors categorically believed that most of the blacks felt alienated from the industrial system.

2.12.6 Obstacles to Black Job Advancement

Factors hindering the upward job mobility of blacks, as perceived by the peers and subordinates, are listed below.

	Peers (n = 21)	Subordinates (n = 11)
Inappropriate black attitudes, beliefs and behaviour	57,1%	27,3%
Inadequate black education	38,1%	18,2%
Negative white attitudes and reactions	38,1%	18,2%
Blacks' background	33,3%	9,2%
No job openings	9,5%	-
Inadequate training for blacks	4,8%	9,2%
Socio-political factors	4,8%	18,2%
Poor black/white relationships	-	9,1%
Lack of company commitment	-	9,1%

NOTE: Since the informants could provide more than one response, the categories are not mutually exclusive.

The modal response category for both the peer and subordinate groups was that the blacks' attitudes, values, beliefs and other attributes (such as lack of capabilities, poor time-keeping and the like), inhibited their upward progression at work. By contrast, the modal response of the total black manager sample (n = 34) was "inadequate black education". The most frequently mentioned obstacles alluded to by the white bosses (n = 34) were "negative white attitudes and reactions", and the "blacks' background" (see Chapter 7, Section 2.8.6).

2.13 Additional Comments

2.13.1 Peers

At the close of the interviews, each peer was asked whether he had any further comments to make. Such remarks (which were not mutually exclusive), covered a range of issues pertaining to the black manager himself, comments about blacks in senior positions, about blacks in general, about black-white cultural differences and about the black job advancement issue.

With respect to remarks about black job mobility (n = 5), general recommendations and appraisals of the process were made, as illustrated by the following quotes:

"It is essential that blacks are given meaningful jobs and work their way up. You cannot plant people in jobs and expect them to grow immediately."

"The problem with black advancement is that people are trying to deal with it in a piecemeal fashion rather than holistically. Management likes to sort problems into categories - the wrong approach."

"The problem is that people in a supervisory capacity don't have the time to try to understand blacks. It could be helpful for black employees if they did. What percentage of time should be spent on doing the job or getting to know the individual? It's all a question of priorities."

"When blacks and whites are working together, the white has no fears if he knows he's on his way up. But when

the white realizes that he has reached his ceiling, he fears that the black may become his boss - so he resents the black because traditionally, most whites have been taught that blacks are lower level workers."

Only one peer spoke critically of black managers:

"Some black managers have chips on their shoulders and seem to have to shout the odds to be heard, which makes them unpopular. There is a feeling of 'I'm black and look where I've got'. Whites are colour-blind, but blacks expect to be noticed and push this line too hard."

Comments about black employees in general, were varied. Several peers proposed that blacks should push themselves further and have more drive. A few informants also complained that when some blacks are given responsibility, it goes to their head. One peer also remarked that:

"When blacks experience worldly things - for example, staying in a plush hotel or flying in a plane (all as a result of their job), and then have to go back to a house with no running water or electricity, they must suffer from severe relative deprivation. It could present a challenge and inspire them to do well, or they could feel frustrated and resentful."

Lastly, the widespread ethnocentric mentality of whites in industry was criticized by one white peer. He explained that:

"Many whites automatically assume that white technology is right; the best or most productive way to run industry in South Africa. I don't buy this for humanistic reasons because it does no justice to the human dignity of the black man. This approach denies the value of the blacks' culture, religion and contributions, unless on white man's terms. I believe that the black man feels this keenly and lives with it all the time. Blacks are not interested in being part of the white organization because it is seen as the whites'. But the organization itself is not interested in the black as a person - it's merely interested in his labour power."

2.13.2 Subordinates

Additional comments were volunteered by seven of the subordinates. The statements fell into two categories, namely:

(i) Positive remarks about black employees, (n = 5), such as:

"I'm happy that blacks at last have been given the opportunity to be trained and promoted to higher positions with good salaries."

"Blacks in senior positions here are performing well and there are no complaints from their subordinates or from the rest of management";

(ii) Negative reports (n = 2) about black employees, namely:

"Blacks in personnel talk amongst themselves so things are not kept confidential. Black workers generally seem to have become more slack because they know that the company is leaning over 'blackwards'!"

"Often blacks want a senior job, but lack commitment. When they get the job, they stop working hard and don't make a concerted effort to perform well."

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER

As in the case of the black manager-boss dyads, over half of the 21 black manager-peer pairs disagreed with one another on two-thirds of the 33 questions that were asked to both groups. Such marked interpersonal perceptual discrepancies are indicative, in some instances, of a lack of understanding of the black managers by their white peers. In other cases, their disparate perspectives of general black advancement matters and of the black manager himself, reflect their different world views, and definitions of situations. Table 20 lists those items on which over half of the black managers and their respective peers held similar perceptions to each other.

TABLE 20 : Black Manager-Peer Intra-Dyad Agreements (> 50% in Agreement)

Items	Intra-Dyad Agreements (%)
1. Career path satisfaction	52,4
2. Promotion	52,4
3. Stooqe	61,9
4. Relationship with blacks	61,9
5. Colleagues' confidence	66,7
6. Middlemen	71,4
7. Self-confidence	71,4
8. Position in five years	71,4
9. Job ceiling	71,4
10. Remuneration and benefits	71,4
11. Job responsibility	71,4

It is evident that the black managers and their respective peers possessed similar perceptions to one another in the following broad areas: conditions of job (items 10 and 11); career prospects and development (items 1, 2, 8, 9); and interpersonal factors pertaining to the black manager (items 3, 4, 5, 6). Those items on which there was a low level of intra-dyad perceptual congruency are presented in Table 21 below.

TABLE 21 : Black Manager-Peer Intra-Dyad Perceptual Agreements (< 50% in Agreement)

Items	Intra-Dyad Agreements (%)
1. Codes of conduct	19,0
2. White attitudes to black advancement	23,8
3. Management sincerity	23,8
4. Blacks' participation in industry	28,6
5. Blacks' place	28,6
6. Community leader	28,6
7. Discrimination	28,6
8. Years till in senior management	28,6
9. Values and beliefs	33,3
10. Tokenism	38,1
11. Cultural problems	38,1
12. Job performance	42,9
13. Relationship with whites	42,9
14. Attitudinal changes	42,9
15. Reverse discrimination	42,9
16. Job authority	47,6
17. Initiative	47,6
18. Position in 10 years	47,6
19. Position in 15 years	47,6
20. Lifestyle changes	47,6
21. Job satisfaction	47,6
22. Sense of belonging	47,6

Most of the variables on which the black managers and peers differed to a considerable extent, may be grouped as follows: general black job advancement concerns (items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 15); job performance, and management rank predictions (items 8, 12, 18, 19); changes wrought by job (items 9, 14, 20); job satisfaction and a sense of belonging (items 21 and 22).

Like the black manager-boss dyads, the black manager-peer pairs held dissimilar perceptions to one another on general topics pertaining to black job mobility. Indeed, more than half of the black manager-peer dyads held disparate perspectives on all such items, with the black managers having more critical and negative perceptions of, and attitudes towards, the process of black job advancement.

An overview of the black manager-subordinate responses reveals that there was a high degree of intra-dyad agreement with respect to the following issues presented below:

TABLE 22 : Black Manager-Subordinate Intra-Dyad Perceptual Agreements (>50% in Agreement)

Items	Intra-Dyad Agreements (%)
1. Stooge	54,5
2. Reverse discrimination	63,6
3. Sense of belonging	63,6
4. Position in 10 years	63,6
5. Discrimination	63,6
6. Remuneration and benefits	63,6
7. Colleagues' confidence	72,7
8. Initiative	72,7
9. Self-confidence	81,8
10. Job performance	81,8
11. Job responsibility	81,8
12. Job ceiling	90,9
13. Promotion deserved	100,0

An examination of the items above, on which over half of the black manager-subordinate pairs held congruent perceptions, may be grouped into three broad areas, namely: issues relating to the black managers' career

development and performance (items 4, 10, 12, 13); work conditions (items 2, 5, 6, 11); colleagues' and black workers' perception of black manager (items 1 and 7) and the black manager's work-related feelings (items 3 and 9).

Those items where over half of the black manager-subordinate dyads held disparate perceptions are listed below:

TABLE 23 : Black Manager-Subordinate Intra-Dyad Perceptual Agreements (< 50% in Agreement)

Items	Intra-Dyad Agreements (%)
1. Values and beliefs	0
2. Attitudinal changes	18,2
3. Lifestyle changes	18,2
4. Community leader	18,2
5. Relationship with whites	27,3
6. Years till reach senior management	27,3
7. Position in five years	27,3
8. White attitudes to black advancement	27,3
9. Blacks' place	27,3
10. Blacks' participation	36,4
11. Position in 15 years	36,4
12. Cultural problems	36,4
13. Authority	45,5
14. Relationship with blacks	45,5
15. Job satisfaction	45,5
16. Career path satisfaction	45,5
17. Middleman	45,5
18. Management sincerity	45,5

The items on which more than half of the black manager-subordinate pairs disagreed with each other can be divided into the following spheres: personal changes wrought by job (items 1, 2, 3); general black job advancement issues (items 8, 9, 10, 12, 18); relationship with white employees and blacks - both inside and outside the company (items 4, 5, 14); long-term career projections (items 6, 7, 11); feelings of satisfaction or conflict relating to the black manager's job/career (items 15, 16, 17).

As with the 34 white bosses and 21 white peers, the 11 subordinates typically disagreed with their respective black manager about general black advancement issues. However, they and their respective black boss held largely similar perceptions about the latter's career development, performance and work conditions.

As a whole, the subordinates' material revealed that their attitudes towards, and perceptions of, their black manager were more favourable than that of the peers or bosses. Possibly this was because the subordinates were careful not to be critical of their boss out of loyalty to him, or because they were wary of talking about their boss to an outsider. However, the candour with which the subjects spoke seemed to reflect their genuine feelings towards, and viewpoints about, their black boss.

In the following chapter, the results of multivariate statistical analyses of Phase I material, will be presented.

CHAPTER 9

MULTIVARIATE STATISTICAL ANALYSES OF PHASE I DATA

INTRODUCTION

In the light of the foregoing in-depth discussion on the perceptions, attitudes and experiences of the black managers, their bosses, peers and subordinates, the results of the multivariate statistical analyses conducted on the data, will be discussed in this chapter. The summary table in Chapter 6, Section 4.2 provides a clear outline of the major statistical analyses that were conducted in this part of the study.

The key multivariate statistical analyses were undertaken on the material of the 34 black managers and their white bosses rather than on that of the 21 peers and 11 subordinates, because of the small size of the latter two groups of subjects. While Section 1 presents the results of statistical analyses of the material of the black managers and bosses, Section 2 covers the findings of analyses undertaken on the data of all four groups of subjects.

SECTION 1 : STATISTICAL ANALYSES OF DATA OF THE BLACK MANAGERS AND BOSSES

1.1 Factor Analysis of the Black Managers' Interview Data

In the absence of any suitable methods for quantifying the main sources of variation in the 34 black managers' interview data, it was decided to factor analyse appropriate items with a view to summarizing the main structural features of these informants' responses. This approach had the merit of producing factor measurements suitable for subsequent analysis of the interview data.

The principal component method with varimax rotation was used. A total of 38 items were included in the analysis. A list of these variables is presented with the results of the complete factor matrix in Appendix I. The correlation matrix is placed in Appendix H. Five factors emerged (as ascertained by means of a scree test). These factors accounted for 49,3 percent of the variance in the data. A cut-off point of 0,45 was used to determine significant loadings on each factor.

With respect to Interview Factor 1, the following factor loadings, presented in descending rank order, were significant and thus defined the factor.

TABLE 24 : Significant Factor Loadings of Factor 1 from the Phase I Interview Material of the Black Managers

Question No. on Schedule	Items	Factor Loadings
24a	Job satisfaction	0,79
28	Career satisfaction	0,75
31	Achievements recognized	0,73
35	Belongs in company	0,72
20	Initiative	0,71
19a	Responsibility	0,71
36a/b	Locus of control	0,61
49	Token advancement	0,58
50	Company helps blacks	0,57
39	Whites' attitudes	0,55
52	Management genuine	0,48
	EIGENVALUE	6,33
	% OF VARIANCE	16,7

NOTE: Appendix A gives the full wording of those questions referred to by number in column 1.

This factor was labelled "Black manager's definition of his situation at work". Considering Table 24, it is evident that those black managers who were satisfied with their job and career path, also believed that their achievements were recognized by their company and they felt that they belonged within their employing organization. They stated that they were able to exercise their initiative and that they had an acceptable level of job responsibility. Furthermore, they possessed an internal locus of control in that they perceived their work-related failures, problems and successes largely as products of their own actions. They also claimed that there was no token black job advancement in their firm,

and that management was genuinely trying to develop and advance black employees. In view of this, they maintained that their firm helped "promising" blacks to reach their potential. Lastly, they did not believe that white employee attitudes towards the occupational advancement of blacks, were very negative.

Overall, then, Factor 1 revealed that there was a tendency for black managers either to have a positive or negative definition of their situation at work. That is, those black managers who were dissatisfied with their job and career, also argued that their achievements went unrecognized in their company. They did not have a sense of belonging in their employing organization; they declared that they had little or no job responsibility and could only exercise limited (or no) initiative. They also tended to interpret life events in a racial light. They regarded their organization as being guilty of "cosmetic" black job advancement and felt that white employees were opposed to the upward movement of blacks in the company.

Given the above findings, it is useful to note that Fernandez (1975) maintains that information on black managers' feelings of progress, and on their career and job satisfaction, are extremely important for firms that want to improve their black managerial development programmes. Fernandez (*op. cit.*) proposes that no company will have a successful programme if the black managers believe that they are not accepted and do not "belong", that they are unable to satisfy their needs, goals and aspirations, that their work environment and overall work experiences are unsatisfactory and that the company is not sincerely attempting to upgrade black employees. Bray *et al.* (1974) also report that the individual's perceptions of his job and work milieu have a strong bearing on motivation, which in turn affects job performance. This suggests that those black managers who are discontented will not readily identify with their company and will not perform to the best of their abilities. Obviously, this will in turn reduce their chances of promotion.

Interview Factor 2 was bipolar. It accounted for 10,8 percent of the variance in the data. This factor was labelled "Work-related perceptions of self and of other blacks". Table 25 lists the significant factor loadings, eigenvalue and percentage of variance.

TABLE 25: Significant Factor Loadings of Factor 2 from the Phase I Interview Material of the Black Managers

Question No. on Schedule	Item	Factor Loadings
		<u>Positive</u>
41b	A stooge	0,76
41a	Relationship with blacks	0,69
42	A middleman	0,65
41c	Blacks resentful	0,51
		<u>Negative</u>
43	Community leader	-0,71
54	Blacks' participation	-0,55
55a	Black manager's place	-0,55
	EIGENVALUE	4,12
	% OF VARIANCE	10,8

NOTE: Appendix A gives the full wording of these questions referred to by number in column 1.

In essence, it appears that those black managers who believed that they were not regarded as management stooges by black employees, also added that they were accepted by these black workers who did not resent the fact that they held managerial positions. Moreover, they did not feel that they were "middlemen" caught between white management and the black employees. Interestingly, these black managers did not perceive themselves as leaders in their black community. Moreover, they argued that blacks could not meaningfully participate in South Africa's economy under the present socio-political system. By the same token, they did not perceive themselves as having a "place" in the white-oriented industrial world.

One may propose that these black managers had a good relationship with the black workers because, in reality, they were not "white black men" or "management puppets". This is perhaps borne out by their belief that neither

they nor other blacks had a "place" in the current economic system in South Africa. In other words, those black managers who felt alienated from (white) capitalist industry, did not feel alienated from the black labourers. Similarly, Fernandez (1975) reported that those American black managers with less assimilative attitudes towards the corporate environment, were those who had a good relationship with all segments of the black community and who were the least likely to be called "Uncle Toms". Such findings perhaps suggest that these black managers still possessed working class world views.

Conversely, those black managers who admitted that they were accused by the black workforce of being sellouts, rated their relationship with these employees as poor. They interpreted the workforce's negative reactions towards them as reflecting, in part, their jealousy of their managerial achievements. In addition, they felt that they were "middle-men" sitting on a fence between the black workforce and white management. The fact that they posited that blacks as a whole could meaningfully participate in industry and that they themselves had a "place" therein, may explain, to an extent, why they were accused of being "traitors" by the black workforce. These black managers seemed to epitomize "marginal men" who aspired towards membership rights in the white "host" organization, yet concomitantly experienced the conflicts of being trapped in an invidious, twilight existence between their "culture of origin" and the "culture of destination". Interestingly, they felt that they were perceived by others as community leaders. Perhaps this was because, just as they claimed that black workers resented their work-related accomplishments, they possibly believed that the black community saw them as leading pioneers who were setting a precedent for others by crossing territory previously uncharted by blacks.

Factor 3 was called "Commitment of company and colleagues to black advancement". The significant factor loadings are listed in Table 26.

TABLE 26 : Significant Factor Loadings of Factor 3 from the Phase I Interview Material of the Black Managers

Question No. on Schedule	Items	Factor Loadings
53	Codes of conduct	0,81
55b	Blacks' place	0,72
52	Management genuine	0,65
37a	Colleagues' attitudes	0,46
42	A middleman	0,45
21a/b	Salary and benefits	0,45
	EIGENVALUE	3,24
	% OF VARIANCE	8,5

NOTE: Appendix A gives the full wording of those questions referred to by number in column 1.

As Table 26 indicates, Factor 3 was largely concerned with the black managers' perceptions of the commitment of their employing organization and colleagues to the upward job mobility of blacks. Those black managers who felt that the code of conduct implemented by their employing organization was effective in terms of achieving equal employment opportunities and conditions for all, also argued that the company was sincerely encouraging black job advancement. Accordingly, they contended that their salary and fringe benefits compared favourably with that of their white counterparts. Moreover, they stated that their colleagues had confidence in them. Given their positive perception of the company climate and company practices as a whole, it is not surprising that they did not feel that they were in a marginal, middleman position. They also believed that South African blacks, as a whole, had a place in "white" industry.

By contrast, those subjects who loaded negatively on Factor 3 complained that the codes of conduct were ineffective. Likewise, they declared that management merely paid "lip service" to the black advancement issue. As expected, then, they claimed that blacks did not have a

place in the white-dominated industrial world. With respect to their own position, these black managers disclosed that their work colleagues were sceptical of their abilities and that their remuneration and perks were inferior to those of their white associates. To compound the situation, they felt that they were middlemen, betwixt and between the mass of black workers and white management.

The fourth factor, labelled "Perceived career development", was bipolar. Significant factor loadings are presented in Table 27 below.

TABLE 27 : Significant Factor Loadings of Factor 4 from the Phase I Interview Material of the Black Managers

Question No. on Schedule	Items	Factor Loadings
		<u>Positive</u>
19b	Authority	0,56
29a	Optimistic/pessimistic	0,49
30b	Deserves promotion	0,47
30a	Career progress	0,46
		<u>Negative</u>
48b	Values/beliefs changed	-0,63
48c	Lifestyle changed	-0,56
	EIGENVALUE	2,64
	% OF VARIANCE	7,0

NOTE: Appendix A gives the full wording of those questions referred to by number in column 1.

This was a somewhat ambiguous bipolar dimension to interpret. Basically, it appears that those black managers who maintained that their job had not altered their general values, beliefs or lifestyle, disclosed that they had authority in their job. Although they had already experienced career progress, they argued that they deserved promotion. Overall, they were

optimistic about their future job prospects.

By contrast, those informants whose values, beliefs and lifestyle had changed as a result of their job, protested that they had little or not work-related authority. Even though they had not experienced career progress, they did not feel that they deserved a promotion, primarily because they had not been given the opportunity to prove their worth. In the final analysis, they were pessimistic about their job prospects.

Since the data that was factor analysed, was correlational, one cannot assume causality from the factor loadings. Nonetheless, it could be postulated that changes in the black managers' values, beliefs and lifestyles perhaps raised their job expectations and aspirations which, when thwarted, resulted in dissatisfaction with their career progress and prospects. Such an explanation certainly possesses "face validity". Alternatively, one could hypothesize that the black managers' value and beliefs may have changed as a product of their apparent lack of career development. Moreover, the fact that those black managers who were satisfied with their career progress alleged that their values, beliefs and lifestyle had not changed as a result of their present job, perhaps implies that these black managers already possessed the "appropriate" attributes for their job before they were placed in the position. Hence, no personal adjustments would have been required. This in turn may have facilitated their career progress.

Such proposals, of course, are speculative and cannot, as such, be concluded from the factor analysis results. However, it would be interesting to know more about the sequence of career experiences which produced this grouping of attitudes, and their impact on the individuals' outlook and way of life (or *vice versa*).

The last factor was interpreted as "Perceptions of relationships with white work colleagues". Table 28 presents the significant factor loadings.

TABLE 28 : Significant Factor Loadings of Factor 5 from the Phase I Interview Material of the Black Managers

Question No. on Schedule	Items	Factor Loadings
		<u>Positive</u>
38a	Colleagues' expectations	0,75
38b	Effect	0,74
39	Relationship with whites	0,57
		<u>Negative</u>
48a	Attitudes changed	-0,62
	EIGENVALUE	2,42
	% OF VARIANCE	6,4

NOTE: Appendix A gives the full wording of those questions referred to by number in column 1.

In effect, those black managers who believed that their colleagues possessed positive expectations of them, stated that this in turn encouraged them to perform well. They also felt that they were accepted by the white employees. Interestingly, they claimed that their job had not changed any of their attitudes in particular. This perhaps implies that they already held the required or "desirable" managerial attitudes before they moved into the position itself. This may partly account for their apparent acceptance by the white employees, which also possibly points to their assimilation and/or acculturation into the work milieu.

Conversely, those black managers who admitted that their job had changed some of their attitudes, also believed that their colleagues held negative expectations of them and that this adversely affected their job performance. Not surprisingly, they did not believe that they were accepted by whites in the company. Since causal relations cannot be inferred from factor analysis results, one can only postulate that these black managers' work-related attitudes may have changed, in part, because of their exposure to an unfriendly work environment. Alternatively, as a result of their job,

they may have adopted a more assertive, perhaps even somewhat aggressive attitude towards white employees which may, in turn, have evoked a white backlash.

In summary, it appears that the main dimensions of variance in the black managers' interview responses related to:

- (i) Their definition of their work situation, contrasting black managers who had an optimistic, positive definition of this situation with those who did not;
- (ii) Their perceptions of self (in their managerial role) and of other blacks, as well as their view of how they were regarded by blacks - contrasting those who adopted a negative perspective with those who believed that they were pioneering the advancement of blacks in general, and who saw themselves as community leaders;
- (iii) Their appraisal of the commitment of their employing organization and colleagues to the upward job mobility of blacks, contrasting those who maintained that genuine efforts were being made to advance blacks, with those who argued that such attempts were merely cosmetic;
- (iv) Their attitudes and perceptions regarding their career development, contrasting those who had experienced progress, with those who had not;
- (v) Their view of their relationship with their white work colleagues, contrasting those who evaluated the association favourably, with those who regarded it in a negative light.

1.2 Multiple Regression - Regression of the Black Managers' Interview Factor Score Variables on the Biographical Variables

The question which must now be investigated concerns the relationship between the biographical descriptions, which reflect the life history of

the individual (discussed in Chapter 7, Section 1) and the current job attitudes and perceptions, as revealed by the interview data. To what extent were these job attitudes and perceptions conditioned by particular antecedent life history factors? Two methods of analysis could be used to answer this question, namely: an hypothesis-testing approach using analysis-of-variance (ANOVA), or a multivariate analysis employing regression methods. Of these two approaches, regression seemed more appropriate since ANOVA presupposes some control over the assignment of subjects to categories of the independent variables (biographical factors). This control is obviously lacking in an exploratory study (as in the case of the present investigation). Since the biographical variables were antecedent in terms of the managers' present job situation, they could be assumed to influence their reactions to their experiences of the managerial role. Therefore, it seemed reasonable to investigate the extent to which the interview attitudes and perceptions were dependent on the biographical categories, by regressing the five interview factor scores on the biographical variables. However it must be realized that a correlation between two variables does not necessarily imply a causal relationship.

Of those five regressions, two failed to produce significant results. These were Interview Factor 2 (Work-related perceptions of self and of other blacks) and Interview Factor 3 (Commitment of company and colleagues to black job advancement). The remaining three significant regressions are discussed below.

1.2.1 Black Managers' Definition of Their Work Situation

Two biographical factor variables* namely, management status and quality of education, significantly predicted scores on this variable ($R = 0,54$; $F = 6,31$; d.f. = 31; $p = 0,005$). The beta weights for this regression were found to be as follows:

Biographical factors	Beta weights
Quality of education	0,38
Management status	-0,38

* These were derived from factor analysis of the black managers' biographical material. The results were presented in Chapter 7, Section 1.2. The biographical factors which emerged were called: "work experience", "quality of education", "career orientation" and "management status".

Over a quarter of the variance in the "black manager's definition of his situation at work" was explained by the dependent variables ($R^2 = 29,2\%$). There was a moderate, though statistically significant correlation between the black managers' quality of education and management status (the independent variables) and their perception of their work situation. More specifically, those black managers with a higher management status and a lower quality of education, appeared to have a positive definition of their situation at work. By comparison, those informants with lower management status, but a higher quality of education, were critical of their work situation.

This result is in keeping with the author's general observation that black managers in higher managerial echelons, but with lower educational qualifications, often had clawed their way up the corporate ladder. They tended to belong to the "older school" of blacks, who had endured many hardships under the South African apartheid system. Thus, some of them espoused a "cult of gratitude" because they had progressed to a managerial position which was possibly well beyond their greatest expectations. Compared with past experiences, then, they were content with their lot at work, and they wished to consolidate their position. Tumin (1957:35) notes that significant sections of an upwardly mobile population may possess such an outlook. He proposes that these individuals "...organize their perspectives around a sense of gratitude to the social order for making their present pleasures possible".

In stark contrast, those black managers with a higher quality of education, but at lower managerial levels, were undoubtedly frustrated in that they believed that they should have been promoted to a higher managerial position in keeping with their high educational qualifications. This condition reflected, in part, their feelings of relative deprivation when they evaluated their position against that of their white counterparts who were promoted over them. It is not surprising, then, that these informants held negative perceptions of their work situation.

Similarly, Wella (1983) found that better educated managers felt frustrated, alienated and dissatisfied with their job. They also were critical about their employing organization. Wella noted that most of the black managers had better educational qualifications than their immediate superiors (at least in the quantitative sense). She suggests that this could have fostered negative feelings and resentment.

1.2.2 Career Development

This variable was significantly related to two biographical variables, namely; work experience and career orientation ($R = 0,516$; $F = 11,66$; $d.f. = 32$; $p = 0,0017$). The beta weights are presented below.

Biographical factors	Beta weights
Work experience	-0,52
Career orientation	-0,30

There was a moderate, though statistically significant multiple correlation between the dependent and independent variables - with over a quarter (26,6%) of the variation in the dependent variable (career development) being explained by the independent variables.

In essence, older black line managers with long work experience and who had higher socio-economic backgrounds*, held negative perceptions of their career development. Conversely, younger staff black managers with lower socio-economic backgrounds* and who had less work experience, regarded their career development in a more favourable light. One may suggest that the professionally qualified older line managers clearly had higher expectations about career mobility than younger staff managers. As a result, they faced greater frustrations in view of their slow career progress (which had probably been stunted because of racial discrimination). Staff managers clearly played a vital role in dealing with black employees and in acting as an intermediary between white management and the black labourers. Hence they were optimistic about their career prospects.

1.2.3 Perception of Relationship with White Work Colleagues

The biographical factor variables labelled "management status" predicted the black managers' perception of their relationship with their white work

* This refers to the educational and occupational levels of the black managers' fathers. Those fathers with higher socio-economic status, for example, were literate and held white collar jobs.

colleagues ($R = 0,44$; $F = 7,86$; $d.f. = 32$; $p = 0,0085$). The beta loading is shown below.

Biographical factor	Beta weight
Management status	0,44

It appears that black managers with higher management status tended to have more positive perceptions of their interpersonal relationships with whites at work than those black managers with less management status. For instance, they felt that they were accepted by the white employees in the company and that their work associates held positive expectations of them work-wise.

This state of affairs may be attributed to a number of possible factors. On the one hand, certain black informants may have reached a higher managerial level precisely because they were accepted by white employees. On the other hand, one may hypothesize that those black managers with higher management status were, in all likelihood, accepted more readily than blacks in lower managerial echelons because, by the time they reached that level, they presumably would have gained at least some credibility in the eyes of the white employees. Above all, the "pygmalion effect" or "self-fulfilling prophecy" phenomenon may help to explain these results. That is, those black managers in high status positions may perhaps have reached those positions, in part, because they believed that whites held favourable expectations of them, which they tried to meet. Unfortunately, in the absence of more detailed longitudinal studies, one cannot be sure which of the possible explanations discussed above are correct or partially correct.

The bosses' material will now be considered in the light of the results of the statistical analysis of the black managers' interview data.

1.3 Factor Analysis of the Bosses' Interview Data

The bosses' interview material was subjected to factor analysis primarily to ascertain the complexity of the structures underlying their perceptions of their respective black subordinate and of general black job advancement issues.

Thirty-nine variables were included in the analysis (see Appendix J for the correlation matrix). A principal component factor analysis with a varimax orthogonal rotational method, was conducted. The scree test highlighted three salient factors which accounted for 41 percent of the variance in the data. (See Appendix K for the complete varimax rotated factor matrix for the three factors.)

Taking 0,45 as a rigorous cut-off point for selecting out significant factor loadings on each dimension, Factor 1 was labelled "Perception of black subordinate's job performance and career prospects". The significant factor loadings are presented in Table 29.

TABLE 29 : Significant Factor Loadings on Factor 1 of the Bosses' Interview Data

Question No. on Schedule	Variables	Factor Loadings
		<u>Positive</u>
6e	Innovation and creativity	0,87
6a	Initiative	0,74
4	Job performance	0,71
7	Compared to whites	0,66
6f	Decision-making	0,59
15	Job ceiling	0,58
6d	Increased responsibility	0,57
16	Promotion	0,55
9	Self-confidence	0,51
27a	Attitudes changed	0,47
6c	Autonomy	0,47
		<u>Negative</u>
26	Discrimination	-0,57
	EIGENVALUE	7,69
	% OF VARIANCE	5,32

NOTE: Appendix C gives the full wording of those questions referred to by number in column 1.

In essence, those bosses who felt that their respective black subordinate performed well and possessed the required managerial attributes (such as innovation, initiative, decision-making abilities, and self-confidence), rated their subordinate favourably when compared to their white counterparts. Furthermore, they believed that the black manager could handle increased responsibility, deserved to be promoted, and therefore had not reached a ceiling job-wise. They also claimed that the black manager's attitudes had become more management-orientated. Interestingly, however, these bosses conceded that their black subordinate experienced discrimination at work - for instance, in terms of exclusion from social gatherings after office hours.

Conversely, some bosses were negative about their black subordinate's performance and career prospects. Thus, one theme characterizing the views of bosses was the contrast between those espousing positive attitudes and perceptions, with those who were negative about the black manager's performance and career prospects. Whether these attitudes and perceptions were realistically based or not, was not reflected by the factor.

Factor 2 was interpreted as "Perceptions of issues relating to black job advancement". Table 30 lists the significant factor loadings on this bipolar dimension.

TABLE 30 : Significant Factor Loadings of Factor 2 of the Bosses' Interview Data

Question No. on Schedule	Variables	Factor Loadings
		<u>Positive</u>
3a/b	Salary/perks	0,73
19	Locus of control	0,63
32b	Blacks' participation	0,61
21	Whites' attitudes	0,60
33	Blacks' place	0,56
34	Cultural problems	0,56
23	Middleman	0,52
32a	B.M.'s participation	0,50
31	Codes of conduct	0,49
29	Company sincerity	0,46
		<u>Negative</u>
27b	Values/beliefs	-0,74
27a	Attitudes changed	-0,47
	EIGENVALUE	5,32
	% OF VARIANCE	13,6

- NOTE:** (i) Appendix C gives the full wording of those questions referred to by number in column 1;
- (ii) "Black manager" has been abbreviated to "B.M." in column 2 of the table.

It appears that those bosses who felt that the salary and perks of their black subordinate compared favourably with that of their white counterparts, also believed that blacks could meaningfully participate, and had a place in industry. They did not regard cultural factors as causing major problems between blacks and whites in industry. Moreover, they argued that the principles of the codes of conduct were being adhered to by their company which, they claimed, was genuinely trying to encourage the upward job mobility of blacks. Related to this, they asserted that white organizational members accepted the job advancement of blacks. They perceived their respective black subordinate as possessing an "internal locus of control" and they assumed that his values, beliefs and attitudes had not changed as a result of his job. They also posited that the black manager did not feel that he was a "middleman" placed between white management and the black employees. A factor loading that just missed the cut-off point of 0,45 expands upon the latter statement. That is, the bosses also believed that the black manager was not perceived as a "sellout" by the black workforce.

Overall, the bosses' appraisal of topics relating to the phenomenon of black job advancement differed. In other words, there was a contrast between those bosses with positive perceptions and viewpoints on the matter (as discussed above), and those with negative perceptions of the same issues.

The last factor was called "Managerial attitudes and attributes". Table 31 presents the factor loadings which defined the factor.

TABLE 31 : Significant Factor Loadings of Factor 3 of the Bosses' Interview Data

Question No. on Schedule	Variables	Factor Loadings
6g	Dependability	0,80
8	Boss's confidence	0,76
2a	Responsibility	0,72
10a	Commitment	0,69
6c	Autonomy	0,57
6f	Decision-making	0,57
6b	Assertiveness	0,52
10b	Feeling of belonging	0,49
	EIGENVALUE	2,98
	% OF VARIANCE	7,6

NOTE: Appendix C gives the full wording of those questions referred to by number in column 1.

Considering Table 31, it is evident that those bosses who perceived their black subordinate as possessing managerial qualities (such as dependability, responsibility, autonomy, decision-making ability and assertiveness), maintained that they had confidence in their subordinate's abilities and potential. They also believed that the black manager was committed to the company and had a sense of "belonging". Two factor loadings that were just below the cut-off point of 0,45 serve to elaborate further upon this interpretation. That is, these bosses also judged that their black subordinate was satisfied with his career (0,44) and they felt that he performed well (0,43).

Multiple regression analysis revealed that the bosses' biographical data (namely, their age, standard and quality of education, managerial level and company service) failed to predict any of the three dimensions that emerged from the factor analysis at the five per cent level of significance. What this result means is that the attitudes and perceptions expressed by the bosses on each of these three factors was not significantly related to their own personal history.

The important point emerging from the factor analysis of the bosses' material is that their perceptions and attitudes of their black subordinates and of related black advancement issues, were not as complex as the black managers' own direct perspectives on these topics. This is borne out by the fact that only three factors emerged from the factor analysis of the bosses' data (39 items were included in the analysis), compared to the five factors that arose from factor analysis of the black managers' interview material (38 variables were entered into the calculation).

1.4 Analysis of the Black Managers' Sentence Completion Exercise

As pointed out in Chapter 6, Section 4.1 of this thesis, the 20 incomplete sentences that the black managers filled in, were content analysed by two independent judges and coded up for computer processing. (See Appendix B for the list of incomplete sentences.) The following statistical techniques were then applied:

A correlation matrix was generated reflecting the intercorrelations between the 34 managers with respect to similarities in types of sentence completions. (See Appendix M for the matrix.) A "common elements" definition of Pearson's r was used in which the index ranges between 1 (perfect similarity between managers) and 0 (no agreement in completions). The interested reader may refer to McNemar (1955: 140-141) for further information on the common elements method.

Factor analysis was then applied to the correlation matrix of individuals. This method, which is based on correlations between units (in this case, between the subjects themselves), is called a Q-factor analysis. The more common variety based on correlations between variables is known as R-factor analysis (Nie *et al.*, 1975). The principal components factor method, with orthogonal varimax rotation was used. The scree test showed a clear "elbow" at the second factor. The eigenvalue of Factor 1 was 11.69 and that of Factor 2, 1.91. These two factors accounted for 40 percent of the variance. Thus two "types" of black managers emerged in terms of their sentence completions, namely: "Type I" informants whose factor loadings were higher on Factor 1, and "Type II" subjects with significant loadings on Factor 2.

Table 32 presents the varimax rotated factor matrix which lists each subjects' factor loadings on the two factors. The underlined loadings indicate the allocation of the subjects to types.

TABLE 32 : Factor Matrix of the 34 Black Managers in Terms of Their Sentence Completions

Black manager	Factor 1	Factor 2
1	0, <u>53</u>	0,16
2	0, <u>54</u>	0,23
3	0, <u>57</u>	0,31
4	0, <u>55</u>	0,42
5	0,36	0, <u>40</u>
6	0,09	0, <u>65</u>
7	0, <u>46</u>	0,40
8	0, <u>44</u>	0,17
9	0, <u>51</u>	0,47
10	0, <u>55</u>	0,18
11	0,17	0, <u>51</u>
12	0,19	0, <u>70</u>
13	0,23	0, <u>50</u>
14	0,12	0, <u>51</u>
15	0,19	0, <u>47</u>
16	0, <u>65</u>	0,19
17	0, <u>60</u>	0,27
18	0, <u>70</u>	0,23
19	0,37	0, <u>55</u>
20	0, <u>56</u>	0,10
21	0,36	0, <u>68</u>
22	0,44	0, <u>45</u>
23	0,15	0, <u>65</u>
24	0, <u>58</u>	0,40
25	0, <u>59</u>	0,19
26	0,16	0, <u>49</u>
27	0,25	0, <u>80</u>
28	0,28	0, <u>41</u>
29	0, <u>65</u>	0,30
30	0,37	0, <u>48</u>
31	0, <u>57</u>	0,43
32	0,19	0, <u>41</u>
33	0,43	0, <u>50</u>
34	0, <u>74</u>	0,12
EIGENVALUE	11,69	1,91
% OF VARIANCE	34,4	5,6

Taking the higher of the two factor loadings for each subject, exactly half of the 34 individuals were identified as Type I individuals (Factor 1). The remaining 17 individuals (Type II) clustered on Factor 2. The cut-off point in each case was 0,40. However, if a more stringent level of factor loading was utilized (that is 0,5), then 15 individuals were classified as Type I personalities, and 10 fell into the Type II category. Therefore, nine subjects were, in part, a mixture of the two subject "types".

An oblique rotation was also undertaken to ascertain whether this clarified the allocation of subjects, to "types". The pattern of factor loadings was very similar to that obtained by orthogonal rotation. Furthermore, there was a fairly high correlation of 0,60 between the two factors (that is, between Type I and Type II). This indicates, once again, that the types of black managers were not completely mutually exclusive. In the final analysis, Type I and Type II individuals were classified according to the higher of the two factor loadings on factor 1 and factor 2 as derived from the orthogonal varimax rotation method.

Listed below are those sentences with statistically significant differences in the completions between Type I and Type II subjects. Examples of the typical responses obtained are given.

1. Very highly statistically significant differences ($p < 0,005$).

Statement 3: My family view me as

Type I

A father; a hero; a leader.

Type II

A good example; responsible; an achiever.

$$\chi^2 = 12,61; \text{ d.f. } = 1; p = 0,0004$$

Statement 15: In my community, people view me as

Type I

A leader; an advisor.

Type II

An admired person; not different from anyone else.

$$\chi^2 = 10,29; \text{ d.f. } = 1; p = 0,0013$$

Statement 5: When making decisions Type I

Most expressed concern for the effect of their decisions on others, or tried to make the best decision or carefully considered the best alternative.

Type II

Most of them worry about criticisms or repercussions of such decisions.

$$\chi^2 = 8,04; \text{ d.f.} = 1; p = 0,0046$$

2. Highly statistically significant differences ($p < 0,02$)Statement 9: Rejection Type I

Most of them seldom experience rejection and regard it as an unfavourable practice.

Type II

Rejection gives them negative feelings; or is seen as an aspect of race relations.

Fisher's exact test: $p = 0,0128$ (two-tailed)

Statement 14: Real job advancement Type I

They desire it; seen as part of self-growth; based on merit and as involving responsibility and promotion.

Type II

Adopt a pessimistic view or see it as racially biased.

$$\chi^2 = 5,87; \text{ d.f.} = 1; p = 0,0154$$

3. Statistically significant differences ($p \leq 0,05$)Statement 19: My strong points are Type I

Human relations skills or personal traits.

Type II

Good job performance qualities (none emphasized human relations skills).

$$\chi^2 = 5,04; \text{ d.f.} = 1; p = 0,0247$$

Statement 8: Most see me as Type I

A leader; as "standing out"; as successful.

Type II

An ordinary person, or in a neutral light.

$$\chi^2 = 3,89; \text{ d.f.} = 1; p = 0,0487.$$

4. "Nearly" statistically significant difference ($p = 0,06$)

Statement 16: My orders

Type I

Are nearly always carried out.

Type II

Are sometimes ignored, questioned, or not carried out.

$$\chi^2 = 3,54; \text{ d.f. } = 1; p = 0,0600$$

It is interesting that the two most statistically significant sentence completions by Type I and Type II respondents related to how they were viewed extra-organizationally - that is, by their family (statement 3; $p = 0,0004$) and by their community (statement 15; $p = 0,0013$). In both cases, Type I black managers perceived themselves very favourably, for example, as leaders, or heroes. By contrast, Type II informants' completions, although positive, were not couched in the "glowing" terms used by Type I individuals. Above all, no reference was made to them being seen as "leaders", "heroes" or "advisors".

1.4.1 Description of Black Manager "Types"

As a whole, there were seven significantly different sentence completions between Type I and Type II black managers. An examination of these particular sentence completions reveals that Type I individuals seemed to be assertive, self-confident and optimistic in outlook. They perceived themselves in a positive light and felt that others viewed them favourably as well (for instance, as leaders and heroes). Thus, a theme that emerged from Type I sentence completions was that, besides being successful in life, they were also appreciated, respected and accepted by others. They showed a concern for others, but were not overly worried about the view of others. Clearly, this group of informants possessed very positive self-concepts. In general, they seemed to have an "internal locus of control" since they appeared to feel in control of their life. In view of this, a point made by Burns (1979:257) is relevant: "The high self-esteem person, with his positive sense of adequacy, should feel more in control of what he does and what happens to him rather than under control from outside forces".

By contrast, Type II respondents seemed to lack self-confidence and some of their completions had pessimistic overtones. Rather than perceiving themselves as leaders, they felt that they were "ordinary people" and that they were regarded as such by others. They seemed to be sensitive to criticisms, rejection and public opinion. They were inclined to interpret problems in a racial light, and seemed to possess an "external locus of control". They were concerned with how others saw them and appeared to have a need for social approval. A fundamental theme that became apparent was their feeling of non-acceptance and of a lack of work-related influence. They perceived their good job performance as their strong point. Unlike Type I respondents, none mentioned social skills as a strength. Hence they appeared to be task-directed rather than socially-orientated. Overall, they seemed to possess a less positive self-concept than Type I informants.

1.5 Discriminant Analysis - Groups: Types of Black Managers; Variables: Interview Factor Variables

Discriminant analysis was conducted to ascertain to what extent the bosses' attitudes and perceptions as reduced to their three interview factors (discussed in Section 1.3 of this chapter), were influenced by the personality typing of the black managers (based on their sentence completions). The single discriminant function was not statistically significant at the five percent level.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the fact that some of the black managers were not pure types, could have confounded the results. Alternatively, the perceptions and feelings of the black managers portrayed in their sentence completions (and on the basis of which they were differentiated into types) may not actually have been translated into behavioural patterns and readily identifiable attitudes and perceptions. Furthermore, discriminant analysis revealed that the attitudes and perceptions of the black managers themselves on their five interview factors were not significantly different with respect to the personality typing of the managers.

At least two of the black managers' interview factors, namely: Factor 2 (Work-related perceptions of self and of other blacks) and Factor 4 (Perceived career development), seemed to overlap with some of the significant sentence completions, especially statement 5 (When making decisions....), statement 9 (Rejection), statement 14 (Real job advancement) and statement 15 (In my community, people view me as). Thus it is surprising to find no significant differences between Type I and Type II managers on these factors. Possibly this result reflects the difference between reality and fantasy. The interview responses perhaps represented their sober reflections of reality, whereas the sentence completions expressed underlying wishes and anxieties which were suppressed (or not picked up in the scoring) in the interview.

1.6 Discriminant Analysis - Groups: Type I and Type II Black Managers; Variables: Biographical Factor Score Variables

The extent to which Type I and Type II differences were based on biographical differences of the black managers was investigated by means of discriminant analysis. The single discriminant function which emerged was not significant at the five percent level.

As in the case of the interview variables (see the previous section 1.5), the possible reasons why the biographical items failed to predict the types of black managers were firstly that not all types were clearly differentiated. Secondly, the "fantasy" aspect which relates to the sentence completion data, could have confounded the results. In addition, it could be argued that such types of informants emerged largely as a product of the individuals' work environment rather than as a result of their demographic profiles.

Notwithstanding these findings, the existence of two types of black managers seems to represent a provocative finding which needs to be researched further in an attempt to ascertain whether, given a larger sample, such types would still emerge. It would also be interesting to identify antecedent factors that contribute to the appearance of such types; to determine conditioning variables that affect these types; and to assess

whether there are significant disparities in the job performance, managerial attributes, work relationships and assimilatory tendencies between types of managers. It could also be fruitful to examine which types of bosses and black managers best complement each other.

SECTION 2 : STATISTICAL ANALYSES OF DATA FOR THE BLACK MANAGERS, BOSSES, PEERS AND SUBORDINATES

2.1 Calculation of Interpersonal Perceptual Discrepancy Measurements

Since members of the black manager's role set (his immediate boss, a peer, and subordinate) were interviewed on the same topics as the black manager, it was felt that it would be valuable to have some quantitative index of the degree to which views of role set members differed from those of the black manager himself. A convenient index for this purpose was D^2 (Euclidean distance) calculation according to the following formula:

$$D^2 = \sum_i^{32} (x_{iR} - x_{iM})^2$$

Where x_{iR} = response of member of role set to interview item i

and x_{iM} = response of black manager to the same interview item,

the summation being taken over all relevant interview items (in this case 32 items). (See Appendix L for the list of 32 questions on which the items were based.)

Overall, then, Euclidean distance measures were calculated for the following six dyad groups:

- (i) Black manager-boss;
- (ii) Black manager-peer;
- (iii) Black manager-subordinate;

- (iv) Boss-peer;
- (v) Boss-subordinate;
- (vi) Peer-subordinate

2.1.1 Rationale for Using D²

The response categories on the interview items constituted independent dimensions in a 32-hyperspace. The responses of the black managers to these items located a point in this hyperspace. Similarly, the responses of the role set located another point in this hyperspace. The distance between these two points was calculated according to the formula for D². It is obvious that the greater the agreement between the responses of the black manager and his role set member, the closer together the pattern of points lay in the hyperspace. Hence, D² became a measure of the degree to which the views of the black manager and relevant role set member were discrepant. (See Blum and Naylor, 1968:72-75 for a discussion on the Euclidean distance method.)

Table 33 lists the Euclidean distance measures for the various sets of dyads.

TABLE 33 : Euclidean Distance Measures

Cases	Black Manager- Boss	Black Manager- Peer	Boss- Peer	Black Manager- Subordinate	Boss - Subordinate	Peer - Subordinate
1	8,37	10,54	8,31			
2	8,49					
3	7,62	6,32	8,25			
4	13,15	9,95	9,06			
5	10,25	8,25	8,66			
6	9,33	9,75	6,78	8,25	7,42	8,78
7	7,00	9,80	8,78			
8	9,33					
9	8,83	9,59	7,07			
10	11,09					
11	9,80					
12	11,58			12,77	12,85	
13	10,20			8,60	8,12	
14	9,11	8,25	10,63			
15	14,00	10,34	12,04			
16	8,43	8,72	8,31			
17	10,95					
18	7,94	7,81	8,83			
19	11,31	9,54	11,53			
20	9,85			6,16	8,89	
21	6,93			6,63	6,32	
22	11,00	11,23	8,43			
23	8,43	10,68	8,43	9,27	9,22	7,87
24	11,27	9,43	10,77	7,81	8,72	7,07
25	8,94			7,94	7,14	
26	13,45	12,81	7,81			
27	10,39					
28	12,86					
29	10,30	8,00	11,83	7,00	10,25	9,54
30	7,00	6,71	6,78			
31	10,25	9,38	7,00	6,00	7,55	6,48
32	13,04	12,04	7,14	12,49	6,32	6,08
33	11,45	7,81	9,70			
34	8,49					
No. of dyads	34	21	21	11	11	6
Mean	10,01	9,38	8,86	8,45	8,44	7,64
SD	1,88	1,59	1,61	2,20	1,81	1,23

In interpreting the findings given in Table 33, only the first three sets of dyads (namely, those of the black manager-boss, black manager-peer and boss-peer) will be discussed in depth, since the sample size of the remaining three comparison groups is too small.

An examination of the means of the three groups indicates that the largest mean Euclidean distance measure (and therefore the largest average interpersonal perceptual discrepancy) was that of the black manager-boss dyads ($\bar{x} = 10,01$; $SD = 1,88$). This was followed by the black manager-peer mean distance measure ($\bar{x} = 9,38$; $SD = 1,59$) while the smallest mean distance measure was that of the boss-peer group ($\bar{x} = 8,86$; $SD = 1,61$).

A repeated measures t-test, for dependent samples was conducted to ascertain whether the differences between the mean of the black manager-boss, black manager-peer, and boss-peer groups were significantly different in terms of the deviation of each mean from the grand mean of 9,42. It was found that the black manager-boss mean was significantly larger ($t = 2,31$; $d.f. = 33$; $p = 0,026$; two-tailed test) and the boss-peer mean of 8,86 was significantly smaller than the grand mean ($t = -2,09$; $d.f. = 20$; $p = 0,043$; two-tailed test). The black manager-peer mean of 9,38 was very close to the grand mean of 9,42. A second repeated measures t-test for dependent samples was undertaken to test the discrepancies between pairs of the means. In this case, the significant difference lay in the contrast between the means of the black manager-boss and boss-peer ($t = 2,54$; $d.f. = 20$; $p = 0,015$; two-tailed test). The black manager-peer mean and that of the boss-peer were not statistically significantly different ($t = 1,08$; $d.f. = 20$; $p = 0,286$; two-tailed test).

Both t-tests seem to be pointing to the same conclusion - namely, that the black manager-boss mean differed significantly from the boss-peer mean. Hence, the black managers' perceptions diverged significantly from those of the bosses, whose views appeared to be closer to those of the peers. One may tentatively suggest this state of affairs existed because of one or more of the following possible reasons:

- (i) Either the black managers or their bosses were unrealistic in their judgements;

- (ii) Perhaps the race and status disparities between the black managers and bosses were the main causes of the discrepancy, while the racial difference between the black managers and their white peers was the major factor contributing to their particular perceptual dissimilarities. It may be argued that in the South African context, racial differences between individuals generally imply, *inter alia*, discrepancies in life experiences, opportunities, social contacts, living patterns, socio-economic status and class - all of which are associated with certain world views, perceptions and attitudes. With regard to the status factor, it was pointed out in Chapter 4, Section 2, that people in different positions also have access to different sources of information and reference points from which to perceive organizational events and people (Tannenbaum, 1966). Status and authority disparities which exist between employees at different managerial levels may prevent subordinates from communicating freely with their seniors about important issues. Obviously, this will manifest itself in perceptual discord between the two parties (in this case between the black managers and their bosses);
- (iii) The perceptions of the bosses and peers were more congruent with one another, possibly because they both possessed a similar stereotyped view of the black manager and similar racial pre-conceptions and beliefs about blacks in general.

Overall, the findings suggest that the racial component was possibly the single most important factor contributing to the size of the Euclidean distance measures. This proposal is borne out when one considers the fact that the mean Euclidean distance measure of the boss-peer dyads (same racial group, different occupational status) was smaller than the mean of the black manager-peer dyads (different racial group, same occupational status). In view of this, it may be hypothesized that if the black managers and their respective peers had belonged to the same racial group, then their mean Euclidean distance measure would have been smaller than that of the boss-peer dyads.

Another important point to consider is that the black managers were expected to function as equals to their white work peers, who supposedly possessed

the same work status as the black managers. Notwithstanding this, the fact that the black managers were numerically part of a majority group, but politically and socially part of a disadvantaged group subject to severe discrimination, must have detracted from their work status. In other words, there were probably racial differences as well as status disparities between the black managers and their peers, which must have increased intra-dyad perceptual discord. This may also account for the finding that the black manager-peer perceptual discrepancies were larger than those of the boss-peer dyads.

Considering the summary tables (placed at the close of Chapter 7 and Chapter 8) presenting percentages of intra-dyad perceptual agreements on specific questions asked of the subjects, the mean percentage of perceptual disagreements, as calculated from these tables were:

- (i) Black manager-boss dyads ($\bar{x}$ = 54,5%; SD = 17,7%);
- (ii) Black manager-peer dyads ($\bar{x}$ = 53,1%; SD = 16,2%);
- (iii) Black manager-subordinate dyads ($\bar{x}$ = 50,7%; SD = 24,5%).

Thus, in keeping with the results of the Euclidean distance analysis, the 34 black manager-boss pairs had the highest mean percentage of intra-dyad perceptual disagreements. This was followed by the 21 black manager-peer pairs, while the 11 black manager-subordinate dyads had the lowest average percentage of interpersonal perceptual disparities.

2.2 Multiple Regression Analysis: Black Manager-Boss Euclidean Distance Measure (Dependent Variable) Regressed on Biographical Factor Score Variables (Independent Variables)

Multiple regression analyses were run to ascertain to what extent the perceptual dissimilarities between the bosses and black managers were linked to aspects of their biographical data.

In both cases, none of the biographical material predicted the perceptual distance measures. That is, the biographical material of neither the black

managers nor their bosses had sufficient weight to contribute significantly to the Euclidean distance scores. Had the sample been larger, certain biographical features may, in fact, have emerged as statistically significant indicators of the perceptual discrepancy measures. Alternatively, one could argue that rather than being related to the biographical characteristics of the respondents, the perceptual discrepancies between the bosses and their black subordinates were, perhaps, largely the product of organizational factors (such as company climate and structure). Above all, they possibly reflected extra-organizational influences, such as the socio-political system of apartheid which has prevented different racial groups from developing authentic (rather than purely instrumental) relationships with one another. Socio-cultural characteristics exemplified, *inter alia*, by different world views, belief systems, values and attitudes, may also have accounted, in part, for the black manager-boss perceptual discrepancies.

2.3 Euclidean Distance and Type of Black Manager

It was hypothesized that the black manager-boss Euclidean Distance mean of Type I black managers ($\bar{x} = 9,43$) would be statistically significantly different from that of Type II informants ($\bar{x} = 10,60$). The reader may refer back to Section 1.4.1 of this chapter for a discussion on subject types.

The results of a t-test for two uncorrelated means supported this hypothesis ($t = -1,78$; d.f. = 32; $p = 0,042$; one-tailed test). This meant that the Euclidean distance mean of Type I black managers was significantly smaller than that of Type II respondents.

In effect, these findings buttress the author's presupposition that Type I black managers who had high self-esteem, self-confidence, and who felt accepted by others, would have less perceptual dissonance between their boss and themselves than Type II individuals with lower self-esteem, and who claimed that they lacked influence and were not readily accepted by others. The positive outlook of Type I informants was perhaps indicative of their assimilation into the work environment, as epitomized by greater perceptual congruency between their bosses and themselves.

Alternatively, the black manager-boss perceptual agreements possibly contributed to the positive outlook and perceptions of Type I black managers.

Clearly, then, this is an area in which further research should be conducted to ascertain whether the qualities of Type I black managers resulted in smaller interpersonal perceptual discrepancies, or whether *a priori* boss-black manager similarities in outlook generated Type I perceptions and attitudes.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER AND OF PHASE I

Factor analysis of the black managers' biographical material revealed that the data were grouped into four major dimensions which were consecutively labelled: "work experience", "quality of education", "career orientation" and "management status". Following on from this, five factors emerged from the black managers' interview data. These were interpreted as representing: the black managers' definition of their situation at work; their work-related perceptions of themselves and of other blacks; the commitment of their company and colleagues to black job advancement; their career development; and their perceptions of their relationships with their white work colleagues. Each of the aforementioned factors was comprised of a contrast between positive and negative perceptions and attitudes.

Multiple regression analyses revealed that some of the above perceptions and attitudes were conditioned by certain antecedent life history factors. Firstly, it was found that the black managers' quality of education and their management status predicted their definition of their work situation. Thus, the higher their quality of education and the lower their management status, the more negative their perceptions and attitudes of their work situation. Secondly, the black managers' age-related work experience and career orientation were significantly related to their perceived career development. In other words, the older black line managers with more work experience and who had high socio-economic status backgrounds,

were more critical about their career development than their younger staff counterparts with less work experience and with lower socio-economic status backgrounds. Thirdly, those black managers with higher management status regarded their relationship with their white work colleagues in a more positive light than those black managers with lower management status.

It was also discovered that the bosses possessed a less complex view of the black managers and of the black job advancement issue than that of the black managers themselves. This was revealed by factor analysis of the bosses' interview data.

An additional finding of note was that there appeared to be two "types" of black managers in terms of how they filled in the sentence completion exercise. Type I subjects were identified as being self-confident, optimistic and as having very positive self-concepts. By comparison, Type II informants were pessimistic, and possessed less positive self-concepts.

Interpersonal perceptual discrepancy measures between the six dyad groups (namely, the black manager-boss, black manager-peer, black manager-subordinate, boss-peer, boss-subordinate and peer-subordinate), were calculated using the Euclidean distance formulation. An interesting finding was that the largest interpersonal perceptual differences existed between the black managers and their bosses, followed by the black managers and their respective peers and then by the boss-peer pairs. The black manager-subordinate perceptual disparity was smaller than the black manager-boss and black manager-peer perceptual difference. Furthermore, it was found that the black manager-boss Euclidean distance mean of Type I respondents was significantly smaller than that of Type II individuals.

In the final analysis, then, the results of Phase I of the study discussed in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8, revealed that there was a deep split, in many instances, in the perceptions held by the black managers in contrast to those of significant others, namely: their boss, peer and/or subordinate. Such perceptual discrepancies emerged in regard to a variety of topics, ranging from the black manager's career development and job satisfaction, to general issues about the nature and state of black job advancement in

their employing organization.

In addition, it seemed that some of the work problems experienced by the black managers were universal, managerial ones, such as line versus staff conflicts (Cawsey, 1980; Gowler and Legge, 1975). Other problems were universal, but exacerbated by race. For example, many of the frustrations of the black managers were probably shared by all managers seeking the few positions available at the top of the organization. Yet the black managers encountered the additional handicap of an environment that was hostile to their attainment of success because of their lower status assignment in society. Lastly, some problems were purely race-related, such as racial discrimination, exclusionary in-company politics, feelings of not belonging in the white corporate system, and of being marginal men in limbo between a white and a black world. Indeed, it was evident that the black managers needed to be "bicultural" because they had to behave with a certain level of effectiveness in terms of the standards prescribed by both the black and white communities. This "double burden", characterized as it was by status inconsistencies, appeared to be stress-provoking. Moreover, conflicting and ambiguous role expectations held by role senders, appeared to add to the black managers' work stress.

While some of the literature mentioned in Chapter 5, Section 5.2 of this thesis (see for example, Coldwell and Moerdyk, 1981; Human, 1981a, 1981b, 1984; Mackay *et al.*, 1980; Moerdyk, 1983; Strümpfer, 1983), postulated or assumed that black managers must be experiencing considerable work stress, a direct inquiry into this matter, as perceived and reported by the black managers themselves, was lacking. In view of this, and because the issue of work stress seemed to pervade many of the matters highlighted in Phase I of the investigation, Phase II was formulated as a follow-up study to examine the work stress encountered by those black managers who had participated in the first part of the project. The fundamental objective, then, was to view the stress experience from the informants' own subjective frame of reference.

In the following two chapters, the results of Phase II of the study will be outlined and discussed. Chapter 6, Section 3, gives specific details of the research problem and research design of Phase II.

CHAPTER 10

PHASE II : PRESENTATION OF RESULTS WITH DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the following major areas will be covered:

- (i) Changes that had taken place since the black managers had last been interviewed, will be documented;
- (ii) The types of work stressors they encountered, the coping mechanisms they adopted, and some of their stress symptoms will be described;
- (iii) Their social support systems and extra-mural activities will be examined;
- (iv) General advice to young black employees, as provided by the black managers, will be outlined.

As in the case of the presentation of Phase I results, qualitative, descriptive material will be complemented by quantitative, correlational and descriptive statistical analyses (presented in Chapter 11). A copy of the Phase II interview schedule is placed in Appendix D.

SECTION 1 : CHANGES SINCE THE PHASE I FIELDWORK, AS REPORTED BY THE BLACK MANAGERS

As pointed out in Chapter 6, Section 3.2.3, only 31 of the 34 black managers who participated in Phase I of the investigation, were included in the second part of the project. Since the fieldwork for this follow-up study was undertaken approximately eight months after the initial set of Phase I interviews, the researcher questioned the subjects on the changes (if any) that had occurred during this period of time. Areas of change considered related to the nature of their job, their work associates, and their job satisfaction.

Very few conditions had altered during the lapse between both phases of the study. Only two of the 31 black managers included in Phase II had been promoted to a higher position, thus receiving a concomitant rise in remuneration and fringe benefits. One quarter of the respondents felt that their job content had been restructured, to an extent, in terms of the specific tasks that they performed. The other black managers maintained that their job content was basically the same. Interestingly, however, almost two-fifths (38,7%) disclosed that their job responsibilities had increased a bit over the last eight months. (All of these subjects had claimed during the Phase I interviews, that they had "real" job responsibility.) The rest of the subjects stated that their job responsibilities were still the same as before. In addition, just over a third (35,5%) of the black managers claimed that their authority had increased slightly. The most common reason offered for this was that their colleagues had gained more confidence in their capabilities. Table 35 lists the black managers' responses to the inquiry of whether they were as satisfied, more satisfied, or less satisfied with their job than they were when the researcher had first interviewed them.

TABLE 34 : Black Managers' Job Satisfaction Compared to Phase I

Job Satisfaction	n	%
More satisfied	10	32,3
Still satisfied/still reasonably satisfied	5	16,1
Still confused/fluctuating feelings	2	6,4
Still not satisfied	1	3,2
Less satisfied (had been satisfied/ reasonably satisfied)	7	22,6
Even more dissatisfied than before	6	19,4
TOTAL	31	100,0

As Table 34 indicates, almost half the subjects (that is, 15 out of 31 of the black managers) were either more satisfied, or still satisfied with their job when compared with how they had felt when last interviewed by the researcher. Reasons offered by the 10 black managers who were "more satisfied" centred around the fact that they now had more responsibility,

autonomy, influence, valuable work exposure and credibility. Above all, a prevalent feeling was that their work situation had improved because they were now more accepted by the employees and management. The remaining 16 informants expressed varying degrees of job dissatisfaction. Complaints by 11 of these 16 black managers centred on the fact that they had not experienced career development during the past year. Consequently, they felt that they were stagnating and underutilized. Other reasons offered for their job dissatisfaction were:

- Task-related role ambiguity because still not sure of job functions (n = 2)
- Quantitative role overload (n = 2)
- Strained relationship with some white colleagues and black employees (n = 1)

All of the black managers still had the same boss as in the first phase of the investigation and generally the same set of work colleagues.

In conclusion, then, minimal changes had taken place in terms of the black managers' work milieu and job conditions since Phase I of the investigation. This is not surprising considering that the time period of eight months is relatively short in an individual's career.

SECTION 2 : BLACK MANAGERS: EXPERIENCES OF, AND REACTIONS TO WORK STRESS

INTRODUCTION

This section will cover the following areas:

- (i) Conditions or events which the black managers perceived as stressful;
- (ii) The coping techniques adopted by the black managers to deal with stressful events at work or with the emotional consequences of

work stress. This discussion will lead on from, and in some respects be merged with, the examination of sources of job stress;

- (iii) Stress symptoms (strains arising from the experience of work-related stress).

2.1 Work Stress Experienced by Black Managers

2.1.1 Level of Work Stress Compared to Whites

A finding of considerable importance was that four-fifths of the 31 black managers maintained that they were subject to greater work stress than their white colleagues and other white employees. The reasons that they provided for this belief highlighted the major work stressors they encountered.

The most frequently mentioned group of stressors were role-related ($n = 17$), such as role conflict, role ambiguity, role underload and quantitative role overload. The second most commonly cited category of stressors was interpersonal in nature ($n = 13$) in the form of problems with white and black employees. Stressors alluded to less frequently were lack of career development ($n = 3$) and extra-organizational factors ($n = 4$) such as socio-political and legal restrictions on blacks. An in-depth discussion on the exact nature of the stressors mentioned above, will be presented in Section 2.2 of this chapter.

Overall, only six black managers believed that they did not experience more work stress than their white colleagues. In other words, they merely encountered typical kinds of stressors that their work associates, regardless of race, also faced.

As noted in Chapter 5, Section 5.1, white male South Africans have the highest incidence of coronary heart disease (CHD) in the world. In this respect, Strümpfer (1980) suggests that CHD and stress generated from role overload of whites who are overutilized at higher occupational levels

may be logically juxtaposed. If indeed the black managers were under more stress than their white work associates who, in the light of the foregoing discussion, can be assumed to be experiencing considerable work stress, then the apparent stressfulness of the black managers' jobs can be expected to represent a severe threat to their physical and psychological well-being.

2.1.2 Work Stress Experienced by Other Blacks in the Company

Two-thirds of the black managers felt that black employees at skilled (or higher) levels in their respective employing organizations experienced more work stress than their white colleagues. Their reasons for believing this highlighted the types of work stressors that the black managers believed these individuals were exposed to, namely:

- Lack of career development and opportunities because of discrimination in a white-dominated industrial environment/ bypassed by white work colleagues (n = 8)
- Role conflict stressors because of their marginal, middleman position between management and the black workforce (n = 6)
- Interpersonal stressors as a result of white prejudices, stereotypes and discrimination (n = 5)
- Extra-organizational stressors such as victimization and threats in the township from black workers who feel that they have been co-opted (n = 3)
- Cultural adjustments that blacks have to make to an alien industrial milieu (n = 2)

One of the black managers decided that the question of whether or not blacks at higher levels in his employing organization were under more stress than white employees, depended on the nature of their jobs. He suggested that those blacks who were in personnel and in other people-orientated capacities, experienced more stress because of problematic human relations factors. By contrast, he felt that those blacks who

were in computer science and technological fields faced less stress because they did not have to liase with people to any great extent. This reflects the contrast between responsibility for people versus responsibility for things. As reported in Chapter 5, Section 4.1.2, the former has been documented as being more stressful (Moerdyk, 1983; Wardwell *et al.*, 1964).

Four of the subjects were not sure whether higher level blacks in their respective companies experienced more work stress than white employees. They admitted that they did not have enough information from white employees concerning the type and level of job stress that they encountered. Yet one of these interviewees reported that there was a high rate of turnover among blacks in higher echelons of his company which was, perhaps, indicative of a high degree of stress. He added that:

"There appears to be some nasty politics and an element of social discrimination. In industry, people will do anything to oust one another, irrespective of colour. But it's even worse for a black because blacks are not cut-throat competitors by nature."

Only four of the 31 subjects perceived higher level blacks in their company to be under the same amount of stress as the white employees. However, one of these black managers remarked that:

"Blacks are stronger than whites in dealing with stress. They are exposed to insults, hardships and so on, from an early age. They tend to close their ears to this and it all builds up. The danger is that when they explode, it's really bad. Senior level blacks can cope with stress better than their white counterparts who reach breaking point easily. But when breaking point is reached, there is no way of putting the pieces together again. For example, such an individual will leave the company."

2.1.3 Work Stress Experienced by Senior Blacks in Other Companies

Over half of the 31 black managers believed that blacks in senior positions in other companies were in a more stressful position than their white colleagues. Their remarks substantiating this contention were basically

the same as those given in support of the claim that senior blacks in their own employing organizations were under more stress than their white counterparts. Other typical comments were:

"I haven't met one black manager who is settled in his company - being black has external dimensions of frustration."

"Those in supervisory positions usually complain that they are token blacks with no authority. As a result, their black subordinates do not respect them."

One black manager summed up the situation as follows:

"Black managers experience stress because (a) they are middlemen, (b) they are not socially accepted and (c) the blacks themselves are not assertive enough to break the ice. Black managers need to be accepted at social and technical levels in terms of experience and influence."

Seven of the black managers acknowledged that although senior blacks in other organizations generally experienced more stress than their white colleagues, it actually depended on a number of factors, namely: the organizational climate, the field the individual worked in, the support colleagues offered and lastly, the individual's needs, aspirations and capabilities. Five of the black managers were not sure to what extent senior blacks in other positions were exposed to work-related stress.

2.2 Perceived Work Stressors

The 31 black managers were asked to describe events or conditions at work that they found to be particularly stressful. Since they were allowed to provide more than one answer, their responses were not mutually exclusive. Their comments indicated areas of special sensitivity or concern to the individual.

The most frequently mentioned stressors related to their role in the organization. More specifically, 28 of the 31 respondents mentioned one or more role stressor. This finding supported the author's hypothesis (outlined in Chapter 6, Section 3.2.2) that the major stressors experienced

by the black managers would be role-related. Following on from this were stressors of an interpersonal nature ($n = 19$); stressors pertaining to organizational structure and climate ($n = 15$); career development stressors ($n = 10$); factors intrinsic to the job of management ($n = 9$); and extra-organizational stressors ($n = 7$).

The stressors cited by the informants obviously did not constitute a full count of all their work stressors. Nevertheless, since these stressors were the first that "sprang" to the subjects' minds, they were possibly the most stressful ones.

The various work stressors mentioned by the subjects will now be discussed in greater depth.

2.2.1 Role-Related Stressors

- see P 353.

Role conflict was the most frequently cited role-related stressor ($n = 18$). Thirteen of these 18 informants (all of whom were in staff positions), experienced role conflict as a result of being middlemen at the black-white interface. They were neither fully accepted nor trusted by either party. They themselves were ambivalent about their affiliation to, and identity with each group. This role conflict problem was highlighted in Phase I of the study.

The subjects experienced both *interrole* conflict and *intersender* role conflict. The former was epitomized by the dilemma they experienced, as one black manager explained, of whether to be "a manager first and a black man second, or a black man first and a manager second". Similarly, they faced the predicament of whether to act ".... as representatives who do a bit of bossing, or as bosses who do a bit of representing" (Beckett, 1981:12). Intersender role conflict was the product of discordant role expectations held of them by their role senders, namely the black labourers and white management. As revealed in Phase I, whereas the black workers expected the black manager to be their "Saviour" and a panacea for all their work problems, management expected the black manager to represent the company, and to implement

and uphold company policies. This position was summarized by an informant as follows: "I'm expected to satisfy people of all grades and shades".

One black manager described his stressful marginal, middleman position as follows:

"I feel like a tennis ball that is being hit back and forth. The black workforce say that senior blacks are "white by day and black by night". I find this very stressful. It's really difficult to penetrate and identify with this uneducated rural black workforce. They think that we are for management all the time. We are like policemen with those guys because no-one likes you, but they want you to be there. There is a big communication gap between the black workers and management. So us black managers are the shock-absorbers. We are in between. Management pushes from one side and the workers push from the other side. At times, management decides to implement a certain decision and I say, "That's a powderkeg and it will burst on us black managers because we are in the frontline". But management ignores this warning. Ai, it's too much. It's alright for management. They are at the back, while we're in the firing line. At times like that, I would love to quit and let management sort out the problems that they themselves create."

Another black manager lamented that:

"When the chips are down, the black workforce knocks on my door. At other times they accuse me of having been "whitewashed". Management doesn't trust me because they think I've got the blacks' interests at heart. So what happens? I end up being neither black nor white. I end up being coloured. It's enough to make a sane man go crazy."

These statements depict the marginal position and feelings of marginality experienced by many of the black managers. Although such issues were raised in Phase I of the study, it is significant that these points were provided as examples of stressors in Phase II of the investigation. That is, as noted in the discussion on marginality in Chapter 3, Section 1.4, although a certain degree of personal maladjustment is inherent in the marginal predicament, it varies both in terms of individuals and situations (Stonequist, 1937). Therefore, it cannot

be assumed that a person in a marginal position necessarily perceives this to be the case, or experiences much stress and turmoil because of his marginal condition.

Six subjects experienced other forms of role conflict, namely: *person-role conflict* (n = 6) and *interrole* conflict relating to the work-home interface (n = 4). The person-role (value) conflict experienced by the subjects, in each case, related to company decisions or policies affecting black employees which they had to implement or abide by, but with which they personally disagreed. This induced feelings of powerlessness.

A specific issue that was frequently alluded to as an example of a role conflict situation (involving a combination of person-role conflict, interrole conflict and intersender conflict), was that of the massive pension strikes. These arose in late 1981 and 1982 and affected many companies. The problems arose because the black workforce were unhappy about the implementation of a government pension fund. Schlemmer *et al.* (1983), in a survey report on 530 black workers in five companies, disclose that the major fears of the black labourers related to the reliability of the funds and the motives of the companies - "At the heart of the matter is the lack of trust that the employees clearly have in employers and White institutions" (Schlemmer *et al.*, 1983:8).

Those black managers who were in the industrial relations field were required to sell the idea of the pension fund to the black labourers. This "boundary spanning" position was extremely stressful since they empathized with the black workforce. One black manager described his traumatic experience in this respect, as follows:

"The chairman instructed that the pension scheme must be carefully explained to the workers. I was asked to do it and I refused point blank.... I realized that I could be fired for saying no, but it was my opportunity to show them that I was unhappy about how I'd been treated all along - plus... I was sympathetic with the workers and I didn't agree with the pension fund being transferred to a government department. The whole situation was extremely stressful. It was a heavy week for me and strangely enough, although I hadn't had high blood pressure for a long time, I had it that week."

The above quote illustrates a point made by Mann (1973) - that is, the marginal individual plays the role of intermediary, buffer and interpreter between two races and cultures (namely, the "subordinate" black employees group and the "superordinate" white management group in the case of the black managers). Newcomb *et al.* (1952) posit that it is not uncommon for the subordinate group to feel that the marginal person is a disloyal "sellout" to the superordinate privileged group, who in turn may think that he is trying to intrude where he does not belong. Such attributions, insofar as the marginal person is aware of them, merely serve to intensify his invidious position. (The black managers in the present investigation certainly were aware of these ascriptions.) Not surprisingly, the marginal person may feel that he does not belong in either group (for instance, class differences alienated many of the black managers from the black working class, yet racial disparities prevented the black managers from joining the ranks of the white middle class). Consequently, the marginal individual lives in a "twilight zone" between the two incompatible groups (Golovensky, 1952:334). The "ordinary" individual sees himself reflected in the attitude of others towards him [the "looking-glass" theory of Cooley (1902) referred to in Chapter 4, Section 1.2.1]. However, the marginal person becomes a "divided self" so that:

".... it is as if he were placed simultaneously between two looking-glasses, each presenting a different image of himself. The clash of the images cannot but make the individual somewhat conscious of the process - conscious of the two mirrors and conscious of the two clashing images."

Such a condition is exacerbated by the fact that his socialization has not prepared him to play the role assigned to him as a marginal man (Dickie-Clark, 1966).

Eleven of the 28 black managers who experienced role stressors, cited *role ambiguity* as an example. Six of these eleven managers suffered from "task ambiguity" because of a lack of clarity regarding the definition and parameters of their job, or its objectives. This is exemplified by the following quote:

"I don't have a job description and I don't even know what my job group or job title is meant to be. My position is called various things, depending on how my boss feels."

The remaining informants experienced "socio-emotional role ambiguity" because they were unsure of how they were evaluated and esteemed by their work colleagues. Alternatively, they did not know what their seniors and other role senders expected of them.

An additional five subjects complained of *role underload* because they felt that their potential was being stunted by the undemanding nature of their jobs. Fernandez (1975) maintains that the management literature has documented that a lot of managers, regardless of race, feel that they are underutilized in their jobs. Notwithstanding this, however, the important point is that the black managers interpreted this state of affairs as reflecting racial discrimination against them. underl.

Five black managers suffered from quantitative *role overload*. This was because they were viewed as the in-company expert on blacks. Consequently, they were expected to deal with numerous "black" issues, regardless of whether or not the assignments fell within the parameters of their job.

2.2.2 Interpersonal Stressors

The majority of interpersonal stressors were a product of negative attitudes and behaviours of whites towards the black manager (n = 16). Examples of typical comments by these black managers are presented below.

"I experience a wall, not so much in my own department, but in other departments. Half the time it seems that it is because I'm black and therefore people feel that I must be inefficient. I've tried to break the wall, but some people are very difficult. For example, if I have a normal quarrel with someone, I experience a clubbing up of individuals against me, which I feel is highly unprofessional and unethical. It upsets me a lot and I get into "knots" until I tell myself that the others are childish and unprofessional."

"A year ago, I was the only black in the department. The rest were white. They got on well together and chatted with one another. I was the little bloke talking to myself in the corner - until a black girl joined the section. I talk to her now. I've tried to talk to my white colleagues, but they don't accept me. I don't know if it's because I'm black or because of my character. It really makes me feel bad and I can't think of anything to do to solve the problem."

"I've had some incidents where white artisans who are looking for employment come into my office and ask me in fanakalo* where the boss is. When I tell them that it's me, I can see their whole facial expressions changing. It shows that a black man is still not accepted in my position, which traditionally has been held by whites only. White people have not yet accepted blacks in senior positions."

"I often feel like an outsider and I feel that I must do something special to be accepted as an equal by my white colleagues."

"One of the worst problems I've faced is trying to prove that I'm not a communist. In South African industries, whites regard black employees as communists until proved otherwise."

Five subjects experienced interpersonal stressors that were not race-related, such as poor relations or problems with their boss, peers, subordinates or clients.

2.2.3 Organizational Structure and Climate

Of the 15 black managers who cited one or more stressor falling within this category, six complained that management ignored their suggestions and advice in regard to black employees. For instance, one informant remarked that:

"When I speak to management and advise them to create more opportunities for advancement, they don't really

* A type of "pigeon" Zulu used by whites.

think it's necessary. They think that blacks are there to do the manual work, while whites must do the mental work."

Another revealing comment was:

"The problem is that top management doesn't see things the way I do. I'm involved with the black employees while they are concerned with policy-making and they don't have physical contact with people at the interface. They like to stick to policies and don't want to bend to fit the situation."

Several subjects found other general organizational policies and procedures to be stress-provoking - such as budget restrictions or the typical redtape found in any bureaucratic organization. Another example is illuminated by the following quote:

"Since this is an international company, top management, including the Managing Director are often from overseas (expatriates) who are here for the good salary and easy life. They don't really understand the aspirations of the black people in industry and most of them have already been indoctrinated with certain stereotyped ideas about blacks before they even arrive here. Sometimes they are worse than South Africans themselves."

A further six subjects revealed that the company climate was unfriendly, unsupportive and characterized by backbiting and petty politics. One informant stated that:

"I feel that the company is keeping me for political, strategic reasons. Yet at the same time, they have created a climate for me to leave if I wish to."

Feelings of powerlessness and social isolation were pronounced among all 15 black managers who cited stressors relating to the organizational structure and climate. These sentiments reflected forms of alienation from the workplace. The interested reader is referred to Seeman (1959) and Wella (1983) for an exposition of the concept of alienation.

2.2.4 Career Development

Of the 10 subjects who complained of career development stressors, one informant was very insecure in his job because he feared that a pending merger could make him redundant. The other nine respondents identified their lack of promotion as the problem. In this respect, the findings of certain studies discussed in Chapter 5, Section 4.1.4, are pertinent. That is, Arthur and Gunderson (1965) and Brook (1973) found that promotional lags (which represented a type of status inconsistency such that the individual's advancement did not correspond with his experience, ability and expectations), resulted in behavioural disorders. Erikson *et al.* (1972) also reported that people who experienced the least job advancement tended to encounter the greatest amount of stress in their lives.

2.2.5 Stressors Intrinsic to the Job of Management

Stressors cited in this respect (n = 9) related to specific characteristics or aspects of the black manager's job - for instance, excessive travelling, meeting a new client, or phoning clients to remind them of outstanding accounts. A general complaint and frustration of the black managers was that they dealt with black employees and issues only while their white counterparts dealt with both black and white affairs. The colour-coded nature of their jobs was bitterly perceived by the black managers as blatant discrimination.

2.2.6 Extra-Organizational Stressors

The extra-organizational stressors mentioned by seven of the subjects, all alluded to the work-related repercussions of being a victim of apartheid.
Comments included:

"As a Black I can't readily socialize with whites after work."

"Because I'm black, I always have to have a white boss."

"In terms of the political set-up, I am a junior to a white employee. This makes me upset and very frustrated."

Inconnection with the issue of extra-organizational stressors, it is instructive to note that the townships around Durban (where the majority of black managers who participated in the present study, lived) are overcrowded and contain a large urban society in addition to migratory Zulu male workers (Seedat *et al.* (1982). Alcoholism among males, violence and illegitimacy are common. Seedat *et al.* suggest that stress due to such undesirable factors could cause hypertension. One may hypothesize that the exposure of the black managers to such extra-organizational conditions probably heightened their susceptibility to work stress and/or influenced the way in which they attempted to deal with stressful work conditions.

2.2.7 An Overview

As is made explicit in the transactional approach to stress (described in Chapter 5, Section 1.1.3), the latter may be viewed as developing from a particular sort of relationship between a person and his environment (Cox, 1978:24). In the case of the black managers, then, work situations could not simply be regarded as "stressful" or "not stressful" - they were potentially stressful for a certain proportion of the black managers only. Not surprisingly, then, there was considerable individual variation among the black managers in their identification of work stressors. While many of the problems raised were also mentioned in Phase I of the investigation, the significant point is that the black managers explicitly identified them as stress-provoking stimuli in Phase II.

Clearly, the black managers experienced work stress resulting from one of two possible person-environment mismatches (discussed in Chapter 5, Section 1.1.3), namely:

- (i) Stress generated when an environmental demand threatened to tax or exceed the black managers' capabilities and resources for meeting it (demand-perceived abilities misfit). Examples included instances of role conflict such as intersender role conflict, interrole conflict and person-role conflict. The

black manager encountering person-role conflict, for instance, found that certain role expectations held of him by white management placed him in a predicament because they violated his values and adaptive abilities;

- (ii) Stress arising when the person's capabilities exceeded environmental demands or, alternatively, when the individual's needs were not supplied by the environment. Examples included feelings of role underload (underutilization) and a lack of career development - such that their needs for achievement and self-actualization were not met. Feelings of exclusion and rejection from informal peer groups reflected a failure of the environment to fulfill the individual's social needs. Considering these kinds of stressors, it is instructive to note that Blauner (1964) argues that jobs which hinder opportunities for self-growth may result in feelings of self-estrangement. Moreover, jobs in which employees are excluded from numerous informal work groups produce a feeling of social isolation. All these negative aspects can, and frequently do, result in job alienation (Blauner, *op. cit.*).

It appears that many of the black managers experienced *chronic* forms of work stress generated by an uncooperative and unreceptive white-orientated work environment, by role conflicts and ambiguity, and by a lack of career development. However, they seemed to encounter *acute* forms of stress when dealing with the black workforce in conflict situations (as evidenced by the pension strike crisis, where the black managers in staff positions received threats to their lives and were victimized by the black workforce). Such "acute" stress is illustrated by the following example:

"About two months ago, the black workers were not picked up on time from the site where they had been working. They came into my office in a fighting mood and wanted to slash my throat. They demanded that they be paid overtime for the time they had had to wait."

Such acute forms of stress may generate a chronic form of stress in the sense of a constant fear that such incidents may arise again.

Several of the interviewees admitted that their naiveté (and that of other black managers as well) about the norms and values of the white corporate world resulted in a painful adjustment period for them. In view of this, one may propose that many of the blacks moving into and upwards within the managerial echelons experienced acculturative stress. As Dyal (1980:3) quoted by Moerdyk (1983:39) points out:

JB
*

"It is widely recognized that movement from one culture to another is fraught with considerable challenge, stress, and increased risk of negative consequences.... it is the stress which is associated with coping with a new cultural milieu that is designated acculturative stress."

The greater the fit between the "culture of destination" (the white managerial world) and the "culture of origin" (the black community), the less the acculturative stress. Obviously, the more tolerant the culture of destination is of cultural and value differences, the easier it is for the individual to become integrated. The greater the culture of origin-culture of destination mismatch (as perceived by those members of the culture of destination, who make decisions in regard to personal promotion), then the smaller is the likelihood of the individual progressing up the organizational hierarchy or of crossing inclusion-barriers to become a "trusted" organizational member.

Related to the notion of acculturative stress, was the difficulty the black managers had in learning how to play the corporate game. Because of the lack of intimacy between the black managers and their white work colleagues, they only learnt the rules of the game but not the required gambits* or moves. Knowing the rules of any game is not necessarily sufficient to be able to play the game in reality. A prime example of this would be chess. It is suggested that the metaphor of games is a useful conceptual tool for trying to understand the black managers' problems just quoted. It also seemed that some black managers did not learn the tactics and strategies of the corporate game because of a white ploy to keep them unaware of such gambits so that they could not advance.

* Based on personal communication of ideas currently being discussed by Professor C.D. Shearing of the University of Toronto, and Professor H.L. Watts of the University of Natal, Durban. The term "gambit" is being used in a broad sense to denote the various moves, strategies and actions involved in a game, rather than merely the opening move.

SECTION 3 : COPING STRATEGIES

INTRODUCTION

As explained in Chapter 5, Section 4.4, the individual may attempt to improve the fit between himself and his job through coping devices. The Person-Environment Fit model of organizational stress (Figure 2, Chapter 5), maps out the various points at which coping strategies may be implemented. This section discusses the different coping mechanisms implemented by the 31 black managers in dealing with stressful work conditions or with the emotional consequences of work stress.

3.1 Most Recent Stressful Situation

The black managers were asked to describe the most recent stressful situation that they could remember. The stressful incidents fell into the following categories of stressors: interpersonal stressors, such as clashes with aggressive black labourers, problems with uncooperative white employees or general incidents ($n = 18$); role-related stressors, such as person-role conflict, role underload and quantitative role overload ($n = 6$); unfavourable organizational practices ($n = 5$); and inadequate remuneration ($n = 2$).

No clear cut pattern arose in terms of emotional responses to these stressors. Reactions varied from frustration, to anxiety, and from anger to being upset. Likewise, coping strategies varied. Fifteen out of the 31 black managers stated that they had resorted to "direct action" to cope with the stressful situation. Other coping techniques were of the type Kahn (1964) has labelled as emotional-defensive (Class II) strategies (see Chapter 5, Section 4.5.2 for the discussion on coping mechanisms). Such Class II mechanisms varied from doing nothing or withdrawing from the situation, to adopting a placatory, apologetic stance, and from shouting to reinterpreting the situation in a more positive light.

Three-fifths of the respondents claimed that the stressful event had been resolved "satisfactorily". The remaining informants argued that factors

beyond their control (such as troublesome individuals, and socio-political conditions) had made it impossible for the situation to be settled in the way in which they had hoped.

3.2 Severely Stressful Incidents

3.2.1 Within the Last Year

The black managers were asked whether there were any instances in the past year when they experienced so much work stress that they felt that they could barely cope - and if so, to recount the incident, and the tactics they adopted to deal with the situation and/or with their stress emotions.

Over half of the subjects (51,6%) contended that they had not experienced a severely stressful incident during the past year when they had felt unable to cope. Of the 15 subjects who had, in fact, experienced such severe stress, the sources of stress were role-related ($n = 8$) and interpersonal ($n = 7$).

The role-related stimuli were categorized into role ambiguity ($n = 4$); role conflict ($n = 3$) and authority incommensurate with responsibility ($n = 1$). In all of those cases, the black managers reported that they either "kept quiet" or withdrew from the situation. (One informant actually deserted his job for two weeks until he was asked to return.) Another black manager recounted his harrowing experience of interrole and intersender role conflict during the pension strikes in October 1982 when he received death threats from the black workers and had his house stoned by them because he was seen as a "sellout" to the black cause. He vividly explained his invidious middleman position as follows:

"I was in a morning meeting with top management when I received a message that the workers had issued a warning that they would burn down my house if I did not leave the company by 1.00 p.m. I quietly told my Boss about the message, and he said I couldn't leave. I sweated it out until 12.30 when I stood up and told management that I was going home. I felt terrible, and my stomach was in a tight knot. I raced home by 12.40 p.m. - nothing had happened."

The next day, however, the black manager's house was stoned and badly damaged amid angry cries from the workers that they were going to kill him, his wife and his children. The black manager refused to go to work for three days. He reluctantly returned to work when his boss warned him that he was jeopardizing his career by staying at home. The black manager concluded that:

"I think that they [the black workers] picked on me because they felt that I was too close to management. The black workers were never friendly with me. I was more than upset by the whole incident. I contemplated leaving my job, but I really needed it. If I could have had a job with half the salary at that point in time, I would have taken it."

This incident is reminiscent of current (early 1985) intimidation, threats and killings of black moderates (such as community councillors) in townships in the Eastern Cape, by militant blacks who regard them as traitors.

As with the previous category of stressors, with stress arising from role ambiguity and insufficient authority, the black managers concerned did nothing about the situation itself. Apparently, they either felt that they could do nothing to alter the situation because of their feelings of powerlessness, or that the next move should come from management. As an example of the former reaction, one subject, who did not know what standards were adopted in evaluating his performance, commented that:

"I felt that I couldn't do anything. I know it was not a good way of coping with the situation. I should have told my senior how I felt. But this wouldn't have changed matters. I can't approach my colleagues, because of the racial factor and there are a lot of inferiority complexes amongst them."

Again, two subjects had been instructed to go on an "achievement orientated" training course without knowing why they should attend it (a form of role ambiguity). They never confronted their seniors about the issue. They bitterly kept quiet and, as one of these individuals angrily noted:

"I really wanted to know what deficiencies I was meant to lack. I felt very strongly about it. This is where the colour thing comes in. Whites think they know what blacks need without asking them."

An instance of doing nothing because of the belief that the next move should come from management, was the case of a black manager who was "kept in the dark" as to why an impending transfer to another branch never materialized. He was anxious and frustrated, but kept quiet because "My seniors knew that I was waiting for an explanation". Eventually he resigned because of his extreme dissatisfaction with not being informed about issues of concern to him, and because of lack of career development.

Thus, all eight subjects who experienced very stressful role-related work incidents over the past year claimed that they had coped by withdrawing from the situation, or by waiting for management to correct the problem. By contrast, of the seven subjects who experienced very stressful human relations incidents, five used direct-action, problem-solving strategies to deal with the situation. Only two of the informants adopted passive strategies. That is, they withdrew by taking a few days off work, instead of attempting to solve the problem directly.

An overview of the coping strategies displayed by the 15 subjects who had experienced extremely stressful work-related incidents during the past year, reveals that the black managers displayed different coping styles in the face of different stressors. That is, the six subjects who described role-related stressful events, without exception either withdrew from the situation or did nothing about it. In stark contrast, those informants who were faced with human relations incidents or stressful problems pertaining to the organizational *modus operandi* generally adopted action-oriented problem-solving coping devices to master, reduce or minimize such environmental demands.

It is worrying that the black managers tended to adopt emotional-defensive coping strategies such as withdrawal, inaction or avoidance, when faced with role stress, especially since the major type of work stress that they experienced was of this nature. While passive and/or palliative coping styles may help the stessee to deal with a stressor in the short-term, the possibility of increasing the person-environment match is greater when instrumental, direct action coping mechanisms are implemented.

Unfortunately, however, many of the role-related stressors were products of deep-rooted socio-political factors that could not be changed readily on an individual basis. For instance, the role conflicts experienced by the black personnel managers because of their middleman position between the black labourers and management, reflected a class cleavage in capitalist South Africa where race is largely synonymous with class.

Hence, the black managers' implementation of emotional-defensive coping styles when encountering such role conflict, was possibly the most realistic means by which to deal with a situation stemming from an overwhelmingly complex structural condition. Moreover, as disclosed in Chapter 5, Section 5.4.2, such coping modes are resorted to when direct action is either too costly, or when the person is unable to manage the environmental transaction successfully.

These findings are also in keeping with those of Kahn *et al.* (1964) who discovered that a frequent behavioural response to role conflict was withdrawal or avoidance of those who were perceived as generating the discord. Symptomatic of this is the instance where the individual experiencing role conflict reduces communication with his role senders. The research of Kahn *et al.* (*op. cit.*) indicates that such a defence strategy unfortunately lessens the possibility of subsequent collaborative solutions to role conflict. Furthermore, they noted that role conflict also tends to undermine the focal person's relations with his role senders and to produce weaker bonds of trust and respect.

It is revealing that, of the 15 subjects who had experienced almost unbearable work stress within the last year, only five were Type I individuals (identified in Phase I as possessing a very positive self-concept and an internal locus of control orientation). The rest were Type II individuals (with less positive self-concepts and an "external" orientation). As explained in Chapter 5, Section 4.3 (on individual conditioning variables), individual differences moderate both the stressor-stress link and the stress-strain relationship. Moreover, some personality types can cope with stress more adequately than others. According to Mechanic (1970), poor copers will be those who believe that they are unable to establish control over their lives. In addition, Anderson (1977)

found that individuals with an external locus of control resorted to emotion-centred, defensive coping behaviours. Internals perceived less stress and employed more task-centred, problem-solving coping devices which were associated with a more successful solution of the problems created by the stressful event. Thus, since Type II black managers in the present study seemed to possess an external locus of control, they probably felt less capable of mastering their environment through direct action behaviour. Furthermore, their seemingly less positive self-concept (when compared to Type I informants) may have made them more susceptible to the ravages of work stress, or else was indicative of such stress.

3.2.2 Severely Stressful Incidents Within the Last Five Years

The 17 subjects who had never felt, in the last year, that they could not handle their work stress, were asked about whether they had ever felt this way in the previous five years. Six of the 17 subjects answered affirmatively. The sources of stress described by these six black managers were grouped into interpersonal stressors ($n = 3$), role-related stimuli ($n = 2$) and a career development stressor ($n = 1$).

The coping mechanisms implemented by the informants varied, with four of the six black managers withdrawing from the situation. Only two of the subjects resorted to direct action, problem-solving devices in an attempt to master the situation. Merely one of these six black managers stated that the stressful situation had been resolved to his satisfaction. This individual had constructively confronted his boss about his feelings of being underutilized (role underload). As a result, he had been allocated more demanding and challenging work.

It is noteworthy that five of the six informants who had experienced severe stress within the last five years, were Type II individuals. In the light of this finding and that discussed in the previous subsection 3.2.1 (where the majority of subjects who had experienced severe stress within the last year, were Type II individuals), it seems that:

- (i) Type II individuals were more susceptible to stress;

- (ii) Alternatively, stressful work conditions could have induced Type II kinds of responses from these interviewees.

Unfortunately, the sample of six cases was too small to draw firm conclusions or to make generalizations. However, given these findings, further research into the matter is warranted.

3.3 Coping Styles Adopted to Deal with Certain Problems

3.3.1 Management of Racism

Management of racism seemed to constitute an important action-oriented coping device implemented by the black managers. It involved a group of behaviours to counteract and neutralize demeaning, prejudicial behaviour directed towards them by whites in the work environment. This coping technique was important for both the survival and success of the black managers. Clearly, it was a uniquely black management strategy as whites did not need to utilize it since they were not targets of racial discrimination.

For instance, one black manager (who was the only informant at a senior management level), pointed out that besides being assertive, confident and outspoken when dealing with troublesome whites, he made it clear that he would not tolerate racist comments or innuendos in his presence. However, by his own admission, he had developed a sense of humour about certain black-white racial issues and he would tease whites about their racial prejudices. He also candidly spoke about himself and other blacks in the derogatory and/or paternalistic manner often adopted by whites. His casually flippant attitude seemed to give him a psychological upperhand over whites with whom he was interacting because, as he conceded, he "played them at their own game", and debunked their racial stereotypes.

3.3.2 Strategic Management

Several black managers felt that a strategic orientation constituted the key to their direct action, instrumental coping techniques. Indeed, it

- Blacks have diff
* coping strategies
than whites

↓
coping
techniques

was seen as essential for their survival and progression within the white corporate system. The following remark by one of the subjects illustrates this point.

"You have to strategize around everything, do more of everything, and be certain about how, as a black, you are coming across. Whites possess negative stereotypes about blacks that they may regard as positive in whites."

In essence, strategic management may be regarded as an organized way of thinking and planning, of using special techniques for achieving some end (Dickens and Dickens, 1982). Interpersonal and behavioural skills, adaptability, timing, political instinct and awareness of organizational concerns and developments, were some of the attributes needed. These devices enabled the black manager to play the organizational game effectively. This involved planning a strategy and choosing the right tactics for carrying out the strategy. This direct action coping mode was used by some subjects in the management of racism. Its use is also highlighted by the following example of how one informant persuaded white line managers to accept his recommendations (a situation he found to be extremely stress-provoking). The black manager explained that:

"Before I approach the person, I make sure I know what type of person he is. I introduce myself in an appealing way. I present him with a written report of the issue and I tell him that it is a suggestion that I'm not imposing on him, but that if we could try it, it could be an improvement. I leave the report with him for a day or two and then I ask him for his opinion on it. I allow him to make suggestions and alterations. By asking him for his ideas, I get him involved in the matter. I then know that he has bought the idea and we can get on with discussing it. Then it's just a question of getting his commitment and involvement all the way to ensure his total acceptance of my plan."

The type of strategic management needed by many of the black managers in middlemen positions was illustrated by the description by one of the black managers of how he personally defused a potentially explosive situation during the pension strikes when black workers were about to attack the factory's security guards. By drawing on his powers of

this redirection of energies represents a good adjustment for the individual in that he can maintain his basic security needs while participating in fulfilling activities. For the organization, this type of adjustment usually means that the individual's best efforts are being applied elsewhere. This obviously entails a significant and hidden loss to the organization.

3.4 Tension-Relieving (Palliative) Strategies

The 31 subjects were asked how they relieved their feelings of tension arising from stressful work conditions (that is, how they regulated their stress emotions). Their responses are listed below.

- Seeks social support and advice (n = 19)
- "Talks it out" with whoever may be the source of stress (n = 9)
- Involves himself in social and/or community activities (n = 8)
- Engages in mental activity/"busywork" to take his mind off the stressful problem (n = 5)
- Tries to come to terms psychologically with the situation (n = 5)
- Withdraws from the stressful situation (n = 8)
- Engages in sport (n = 4)
- Avoids the stressful situation or avoids talking about it at home (n = 4)
- Other (n = 2)

Overall, then, about three-fifths (61,3%) of the subjects claimed to seek social support and advice as a tension-relieving mechanism. This was mostly obtained from extra-organizational contacts such as from blacks in similar positions to them in other companies. It was generally felt that this

was an effective palliative technique. As one informant noted: "It's the only thing that relieves me - otherwise I would brood and be moody". Another informant found it helpful to talk to his spouse:

"My wife is a soothing balm. If there are problems at work, we go for a drive in my company car and I talk it out with her and she tells me what she thinks about the issue. I gain a lot of strength and consolation from such discussions."

What is of interest is that, as revealed in Sections 3.2 and 3.3 of this Chapter, very few of the respondents used social support and advice as a means of dealing with the stress-provoking situation itself. In this respect, it has been found that affiliative behaviour is linked to the withdrawal modes of coping insofar as it involves not only a withdrawal *from* the stressor, but also a withdrawal *to* others for social support (Moerdyk, 1983; Schachter, 1959). Given the fact that many South African blacks are thought to be relatively high in social and affiliation needs (Nasser, 1977, 1980b; 1981a; Reese, 1981; Tabane, 1980), this type of palliative device appears to represent an important coping strategy for a number of the upwardly mobile black managers included in this investigation.

With regard to those individuals who engaged in social and/or community activities, the important element seemed to be that of moving away from the stressful work situation and into a pleasant atmosphere and environment. Examples included:

"I change scenes - visit friends, have a beer with them and speak my mother tongue - so I move away from people that remind me of work stress and tension."

"I involve myself in a situation in which I feel I am in control and more familiar with, such as my family."

"I've done the same job for 17 years. It's now so boring that to take this boredom off my shoulders, I've become very involved in welfare work and in charity associations in my community to uplift the black people. This helps me to feel like "somebody" and makes me feel that I can do something worthwhile and that I'm appreciated at least by my people."

"I go on drinking sprees with my friends."

Those who involved themselves in mental "busywork" turned to their work as a means of temporarily suppressing or sublimating their tension. The five individuals who endeavoured to come to terms with the situation psychologically, did so either by reinterpreting the situation in a more positive light ($n = 2$), or by logically analysing the situation to pinpoint the dynamics of the problem. The following quote illustrates this technique more fully:

"I always tell myself that I'm only here for the time being and that I can move on one day. This helps me to endure what is happening and to reduce my anxiety."

The forms of withdrawal resorted to by eight of the subjects were either physical in nature, such as taking a few days off work ($n = 4$), or psychological, in the form of mentally dissociating oneself from work colleagues ($n = 4$).

Overall, then, it is clear that the black managers utilized a variety of techniques for relieving their feelings of tension.

A feature to note is that 14 of the 19 subjects (or 73.7%) who sought social support as a means of palliation were in staff, rather than line, positions. Considering the fact that 21 of the 31 informants in the Phase II sample were in staff positions, this means that two-thirds of the "staff" informants utilized this tension-relieving strategy whilst only half of the line black managers fell into this category. A possible reason for this state of affairs is that, since the vast majority of black managers are currently in staff positions, such incumbents seem to have developed a fairly extensive extra-organizational social network system amongst themselves. In stark contrast, since there are still relatively few blacks in line positions, the network of extra-organizational "professional" contacts available to such individuals appears to be severely limited.

3.5 Instrumental and Palliative Devices: An Analysis

The total count of the coping strategies which the subjects reported as using as a means of coping with stressful events at work, or with the

emotional consequences thereof, were divided into four major categories, namely:

- (i) Instrumental, direct action devices aimed at dealing with the stressful condition;
- (ii) Strategies aimed at changing the individual by intrapsychic means;
- (iii) The seeking of social support and advice;
- (iv) Inaction, avoidance, physical or psychological withdrawal.

Chi-square cross-tabulations were conducted to ascertain whether there were statistically significant differences between any of these groups. None of the results were significant at the five percent level.

Furthermore, considering the black managers' biographical attributes (namely, their age, education, work experience, functional domain, company service and length of time in their present position), the only statistically significant difference that emerged in terms of the coping strategies that they adopted, was between the educational level of the black managers and the strategy of seeking social support ($t = -3,20$; d.f. = 27,34; $p = 0,004$; two-tailed). That is, those black managers with lower mean educational levels ($\bar{x}$ = matric plus 2,18 years) sought social support as opposed to those with a higher mean educational qualification ($\bar{x}$ = matric plus 3,67 years) who did not. A possible reason for these results could be that those black managers with higher educational levels were reluctant to seek support, advice, and assistance from others for fear that this could be seen as a sign that, although they were adequately qualified for their job, they could not cope with it.

3.6 Effectiveness of Coping Mechanisms ~~X~~

The designation of coping behaviours as "effective" or "successful" has little meaning unless one asks "successful for whom?" (Kahn *et al.*, 1964: 386). Obviously, what may be successful for an individual may not

necessarily be effective for his role set or the organization (or *vice versa*). However, since the focus of this study was on the perceptual and experiential world of the black managers, the subjects were asked to rate how effective they felt their coping mechanisms were in dealing with job stress.

Fourteen of the 31 subjects (45,2%) felt that they usually managed to cope with stressful work conditions in a satisfactory manner. However, the remaining 17 individuals revealed varying degrees of dissatisfaction, frustration or mixed feelings about the effectiveness of their coping styles. A few of these subjects mentioned that their persuasion skills should be improved so that they could "win" people over to their way of thinking. One informant also complained that:

"I've found that people here have ready answers. But I'm not into the language so I'm not quick in replying. I have to think before I speak. So, I sometimes suffer because, instead of fighting back immediately, I have to think what to say."

A lack of support and "backing" from bosses were also mentioned by three subjects as a reason for the unsatisfactory outcomes of their coping actions. One of the subjects angrily remarked that "I fight all my battles alone", whilst another revealed that: "I've no-one to turn to at work. This is one of the things that has made me turn to Christ".

3.7 Conclusions About Black Managers' Coping Strategies

From a broad, holistic perspective, it appears that many of the black managers tended to resort to emotional-defensive coping techniques (such as withdrawal, inaction or avoidance) rather than adopting instrumental, direct action coping devices. Admittedly, this may have been due to a balanced assessment on their part that the best way to deal with stressful work situations, was to take "the line of least resistance". For instance, there was a marked feeling among some of the respondents that it was useless trying to resolve certain interpersonal difficulties, career development issues, and role-related

problems by means of confrontation or other action-oriented, instrumental approaches. In effect, previous unfavourable personal experiences seemed to have resulted in them adopting a "learned helplessness" attitude. The theory of learned helplessness states that, after repeated punishment and failure, people become passive and remain so, even after environmental changes that make success possible (Martinko and Gardner, 1982). For instance, Larwood and Wood (1977) propose that cultural and organizational conditioning encourages passive behaviour in women and thus reduces the probability of assertive and aggressive behaviour when it is appropriate. (This explanation is closely related to the "locus of control" construct.)

Within this context, the concept of self-efficacy espoused by Bandura (1977) seems relevant. That is:

"Expectations of personal mastery affect both initiation and persistence in coping behavior. The strength of people's convictions in their own effectiveness is likely to affect whether they will even try to cope with a given situation." (Bandura, 1977:193)

Davis and Watson (1982:156) sum up the situation most appropriately when referring to their findings on black managers in America, as follows:

"Many black managers size up the corporate situation and realize that they either can't swim against the corporate currents or don't want to. They turn face up and float."

SECTION 4 : STRESS SYMPTOMS OF THE BLACK MANAGERS

One hypothesis of the Person-Environment Fit model of organizational stress discussed in Chapter 5, Section 3, is that stress leads to stress symptoms. In the absence of a detailed medical and psychological examination (which for practical reasons was not possible), the self-report method was the only one available for obtaining a picture of the stress symptoms of the black managers. During the interviews, then, the

subjects were requested to give some broad idea of the frequency with which they perceived themselves as showing the following symptoms (commonly regarded as being possible indicators of stress) listed in Table 36. Unfortunately, the severity of the symptoms could not be measured.

TABLE 36 : Stress Symptoms of Black Managers (n = 31)

Stress Symptoms		Responses		
		Never	Sometimes	Often
Insomnia	n %	7 22,6	19 61,3	5 16,0
Headaches <i>Migraine</i>	n %	10 32,3	9 29,0	12 38,7
Diarrhoea	n %	10 32,3	15 48,4	6 19,4
Nausea	n %	19 61,3	11 35,5	1 3,2
Fatigue	n %	5 16,1	9 29,0	17 54,8
Indigestion	n %	16 51,6	12 38,7	3 9,7
Loss of appetite	n %	15 48,4	16 51,6	0 0,0
"Knots" in stomach	n %	16 51,6	12 38,7	3 9,7
Loss of concentration	n %	7 22,6	14 45,2	10 32,3
Depression	n %	6 19,4	20 64,5	5 16,1

NOTE: The subjects' responses were coded on a three-point scale. The response categories were given the following values: never (1); sometimes (2); often (3).

Considering Table 36, it is evident that over half of the subjects suffered from the following work-related stress symptoms at least "sometimes" or "often", namely: insomnia, headaches, diarrhoea,

fatigue, loss of appetite, depression, and loss of concentration.

The stress symptom experienced most often by the largest proportion of informants was "fatigue" (54,8%), followed by headaches (38,7%), loss of concentration (32,3%), diarrhoea (19,4%), insomnia (16,1%), depression (16,1%), indigestion (9,7%), and lastly by nausea (3,2%).

Four of the subjects also revealed that they suffered from high blood pressure and one of these individuals had heart problems as well. Of the eight subjects who frequently suffered from headaches, two were regularly afflicted with migraines. One of these individuals was seeing a psychiatrist because of his work and personal problems. Four subjects maintained that they were afflicted with gastro-intestinal disturbances and another informant had bad chest problems. Three black managers also readily admitted that they took days off work when their work pressures were too intense. A further three respondents also mentioned that they went on "drinking sprees" when they were under a lot of job stress. Interestingly, the black predecessor of one of the interviewees had been dismissed because alcoholism had adversely affected his job performance. His black successor and a company personnel manager both intimated that work stress seemed to have precipitated his drug abuse. Finally, two black managers revealed that they smoked excessively.

In terms of work-related stress emotions, a third of the subjects revealed that they often or very often felt relieved when they left work at the end of the day. Furthermore, two-fifths conceded that they frequently or very often felt tense, worried or upset at the end of their work day. Lastly, almost half of the 31 black managers divulged that they often or very often worried about work problems when at home.

The above findings suggest that the black managers were afflicted by a variety of stress symptoms. The latter, however, need not necessarily be obvious to the person concerned, for them to exert an influence.

Passivity, lack of involvement and the avoidance of responsibility are all types of psychological withdrawal and often are indicative of high levels of stress and attitudes of learned helplessness.

With this in mind, the following suggestion of Mackay *et al.* (1980:22)

about South African black employees is pertinent.

"It seems likely that the blacks' outward passivity has, in the past, masked their stress, or that Whites have simply not interpreted stress responses (in blacks) accurately."

Indeed, it appears that South African personnel practice has been inclined to ignore the uncomplaining, passive, but unproductive employee for the more obvious work problems of absenteeism, accidents and voluntary labour turnover (Moerdyk, 1983). Thus, the belief of many white managers that the social passivity, non-competitiveness, submissiveness, general apathy and poor job performance of some black employees can be attributed directly to their cultural background, education, or personality, may be incorrect. That is, some characteristics may, in fact, be stress symptoms. This is not to deny the possibility that passivity, for instance, could also be a mask to hide anger, resentment and feelings of aggression that the blacks may feel are dangerous to express in the corporate setting.

Although none of the 31 black managers claimed to have an ulcer, Blumberg (1983) suggests that upwardly mobile South African urban blacks are vulnerable to duodenal ulceration because of the high level of stress to which they are subjected. He contends that, as a result of drive, ambition and ability, such blacks find themselves with greater responsibilities to which they need to adjust. Those who cannot cope with these stressors can no longer find solace and protection amongst the ranks of the mass of black workers. This marginal position predisposes them to feelings of tension, anxiety, uncertainty, turmoil and restlessness, with the attendant increase in stress and its negative physical side-effects (such as ulceration). Isaacson (1977) also has reported a marked increase of coronary heart disease among urban blacks. This possibly reflects, in part, the growing work-related role overload, role responsibilities and changing role expectations of these individuals. In view of this, a point raised in Section 2.1.1 of this chapter should be reiterated. That is, the 31 black managers who participated in Phase II of the present investigation (and who generally believed that they were exposed to more work stress than their white counterparts), certainly

seemed to be candidates for stress-related coronary heart disease (which currently afflicts many white South African males).

SECTION 5: INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND SOCIAL SUPPORT SYSTEMS

INTRODUCTION

Over the years psychologists have stressed the importance of good working relationships, characterized by high trust, supportiveness and interest between and among subordinates, peers and superiors, in solving problems which confront organizational members (Fernandez, 1975). More specifically, certain social needs are often met by the subordinate-superior relationship in a work environment. Sayles and Strauss (1960) claim that the most satisfactory work setting for a subordinate is one in which he is treated fairly, praised when deserved, granted consideration and understanding when errors are committed, and informed where he stands. In addition, other social needs that are also fulfilled on the job with colleagues and subordinates include friendships, a feeling of identification with formal and informal work groups, as well as assisting others and being helped by them (Sayles and Strauss, 1960).

As explained in Chapter 5, Section 4.4.1, research has also indicated that social support may alleviate the effects of occupational stress. The Person-Environment Fit model of work stress portrayed in Figure 2, Chapter 5, indicates how social support networks, such as situational conditioning variables, may moderate the stressor-stress relationship, as well as the stress-strain link. In view of this, the black managers' perceptions of their relationship with their boss and work associates, as well as the social support they received from these individuals or from other parties, will be discussed in this section.

5.1 Relationship With Their Boss

Over a third (35,5%) of the 31 black managers rated their relationship with their immediate bosses as "poor to fair". These subjects generally

attributed this state of affairs to their boss's personality or general supervisory style. Illustrative remarks were:

"I don't get on well with my boss. I can't talk to him. He's not friendly. He is like this to some other employees as well, but not to all of them. My being black contributes to the whole thing."

"My relationship with my boss is not that favourable because we have different personalities. Everyone feels that he is reserved. I get very little assistance from him when I've got a problem. He is vague and won't commit himself on issues."

"My boss is a father-figure. He's very paternalistic. He's a good guy, but not work-wise. I'm better qualified and more experienced than he is, plus I'm the right colour for the job*. But I protect my boss by asking him for his opinion so that he feels that I am consulting him."

Almost two-thirds (64,5%) of the black managers rated their relationship with their boss as "good" (n = 12) or "very good" (n = 8). This is significant in view of the fact that an individual's relationship with his senior has been shown to play an important role in his satisfaction, sense of belonging, commitment to the company and the job stress he experiences.

5.1.1 Social Support from Boss

Not surprisingly, the 20 black managers with a good or very good relationship with their boss, also maintained that when in a stressful position, they could chat to their senior about it and approach him for advice and assistance. Eight of these 20 subjects maintained that their superior was very supportive towards them. The remaining 12 subjects perceived their respective boss's support as "reasonable". Representative comments made by the subjects with very supportive bosses included:

- My boss is a major source of strength

* This black manager was an Industrial Relations manager.

- The support he gives me is even higher than that of close relatives
- My boss encourages me to carry on. He is very empathetic. Therefore the stress I experience is not because of lack of management support.

Other comments made by those subjects who felt that they could chat to their boss in times of stress were:

"I feel that he is constructive and frank. He'll tell me straightaway if I'm talking rubbish or if he can't help me with a problem. He has even told me [*subject laughs*] that I won't get promoted because I'm black."

"Mostly I talk to my boss only after I have dealt with a stressful situation, because he believes that I must handle problems by myself unless I'm really struggling badly."

The remaining 11 subjects either never or very rarely spoke to their boss about work-related stress. One of these subjects declared that:

"It all depends on the situation. If I feel that I can tell my boss without getting out of control emotionally, then I'll approach him."

Three black managers who never confided in their boss admitted that their relationship with him was strained and that there was an element of distrust between them. For instance, one of these informants wryly commented that:

"My boss is afraid of me. He doesn't understand me. I always confuse him deliberately. He is more afraid of his *own* boss than of me - so he deals with me in the way his boss tells him to."

Another of these subjects confessed that:

"I feel I must talk to my boss and tell him that I don't understand him fully and *vice versa*. We must try and see where we are annoying one another. If nothing constructive comes of it, at least it will be clear that we are incompatible personalities working together, and I will have to then think about making a move."

Needless to say, these black managers (as well as several others), complained that their respective boss was not very supportive or helpful when they were under work stress. One black manager bitterly remarked that:

"Us black managers don't get as much support as we really need. Support would mean that your Boss is open and gives reasons for why you have to do certain things or for decisions he makes. When you have ideas kicked out without reasons for this, you feel bitter. This frequently happens. So you land up with a situation where black managers are not expected to have initiative. But when your ideas are thrown out without reasons, this destroys your initiative. We then play the game as management wants it. This provides ammunition against us as managers. We lack certain qualities because they are not brought out by the climate in which we are operating."

To sum up, it appears that over half of the black managers enjoyed "authentic" relationships with their immediate boss. Smircich and Chesser (1981) explain that authentic relationships are characterized by empathy and openness; the individuals are perceived by one another as people in their own right rather than as objects or stereotypes -

".... both parties listen to one another and can display a sense of caring and empathy for one another Each person feels he can influence the other. Overall the relationship is perceived as a source of support rather than of threat and isolation." (p. 201)

What is worrying however, is that about a third of the black managers seemed to have low authenticity relationships with their bosses. According to Smircich and Chesser (1981), these associations are characterized by feelings on the part of the subordinates that they are isolated and lacking in support. The boss is seen to remain aloof and removed from interaction. There is a mutual unwillingness to express thoughts and feelings. It is evident, then, that the bosses were not perceived as being "considerate" (Vroom, 1964), or "employee centred" (Likert, 1961) - both terms of which denote supervisory traits or actions such as friendliness, praising good performance, listening to subordinates' opinions and taking a personal interest in them.

5.2 Relationship with Work Colleagues

The majority of the 31 black managers (n = 19) felt that their relationship with their work colleagues had generally remained the same since they had last been interviewed by the researcher. The other 12 black managers revealed that their relationship with their work colleagues had improved slightly because they had gained more credibility.

Two-fifths (41,9%) of the black managers appraised their relationship with their work colleagues as "fair". Reasons for this varied. Three subjects maintained that it was because their work colleagues kept them at "an arm's length". Other reasons for only having a mediocre relationship with work associates centred on the fact that, because of different lifestyles and interests, they had very little in common with one another. One black manager also stated that this state of affairs had arisen because he was the only person who did not possess "real" responsibilities. Hence, he could not meaningfully discuss work issues with his colleagues. He grumbled that:

"I feel left out. I'm an outsider. All my colleagues share similar responsibilities, so they can chat about common problems or assignments and compare notes - but I hold none of these responsibilities."

5.2.1 Social Support Provided by Work Colleagues

The black managers' responses to the question concerning how much help, support and co-operation their immediate work colleagues gave them when they were under work stress, are presented below:

- No support (n = 6)
- Not much support (n = 9)
- Mixed, from supportive to not supportive (n = 3)
- Reasonably supportive (n = 8)
- Very supportive (n = 5)

As the figures above indicate, only about one-sixth of the black managers believed that their work colleagues were very supportive towards them during times of work stress. Interestingly, one of these subjects noted that:

"One of my peculiar problems is that I forget that I'm black, so I need stress to remind me of my colour. At times, both my black and white colleagues tell me not to give up when I'm under a lot of pressure, particularly when I'm dealing with the black trade unions. They tell me that if principles and ethics are involved, I must press on or I'll let them down. This makes me feel that I'm not alone and that others understand."

The eight black managers who regarded their work colleagues as only being "reasonably" supportive, added riders indicating that this was because they usually did not have the resources to be helpful. Those black managers who received "mixed" support reported that it all depended on the nature of the problem, the extent to which their colleagues were involved in it, on which "side" they were, and on how friendly they were with one another.

Five of the black managers who received either reasonable or substantial social support, were drawn from one company. Although they were not in the same department as one another, they regarded one another as "work colleagues" and consulted one another (rather than their white co-workers) on work problems. They met at lunch to play cards with one another, or to chat. This undoubtedly was a source of considerable social support.

The 15 black managers (48,4%) who received "not much" or no support gave varying reasons for this state of affairs. Some took the situation personally and interpreted it as a reflection of strained interpersonal relations, characterized by mutual distrust. This condition is illuminated by the following quote:

"I'm not free to express my frustrations. There is a considerable degree of mistrust. I realize that what I say will be passed on. Therefore I'm selective even among black colleagues. So I keep quiet most of the time. A casual remark can get to the wrong quarters by someone else's casual remark."

However, others felt that, for instance, "everyone has their own problems and must solve them for themselves" or that "no-one has the time to sit down and chat".

Understandably, feelings of social isolation were expressed by those black managers who received little or no social support from their role set.

5.2.2 Colleagues' Awareness of Black Managers' Work Stress

Three-fifths of the 31 black managers also revealed that their work colleagues did not realize when they were under work stress unless they told them (which they seldom or never did). Several of these informants conceded that this lack of awareness was a product of their own personal doing. The following quotes illustrate this.

"To some of them, I think I'm a 'closed book'. Very few of them even remotely understand me. For example, if I'm feeling pressurized, they probably just think I'm in a mood again. I partly blame myself for this because I've never given them the opportunity to get to know me because my colleagues are very different to me. They are younger than I am, unmarried, and they have no children - so I can't relate to them. Those that I could relate to are at senior levels so I have limited interaction with them."

"It's because I'm a Gemini that I can't outwardly show that I'm under stress. But I know that others would want to leave if they experienced the stress that I do. It would be better if they realized what I was feeling. When I was younger, I didn't care if others didn't know that I was anxious or tense, but now it worries me that they don't know this."

5.2.3 Frequency and Type of Conversation Between Black Managers and Their Work Colleagues

5.2.3.1 Work-Related Conversations

It is illuminating that merely four of the 31 black managers maintained that they and their colleagues often spoke to each other about work-related

stressors. The rest of the subjects revealed that they and their colleagues only confided in one another "occasionally" (45,2%), "very rarely" (29%), or "never" (12,9%). It was generally felt that such conversations (if they occurred) were brief, casual and superficial.

It was evident from the comments of those subjects who never shared their feelings of tension with their colleagues (or *vice versa*), that the fundamental barrier, once again, was an element of distrust from both sides. Typical statements made by these black managers were:

"I hate to regard them as my colleagues. I have my world and they have theirs. I can't bring them into my kraal, nor can they usher me into their castle. I'm the only male in the department without an office because I'm not a departmental head. I'm in an open-plan office with the ladies who are secretaries and assistants. So I'm discredited firstly as a man and secondly as a work colleague. I'm exposed to ladies' talk all day. I don't fit in anywhere."

"My colleagues don't realize when I'm under pressure. They avoid me because they are afraid of hearing what they don't want to hear. I can only tell them how I feel via 'cutting' jokes. I also tell my colleagues indirectly how I feel by talking to an ex-Zimbabwean guy. I know he always tells the others what I say."

"At the moment I feel that they are on the opposite side of the fence. No-one is close to me yet, so there is no-one that I really trust."

Comments supplied by those black managers who spoke to their colleagues "very rarely" (or *vice versa*) included:

- Prefer to share problems with people outside the company rather than with people within (n = 5)
- Colleagues are white and their problems are not the same as the black manager's. White associates also do not seem to want to let people know what they are thinking or feeling (n = 2)

One of these subjects also pointed out that:

"I've learnt that information gets passed around quickly. This is one way of getting top management to know about a problem. But if I don't want them to know, I keep quiet. I'll approach others about interpersonal problems, but not about my own personal work problems because I get emotional about them. It would jeopardize the black man's cause if I spoke about my personal complaints. I have my own personal prejudices and beliefs and I'm more likely to expose myself by talking about personal types of problems rather than broad, general ones."

It is apparent, then, that some of the black managers were reluctant to confide in their colleagues about stressful work conditions because they did not perceive the organizational climate as being warm and supportive. In this respect, Cooper and Marshall (1978) and Cooper (1981) suggest that in intensely competitive managerial echelons, it is probable that social support-seeking activities such as problem-sharing will be inhibited for fear of appearing weak. This indeed seemed to be so in the case of several black managers who assumed that their colleagues would interpret any overtures for assistance and advice, as reflecting their incompetence and inability to cope with their job demands.

Many subjects revealed that they would like to be able to talk to their colleagues about stressful issues, or conversely, have colleagues tell them about their problems and frustrations. As one subject pointed out, this would help them to ascertain which of the problems that they experienced were common to managers in their field, which were exacerbated by race, or which were purely race-related. As Schein (1980) notes, discussions with other organizational members can generate shared perspectives and consensus regarding the social milieu. For instance, by exchanging viewpoints and talking about mutual difficulties encountered at work, a common definition and interpretation of the situation could be reached. This could reduce uncertainty and attendant anxiety on the part of the black managers about their work problems and help them to develop strategies for dealing with such difficulties.

The crucial issue appears to be that many black managers were not sure to what extent other work colleagues were under the same type of stress that

they experienced.

5.2.3.2 Informal Conversations of a General Nature

The black managers were questioned on the extent to which they chatted about personal issues with their work colleagues. Most of the 12 black managers who claimed that this occurred "often" or "fairly often" added that they spoke to other blacks at senior levels in the organization. That is, only five of these 12 black managers chatted to white colleagues as well.

The remaining three-fifths (61,3%) of the respondents either spoke to their colleagues about personal issues "occasionally" or "very rarely". In regard to their conversations with their white colleagues, it was widely felt that such exchanges, if and when they occurred, were on a very superficial level. Another black manager was unsure as to why this situation existed, as illuminated by his comment that:

"My white colleagues hold me at an arm's length and only talk to me about work-related issues. I'm not sure if its because of personality clashes, or if it's because they view me with suspicion."

Interestingly, this subject's boss noted (in the Phase I interviews) that the black manager's work colleagues regarded him as a "twit" who was "hopeless at his work". This perhaps explains the lack of intimacy between them. Clearly, the white colleagues harboured very negative attitudes towards the black manager work-wise, and this had a carry-over effect in terms of their personal relationship with one another.

5.2.4 Overview

It appears that the black managers' relationships with their white associates were largely instrumental. Furthermore, as Amir (1969) points out, casual contact between ethnic groups in itself is not sufficient to change attitudes. High frequency of contact does not necessarily foster positive ethnic relations. It may even strengthen

prejudices and feelings of ethnic hostility.

A theme that emerged from the subjects' data was that of their alienation from the white-run industrial world because of their social isolation. Within this context, it is useful to bear in mind Godsell's (1980) observation that minority group members who progress to managerial levels in a company, may find themselves without a supportive peer group and without culturally congruent role models. Terborg (1977) notes that newcomers who differ in terms of race or sex may be excluded from formal or informal group contacts. For example, Kanter (1977:778) discovered that women were often excluded from "... the networks by which informal socialization occurred". Managers actually avoided supplying women with feedback about their performance, thereby preventing the possibility of them modifying, or developing confidence in their own performance and work identity. Similarly Jones (1973), a black manager in a large company in the United States, refers to the typical exclusion of black managers from normal feedback mechanisms.

As Godsell (1980:5) points out, this disruption of the informal organizational socialization process "... may induce stress and may seriously affect the individual's competence by reducing flow of information and learning opportunities". Considering the comments of some of the black managers in the present study, it is clear that, as minority members, they were at a severe disadvantage compared to their white counterparts in terms of their exclusion from the informal peer groups. The latter could have been a source of social support, vital "grapevine" gossip, and satisfied their social needs.

Referring to the notion of rules and gambits involved in playing the corporate game (introduced in Section 2.2.3 of this chapter), it would seem that the black managers were only supplied with knowledge about the rules of the corporate game. However, information about the more subtle (and effective) moves or gambits involved in organizational interaction were not provided. Their social distance from the white employees (symptomatic of their alienation from the organization), prevented such intimacy.

5.3 Extra-Organizational Social Support

5.3.1 General Contacts

It is noteworthy that over three-quarters (77,4%) of the black managers maintained that there were people outside the organization to whom they could talk or consult in regard to work stress. Of these 24 black managers, 18 of them spoke to blacks in managerial positions in other companies (or subsidiaries of their employing organization). Ten of these 18 black managers in fact belonged to a "management contact group" of black managers and officers in personnel and service occupations. It was formed in Durban in 1981 primarily because of mounting dissatisfaction emanating from the frustrated work expectations of these individuals (Wella, 1983). Members meet monthly to share, *inter alia*, work problems, ideas and experiences with one another, as well as to obtain feedback, help and advice from one another.

It is instructive to note that a non-profit company called the Black Management Forum (BMF) was also established in Johannesburg in 1976 (Mphahlele, 1981). The founders of the organization had personally experienced the difficulties of assimilation, meaningful participation and involvement in the workplace. They were motivated by the desire to help their black colleagues in similar situations, and to assist companies in finding suitable black managers. A fundamental aim of BMF, then, is to bring together black management material for the purposes of self-development. Clearly, the establishment of such "self-help" organizations may be viewed as a constructive attempt by blacks in managerial echelons to deal with their work problems.

Other people whom some of the black managers also approached (besides other blacks in managerial positions), were:

- One or more members of the family, such as a spouse, sibling or parent (n = 3)
- Friends such as former schoolmates (n = 3)
- A white manager/white academic (n = 3)
- A minister of religion (n = 1)

Six of the 31 black managers felt that they did not have anyone outside the organization with whom they could chat. The general feeling of these individuals was that no-one would understand what they were doing at work.

5.3.2 Immediate Family

Only two-fifths of the 31 black managers (41,9 %) categorically claimed that they could chat to their immediate family about work pressures, tensions and frustrations. The family members to whom they spoke were:

- Their spouse (n = 8)
- Other members of the family, such as their mother, sister or parents (n = 3)
- Spouse and relatives (n = 2)

The remaining distribution of responses were as follows:

- Never talks to his wife or family about stressful problems and tensions (n = 9)
- Very rarely talks to his wife (n = 5)
- Can talk to his wife in a very limited sense (n = 4)

In the light of these findings, McClean's (1979) contention that support from spouses mitigates the impact of job stress on health, is germane. It helps the individuals to realize that their job is not all-important in the total context of life and that job stress and strain may be compensated for by extra-organizational satisfactions and accomplishments. However, in over half of the cases (58,1%), communication with their spouse or family about work-related stress was minimal or non-existent. Comments substantiating this situation fell into three categories.

Firstly, seven of these 18 black managers argued that their wives would not understand their work stressors, pressures and frustrations because the industrial world was foreign to them. In each instance, this was because the spouse worked in a different field, such as nursing or teaching, which was far removed from the *modus operandi* of the business environment.

Secondly, a further seven respondents contended that they refrained from telling their wives about their stressful work experiences because it would upset them or make them feel insecure.

Thirdly, two of the subjects argued that they tried to forget their work pressures when they went home. Talking about them to their family merely made them feel worse.

In conclusion, Moerdyk (1983) makes the thought-provoking suggestion that the social networks of upwardly mobile South African blacks, located in their "culture of origin" (the nondominant black culture), may have little relevance for performance in their "culture of destination" (the dominant white host culture). That is, the general functions of social networks (such as emotional support, task-oriented assistance, communication of expectations, feedback, a shared world view, and access to new diverse information and social contacts), may not be adequately fulfilled. Although emotional support may be provided, it is probable that the nature and source of work stress may not be fully comprehended by members from the "culture of origin" social network (Moerdyk, 1983). Likewise, Kessin (1971:14) posits that ".... a decrease in familial contacts associated with increasing upward mobility among men is a systematic finding". Therefore, Moerdyk (1983) proposes that as blacks in South Africa move into more senior positions at work, they may "outstrip" their familial social support networks.

SECTION 6 : WORK VERSUS LEISURE ACTIVITIES

6.1 Leisure Activities

The 31 black managers were questioned on the nature of their leisure activities, the role such activities played in relieving work-related worries and tensions, and whether such activities were more fulfilling than their job. The subjects' responses helped to assemble a partial profile of the black managers' extra-organizational activities and the importance they played in their "lebenswelt". As the interviewees mentioned more than one leisure activity, the categories were not mutually exclusive.

The most frequently mentioned general type of leisure activities were indoor activities, with 27 of the 31 respondents mentioning at least one such pastime. The most popular form of relaxation was "reading" (41,9%) followed by "listening to music" (35,5%). The next most frequently reported broad category of leisure activities was sport (38,7%) followed by social activities - visiting and chatting to friends was also a popular pastime (35,5%), whilst over a quarter of the black managers (28%) revealed that "sipping beer" was a favourite pastime. Watching television and/or video films, watching sport, and church activities were the next most frequently cited activities (25,8% in each case).

6.2 Function of Leisure Activities in Relieving Work-Generated Tensions

Twenty-nine of the 31 subjects unequivocally stated that their leisure activities helped to relieve work-related tensions and worries. Those individuals who participated in sport activities noted that physical exercise was particularly helpful because it took their mind off the problem and released their pent-up tensions, frustrations and anxieties.

6.3 Fulfillment of Leisure Activities in Contrast to Work

It is of significance that a third of the black managers said that their leisure activities were more fulfilling than their job. The general feeling was that leisure pursuits (such as community work or lecturing) gave them a lot of satisfaction, especially as they could see the fruits of their input. Thus, in terms of Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs, the security needs of these subjects were met by their job, which provided them with a source of income. However, their leisure pursuits fulfilled higher order needs such as their need for affiliation, esteem and self-actualization. The following comments highlight the typical feelings of these subjects.

"When I give lectures to students, I regard myself as a fundi in the field and I feel that nothing is wrong with me."

"People appreciate me more in the community situation than at work. I can gauge how important I am in the community, whereas I can't readily ascertain this at work - plus I'm competing with people at a higher level at work and I'm just managing. But in the community, I'm maybe regarded as a "star". Obviously this is more fulfilling and preferable to my status at work."

Although we do not know what proportion of white managers would express similar views about their leisure activities, the size of the fraction in the black manager sample perhaps suggests that many black managers in South Africa are alienated from their work.

Over half of the subjects (51,6%) maintained that their job was more fulfilling than their leisure activities. Qualifying comments included:

- One's job is objective-orientated and therefore is more fulfilling than leisure activities where one is just killing time; where one merely relaxes mentally and physically (n = 3)
- Because job is enjoyable (n = 2)
- Wouldn't be able to afford his leisure activities, such as camping, without his job (n = 2)

Lastly, four black managers argued that they could not compare their work with their leisure activities as they involved such diverse activities and motivational states.

6.4 Likelihood of Leaving Job

Over four-fifths (83,9%) of the 31 black managers maintained that if they were offered the same type of job as their present one, for the same remuneration and benefits, but in another company, they would rather remain in their present position. The overriding reason for such a decision was repeatedly articulated by quoting the dictum "Better the devil you know than the devil you don't know". That is, the respondents indicated that they were used to their respective employing organizations, they knew the people, and had grown accustomed to how the system worked and knew what problems to anticipate.

Two of the subjects felt that it was advisable to develop "roots" in their present organization as it would be too stressful to start afresh elsewhere. As one of these informants remarked:

"I would hate to go through the same "grill" that I've gone through here. In the past, possibly because I was younger and very determined, I took some of the emotional hazards of the job bravely. But I'm getting older now and more sensitive. I feel that I'm mellowing and can't take such pressures and stress anymore - nor am I prepared to. So it's better to work with people you know because everywhere you go, whites are the same. At least I know the personalities here and I don't have to relearn them - which I'd hate to have to do."

Other typical explanations for staying with their present firms were:

- The company is better than most in terms of, for instance, job security, perks, organizational climate and policies (n = 5)
- All companies are the same, so similar problems would be encountered elsewhere (n = 1)

The five black managers who maintained that they would prefer to leave their present company if offered a comparable job elsewhere, all disclosed that they were extremely frustrated and disillusioned because they had not experienced any job advancement.

An important point is that three of these five black managers ultimately resigned from their respective employing organization. In each case, this was the culmination of an intolerable work situation marked, above all, by thwarted career expectations. Related to this were feelings of underutilization, relative deprivation (when they compared themselves to upwardly mobile white counterparts), role ambiguity (in terms of not knowing where they were "going" in the firm), and alienation (as epitomized by feelings of social isolation and powerlessness in the form of exclusion from the inner power core of the organization, despite years of company service). These three subjects were highly qualified - each having post-graduate qualifications. They all sought academic posts, two at a 'black' university and one at a white institution. They were approached by the researcher once they had each been in their new jobs for a few months. Without exception, these black managers claimed to prefer their current occupations as lecturers to that of their former positions in the industrial world. They also felt considerably more relaxed and contented. The high blood pressure of one individual had subsided, while the gastro-intestinal disturbances of another had abated. It is evident that resignation constituted a constructive means of withdrawing from a stressful work situation.

SECTION 7 : MANAGERS' ADVICE TO YOUNG BLACKS

7.1 Advice of Black Managers to Young Black Graduates

In the light of the work stress and general problems experienced by the black managers, they were asked what advice they would give to a young black graduate who joined their respective company. The following suggestions, which were not mutually exclusive, were provided:

- Perform well; do more than is expected of you (n = 8)

- Be clear about your job requirements, the standards you must meet, the nature of the organization, and the types of people involved (n = 7)
- Constantly strive towards self-development by improving upon your job knowledge and experience (n = 7)
- Cultivate good interpersonal work relations and social sensitivity (n = 7)
- Do not aim too high, otherwise you will be disappointed because promotional prospects are limited (n = 7)
- Be prepared for hostilities and obstacles from whites (n = 6)
- Try to learn more about the job and gain experience so that you can move on to other firms (n = 5)
- Do not always interpret problems in racial terms (n = 3)
- Be diplomatic and be careful to whom you talk (n = 3)
- Be honest and trustworthy (n = 3)

In essence, three major themes emerged from the advice offered namely:

- (i) Points that centred on certain performance standards, knowledge, experience, social skills and relationships that the black graduate himself should attempt to cultivate or maintain;
- (ii) Warnings that they would be placed in a restrictive environment - for instance, in terms of white opposition and poor career prospects. Such advice related to external, situational or structural impediments within the organizations;
- (iii) Miscellaneous advice on, *inter alia*, appropriate perceptual, behavioural or attitudinal tactics that they should adopt. For instance, one black manager stated that he would tell the young black graduates to "Write your achievements on marble and your frustrations on dust". Another informant maintained

that to advance within his company, a black had to become a "White lackey". He added that:

"You have to sacrifice yourself if you want to get ahead. You have to adopt all the white norms and depersonalize yourself. If you want to maintain your dignity in being black, you will not survive. The system will kick you out because they won't tolerate anyone who upsets the *status quo*."

Overall, the advice that the black managers would have given to a young black graduate entering their own respective firms, highlighted the persistent struggle of blacks in industry to achieve what they feel they are capable of without compromising themselves completely.

7.2 The Way to Reach the Top

The black managers were also questioned on what they perceived as the best way for a young black to achieve a senior management position. The range and types of responses to this question were, in many respects, very similar to those obtained from the previous question about advice to a young black graduate joining their company.

An interesting point is that the three most frequently mentioned means of achieving a senior management position all referred either to aspects of behaviour in the job situation itself, or to the need to acquire knowledge and skills relevant to the job. As a whole, it appeared that the black managers perceived opportunities for job advancement in the white-orientated corporate world as relating mainly to factors which were directly or indirectly linked to job performance. Therefore they did not seem to perceive the disadvantages of being black managers in a white-dominated industrial world as insuperable. In other words, the black managers did not appear to be cynical, as only four of the 31 respondents maintained that one had to become a "white black" to succeed.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER

A finding of considerable importance was that the majority of the 31 black managers who participated in Phase II of the investigation, felt that they were under more work stress than their white counterparts. Similarly, they also believed that other blacks in senior positions in their employing organization and in other companies, were encountering more work stress than their white work colleagues. The major reasons for this assertion reflected the black managers' invidious position as marginal, minority employees in white-run organizations. Role stress, lack of career development, interpersonal problems and extra-organizational pressures in the form of socio-political constraints, were the most commonly cited stressors faced by the black managers.

It must be borne in mind that stress conditions are mediated through psychological processes (for instance, cognitive evaluations of threat) which are influenced by many perspectives of the person (McGrath, 1977). Consequently, there were noticeable interindividual discrepancies in what stimulus events led to perceptions of threat, harm, loss or challenge. Furthermore, as pointed out in Chapter 5, Section 1.1.3, an individual's behaviour in the face of job stress, is the product of his unique perceptions and interpretations of the environment, the focus of which is himself. Such perceptions are phenomenological rather than "real" (Burns, 1979). Thus, the issue of whether the black managers' perceptions and experiences of work stress were "valid" or well-founded, was not pursued in the present study.

With respect to the issue of how the black managers attempted to cope with stressful work conditions, over half (58,1%) of the black managers professed to use "direct action", problem-solving instrumental techniques - at least on some occasions. Notwithstanding this, however, the vast majority were inclined to resort to more passive, emotional-defensive coping modes (such as seeking social support, psychological or physical withdrawal, palliation, or inaction). This was usually because they assumed that trying to "master" the environment would be fruitless. In some instances, this attitude seemed to reflect an external locus of control, or a learned helpless orientation.

Not surprisingly, a number of black managers claimed to be afflicted with stress symptoms such as high blood pressure, headaches and loss of concentration. Three subjects also ultimately resigned from their employing organization because of extreme stress fostered by a lack of career development and credibility.

The majority of the black managers professed to have a good relationship with their boss. Nonetheless, it emerged that several bosses failed to provide the black managers with adequate support when they needed it.

A perturbing finding was that the black managers, in general, felt that they obtained little or no support from their work colleagues in times of stress. Many of the black managers were excluded from peer social groups because of their lack of "fit" with the informal organization which was based on white world views, norms, values and standards. Nevertheless, over three-quarters of the subjects enjoyed some form of extra-organizational support - usually from black managers in other companies. Those informants in personnel positions who belonged to the black Durban "contact group", regarded their monthly meetings as useful in establishing and testing social reality, as well as in helping them to formulate solutions and strategies for dealing with their work problems. Unfortunately, none of the black line managers belonged to similar self-help organizations. Lastly, familial support seemed to be lacking in many instances - precisely because the relatives did not understand the nature of the black manager's job or the *modus operandi* of the corporate world.

The qualitative material discussed in this chapter is complemented by the following chapter, which presents and discusses the results of multi-variate statistical analyses undertaken on the Phase II data.

STOP

CHAPTER 11

STATISTICAL ANALYSES OF PHASE II DATA

INTRODUCTION

During the course of this chapter, the results of statistical analyses conducted on Phase II material will be considered. The reader is referred to Chapter 6, Section 4.2 for a summary of the major statistical analyses undertaken during this part of the investigation.

1. Factor Analysis of the Phase II Interviews with the Black Managers

The intercorrelations of the Phase II interview items were factor analysed to identify the dimensions underlying the responses (see Appendix N for the factor correlation matrix). Seventeen items were included in the analysis. A principal components analysis, with orthogonal varimax rotation was undertaken. Three factors were extracted by means of a scree test. As in Phase I factor analyses, the cut-off point for significant factor loadings was set at a rigorous level of 0,45. Table 37 presents the varimax rotated factor matrix of the three factors. Significant factor loadings are underlined.

TABLE 37 : Factor Matrix of Black Managers' Phase II Interview Data

Question No. On Schedule	Items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
1	Received promotion	0,14	0,29	<u>0,65</u>
3	Increased responsibility	-0,11	<u>0,74</u>	0,26
4	Increased authority	-0,21	<u>0,84</u>	0,14
8	Relationship-boss	<u>0,55</u>	-0,23	-0,17
9	Relationship-colleagues	<u>0,47</u>	<u>0,51</u>	-0,28
10	Job satisfaction	0,12	<u>0,80</u>	-0,02
11a	Under stress	-0,43	0,22	-0,18
12	Co. blacks' stress	0,08	-0,35	0,06
13	Other blacks' stress	0,19	-0,03	-0,44
22	Chats to colleagues	<u>0,77</u>	-0,11	0,08
23	Colleagues supportive	<u>0,51</u>	0,06	-0,10
25a	Personal chats	<u>0,51</u>	-0,11	<u>0,65</u>
26	Chats to boss	<u>0,69</u>	0,14	0,21
27	Boss supportive	<u>0,48</u>	0,23	-0,00
29b	Mentor	0,44	0,18	-0,00
30	Chats outside company	0,07	0,12	<u>0,49</u>
31	Chats to family	0,22	0,36	<u>0,51</u>
	PCT OF VARIANCE	18,5	14,9	11,3
	CUM. PCT.	18,5	33,4	44,7
	EIGENVALUE	3,33	2,68	2,03

NOTE: Appendix D gives the full wording of those questions referred to by number in column 1.

Factor 1, which accounted for 18,5 percent of the total variance, was called "Interpersonal relations at work". In effect, those black managers who maintained that they could chat to their respective boss about stressful situations and problems, pointed out that their senior was supportive towards them in times of stress and they rated their relationship with him as "good". In addition, they claimed that they could talk to their work colleagues about work stress and tensions as well as discuss personal issues with them. They perceived their colleagues, with whom they had a good relationship, as giving them support when they were under stress. Interestingly, a loading that was almost significant on this factor was that these managers also claimed to have a mentor within the organization (0,44).

By contrast, those informants who perceived themselves as having poor interpersonal relations at work, also contended that they could not speak to their boss about work stress and strains. Overall, then, they claimed that he was not supportive and that their relationship with him was unsatisfactory. Similarly, they rated their relationship with their work colleagues as poor, and added that they could not confide in them about work stressors or about personal issues. That is, their work colleagues were regarded as being unsupportive towards them.

The second factor was interpreted as reflecting "job fulfillment". It explained 14,9 percent of the total variance. Those managers who felt that their job responsibility and authority had increased since they had last been interviewed by the researcher, were now more satisfied with their job. They also stated that their relationship with their work colleagues was "good". It follows, then, that those respondents who contended that neither their authority nor responsibility had increased over the eight months since they had last been interviewed in Phase I, were now more dissatisfied with their jobs. They also perceived their relationship with their work associates in an unfavourable light.

Lastly, dimension 3 was called "Social support and acceptance". Informants who had received promotions since Phase I of the research felt that they and their work colleagues could converse with one another about personal issues. They also chatted to their family and other extra-organizational contacts (such as personal friends and black managers in other companies) about the work stress they encountered.

2. Regression of Black Managers' Phase II Interview Factor Score Variables on their Biographical Data

A multiple regression analysis was conducted to ascertain the relationships between the biographical variables and the Phase II factor variables.

None of the biographical factor score variables predicted interview factor 1 (Good interpersonal relations at work) or interview factor 3 (Social support and acceptance). However, interview factor 2 (Job fulfillment) was significantly related to quality of education and management status ($R = 0,608$; $F = 8,246$; $d.f. = 28$; $p = 0,0015$). The beta weights are presented below:

Biographical factor	Beta weight
Quality of education	-0,43
Management status	0,42

A moderate amount of the variance (37,1%) of the job fulfillment dimension (the dependent variable) was explained by the subjects' management status and quality of education (the independent variables). The multiple correlation between these independent variables and the informants' job fulfillment was moderately high ($R = 0,608$).

In essence, those black managers with lower educational qualifications and higher management status, had a sense of job fulfillment. For instance, they

* The biographical factor score variables of the black managers were used in the analysis. As noted in Chapter 7, Section 1.2, four biographical factors were identified. They were labelled: "work experience", "quality of education", "career path", and "management status".

claimed that they had experienced job growth since the Phase I interviews, and they believed that they had a good relationship with their work colleagues. Conversely, then, those black managers with a lower management status, but with a higher quality of education, were not particularly fulfilled by their job.

These results are very similar to the multiple regression results obtained in Phase I (see Chapter 9, Section 1.2.1), where it was found that those black managers with a high quality of education but with a lower management status, possessed a negative "definition of their situation at work" (Phase I interview factor 1). As noted in Chapter 9, it is evident that those black managers who possessed good educational qualifications, but who were in junior management echelons, were frustrated by their thwarted aspirations of career development. They tended to ascribe their lack of advancement and job fulfillment to external factors, such as the racial discrimination of whites. Not surprisingly, then, the regression analysis revealed that these black managers took a poor view of their relationship with their white work colleagues.

It is evident, then, that there was a clear split in the perceptions of the 31 black managers according to their management level and educational qualifications. It is likely that many whites at junior management levels may also be frustrated and disillusioned by a lack of advancement and by unfulfilling work. Nonetheless, one may hypothesize that their definition of this situation would differ substantially from that of blacks in a similar predicament. The black managers would probably attribute this condition to racial discrimination even in those instances where this did not apply.

Moreover, many newcomers experience "reality shock" when they enter the industrial world (Dickens and Dickens, 1982). Disillusionment invariably sets in, at least temporarily. Such "reality shock" is probably considerably more pronounced in the case of black employees as opposed to white workers, because the black individual has to adjust to what is often an alien set of white norms and social conventions. The social distance and geographical separation characterizing South African society meant that the black managers' first experience of contact with whites as other than dominant authority figures, and their first closer contact with them, was usually in the workplace. Several black managers admitted that

such conditions resulted in a traumatic adjustment period for them. Stress symptoms such as poor job performance, withdrawal behaviour, and what could be perceived by work colleagues as "moodiness", "sulking" or as a "chip on the shoulder", could then arise.

The author was interested in determining whether the age of the black manager played any part in predicting the Phase II interview factor variables, since Phase I results (see Chapter 9, Section 1.1) indicated that the older black managers seemed to have assimilated into the corporate world more than their younger counterparts. Therefore a multiple regression analysis was conducted, with age as the independent variable.

Only factor 1, called "Good interpersonal relations at work", was significantly related to the age of the black managers ($R = 0,36$; $F = 4,38$; $d.f. = 29$; $p = 0,045$). The beta weight of the age variable was 0,36. Age did not significantly influence the other two Phase II interview factors labelled: "Job fulfillment" and "Social support and acceptance".

It appears, therefore, that the older black managers felt that they had good interpersonal relations at work, whereas the younger informants viewed their work relationships less positively. This finding substantiates the point that older black informants seemed to have been assimilated into the work environment to a greater extent than their younger counterparts. That is, the younger black managers appeared to be more militant and actively supportive of the black consciousness movement. As one black manager commented: "Whites mustn't only think that they are racists. Us blacks also often hold very negative racist attitudes towards whites". Another young respondent remarked that:

"If we want to be accepted and integrated into the company, we have to go 90 percent of the way, while the whites only bend ten percent (if that). There is no meeting us at the halfway mark. I don't see why we have to do all the adjusting when the whites just don't want to be accommodative."

By comparison, one may suggest that the older blacks had grown up in an era when blacks were more "submissive" and more likely to accept and

adjust to whites' definitions of situations. Therefore, they had probably made concerted efforts to be accepted (on the white man's terms) in the corporate system - hence, their perceptions of "good" interpersonal relations at work. Fernandez (1975) also reported similar findings in his study of black managers in America.

3. Analysis of the Stress Indicator

As explained in Chapter 6, Section 3.2.4, the Stress Indicator comprised 40 statements describing potentially stressful work conditions (see Section D of Appendix D for the list of Stress Indicator items). Each statement had to be answered in two ways, as described below. The individual scores assigned to each response category are given in brackets after each possible answer.

- (i) *Frequency* (how often the black manager was placed in the situation):- never (1), very seldom (2), sometimes (3), often (4), very often (5);
- (ii) *Intensity* (how much stress/tension he experienced when the event occurred):- nothing (1), a little (2), a moderate amount (3), a great deal (4).

The scores for both the "frequency" and "intensity" responses to every Stress Indicator statement were correlated with each other to assess the relationship between the two (see Appendix O for these Pearson's product moment correlations calculated for all 40 Stress Indicator statements). There was a high positive correlation ($>0,60$) between the frequency and intensity answers to two-thirds of these items.

The "frequency" and "intensity" responses to each question were added together to obtain an overall index of stress. The subjects' scores for each Stress Indicator statement therefore ranged along a nine-point scale from a possible value of two (a low stress level) to a value of nine (a high stress level).

3.1 Item Analysis of the Stress Indicator Items

Item analysis of the 40 stress indicator items was undertaken using the reliability package of the SPSS subprogramme (see Hull and Nie, 1981:225 ff. for details of this subprogramme). Those items with the highest corrected item-total correlations were selected out and the least satisfactory items were eliminated. On this basis, 26 out of the original pool of 40 were chosen as suitable items. This practice of rejecting items that had low correlations with the total score provided a means of purifying or homogenizing the Stress Indicator statements. Appendix P lists the results of the analysis.

The corrected item-total correlations of the final set of 26 items were moderate in size, and ranged from 0,32 to 0,60. This is understandable, in view of the multifaceted nature of the stress phenomenon. It was felt that if the number of items had been reduced further to make them more homogeneous (which would have raised in the values of the items), then the criterion coverage and validity of the Stress Indicator would have been lowered. That is, very homogeneous items would not adequately measure and reflect the complex nature of stress.

Finally, Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient, which provided an estimation of the internal consistency of the final set of 26 Stress Indicator variables, was acceptable at 0,89.

Henceforth, any analyses and discussions involving the Stress Indicator will be based on the 26 items selected out through item analysis. Each item, of course, will actually represent a "total" score derived from the combination of the "frequency" and "intensity" answers to each of the 26 Stress Indicator statements.

4. Testing of Phase II Hypotheses

As indicated in Chapter 6, Section 3.2.2, the following hypotheses were formulated on the basis of the findings of Phase I, and from the literature.

- (i) It was assumed that stress would be related to interpersonal perceptual discord with an immediate senior. This is especially because an employee's relationship with his boss constitutes a major element in the subordinate's development, in-company social support system, and affects his social and esteem needs (Moerdyk, 1983). Thus, it was hypothesized that those black managers with large perceptual discrepancies between themselves and their respective white boss (as represented by the black manager-boss Euclidean distance scores in Phase I), would experience more stress (as measured by the Stress Indicator) than those informants with small black manager-boss perceptual differences.
- (ii) It has been reported that individuals with high self-esteem (which implies a positive self-concept), experience less stress than those with lower self-esteem (Lazarus and Launier, 1978; Moerdyk, 1983). Moreover, individuals with an external locus of control (Rotter, 1966) have been found to perceive higher stress than internally-oriented subjects in a particular situation (Anderson, 1977; Mechanic, 1970). Hence it was hypothesized that, of the two types of black managers identified in Phase I of the study, Type I black managers (who appeared to possess a very positive self-concept and an internal locus of control), would experience less work stress (as measured by the Stress Indicator), than Type II individuals. The latter seemed to have a less positive self-concept and an "external" orientation;
- (iii) The literature indicates that middle managers experience more work stress than junior or senior managers. For instance, Kay (1974) contended that middle managers experience:
- Job insecurity, because they are especially vulnerable to redundancy or involuntary early retirement
 - Pay compression resulting from the rising salaries of new recruits
 - Limited "real" authority despite their high degree of responsibility
 - Feelings of being "boxed" in.

Kahn *et al.* (1964) found that there was a systematic relationship between rank and role conflict, as well as between rank and tension, with middle levels of management experiencing the most tension and role conflict. They interpreted this, in part, as a consequence of the still unfulfilled mobility aspirations of middle management in contrast to the better actualized aspirations of top management people. Marshall and Cooper (1979) also found that middle managers experience the most work pressure.

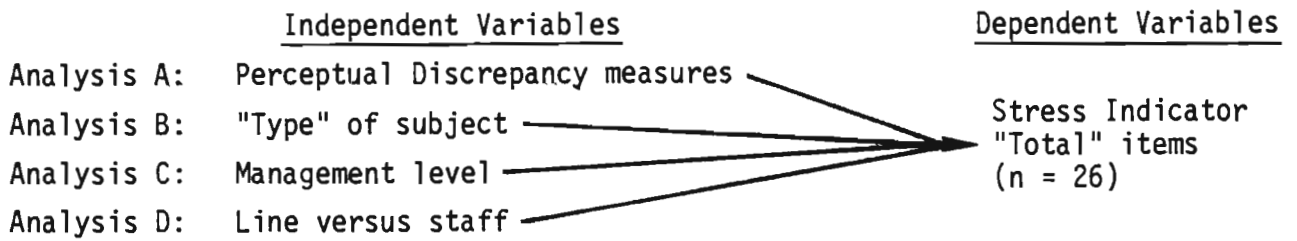
On the basis of such findings, it was hypothesized that middle management black informants would encounter more work stress (as measured by the Stress Indicator) than those blacks at other managerial levels;

- (iv) The Phase I research findings indicated that the staff black managers were experiencing role conflict because of the boundary-spanning nature of their positions as intermediaries between white management and the black workforce. The stressfulness of boundary-spanning activities has been well-documented (Cooper, 1981; Kahn *et al.*, 1964; Margolis *et al.*, 1974). Thus, it was postulated that black managers in staff (personnel/industrial relations) functions, would experience more stress (as measured by the Stress Indicator) than those respondents in line positions.

4.1 Discriminant Analysis

Discriminant analysis was used as the basis for testing these hypotheses because this technique enables the researcher to examine the overall pattern of variables which best distinguished between groups of informants. In addition, discriminant analysis results in a graphic display of the positioning of groups on the discriminant functions, which is particularly useful for the analysis of social science data. It would thus seem that discriminant analysis is an ideal technique for analysing differences between groups on a number of variables.

Four separate discriminant analyses were conducted. The independent and dependent variables in each test were as follows:



The results of each of these analyses will now be discussed in turn.

4.1.1 Discriminant Analysis A : Stress Indicator Items - Euclidean Distance Groups

The Euclidean distance measures of the black manager-boss dyads (presented in Table 33, Chapter 9) were assigned to one of two groups:

- (i) Group 1 : Measures below the mean Euclidean distance score of 9,86 (SD = 1,9) for the 31 subjects (Small perceptual discrepancy group);
- (ii) Group 2 : Measures above the mean Euclidean distance measure (Large perceptual discrepancy group).

There were 17 subjects in Group 1 and 14 individuals in Group 2. The summary table of results is presented in Table 38 and the discriminant function matrix in Table 39.

TABLE 38 : Summary Table : Discriminant Analysis : Stress Indicator - Euclidean Distance

Discriminant Function	Canonical Correlation	Wilks' Lambda	Chi-Square	d.f.	Significance
1	0,97	0,06	43,81	26	0,0158

TABLE 39 : Discriminant Function Matrix: Stress Indicator Items -
Euclidean Distance Groups

Statement Number	Items	Function 1
1	Too much work	-2,42
2	Strict deadlines	-0,93
4	Go against policy	1,20
5	Person-role conflict	-2,83
6	Conflicting instructions	0,52
8	Role ambiguity-tasks	2,14
9	Role ambiguity-job	-0,63
10	Role ambiguity-colleagues	-2,05
11	Role ambiguity-boss	1,13
12	Insufficient authority	-0,33
14	Inadequate training	1,52
15	Abilities underutilized	0,62
21	Poor communication skills	4,07
24	Excessive supervision	-1,54
26	Inadequate supervision	0,76
27	No influence over boss	0,75
28	Conflict with boss	3,53
29	Not liked	-2,35
30	Lack of trust	2,25
31	Competition	-1,94
32	Views ignored	-1,66
34	Inadequate communication	0,83
35	Emphasis on advancement	4,23
36	Discrimination	-2,16
37	Socio-cultural factors	-1,62
38	Work 'overflows' into home	-2,48

NOTE: Section D of Appendix D gives the full wording of those statements referred to by number in column 1.

Those standardized discriminant function coefficients with the greatest weights ($>|2|$) are underlined in Table 39. Considering such loadings, it appeared that the discriminant function primarily reflected "Inter-personal and role-related stress".

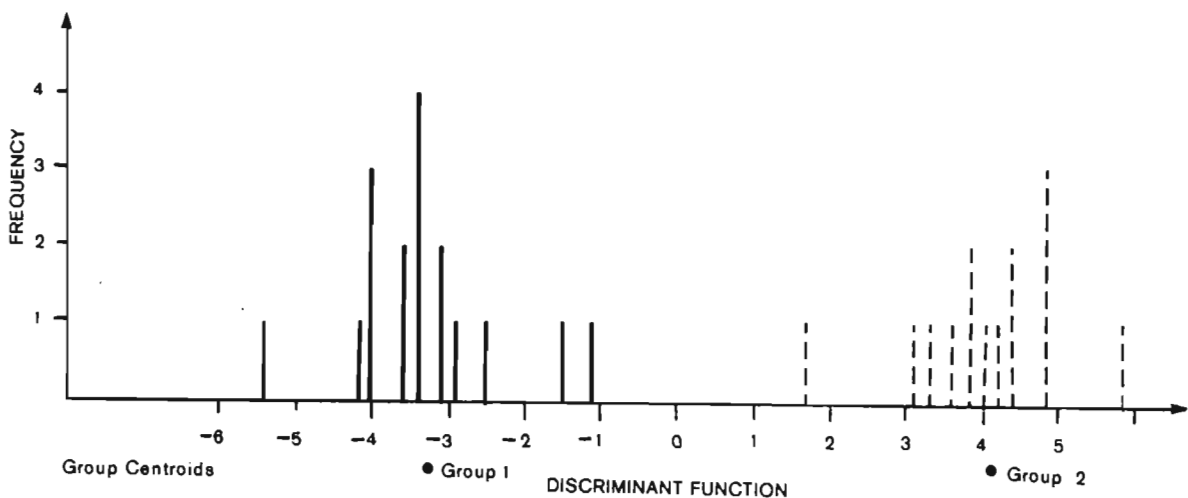
The group centroids, which are the mean discriminant scores for each group on the discriminant function, are reported in Table 40.

TABLE 40 : "Euclidean Distance" Group Centroids of Discriminant Scores of the 31 Black Managers

Group	Function
1	-3,34
2	4,05

An examination of the results reveals that statistically significant differences existed between the score profiles of the two *a priori* defined groups ($\chi^2 = 43,81$; d.f. = 26; $p = 0,0158$). Black managers in Group 2 had high black manager-boss Euclidean distance measures, thus reflecting large perceptual differences. They were under more stress, as defined by the discriminant function (denoting interpersonal and role-related stress), than black managers in Group 1, with low Euclidean distance measures. The small value of lambda (0,064) also indicated that the group centroids were clearly separated and very distinct relative to the amount of dispersion within the groups. Finally, the marked cleavage between the two groups along the discriminant function, is graphically portrayed by the histogram below (Figure 5).

FIGURE 5 : Histogram Showing the Location of the Two Euclidean Distance Group Centroids and the Discriminant Scores of the 31 Black Managers on the Discriminant Function



NOTE: (i) Solid lines represent subjects belonging to Group 1; broken lines denote membership in Group 2;
(ii) Discriminant scores of the 31 black managers, are placed in Appendix Q.

Considering the variable loadings on the discriminant function, black managers in Group 2 (with large boss-black manager perceptual discrepancies), had high loadings on certain Stress Indicator items such as: "I have a major disagreement with my boss" (statement 28); "I feel that my language and communication skills are not as good as they could be" (statement 21) and "There is a lack of trust between members in the work division" (statement 30). These items all reflected stressful conditions which did not seem to be conducive to the establishment of a close black manager-boss relationship characterized by interpersonal perceptual congruency. On the other hand, it could be argued that the existence of substantial perceptual discord between a black manager and his senior, was stressful for the black manager. Unfortunately, however, the results gave no indication whether large black manager-boss perceptual differences led to the experience of work stress for the black manager or *vice versa*. Both conditions were, in all probability operating simultaneously, and thereby mutually reinforcing one another.

In conclusion, then, the discriminant analysis findings supported the hypothesis that those informants with larger perceptual discrepancies between themselves and their senior, would experience more work stress than their counterparts with smaller perceptual disparities.

4.1.2 Discriminant Analysis B : Stress Indicator Items - Type of Black Manager

Type I (Group 1) and Type II (Group 2) black managers constituted the two groups entered into the discriminant analysis. The results are presented in the following tables.

TABLE 41 : Summary Table : Discriminant Analysis : Stress Indicator - "Type" of Black Manager

Discriminant Function	Canonical Correlation	Wilks' Lambda	Chi-Square	d.f.	Significance
1	0,98	0,04	50,62	26	0,0026

TABLE 42 : Discriminant Function Matrix : Stress Indicator - "Type" of Black Manager

Statement Number	Items	Function 1
1	Too much work	<u>4,83</u>
2	Strict deadlines	<u>0,93</u>
4	Go against policy	<u>5,63</u>
5	Person-role conflict	<u>1,27</u>
6	Conflicting instructions	1,04
8	Role ambiguity-tasks	2,90
9	Role ambiguity-job	0,91
10	Role ambiguity-colleagues	-4,10
11	Role ambiguity-boss	-0,20
12	Insufficient authority	-1,63
14	Inadequate training	1,65
15	Abilities underutilized	4,85
21	Poor communication skills	<u>3,41</u>
24	Excessive supervision	2,82
26	Inadequate supervision	-2,17
27	No influence over boss	-1,56
28	Conflict with boss	3,76
29	Not liked	<u>4,09</u>
30	Lack of trust	<u>1,12</u>
31	Competition	0,11
32	Views ignored	-5,72
34	Inadequate communication	<u>1,31</u>
35	Emphasis on advancement	-0,73
36	Discrimination	-3,15
37	Socio-cultural factors	1,90
38	Work 'overflows' into home	<u>-9,08</u>

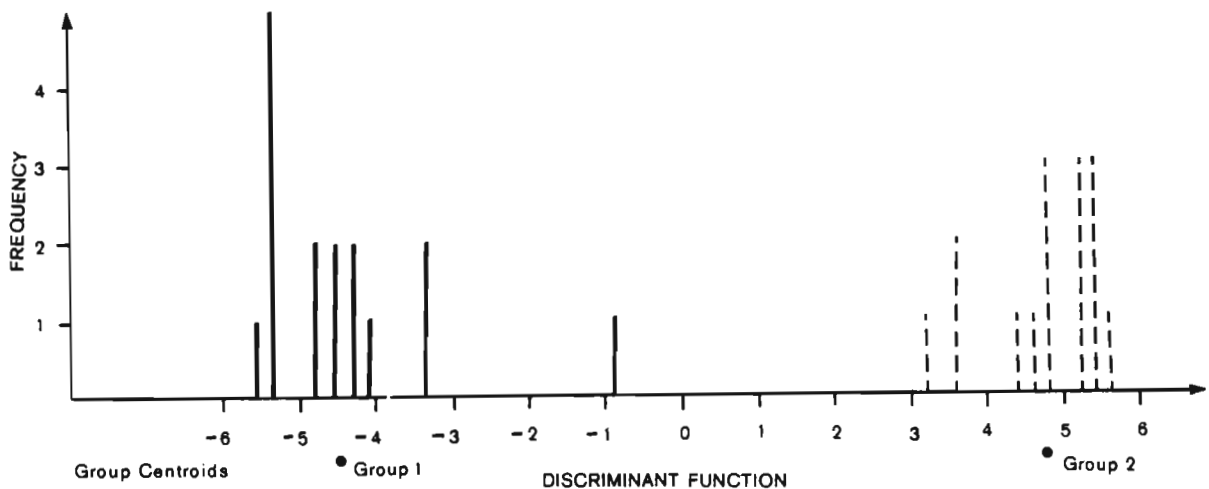
NOTE: Section D of Appendix D gives the full wording of those statements referred to by number in column 1.

Those coefficients with the highest loadings ($>|3,5|$) are underlined in Table 42. The discriminant function was labelled "Interpersonal stress and work demands", because of the larger weights given to items with this content.

In sum, then, there was a highly significant difference between the two groups of informants along the discriminant function ($\chi^2 = 50,62$; d.f. = 26; $P = 0,0026$). An examination of Figure 6 reveals the distinct separation of the groups along the discriminant function,

with Group 1 (Type I black managers) distributed around the group mean of -4,46, whilst Group 2 (Type II informants) were clustered around the group centroid of 4,76.

FIGURE 6 : Histogram Showing the Location of the Type I/Type II Group Centroids and the Distribution of the Discriminant Scores of the 31 Black Managers on the Discriminant Function



NOTE: (i) Solid lines represent subjects belonging to Group 1; broken lines denote membership in Group 2;
(ii) Discriminant scores of the 31 black managers are placed in Appendix R.

In effect, the findings support the author's hypothesis about the relationship between the type of black manager and the work stress that they experienced. In other words, Type I informants (who were identified in Phase I as having very positive self-concepts) appeared to experience less stress in terms of a person-role mismatch than their more pessimistic, sensitive Type II counterparts. These results were also in keeping with the qualitative Phase II interview material. That is, it was found that those subjects who had experienced severe work stress within the last year, or last five years, were mainly Type II individuals (see Chapter 10, Sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2). An interesting question to consider is whether Type II black managers were under more stress because of certain fundamental personality characteristics, or whether their experience of work stress manifested itself in Type II perceptions and attributes. In all likelihood, both conditions probably contributed

to the dynamics of the situation.

Research into the association between types of black managers and the nature and level of work stress experienced, should be pursued. It could well be, for instance, that Type II black managers are "stress-prone" individuals. Insights into this issue could enable companies to choose the most appropriate type of individual for positions characterized by certain work stressors. Furthermore, certain types of black managers could perhaps perform well with matching or complementary types of bosses.

4.1.3 Discriminant Analysis C : Stress Indicator Items - Management Level Groups

The black managers were divided into three groups according to whether they were at junior (Group 1), middle (Group 2) or senior (Group 3) management levels (see Chapter 7, Section 1 for the definition of each management echelon). While 18 of the 31 black managers who participated in Phase II of the study, were at junior management levels, 12 were in middle management jobs. Only one black manager was in a senior management position. As this individual seemed to be atypical when compared to the other subjects, he was excluded from the analysis so as not to distort or "skew" the results in his direction. The results of the discriminant analysis are presented below.

TABLE 43 : Summary Table : Discriminant Analysis : Stress Indicator - Management Level

Function	Canonical Correlation	Wilks' Lambda	Chi-Square	d.f.	Significance
1	0,96	0,08	38,09	26	0,0594

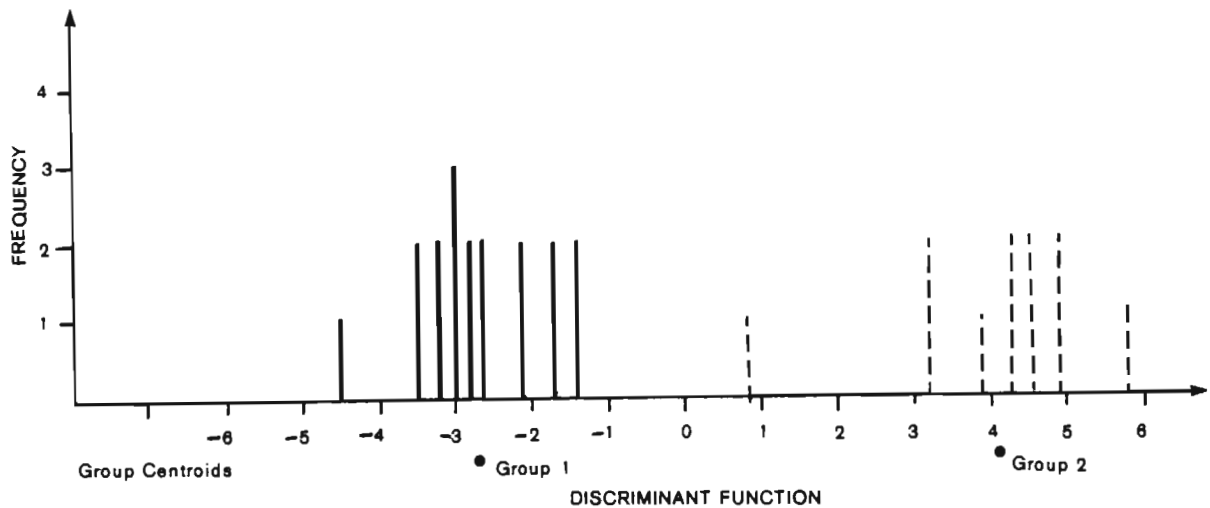
TABLE 44 : Discriminant Function Matrix : Stress Indicator Items - Management Level Groups

Statement Number	Items	Function 1
1	Too much work	-1,03
2	Strict deadlines	<u>2,39</u>
4	Go against policy	-0,04
5	Person-role conflict	<u>3,25</u>
6	Conflicting instructions	-1,52
8	Role ambiguity-tasks	-0,50
9	Role ambiguity-job	<u>2,57</u>
10	Role ambiguity-colleagues	<u>0,47</u>
11	Role ambiguity-boss	1,54
12	Insufficient authority	-3,27
14	Inadequate training	-0,99
15	Abilities underutilized	-2,81
21	Poor communication skills	<u>1,63</u>
24	Excessive supervision	1,06
26	Inadequate supervision	<u>3,38</u>
27	No influence over boss	<u>2,55</u>
28	Conflict with boss	<u>0,19</u>
29	Not liked	0,97
30	Lack of trust	-1,93
31	Competition	0,48
32	Views ignored	-1,93
34	Inadequate communication	<u>2,38</u>
35	Emphasis on advancement	-1,58
36	Discrimination	-1,00
37	Socio-cultural factors	-1,15
38	Work 'overflows' into home	<u>-3,78</u>

NOTE: Section D of Appendix D gives the full wording of those statements referred to by number in column 1.

Those coefficients with the highest weights ($>|2|$) are underlined in Table 44. Taking these items as a guideline, the discriminant function matrix was labelled "Role pressures and supervisory relations". The group centroid of Group 1 (junior management blacks) was -2,69, whereas that of Group 2 (middle management blacks) was 4,04. The frequency distribution of the black managers' discriminant scores along the discriminant function continuum, as well as the location of the group centroids, are plotted in Figure 7.

FIGURE 7 : Histogram Showing the Location of the Two Management Group Centroids and the Distribution of the Discriminant Scores of the 30 Black Managers on the Discriminant Function



NOTE: (i) Solid lines represent subjects belonging to Group 1; broken lines denote membership in Group 2;
(ii) Discriminant scores of the 30 black managers are placed in Appendix S.

The difference between the black managers grouped at junior and middle management levels in terms of the discriminant function, verged on statistical significance ($\chi^2 = 38,09$; d.f. = 26; $p = 0,0594$). Considering the location of the two group centroids as plotted on the x-axis of the histogram (Figure 7), it is clear that the two management groups were distinctly separated on the discriminant function. In effect, Group 2 (middle management blacks) whose mean was 4,04, generally seemed to experience more stress, as defined by the discriminant function labelled "Role pressure and supervisory relations", than Group 1 (junior management blacks), whose group centroid was -2,69.

Since the results were bordering on statistical significance, they lend some support to the author's hypothesis, based on the literature, that certain forms of work stress would be most common at middle management levels.

4.1.4 Discriminant Analysis D : Stress Indicator Variables - Line/Staff Groups

The black managers' positions were classified according to whether they were in staff positions (Group 1) or line management (Group 2). The results are summarized in the following tables.

TABLE 45 : Summary Table : Discriminant Analysis : Stress Indicator Variables - Staff/Line Groups

Canonical Correlation	Wilks' Lambda	Chi-Square	d.f.	Significance
0,98	0,04	50,41	26	0,0028

TABLE 46 : Discriminant Function Matrix : Stress Indicator Variables - Staff/Line Groups

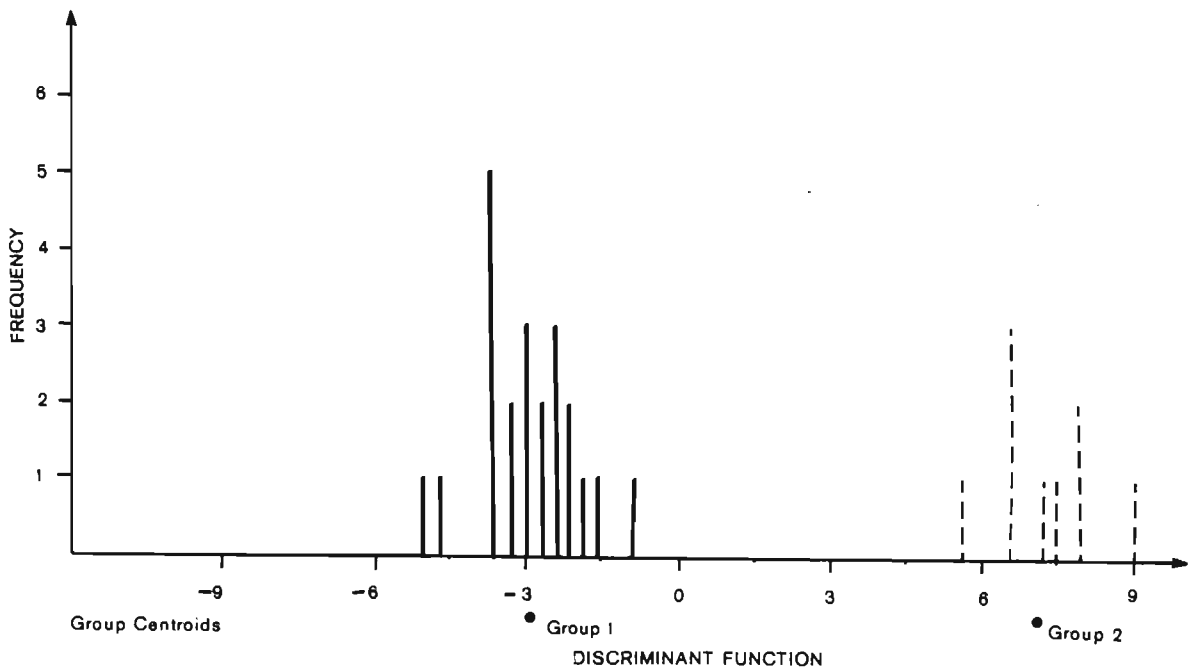
Statement Number	Items	Function 1
1	Too much work	1,08
2	Strict deadlines	-1,84
4	Go against policy	-3,16
5	Person-role conflict	-1,19
6	Conflicting instructions	-0,67
8	Role ambiguity-tasks	-0,81
9	Role ambiguity-job	0,27
10	Role ambiguity-colleagues	-3,64
11	Role ambiguity-boss	2,15
12	Insufficient authority	-0,48
14	Inadequate training	0,46
15	Abilities underutilized	1,54
21	Poor communication skills	-0,87
24	Excessive supervision	2,77
26	Inadequate supervision	0,12
27	No influence over boss	-0,77
28	Conflict with boss	1,05
29	Not liked	-0,55
30	Lack of trust	0,23
31	Competition	4,58
32	Views ignored	-0,95
34	Inadequate communication	3,93
35	Emphasis on advancement	1,34
36	Discrimination	-1,30
37	Socio-cultural factors	0,83
38	Work 'overflows' into home	-2,24

NOTE: Section D of Appendix D gives the full wording of those statements referred to by number in column 1.

Those coefficients with the highest weights ($> |2,5|$), and which are underlined in Table 47, served to identify the variables which contributed most to differentiation along the function. The dominant characteristic that they seemed to reflect was "Departmental climate".

There was a highly significant separation of the two groups of black managers (staff as opposed to line managers) along the discriminant function ($R = 0,98$; Wilks' Lambda = 0,04; $\chi^2 = 50,41$; d.f. = 26; $p = 0,0028$). The group centroids indicated that Group 1, consisting of staff managers ($\bar{x} = -2,92$) experienced less "Departmental climate" - invoked stress than Group 2 (line managers) whose group mean was 7,15. The distinct separation of the group centroids is clearly illustrated in the histogram presented in Figure 8. The discriminant scores of the 31 black managers (assigned to their respective group) are also plotted.

FIGURE 8 : Histogram Showing the Location of the Line/Staff Group Centroids and the Distribution of the Discriminant Scores of the 31 Black Managers on the Discriminant Function



NOTE: (i) Solid lines represent subjects belonging to Group 1; broken lines denote membership in Group 2;
(ii) Discriminant scores of the 31 black managers are placed in Appendix T.

The discriminant analysis results did not support the hypothesis that black managers in staff positions would experience more work stress than black line managers, because of the boundary-spanning nature of their work activities. However, the discriminant analysis findings may be explained as follows: As revealed in Chapter 3, Section 2, the vast majority of black managers in South Africa are to be found in staff positions dealing with blacks. It was noted in Chapter 10, Section 5.3.1 that the staff black managers who participated in Phase II of the present study, possessed a fairly extensive social support system comprising other blacks in similar staff positions elsewhere. They relied upon each other for emotional sustenance, assistance, feedback, resources, and for testing and sharing social reality in times of work stress. This enduring network of interpersonal ties therefore seemed to help maintain the psychological and physical well-being of the individuals over time.

By contrast, the black line managers were, without exception, the only blacks in the upper echelons of their respective department. In fact, a point that was frequently raised by the line managers was that they had no-one to talk to (either within the company or extra-organizationally) about their work problems. This was, in part, a product of the fact that there are not many black managers in line positions since such jobs usually require an engineering or science degree, which very few blacks in South Africa possess at this point in time. Furthermore, many of the line managers noted that they were not readily accepted within their department. Whites in lower level line positions (such as the fitters and turners, and the foremen) were particularly uncooperative and antagonistic towards the black line managers, because of status anxieties and racial prejudices. Indeed, a common complaint was that these blue collar whites often withheld information from them and were generally uncooperative, possibly because they feared that the black manager could one day become their immediate boss.

By comparison, staff black managers were located in departments that were relatively homogeneous in terms of their administrative and human relations white collar functions. The departmental climate in staff divisions, although not necessarily warm and very supportive, generally appeared to be more "civil" and tolerant towards the black managers, who played an important role in dealing with black employee issues. Therefore, it is suggested that the discriminant analysis results reveal that the line managers were under more stress related to an unfavourable departmental climate, than their black counterparts in staff positions. Such stress may be viewed as reflecting a person-environment mismatch resulting from the black manager's lack of assimilation and acceptance within his work group.

5. Multidimensional Scaling (MDS) Analysis of the 26 "Stress Indicator" Items

Those Stress Indicator items with the highest item-total correlations (namely, 26 of the 40 statements), were subjected to nonmetric multidimensional scaling (MDS) analysis to examine the relationships underlying these measures. The programme was written by Murray (1984)*, using Kruskal's (1977:326) flow chart (See Kruskal, 1977:296-339 for details of the programme itself).

As Hair *et al.* (1979) point out, the advantage of MDS techniques is that they enable the researcher to portray respondents' perceptions spatially by means of visual representations called "spatial maps". These are easier to assimilate (visually) than a large matrix of coefficients. Moreover, they may also highlight features of the material that could be obscured in the original matrix of coefficients.

The 26 measures were transformed into a three-dimensional representation with a "stress" value (that is, goodness-of-fit) of 18,1 percent. The two-dimensional configuration was rejected because the stress value of 26,1 percent was too high. The outcomes of the scaling for three dimensions are presented in Table 47 and are mapped in Figures 9 to 11. (see pp.414-416).

(See next page for Table 47)

* Mr. C.O. Murray, supervisor of this dissertation, was a senior lecturer in the Psychology department, University of Natal, Durban.

TABLE 47 : MDS Values of the 26 Stress Indicator Items

No. of statement from Stress Indicator	Dimension		
	1	2	3
1	0,65	-0,50	0,40
2	0,58	0,17	0,56
4	0,21	-0,11	0,86
5	-0,37	0,38	-0,38
11	-0,43	0,04	-1,07
14	0,51	0,43	-0,55
26	0,63	-0,31	-0,16
31	0,84	0,82	-0,10
35	0,66	-0,17	-0,69
6	-0,59	1,08	-0,11
8	-0,58	-0,75	0,02
9	-1,11	0,06	-0,50
10	0,21	0,22	-0,95
12	-1,00	-0,16	0,29
15	-0,74	-0,71	-0,38
21	1,08	-0,03	-0,23
24	0,77	-0,92	0,32
27	-0,43	-0,83	0,48
28	-0,33	-0,31	0,79
29	-0,47	0,82	0,48
30	0,12	1,10	0,25
32	-0,89	-0,38	-0,07
34	-0,63	0,44	0,47
36	0,39	-0,86	-0,54
37	0,65	0,13	0,16
38	0,24	0,35	0,66

NOTE: Section D of Appendix D gives the full wording of those statements referred to by number in column 1.

The meaning of the configurations were interpreted in terms of the points that were located at the extremes of orthogonal axes that spanned the multidimensional space. As Coxon (1982:96) points out:

"The important characteristics of a dimension.... are that it represents a higher order organising construct ("factor"), which can be thought of as varying continuously and is bipolar (i.e. varies in both a positive and negative direction), and defines a major pattern of variation in the data."

Those items with the most extreme (positive and negative) co-ordinates were compared with one another in order to identify the bipolarity of the dimension, or the contrast involved. As shown in the spatial maps (Figures 9, 10 and 11), the dimensions were labelled as follows:

- Dimension 1 - "Role definitions and expectations" versus "Person-role fit".
- Dimension 2 - "Intra-group relations" versus "Supervisory relations".
- Dimension 3 - "Clear but conflicting work pressures" versus "Lack of clarity about the work environment".

Section D of Appendix D gives the full wording of those statements referred to by name in the following figures.

An examination of the three spatial maps reveals that the subjects' responses to the 26 Stress Indicator statements were broadly grouped into role-related stress (Dimension 1), interpersonal stress (Dimension 2) and stress stemming either from clear or conflicting demands or ambiguity concerning the work environment (Dimension 3).

FIGURE 9: MDS Spatial Map - Dimension 1 (x-axis) Versus Dimension 2 (y-axis)

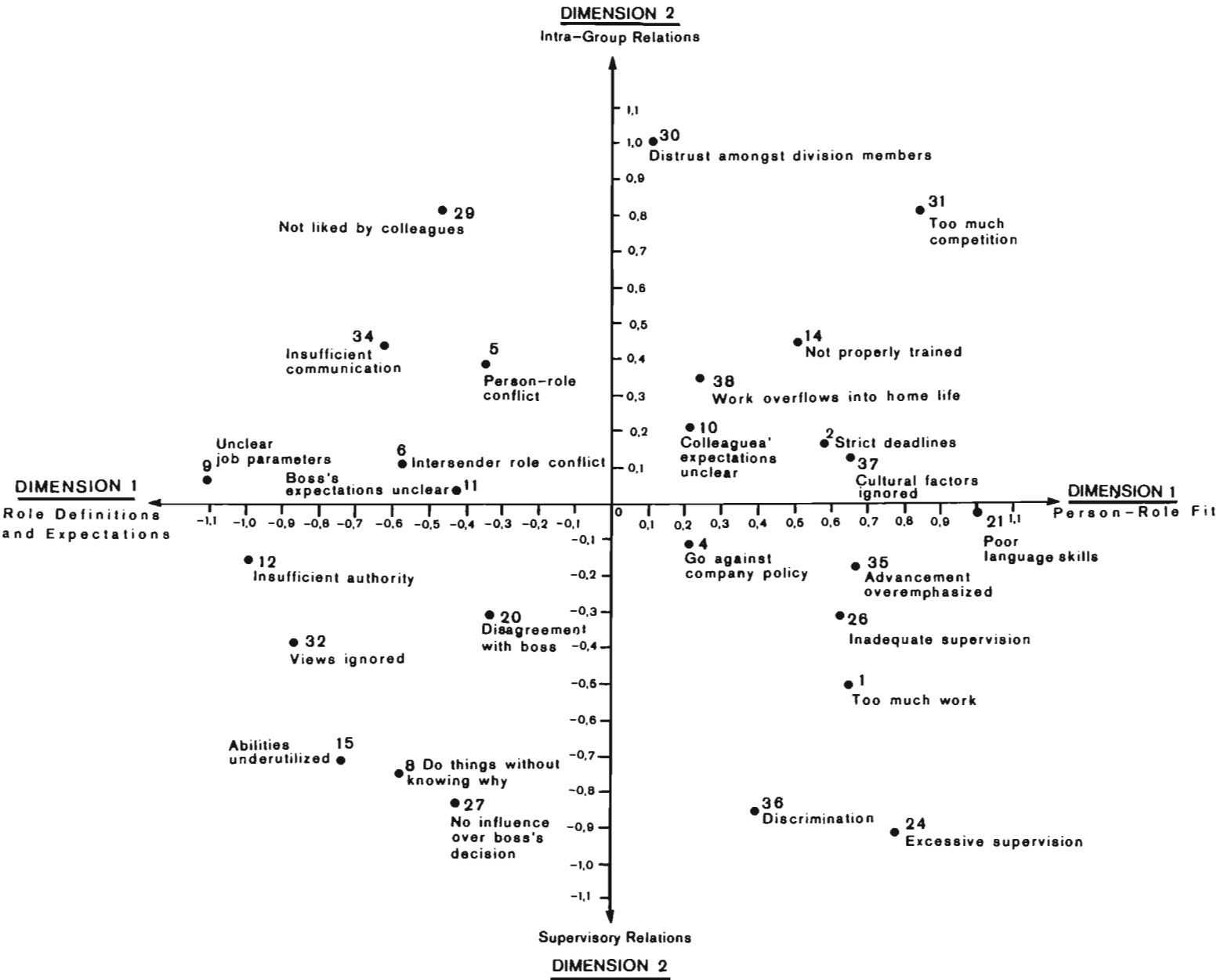


FIGURE 10: MDS Spatial Map - Dimension 2 (x-axis) Versus Dimension 3 (y-axis)

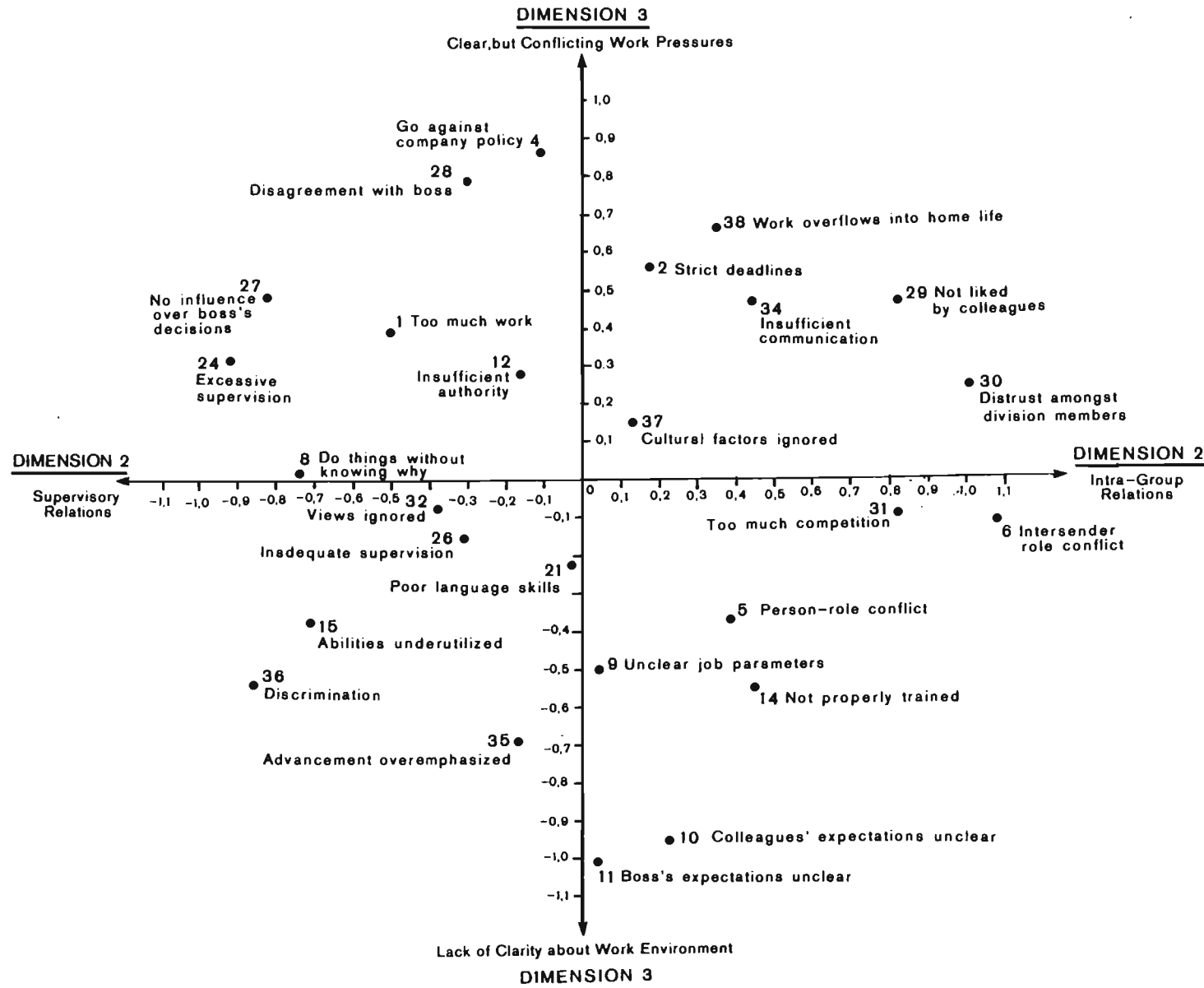
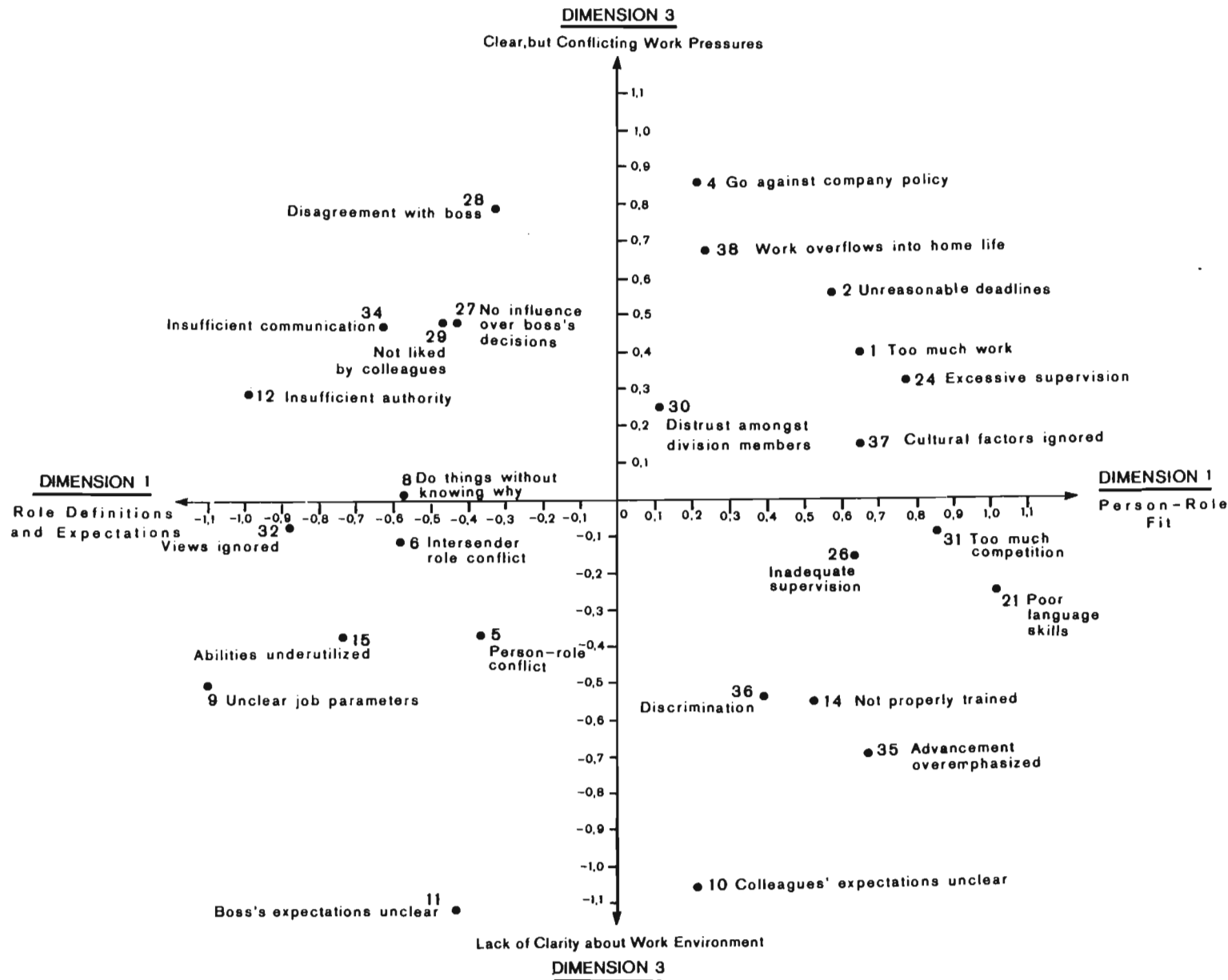


FIGURE 11: MDS Spatial Map - Dimension 1 (x-axis) Versus Dimension 3 (y-axis)



It is noteworthy that Dimension 1, as the most important structure that emerged, represented stress associated with the black managers' role in the organization. This once again lends support to the author's hypothesis (outlined in Chapter 6, Section 3.2.2), that the major work stressors encountered by the black managers would be role-related. The finding is also in keeping with the qualitative interview material discussed in Chapter 10. That is, content analysis of the informants' descriptions of stressful work situations revealed that role stressors were the most frequently mentioned source of work stress, followed by interpersonal stressors. Similarly, Dimension 2 of the MDS configuration was an interpersonal construct.

Overall, then, it is evident that the results of the MDS analysis of the quantitative Stress Indicator items complement the findings obtained from the qualitative interview data. Furthermore, these results support the author's hypothesis, generated at the end of Phase I of the investigation, that the black managers were suffering, above all, from role stress such as role conflict, role ambiguity, role overload and role underload.

6. Multiple Regression - Dependent Variables : Composite Scores for each "Stress" Dimension; Independent Variables : Biographical Factor Score Variables

Given the three bipolar dimensions that emerged from the MDS analysis of the 26 Stress Indicator items, the author was interested in identifying whether any of the biographical factor variables of the black managers predicted these dimensions. Those Stress Indicator items with the highest loadings and which clustered around the poles of the orthogonal axes, were combined in each case to form a composite score or measurement of that particular pole (see Table 47 for the list of loadings). This procedure was carried out for all six poles. In those instances where some Stress Indicator items had similar loadings, the variable that had the highest loading on that particular dimension (when compared to its loading on the other dimensions), was selected. The composite scores were then regressed, in turn, on the subjects' four biographical factor

score variables. Table 48 indicates which stress items were combined to form a score representing each dimension, whilst Table 49 presents the results.

TABLE 48 : List of Stress Indicator Items Combined to form Composite Scores Representing the Three Work Stress Dimensions

Dimension	Pole	Items Combined
1. (Person-Role Fit) (Role definitions and expectations)	+ -	3, 21, 24, 26, 37 8, 9, 12, 15, 32
2. (Intra-group relations) (Supervisory relations)	+ -	6, 29, 30, 31 8, 15, 27, 36
3. (Clarity about work environment) (Lack of clarity about work environment)	+ -	2, 4, 28, 38 9, 10, 11, 14, 35

NOTE: Section D of Appendix D gives the full wording of those Stress Indicator statements referred to by number in column 3.

TABLE 49 : Multiple Regression Results - Dependent Variable : Composite Scores Representing MDS Dimensions; Independent Variables : Black Managers' Biographical Factor Score Variables

Dimension	Predictor Variables	R	R ²	F Value	d.f.	Significance	Beta Weight
1. (+ pole)	B.F. 3*	0,36	0,13	4,83	32	0,035	0,36
(- pole)	B.F. 3	0,34	0,12	4,31	32	0,046	0,34
2 (+ pole)	B.F. 3	0,35	0,12	4,51	32	0,042	0,35
(- pole)	B.F. 3	0,35	0,12	4,50	32	0,042	0,35
3 (+ pole)	B.F. 3	0,35	0,12	4,36	32	0,045	0,35
(- pole)	B.F. 3	0,36	0,13	4,75	32	0,037	0,36

* B.F. denotes the factor score variables of Biographical Factor III which was labelled "Career path". See Chapter 7, Section 1.2, for an explanation of this factor.

As Table 49 indicates, the factor score variables of biographical factor 3 (labelled "Career path") significantly predicted the poles of all three dimensions ($p < 0,05$). In each case, the multiple correlation, although statistically significant, was small. The beta weights were all positive and the amount of variance in the dependent variables (the composite scores representing the MDS dimensions) explained by the independent variable (career path) was fairly small (that is, either 12 percent or 13 percent for each bipolar dimension).

An overview of these findings indicates that those black line managers who had fathers with high socio-economic status, and who had worked for only a few companies, experienced a different type of stress from those black staff managers with lower socio-economic backgrounds and who had been employed by a number of organizations. This finding was not surprising given the fact that employees in different functional domains must, by the very nature of their different types of tasks and work environment, experience disparate kinds of work stress. Furthermore, those black managers with a higher paternal socio-economic background* would probably possess greater career aspirations and therefore would be likely to experience more stress when their expectations were thwarted than those individuals with lower socio-economic backgrounds, and possibly also lower aspirations.

With respect to Dimension 1, it appears that those black managers with higher socio-economic backgrounds, who were in line, rather than staff positions and who had worked for only a few companies, experienced a person-role misfit. On the other hand, those black managers with lower parental socio-economic backgrounds, who were in staff positions and who had worked for a number of companies, did not experience this mismatch. This was due, perhaps, to the fact that having worked for more companies, they had assimilated themselves into the industrial world. However, these staff black managers experienced stress in terms of "role definitions and expectations" (the negative pole of Dimension 1). For

* Higher educational and occupational levels on the part of the black manager's father were termed a "higher paternal socio-economic background". Such a background for the black managers implies a greater degree of exposure to modernizing influences, and a childhood which was probably less disadvantaged than that of the average black in South Africa.

instance, they felt that they had insufficient authority (statement 12), that their views and opinions were ignored (statement 32), that their job was not always clearly defined (statement 9) and that their abilities were underutilized (statement 15). These findings seem to reflect universal problems experienced by staff personnel. For example, they "carry out their work through influence" (Logan, 1964:358). That is, they can only offer recommendations and advice to line management who may choose to ignore their suggestions. Many of the staff black managers complained during the course of their interviews that they had no job descriptions and that they were expected to deal with any issue pertaining to black employees regardless of whether or not it fell within the broad scope of their job. Related to this, they seemed to feel that their abilities were underutilized because they were not allowed to deal with employees of other racial groups - rather, they were kept as "fire-fighters" or "mediators" between management and the black workforce. Hence, the work environment failed to meet the needs and expectations of these black managers. By comparison, "line" subjects with higher parental socio-economic backgrounds and who had worked for very few companies, did not seem to experience such role-related stress, possibly because they possessed at least a limited amount of line authority.

Moreover, dimension 2 (intra-group relations) substantiates the discriminant analysis results (outlined in Section 1.5.4 of this chapter) which suggested that line black managers were under more stress (stemming from an unfavourable departmental climate), than their staff counterparts. That is, the line managers felt that there was too much competition among members of their department, that team members distrusted one another, and that they were not liked and accepted by their colleagues. As suggested earlier on in this chapter, whites at lower levels in the line function were often uncooperative towards blacks in line management ranks because of job insecurity, status anxieties and racial prejudices. Furthermore, while blacks in staff positions such as personnel, were invariably in specialized, black-orientated jobs, black line management were typically in jobs that were not colour-linked. Hence, they were bound to experience competition from white coworkers, for coveted rewards and recognition. These white employees possibly felt that the black managers were infringing on their territory. The higher socio-economic background of the line black managers

may have subtly shown in their behaviour. This may have invoked status anxieties amongst their privileged white associates who, in all likelihood, were used to dealing with working class blacks only. Such status anxieties may have placed a strain on their relationship with the black line managers.

By contrast, those staff black managers with lower socio-economic backgrounds seemed to experience supervisory-related stress (Dimension 2, negative pole) in the form of excessive supervision, feelings that they were unable to influence their bosses' opinions, and that they were expected to do things without understanding why they had to be done.

Lastly, with respect to Dimension 3, the staff black managers with lower socio-economic backgrounds seemed to encounter stress relating to a lack of clarity on their part about their work environment. This took the form of socio-emotional role ambiguity and task ambiguity, such as unclear job parameters. By contrast, the line managers seemed to experience stress that was indicative of distinct (and conflicting) pressures - such as unreasonable deadlines and work overflowing into their home life. Considering, for instance, the nature of the production process with its tight schedules and emphasis on productive output, it makes sense that these subjects loaded on the positive pole of Dimension 3. For example, some line managers pointed out that they were on standby at night and were called in to work if there were production problems.

In conclusion, then, it is noteworthy that the factor variables of biographical factor 3 (black managers' career orientation) predicted the three underlying dimensions which emerged from MDS analysis of the subjects' responses to the Stress Indicator items. That is, the other biographical factor variables, namely, work experience, quality of education and management status, were not significantly related to the work stress experienced by the informants (as measured by the Stress Indicator items).

7. Regression of Stress Symptom Frequencies on MDS Stress Dimensions

A multiple regression analysis was conducted to determine the relationship between the frequency of stress symptoms (listed in Table 38, Chapter 10), and the three stress dimensions that emerged from the MDS analysis of the Stress Indicator items.

The frequency of stress symptoms was predicted by the negative pole of Dimension 1 of the MDS analysis (role definitions and expectations) and the negative pole of Dimension 3 labelled "lack of clarity about the work environment" ($R = 0,67$; $F = 11,13$; d.f. = 28; $p = 0,0003$). The beta weights are listed below:

MDS Dimensions	Beta weights
Role definitions and expectations	0,77
Lack of clarity about work environment	0,39

The items defining the two dimensions* above reflect a person-environment misfit, such that the individual's needs and values were not met by the environment. Hence, there was a moderately high relationship between the failure of the environment to satisfy the employees' needs and expectations (for instance, for task and socio-emotional role clarity, recognition, authority and for the adequate utilization of their abilities), and frequency of stress symptoms ($R = 0,67$). This relationship was statistically very highly significant.

This is an interesting finding since it implies that the failure of the work environment to meet the black managers' needs and expectations was particularly stressful (perhaps more so than a mismatch between the individuals capabilities and environmental demands).

* Figure 10 graphically portrays these dimensions.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTER

The material from the Phase II interviews with 31 of the 34 black managers from Phase I of the study, was factor analysed. Three factors emerged. Factor 1, called "Interpersonal relations at work", contrasted those black managers with good relationships with their work colleagues with those whose relationships were poor. Factor 2, labelled "Job fulfillment" contrasted those black informants who were more satisfied with their job situation since Phase I, with those who had become increasingly dissatisfied. Lastly, Factor 3, interpreted as representing "social support and acceptance", contrasted those subjects who felt that they were supported by "significant others" both at work and extra-organizationally, with those who felt estranged and isolated.

Multiple regression analyses revealed that black managers with lower educational qualifications but higher management status, were more fulfilled in their jobs than those with higher educational levels but with lower management status.

Following on from the above analyses, the Stress Indicator list of statements was subjected to item analysis. The final set of 26 items that emerged was used in subsequent analyses. Discriminant analyses revealed that:

- The greater the black manager-boss perceptual discrepancy (Euclidean distance) measure, the greater the stress experienced by the black manager (as measured by the 26 Stress Indicator items).
- Type II black managers who, in terms of their sentence completions, appeared to have a lower self-esteem than their Type I counterparts, were under more stress than the latter (as revealed by the Stress Indicator).
- Line managers were under more stress (as reflected by the Stress Indicator) than the black staff managers.

- Black middle managers were under more stress (as measured by the Stress Indicator) than junior managers.

Multiple dimensional scaling (MDS) analysis of the 26 Stress Indicator items highlighted three underlying bipolar dimensions. These showed that the black managers' responses were grouped into those reflecting role-related stress (Dimension 1), interpersonal stress (Dimension 2) and stress related to the clarity or ambiguity of the work environment (Dimension 3). Multiple regression analyses revealed that in each instance, the black managers' career path predicted the dimensions that had emerged from the MDS analysis. Thus, the black managers career path was an important antecedent variable which significantly influenced the amount of stress that they experienced.

Lastly, a person-environment mismatch (in terms of an individual needs-environment supplies disparity), predicted the frequencies with which certain stress symptoms of the black managers manifested themselves.

The following chapter presents a summary, discussion and conclusions of Phase I and Phase II of the investigation.

CHAPTER 12

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. The Research Problem

South Africa's vanguard of black managers seem to be experiencing numerous problems and obstacles as they make inroads into the white-controlled corporate world. Besides this, research and management practices related to the black managers have concentrated largely on their work behaviour at the expense of their experiences and perceptions. Yet since individuals act on their interpretation of stimuli, perceptions are the key to the understanding and explanation of work behaviour in all its variety and complexity. Thus it warrants investigation (Hamner and Organ, 1978; Hellriegel and Slocum, 1979). In addition, studies typically have been concerned with the viewpoints of either the black managers or those of white employees, instead of taking both perspectives into account.

2. Aims of the Study

In view of the above points, Phase I of the investigation sought to explore the perceptions, attitudes, and experiences of black managers within a selection of industrial organizations. The perceptions, attitudes and experiences of certain work colleagues (namely their immediate boss, a peer and a subordinate, if available) in regard to the black manager and general black job advancement issues, were also investigated. A fundamental aim, then, was to explore the black managers and their work context from multiple perspectives to obtain a fuller picture than views from one frame of reference alone would have conveyed. A further objective was to explore the perceptual similarities and disparities between the black managers and certain members of their role set.

Since Phase I pointed to stress as a topic which should be explored, the second phase of the investigation examined the work stress encountered by the black managers who participated in Phase I of the project. A Person-

Environment Fit model of organizational stress was applied as a broad conceptual framework. However, the Role Episode model developed by Kahn *et al.* (1964) was also used, on a more specific level, to explain and interpret the role stress experienced by the black managers.

3. Profile of the Black Managers

Although the ages of the black managers ranged widely, almost two-thirds of these subjects were in their twenties and thirties. Two-thirds of the black managers were concentrated in staff (as opposed to line) positions. The informants typically held black-orientated jobs. Three-fifths of the black managers were at junior management levels and only one individual had reached senior management. The black managers were generally well-educated, with 70,6 percent having obtained the equivalent of a matric plus three or more years. Just over three-quarters of these interviewees had urban township backgrounds. This implies that they had been exposed to western-orientated values, beliefs, and norms germane to the white-run industrial environment. The educational qualifications of the black managers' parents were low, especially when compared to that of the black managers themselves. Half of the fathers were in blue collar jobs whilst most of the mothers were housewives.

Four factors emerged from factor analysis of the intercorrelations of the biographical items. Factor 1, labelled "work experience" was essentially an age-related dimension, contrasting older black managers, who had longer work experience, company service, and length in their present position, with their younger counterparts with less work experience, shorter job tenure and the like. Factor 2, called "quality of education" essentially contrasted those black managers with higher educational qualifications, more degrees and/or diplomas, and who had attended a university with higher academic status, with those black managers who had lower educational qualifications, fewer degrees and/or diplomas, and so on. Factor 3 contrasted black line managers who had only worked for a few companies and whose father's socio-economic status was high, with staff black managers who had worked for more organizations, and whose father's socio-economic status was lower. Lastly, factor 4, titled "management status",

revealed that those black managers at higher managerial levels, correctly judged their management status to be high. Similarly, lower management blacks correctly gauged their management status.

4. Correlational Analyses (Phase I and Phase II)

4.1 The Black Managers

Major findings obtained from factor analyses and multiple regression analyses conducted on the black managers' data (see Chapter 9, Section 1.2, and Chapter 11, Section 1.2) revealed that:

- (i) Those black managers with higher management status and a lower quality of education, possessed a more positive definition of their work situation and felt more fulfilled by their job than those with lower management status, but with higher educational attainments. The author suggests that the former group of black managers were possibly satisfied, in part, because they had done well, despite their educational qualifications. On the other hand, those respondents with higher educational achievements, but in lower management echelons, seemed to be frustrated because, despite their good education, their expectations of advancing up the corporate ladder had not materialized;
- (ii) Older black managers believed that they had good interpersonal relationships at work, whereas younger informants did not. Therefore, it seems that older black managers had been assimilated into the work environment to a greater extent than their younger counterparts - possibly because they had established credibility, gained acceptance, and were less critical than younger blacks, of black-white interactions. In addition, this finding also indicates, perhaps, that black employees cannot survive in the mainstream white corporate system, unless they assimilate;
- (iii) Those black managers with higher management status possessed more positive perceptions of their relationship with white colleagues

than those black managers with lower management status. This finding could be attributed to a number of possible factors. For instance, these subjects could have reached higher management echelons precisely because they were accepted by white employees. On the other hand, given their higher management status, these black managers were probably accepted more readily than blacks at lower levels. That is, it is likely that they had gained credibility in the eyes of their white associates (assuming, of course, that they were not token managers);

- (iv) Older black line managers, with longer work experience and higher socio-economic backgrounds, regarded their career development in an unfavourable light. By comparison, younger staff black managers with less work experience and lower socio-economic backgrounds viewed their career development positively. The latter group of subjects, being in black-orientated personnel jobs, felt that they had a vital and meaningful role to play in helping to uplift black people (for instance, in the training and industrial relations fields), and so were optimistic about their career prospects. By contrast, it seems that the mobility aspirations of the professionally qualified, older line managers, who were largely in white-dominated, technical positions, had been thwarted and frustrated. This was probably because they were not in positions that required specific "black expertise" so that whites, as members of the in-group, had a competitive edge over them. It is not surprising, then, that these black managers seemed to be disillusioned with their career tracks.

Overall, it is evident that the attitudes and perceptions of older black managers, as well as those with higher management status, but lower educational levels, differed from their younger counterparts as well as those with lower management status but higher educational levels. It appeared that younger black workers were less accepting of the *status quo*. They seemed to hold the least assimilative attitudes. They were generally more sensitive to negative white attitudes and more vocal in their criticism than the older blacks because they had been brought up in the more recent atmosphere of black pride and black consciousness. The conditioning of

the older black managers had been such that they did not expect to be treated well (that is, equally) by whites. Thus, they perhaps possessed a different conception of a negative racial atmosphere to the younger, more militant blacks. Several older black informants wanted to consolidate what they had achieved to date. Similar age-related patterns were also reported in studies by Fernandez (1975) and Davis and Watson (1982) on American black managers.

4.2 The Bosses

As discussed in Chapter 9, Section 1.3, factor analysis of the bosses' interview data showed that the dimensions underlying their perceptions of their respective black manager and of general black job advancement matters, were not as complex as those of the black managers themselves. This was to be expected since the bosses' frame of reference (as "observers") compared to that of the black managers (the "actors") would have yielded different information. Thus, only three factors emerged from factor analysis of the bosses' interview material, whereas there were five factors for the black managers.

5. Phase I Results Relating to Perceptual Discrepancies

5.1 Qualitative Material

Thirty-three questions asked during the interviews were common to the black managers, bosses and peers. Over half of the 34 black manager-boss dyads, and more than half of the 21 black manager-peer dyads, had different perceptions on two-thirds of these questions (see Chapter 7 and Chapter 8). Low intra-dyad agreements were found with regard to general black job advancement issues, the black managers' job performance, career development, job-related attitudes, and their relationship with other blacks. As a whole, the black managers were more critical about matters relating to the upward occupational progression of blacks, than were the white bosses or white peers. All items characterized by fairly high black manager-boss intra-dyad agreements (that is, by over half of the dyads being in accord with one another), related to the black manager himself.

Turning to the 11 subordinates and their respective black manager, over half of these dyads were in agreement with each other on two-fifths of the questions asked of them (see Chapter 8). As with the bosses and peers, matters agreed upon related largely to the black manager. Disagreements revolved largely around black job advancement issues. Notwithstanding this, direct perspectives regarding the black managers' career development, performance and work conditions, were characterized by low intra-dyad perceptual consensus.

5.2 Euclidean Distance Analysis

Euclidean distance analyses outlined in Chapter 9, Section 2.1, revealed that the largest intra-dyad perceptual discrepancies existed between the black managers and their respective white bosses, followed by the black manager-peer dyads, boss-peer pairs, and lastly, by the black manager-subordinate dyads.

The black manager-boss Euclidean distance mean was significantly larger, and the boss-peer mean significantly smaller than the grand Euclidean distance mean. Furthermore, the Euclidean distance mean of the boss-peer dyads (same racial group, different occupational status), was statistically significantly smaller than that of the Euclidean distance mean of the black manager-boss pairs (different racial group, different occupational status). This suggests that the racial factor was possibly the single most important factor contributing to the size of the perceptual disparities between the different groups of subjects. As whites, the bosses and peers would have had a similar cultural heritage, similar world views, experiences and ethnic attitudes. The fact that the bosses and peers were both "observers" of the black managers (the "actors"), could also account for their greater perceptual congruency.

The finding that the black manager-subordinate dyads were characterized by a smaller Euclidean distance mean than that of the black manager-boss dyads or black manager-peer pairs, probably relates to the racial heterogeneity of the subordinate group - such that the black subordinates held perceptions that were fairly similar to those of the black managers.

However, given the fact that there were only 11 black manager-subordinate dyads, generalizations cannot be made.

In the final analysis, then, Phase I hypotheses (outlined in Chapter 6, Section 2.2.2) were supported by the Euclidean distance results. That is, as postulated, the perceptions and attitudes of the white bosses and white peers were more similar to one another than the perceptions and attitudes of the black managers compared to either those of the bosses or peers. Furthermore, the author's hypothesis that the subordinates' attitudes and perceptions would be closer to the black managers' than those of the peers and bosses, was also supported by the findings of the Euclidean distance analysis.

5.3 Perceptual Discrepancies - A General Overview

Phase I of the study highlighted the fact that many of the perceptions held by work colleagues of the black managers or about black job advancement, did not correspond with the perceptions of the black managers. The issue at stake, however, is not whose perceptions represented a more "objective" or "accurate" reflection of the organizational reality, but rather, how they perceived the situation in which they found themselves. This is because, as emphasized elsewhere in the text, an individual's behaviour within a situation is influenced by his perceptions and subjective interpretations thereof, and such perceptions of the situation may be very different from those of an external observer (Cantril, 1957; Combs *et al.*, 1976; Porter *et al.*, 1975; Thomas and Thomas, 1928).

As hypothesized in Chapter 6, Section 2.2.3, it was found that members of the black managers' role set were inclined to overestimate dispositional causes of the black managers' behaviour, and underestimate situational factors. For instance, several work associates regarded the black managers as lacking assertiveness, initiative, and drive, as a result of stable personality characteristics. They failed to perceive these behaviours as possibly resulting from the black managers' realistic evaluation of, and adaptation to, an unresponsive, unsupportive environ-

ment which offered them little opportunity to assert themselves, to show initiative, or to realize their aspirations. By contrast, many black managers were inclined to attribute their work behaviour and problems to external factors, such as racial discrimination and racial prejudices - often to the complete exclusion of attributions of internal causality. This sometimes seemed to prevent them from examining their own shortcomings. Obviously, the danger exists that interpreting most work problems and behaviours as products of external factors can become a defence mechanism. The latter can protect the ego by offering a water-tight rationalization for the existence of such behaviours, so that the individual does not accept responsibility for them.

As noted in Chapter 5, Section 1.6, there are possible explanations for this attribution error. Firstly, the actor and observer may have different information at their disposal. Secondly, actors and observers may process available information differently because of their particular vantage points, which highlight dissimilar types of information. Thirdly, both parties may pay differential attention to particular aspects of the situation.

Furthermore, general perceptual discrepancies that existed between the black managers and their work colleagues reflected, in many instances, their clashing interests, different world views, and definitions of situations. Perceptual differences were also inextricably bound up with the subjects' past learning, culture, experiences, needs and role expectations. The situation was compounded by a communication breakdown which was possibly fostered by a lack of trust and prejudices from both sides. Since the apartheid system in South Africa limits casual social interaction between racial groups, the black manager and his white work associates were not used to communicating with one another except on a formal, instrumental level at work. Racial segregation also resulted in black and white employees often viewing each other as one-dimensional human beings, with enigmatic, abstruse life experiences and feelings. Problems in relating to one another authentically and empathetically were therefore bound to arise.

The use of different "comparative" reference groups (Kelly, 1968) when evaluating the black managers or their work milieu, also accounted for

some of the perceptual discrepancies between the black managers and certain members of their role set. For instance, some work associates, using other black employees as the standard of evaluation, assumed that the black manager would be satisfied with his career path. By contrast, many of the black managers used their white counterparts (who had experienced substantial career development) as their reference group. Consequently, they seemed to experience feelings of relative deprivation. Conversely, the work associates sometimes appeared to use the white employees as their reference group when appraising their black colleague. By the same token, the black managers, on occasion, applied criteria which constituted achievable black norms and standards, rather than those of dominant white society.

In addition, "inaccurate" perspectives, either on the part of the black manager or role set, could also be attributed to the influence of distorting factors such as cognitive selectivity, halo effects, stereotyping and the tendency towards the stability of perceptions (discussed in Chapter 4, Section 1.5). Lastly, the following observation by Stopforth (1981:12) is relevant:

"However the company environment context is manipulated to accommodate black advancement, uncontrolled wide differences in racial exclusiveness, politics, private relationships, extra company activities, group affiliations and world view are going to provide a continually differentiated external referent for what happens at work."



Despite interpersonal perceptual discrepancies on a variety of issues, some bosses and peers seemed to show insight and understanding into the obstacles and difficulties faced by the black manager. Even so, their empathetic stance was usually applied to their respective black manager only. That is, it was not generalized to other blacks who were still often regarded in a stereotyped, fairly negative fashion. (Gathercole (1981) also reported this finding in her study on black managers.) Their particular black colleague was, at times, regarded as being an exception to the rule; as being different from other blacks. The specificity of such attitudes was, perhaps, fostered by the fact that the low status of blacks in apartheid society outside the company reinforced the whites' ingrained belief systems and prejudices about blacks in general. Moreover, material interests and status anxieties could also have militated

against the softening of their attitudes towards other blacks. Notwithstanding this, racist whites employed by progressive firms may be forced by the company policies and norms to become prejudiced non-discriminators (Merton, 1949). According to the theory of cognitive dissonance (discussed in Chapter 4, Section 3.3), inconsistencies between the individuals' attitudes and behaviour could result in a change of their attitudes so that they are in keeping with their behaviour enforced by the situation. That is, they may become unprejudiced non-discriminators. Unfortunately, however, South African society reinforces white employees' prejudiced attitudes. Although such racial attitudes may be suspended temporarily while the individuals are at work, they are sanctioned by the plethora of government legislation that is enforced outside the organization.

In conclusion, the implications of the findings that the greatest perceptual discord existed between the black managers and their respective bosses, followed by the black manager-peer dyads, should be borne in mind. Indeed, it may be hypothesized that such intra-dyad perceptual disparities are likely to result in a multitude of undesirable consequences. At the individual level (on the part of the black managers), it might lead, for example, to marked job dissatisfaction, disillusionment, alienation, stress, apathy, feelings of being misunderstood and lowered productivity. At the group level it could generate interpersonal disagreements and tension, lack of group cohesiveness and support, unproductive teamwork and faulty communication networks. At the organizational level, it could result in an unhealthy company climate, high employee turnover, absenteeism, lowered productivity and the misdirected utilization of manpower.

6. Results of Incomplete Sentences Exercise

Analysis of the incomplete sentences filled in by the 34 black managers revealed that there were two "types" of black managers (see Chapter 9, Section 1.4). Type I informants seemed to be self-confident, assertive and optimistic. They believed that they were successful individuals, appreciated, respected and accepted by others. They seemed to feel in

control of their life (an internal locus of control). Above all, they possessed very positive self-concepts. By contrast, Type II individuals lacked self-confidence and were sensitive about rejection, criticism and public opinion. They were inclined to interpret issues in a racial light. They needed social approval and were concerned how others saw them. They appeared to have a less positive self-concept than that of Type I informants and seemed to be "externally oriented".

An interesting finding was that the black manager-boss Euclidean distance mean of Type I black managers was significantly smaller than that of Type II informants. Possibly, the positive outlook of Type I subjects reflected their assimilation at work (as epitomized by the greater perceptual similarity between themselves and their respective white boss). On the other hand, black manager-boss perceptual congruency possibly contributed to the high self-esteem of Type I black managers.

7. Phase II Interview Findings

The qualitative Phase II results (discussed in Chapter 10), underlined the fact that the black managers felt that they, and other blacks at managerial levels, were under a considerable amount of work stress - more so than their white counterparts. As hypothesized in Chapter 6 (Section 3.2.2), such work stress was mainly generated by the conflicting, ambiguous and contradictory nature of their role as black managers. Interpersonal discord and a lack of career development, were also pervasive stressors. The fundamental root of these problems could be traced to the marginal position and marginal experiences of the black managers.

In effect, the black managers occupied a status in society and at work which lay between two incompatible groups characterized by differences in race, class, national origins and culture. In marginal theory terminology, the black managers were "cultural hybrids" living in a no-man's land between the white-controlled middle class managerial world and the black working class in their company and in the black townships. Since the black managers were simultaneously party to the worlds of both of these groups, they were forced to become cosmopolitans as well as strangers to

these worlds - the middlemen with the relatively wider horizons. Yet as both categories served as reference groups for them, they could not relate themselves in a consistent way to either aggregate. Moreover, they were not fully accepted or trusted by either group. As typical of a marginal position, the barriers between the two aggregates were hardened by discrimination from the superordinate (white) division, and accusations of being "opportunists" and "traitors" from the subordinate (black) group.

This situation was compounded by the frustrations generated by their status inconsistency due to racial-ethnic rank being lower than occupational rank. Because of this, the black managers functioned, in one sense, as privileged "whites" by day and as underprivileged blacks by night. As one black manager noted: "Even the cocktail set goes back to the ghettos". Such status incongruencies meant that the role expectations (both those held by the marginal black managers and by significant others) mobilized by their different rank positions, were often in conflict. Thus, for instance, the black managers in personnel and industrial relations positions, were caught betwixt and between two groups of role senders at work, namely: white management and the black labour force. Their everyday work experiences involved attempts to reconcile the diverse demands, ideologies and role expectations of white management and of the black workers. As Pettigrew (1972) claims, role conflict situations typically have their secondary effects. Interpersonal discord often developed as a spin-off, then, because the role behaviour of the marginal black manager had failed to satisfy one (or both) of the groups of role senders he dealt with.

In essence, the black managers' marginal situation at the black-white interface highlighted a fundamental race-cum-class conflict between whites and blacks in South Africa.

Expanding upon the issue of role ambiguity experienced by several of the black managers, it seems that this was the product of one or more of the following factors:

- (i) Given the fact that the black managers were typically in newly created "black" positions - or the first black to hold a traditionally white job - there were no black precedents to act as role models. Hence, some black managers were unclear about what their role requirements were. Pettigrew (1972), notes that role ambiguity is often found in roles new to the organization, or in those roles which are expanding or contracting. Similarly, in a Canadian study, Burke and Belcourt (1974) found that minority group employees were most likely to experience role ambiguity. They suggested that this was due, in some ways, to the fact that the system had not yet developed clear-cut roles for these individuals;
- (ii) Many companies seemed guilty of placing the black managers in highly visible jobs with impressive titles without clearly defining what the job should actually involve. A lack of job descriptions aroused suspicions in the minds of the job incumbents that they were therefore in token, hollow positions;
- (iii) Some black managers appeared to be unwilling to inquire about nebulous aspects of their job for fear of being branded as stupid or incompetent by their work colleagues;
- (iv) In South Africa, the black people's existence is rigidly determined by a plethora of racial laws, regulations, and officials which ".... prescribe and regulate the patterns of existence and stifle and manipulate personal movement, expression, and purpose" (Francois, 1980:17.8). Thus it seems that in a more democratic company climate where the managerial member is allowed to exercise a certain degree of autonomy, many black managers experienced role ambiguity because they were unaccustomed to the lack of structure. In short, they had difficulty in adjusting to their more unstructured managerial roles.
- (v) The black managers' upbringing, as well as their physical, social and psychological distance from white society may have

prevented them from acquiring the appropriate values, beliefs, attitudes, and business acumen to allow them to interpret their work-related role requirements correctly. Putting this in another way, and using the metaphor of interpersonal interaction as involving playing a *game*, the black managers may have been prevented by their lack of intimacy with whites from gaining sufficient knowledge of not only the rules, but also the moves (that is strategies and tactics) of the game involved in being a manager. Consequently, this may have prevented them from recognizing the signals or cues which called for a certain type of move or moves in a particular situation. This means that the black managers often could not "play the game" of being a manager. The moves, or lack of moves they made were interpreted by white colleagues as signs of stupidity and/or incompetency, and of being a "poor member of the team".

- (vi) In some cases the black managers' work associates seemed to withhold information which prevented these black employees from clarifying certain role requirements. Fernandez (1975) suggests that if a manager does not possess a good working relationship with his immediate role senders (subordinates, peers and seniors), his organizational role will be ambiguous largely because the absence of interest, trust, and support will manifest itself in a dearth of vital information for the manager. Again, to return to the metaphor of playing a game, some players (white colleagues) who do not want someone as a new member of their team, may withhold from the novice (the black manager), vital information about the types of moves needed in different situations in a game, thereby attempting to ensure that either he cannot play the game or will only be able to play it badly.

8. Coping Strategies

As reported in Chapter 10, Section 3, many of the black managers resorted to what Kahn *et al.* (1964) called Class II coping devices, to alter a stressful work-related person-environment mismatch. That is, emotional-defensive coping strategies such as defence mechanisms, withdrawal, avoidance,

seeking of social support, and palliative tactics, were used.

As posited in Chapter 5, Section 4.5.2, the use of such coping mechanisms can be constructive in delaying confrontation to a more opportune moment. Nevertheless, several black managers indefinitely postponed their use of problem-solving approaches. The danger exists that such a stance could result in inappropriate behaviour which, in turn, could exacerbate the stress-provoking circumstances. Indeed, a chain reaction of "derivative" or secondary problems could be created by the individual's failure to solve the core problems. For instance, withdrawing from stress-provoking interpersonal relationships could aggravate the original situation by making interaction, general communication and problem-solving more difficult. Yet, as explained in Chapter 5, Section 4.5.3, Mechanic (1970) contends that acceptance of fate, or "giving up" may be adaptive. That is, it may generate less tension in comparison to those who struggle against difficult odds. This is illustrated by the tendency of many black managers to resort to emotional-defensive coping styles such as withdrawal or avoidance, when faced with role conflict arising from their middleman position at the black-white interface. The clashing interests and role expectations of white management and of the black workforce reflected deep-seated race-cum-class cleavages. Thus, the black managers perhaps felt that they could not deal with such discord by means of direct action approaches. Such reactions seemed to point, in some instances, to a "learned helplessness" syndrome, which is also associated with an "external locus of control".

Finally, the coping strategies of the black managers were largely curative, rather than preventative, in nature.

9. Stress Symptoms

Since most of the black managers in the present study were marginal, middlemen, subject to a variety of work-related role conflicts, contradictions and ambiguities, it is useful to bear in mind a point raised in Chapter 5, Section 5.2. That is, the psychological and behavioural states created by the marginal condition, as well as by role conflict

and role ambiguity, are very similar and include, *inter alia*: a tendency towards anxiety, depression, stress and psychological withdrawal from the work group, tension, job dissatisfaction, low performance and productivity, absenteeism, turnover and somatic complaints (Human, 1981a, 1981b; Piron *et al.*, 1983; Van Sell *et al.* 1981). Not surprisingly, then, some of the black managers manifested such strains (see Chapter 10, Section 4). Examples of typical stress symptoms included headaches, fatigue, insomnia, gastro-intestinal disturbances and high blood pressure. A comprehensive profile of the physiological, psychological and behavioural strains afflicting the black managers, as well as specific stress-strain links were, however, beyond the scope of the investigation. Future research, based on the ground work laid by this exploratory study should focus on these topics.

10. Social Support ✕

The main source of social support for the black managers was extra-organizational - usually from black managers in other companies. Those staff (personnel) black managers who belonged to a professional contact group, claimed that it supplied them with emotional, instrumental, informational or appraisal support which helped to reduce work-related stress experiences and the effects thereof. Social support from white peers was, however, minimal. This generated feelings of social isolation in the work place.

11. Phase II Multivariate Statistical Analysis

Four Phase II hypotheses (outlined in Chapter 6, Section 3.2.2), were tested by means of discriminant analysis, as follows:

Firstly, it was hypothesized that black managers with large perceptual discrepancies between themselves and their respective white boss (as

represented by the black manager-boss Euclidean distance scores calculated in Phase I), would experience more stress (as measured by the Stress Indicator), than informants with small black manager-boss perceptual differences (see Chapter 11, Section 1.4.1).

Discriminant analysis results supported the hypothesis. More specifically, there was a statistically highly significant separation of those black managers with high versus low perceptual disparities, along the discriminant function which represented role-related and interpersonal stress. Interestingly, Graen and Schiemann (1978) argue that there is some evidence that interpersonal perceptual congruency is a function of the quality of the exchange between individuals, and is closely associated with "authenticity" in relating to other people. Smircich and Chesser (1981:200) regard an authentic relationship operationally as characterized by ".... openness, sympathy, supportiveness, and effective communication" which promotes the "mutuality of perspectives". Relating this to the present findings, it is possible that black manager-boss perceptual discord was associated with a poor relationship with one another, and that this generated interpersonal stress for the black manager. This was indicated by the discriminant function which partly depicted interpersonal stress. Unfortunately, however, it is unclear whether the black manager-boss perceptual disparities induced the stress experience, or whether the latter generated intra-dyad perceptual discord, or alternatively, whether both were related to a third, hidden factor. Although this last option is logically possible, no clues were suggested by the research as to its existence.

Secondly, literature has indicated that individuals with high self-esteem (which implies a positive self-concept or self-concepts) experience less stress than those with lower self-esteem (Lazarus and Launier, 1978; Moerdyk, 1983). Hence it was hypothesized that of the two types of black managers identified in Phase I of the study (see Chapter 9, Section 1.4), Type I black managers (who possessed very positive self-concepts), would experience less work stress (as measured by the Stress Indicator), than Type II individuals (with less positive self-concepts). This hypothesis was supported by discriminant analysis findings (see Chapter 11, Section 1.4.2). The two types of subjects were distinctly

separated along the discriminant function, which was interpreted as representing a person-role fit. It appeared that Type I respondents had assimilated into the work environment and felt accepted and well-liked, whereas Type II informants did not feel this way. It seems, then, that Type II individuals were either more vulnerable to work stress (in terms of a person-role misfit), or that the latter generated Type II characteristics.

Thirdly, following the literature (Kahn *et al.*, 1964; Kay, 1974; Marshall and Cooper, 1979), it was postulated that middle management informants would experience more work stress (as reflected by the Stress Indicator) than individuals at other management echelons. Since there was only one black manager in a senior management position, he was excluded from the discriminant analysis that was undertaken. The results, bordering on statistical significance ($\chi^2 = 38,09$; d.f. = 26; $p = 0,059$), revealed that middle management informants were probably under more work stress than their junior management counterparts in terms of role pressures and supervisory relations (see Chapter 11, Section 1.4.3).

Fourthly, it was postulated that staff (personnel) black managers would be under more work stress (as measured by the Stress Indicator) than line black managers because of the boundary-spanning nature of their positions. However, this hypothesis was not supported by the discriminant analysis results (see Chapter 11, Section 1.4.4). More specifically, the line black managers experienced more work stress in terms of "departmental climate" pressures and demands. It was suggested that this was because line black managers were usually located in plants with a range of blue and white collar employees. The white blue collar workers (such as the foremen and artisans) were often antagonistic towards the black line managers because of racial prejudices, status anxieties and job insecurities. By contrast, the staff (personnel) departments comprised white collar workers who seemed to be more civil towards their black colleagues. Furthermore, the latter were invariably in black specialist positions, while the black line managers were usually in what were seen as "white" technical jobs. Thus, not only were the staff black managers seen to be performing crucial "black" roles, but since they were in

specialist jobs, they were possibly not viewed as a direct threat to their white counterparts - hence, the finding that the line rather than staff black managers experienced more stress related to a negative departmental climate. Line production pressures could also have generated a negative departmental climate that was stress-provoking.

Multidimensional scaling (MDS) analyses of the final set of Stress Indicator items selected out by item analysis revealed that there were three bipolar dimensions underlying their responses (see Chapter 11, Section 1.6). These reflected fundamental types of stress experienced by the 31 black managers who participated in Phase II of the study.

These findings (which supported the Phase I qualitative interview results), indicated that the main type of work stress experienced was role-related (Dimension 1, the major factor), followed by interpersonal stress (Dimension 2, the next most salient structure). Dimension 3 essentially involved, a contrast between clear, but conflicting work pressures, and ambiguity about the work environment.

Multiple regression analyses (see Chapter 11, Section 1.7) revealed that the black managers' career orientation and socio-economic background were significantly related to these dimensions of stress. Hence, black line managers whose fathers had higher socio-economic status and who had worked for only a few companies, experienced a person-role misfit, stress related to intra-group relations, and stress in terms of distinct (and conflicting) pressures in the work environment - such as unreasonable deadlines and work overflowing into their home life.

By comparison, staff black managers with lower paternal socio-economic status and who had worked for a number of companies, were subject to stress relating to role definitions and expectations (such as under-utilized abilities, task ambiguity, having views and opinions ignored), supervisory-related stress, as well as stress relating to a lack of clarity about the work environment.

It is evident, then, that the type of work stress experienced by the black manager sample varied according to their career orientation and their

socio-economic background. More specifically, since staff black managers were usually placed in specialist positions, working closely with their boss, it is not surprising that they experienced stress related to supervisory relations. By contrast, line black managers typically working in plants with a number of employees, experienced intra-group stressors.

Furthermore, the line black managers experienced a person-role misfit probably because they were made to feel out of place by their white counterparts in what was still a white-dominated technical field. By contrast, staff (personnel) black managers typically occupied a black-orientated job but experienced stress related to role definitions and expectations (such as insufficient authority, having one's views and opinions ignored). This was possibly because, given the "black" nature of their job, they wanted to enlarge their influence and responsibilities in order to perform their roles as they deemed best.

Lastly, these staff black managers also experienced stress related to a nebulous work environment. This, perhaps, reflects the fundamental nature of the staff functions, which do not have clearly defined and measurable outcomes. Furthermore, many of the staff black managers were in newly created "black" jobs with no clear-cut job descriptions. By contrast, the line black managers had to meet prescribed production goals and profit targets. Thus, it is not surprising that they experienced pressures of tight schedules, team tension and distrust, and other distinct conflicts.

Interestingly, multiple regression analyses revealed that the frequency with which the black managers experienced a variety of stress symptoms (such as depression, insomnia, loss of concentration), was predicted by a person-environment misfit such that the needs, values and/or expectations of the black managers were not met by the work environment (see Chapter 11, Section 1.8). This implies that such a mismatch was perhaps more stressful than an environmental demands - individual capabilities mismatch.

12. General Conclusions

12.1 Social Barriers

As in the case of American black managers, the black informants encountered substantial, but often subtle, insidious forms of neoracism and institutional racism (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2 for a discussion of these concepts). There was also an undercurrent of paternalism evident in some of the remarks of the white bosses and white peers. It was suggested by several black managers that if one black failed it cast an aspersion on all blacks. Yet, if whites failed, this was viewed in individual terms. Such negative expectations unfortunately can become self-fulfilling prophesies and programme the black managers for failure. Similar problems were cited in several American studies (America and Anderson, 1978; Bramwell, 1972; Davis and Watson, 1982; Dickens and Dickens, 1982; Fernandez, 1975; Nason, 1972).

Prejudices about black employees were often sustained by whites because they did not interact authentically with their black colleagues. The threat of displacement or the discomfort of having to adjust to unfamiliar racial relationships was greatest for junior and middle white managers and whites further down the line who were most impacted by the process of black job advancement.

Given the residential, social and educational segregation of racial groups in South Africa, blacks and whites do not meet one another regularly and in almost all cases have only occasional incidental interface (Coetzee, 1984). They meet one another for the first time in industry at the threshold of their vocational careers after completion of formal studies. As Coetzee (*op. cit.*) notes, this first intimate contact probably comes too late in the overall socialization process. The removal of racial prejudices and distrust inculcated during the formative years of personal growth and development, can be difficult in the work place - especially since the broader socio-political structure of South Africa reinforces ethnic prejudices and distrust.

A related problem was that white behaviours such as paternalism, may have been accepted by blacks years ago. Understandably, however, they

were now unacceptable to the black managers. Unfortunately, such behaviours seemed to have become an integral part of the behavioural repertoire of many whites who failed to realize that their behaviour was inappropriate. Even if they were aware of this, they possibly lacked the means by which they could change their behaviour (Gilbert, 1979).

12.2 Problems Experienced by the Newly Appointed Black Manager

Often young white employees are harshly jolted into the realities of the work environment for which they have not been prepared (Dickens and Dickens, 1982). However, one may argue that this "reality shock" experience was doubly or trebly jolting for embryonic black managers in the present study, who were not *au fait* with the norms, values and concepts of the business world. As noted in Chapter 3, Section 1.3, black employees' backgrounds usually have not prepared them to be able to deal with corporate functioning, power and politics. By their own admission, the black managers in the present study had adjustment problems in these areas. Indeed, there had been little or no historical basis or opportunity for them to acquire managerial and organization skills. By comparison, white managers could generalize their own cultural experience to the organization. That is, the primary style of interacting within the organization was, in part, a reflection of the behavioural styles of white South Africa. Thus, the white managers were usually accustomed to a style of interaction that enabled them to utilize resources, and to acquire new skills in the environment. Furthermore, the style of white managers was generally in keeping with the style of those who were appraising them. In this sense, middle class whites can be said to inherit (socially), the skills that are directly related to their survival within the company. On the other hand, most black managers had a different cultural experience and consequently, a different style from that of whites. This was a handicap in the white organization and, as a result, they were penalized for not having had the experiences of the dominant white group.

Furthermore, newcomers to an organization make sense of the present context through the interpretive schemes they have learned to use

historically (Van Maanen, 1979). Established members may take for granted the premises behind the formal and informal organizational rules and requirements. Therefore they may be unable to take the role of the neophyte manager in order to understand the problems experienced by him (Jones, 1983). This could be especially so if the initiate is a minority status employee, such as a black manager, while the established members are majority status individuals.

An additional handicap for most blacks in the entry phase of their job was that they could not gain access to the informal organization of the company as readily as their white counterparts. The latter could relate to other white employees through the formal and informal systems of sharing information both at work, and outside the organization (for instance, on the golf course, in the club, over drinks or after a dinner). Hence, white managers could make use of the energy skills, and knowledge of others who shared a common cultural experience. Unlike the black managers, then, white employees had a built-in social support system at work. Furthermore, most of the black managers' wives were probably not the help socially, for advancement, that a successful white manager's wife usually is.

It is possible that some of the black managers held unrealistic expectations of usual promotional possibilities, or of the amount of authority and responsibility typical of junior and middle management positions. Hall and Albrecht (1979) maintain that individuals who are not fully integrated into a work force are most likely to have goals that are unrealistic. Neophyte employees invariably expect a lot from their first job. Hall and Albrecht (*ibid.*) suggest that these expectations include:

- (i) Challenging work that utilizes newly acquired skills;
- (ii) Work that psychologically involves them in their job;
- (iii) Feedback and coaching that assists in improving their job performance;
- (iv) Collaborative authority relationships with bosses who allow workers to make some "real" decisions;

(v) Good salaries and opportunities for promotion.

Nevertheless, these expected work conditions bear little resemblance to the expectations of employers. For instance, Schein (1964) found that organizations expected the new recruits to show results and the ability to adapt. They were less concerned with creating interesting work conditions and opportunities than with concentrating on the testing of work skills and organizational commitment of the newcomers. Obviously, this clash between the initial expectations of the newcomer and employers can be a source of frustration to the former party. It appears that this was compounded in the case of the embryonic South African black managers because they were inclined to attribute this state of affairs to racial discrimination. Similarly, several of the black managers in the present study showed some naiveté about the *modus operandi* of industrial bureaucratic organizations. This is understandable, given their social, psychological and physical distance from the white-run corporate world. Mackay *et al.*, (1980) raised a similar point in their report on black managers (discussed in Chapter 3, Section 2, of this chapter).

Lastly, several of the black managers admitted that they had a "chip on the shoulder", were hypersensitive, and tended to interpret many incidents in a racial light. They claimed that they experienced difficulties in identifying when, for instance, an off-handish, rude approach on the part of a white was racially induced or merely the management style of the person concerned. This problem seemed to be particularly acute for new black graduates who were still in the process of adjusting to their white-dominated industrial organization.

12.3 Learning the Corporate Game

In effect, the black managers' informal socialization into the work context seemed to be stunted, to a large extent, by their exclusion from informal (white) friendship groups and informal task groups. Lack of intimacy with significant others "in the know" about the reality of the managerial world, meant that although the black managers were perhaps aware of the

rules of the corporate game, they did not always know, or understand the gambits (moves, strategies and tactics) actually needed to play the game. This notion of rules and gambits was introduced in Chapter 10 (Section 2.2.7), and represents a promising conceptual and analytical tool for explaining, in part, why black managers may experience problems in negotiating the corporate system.

Although role theory was useful in explaining the concepts of role expectations of role senders, and role behaviour by ego, the notion of gambits expands upon this. Whereas organizational members may have various roles to play, the gambits involved in enacting such managerial roles differ at each instance despite recurring commonalities. Therefore, the individual needs to acquire gambits by means of informal socialization processes, such as experiential learning, exposure to anecdotes, shop talk, grapevine gossip, and the like. This would provide the black managers with what Shearing (1985) calls a "vocabulary of precedents", which would enable individuals to locate unique situations within a context of universals. Exposure to gambits would also supply "recognition knowledge" (Shearing, 1985) that would allow the black managers to interpret, select and understand information about the events they face, and the intentions of others. As in an individual game such as chess, or in a team game such as rugby, the manager needs to know when to use certain strategies. He must also be able to pick up cues and signals about the state and stage of the game (for example, the opening phase, middle, or closing parts of the game) from team mates and other "players". This can be difficult because of the blocking ploys by many whites in the organization, as well as the social and psychological distance of the black managers from many members of the managerial world. Lastly, gambits would provide the individual with what the present author termed "how to do it" perceptions (see Chapter 7, Section 3.2.1). Similarly, Shearing (1985) calls this "procedural knowledge" since it would equip the person with knowledge on how to act in practice.

Some gambits could be universal, managerial ones, whilst others could be specifically "black" in their orientation. An example of the latter is epitomized by a quote cited in Chapter 7 (Section 3.3.1), where one

black manager stated that he played whites at their own game and beat them at it (for instance, by talking about blacks in the same derogatory language used by whites). This approach gave him a psychological advantage over the white employees. Another black manager (quoted in Chapter 10, Section 3.3.2), revealed that he always played "black" (by adopting a "black" perspective) when caught in the middle between white management and the black labourers.

Interestingly, Sofer (1970:61) claims that the would-be successful executive:

"..... learns when to simulate enthusiasm, compassion, interest, concern, modesty, confidence and mastery, when to smile, with whom to laugh and how intimate or friendly he can be with others. If the operation succeeds, he will have fabricated a personality in harmony with his environment."

The present author suggests that the above characteristics represent certain kinds of gambits that the manager needs to acquire through exposure to the collective wisdom of insider tactics, typing of colleagues, employees and clients, definitions of situations, and on-the-job action patterns. Formal socialization practices will not be able to teach the black managers the subtleties of the corporate game such as those described above by Sofer (*ibid.*).

12.4 Career Development Issues

Considering Schein's (1971) model of organizational socialization as it relates to black job advancement (discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4), it appears that the majority of the black managers had not, as yet, crossed the inclusion boundaries where they were accepted by the white in-group as trustworthy members of the organization. Instead, many of them seemed to be tolerated as "outsiders" to the system.

Since many career options were previously reserved for white males only, the white male managerial model had been perpetuated. This placed the black managers in a double bind situation. Firstly, they did not fit

the image of the successful executive. Secondly, there was the likelihood that attempts to behave according to social norms could be misunderstood and misinterpreted. Aggressive behaviour (both expected and accepted in white male managers) could be misconstrued as "pushy" or as a chip on the shoulder if displayed by minority status individuals. White organizational members were unaccustomed to rewarding such behaviour since it clashed with old expectations and with societal preferences (Hall and Albrecht, 1979).

As in the case of American black managers (discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.2), the positions of many of the black managers provided little experience in managing subordinates or in critical decision-making. Moreover, like American black managers, most were in staff functions (such as personnel, training and industrial relations), which meant that they had no authority to issue orders to other departments, and no right to demand accountability. Instead they had to try to influence line management to take steps they recommended. This situation was made all the more difficult because of their "interaction disability" (referred to in Chapter 7, Section 2.3.4). That is, given of their lower external status characteristics as blacks, they lacked influence and had to prove their competence before they were accepted by the white majority status group. Notwithstanding this, their lack of authority and influence was partly a function of the nature of their jobs and their low management level as relatively new job incumbents - rather than because of racial discrimination only.

Above all, most of the black managers were in staff positions peripheral to the major lines of progression. That is, the route upwards usually favours line functions. Therefore, the black managers can be expected to face difficulties in progressing upwards because they will virtually have to progress along the outer periphery of the organizational system.

Finally, as with American black managers (see Chapter 3, Section 3), the informants were also disadvantaged because of the newness of their managerial experience and lack of role models, sponsors and mentors that could open doors to higher positions. Unfortunately, then, the following

statement by Hall and Albrecht (1979:120) about minorities in American corporations probably applies to the black managers as well:

"The lack of opportunity to gain experience, training, and self-confidence, to make connections, or to obtain informal sponsorship can mean that persons will not be qualified or ready to take advantage of openings when they occur."

12.5 South African Black Managers and Other Minority Status Managers

There were distinct parallels between the problems of the black managers who participated in the present study, and those of black managers in America, as documented in the literature (such as America and Anderson, 1978; Bramwell, 1972; Davis and Watson, 1982; Dickens and Dickens, 1982; Fernandez, 1975; Nason, 1972; Purcell and Cavanagh, 1972). The experiences of American black managers were discussed in Chapter 3 (Section 3) of this thesis, as well as at various points throughout the thesis. Furthermore, literature reporting the difficulties faced by females at managerial levels also bore marked similarities to the problems encountered by the South African black managers (see for example, Bigoness, 1976; Garland and Price, 1977; Larwood and Wood, 1977; Matteson, 1976; Terborg, 1977; White, 1970).

Typical impediments common to the above sets of minority status managers include: an absence of suitable role models; a lack of credibility; doubts of trustworthiness; being viewed as incompetent until they have proved their worth; suffering from an "interaction disability" and a lack of "fit" with the informal organization; having to debunk a variety of stereotypes and prejudices about minority status employees; and being excluded from extra-organizational activities with work colleagues (such as golf, squash, and drinks, where useful corporate information is discussed and business deals and contacts established). Usually, there are not enough minority status managers to form a peer group. Hence, the minority individual often lacks an informal network of work associates who can provide access to informal learning, assistance and support (Hall and Albrecht, 1979).

To sum up, a basic problem relates to the fact that minority status group individuals are seen to be "different" from the traditional and entrenched white male managerial model and standards. They are seen to possess different values, beliefs, attitudes, needs, experiences, capabilities and physical attributes. Their perceived lack of "fit" can preclude promotion and "insider" status. Furthermore, minority status managers often have no precedent since they are pioneers breaking out of circumscribed roles traditionally assigned to their minority group by society. Their role senders may therefore hold conflicting and nebulous role expectations of them.

Notwithstanding this, however, it was indicated in the overview of Chapter 9, that some problems faced by the black managers were classic, universal managerial problems (for example, line versus staff discord); others were widely experienced but aggravated by race (such as trying to have an idea accepted - made all the more difficult as a black because more persuasive powers are needed); while a third set were unique to the black managers (such as racial discrimination, neoracism and institutional racism).

12.6 Qualities Needed by the Black Manager

Given the numerous work-related stressors and obstacles faced by the black managers, the author concluded that these individuals needed the following attributes to negotiate the corporate system: Firstly, the black managers had to channel many of their energies and emotions into acceptable social manifestations that were founded on dominant white cultural norms.

Secondly, in regard to behaviour, the black managers needed to:

- (i) Tap the informal communications network to seek out company norms and values, even though that network may have been unreceptive to their needs;
- (ii) Learn how to use resources that were non-discriminatory as well as discriminatory;
- (iii) Use more physical and psychic energy than their white peers to accomplish tasks.

Thirdly, with respect to job skills, the black managers had to:

- (i) Learn how to manage racism;
- (ii) Utilize strategic techniques more than whites did to compensate for the "credibility gap";
- (iii) Learn how to manage conflict;
- (iv) Make efforts (which whites did not have to do to the same degree) to discover the strategies and tactics (gambits) used in the corporate "management game", to learn to recognize relevant cues and signals in the game, and different types and stages of play;
- (v) Possess higher interpersonal-behavioural skills than whites. That is, whites are not required to use very good black-white management skills, while a black manager's survival depends on it.

Unfortunately in the South African context, rather than modifying or changing the organizational system itself, companies expect the black manager to "overcome" the system. This unaccommodative approach requires blacks to strategize and to refine their survival and success strategies if they wish to "make it".

12.7 The Marginal Black Manager

Although marginal black managers were precluded from full membership in the "superordinate" white management group by a shifting and/or ill-defined barrier, the informants' subjective attitude towards the barrier seemed to vary. Indeed, as Dickie-Clark (1966) reveals, the permeability or height of the barrier may be perceived differently in that some marginal individuals may feel only partially excluded whereas others may feel completely cut off. The marginal person may either accept the existence of the barrier and its concomitant effects or alternatively, he may reject and rebel against it. Moreover, not all

outcomes of a marginal situation are necessarily unfavourable. Mann (1973:221) in fact maintains that:

"The marginal position need not be ordinarily distressing, and the conflicts of marginality need not necessarily be painful. Conflicts can be bracing and challenging. Moreover, while biculturality may torture, it may also provide the best of two worlds."

Not surprisingly, then, a handful of black managers who participated in the present investigation seemed to have arrived at a stable *modus vivendi*, and had come to terms with their marginal position between the white managerial world and that of the black working class community. They exploited their schizophrenic existence as men of two worlds, so that they had, as one subject noted, "the best of both worlds". Golovensky (1952:336) referring to such individuals, explains that:

"To them, marginality, hyphenism, dualism are stepping stones, not stumbling blocks."

Indeed, these managers operated with relative ease as bicultural, multi-dimensional people. In other words, they were able to function effectively on a variety of "black" and "white" levels. They were flexible, highly motivated, goal-oriented "high-fliers", who had made trade-offs that made sense to them. Nevertheless, they had not become "whitewashed" (that is, "white" black men). They had become accustomed to a definition of blackness that included affluence and influence. Interestingly, this small group of black managers were all Type I individuals (in terms of their sentence completions from Phase I). That is, they had positive self-concepts, were confident, assertive, felt that they were accepted by others and that they were in control of their lives. The personality of these individuals rather than their educational attainments, managerial levels or other biographical factors, seemed to be the deciding point in their favour. That is, they were outgoing self-starters who had learnt how to use communication channels and the machinations of the formal and informal organization to their advantage. A point made by Campbell (1982:14) about American black managers applied to those "Superblacks" described above, as follows:

"Their experience has changed most of them; it has bleached only a few.... success in big business, they say, can come in *their* shade."

Hopefully, such success stories will set precedents for other blacks, and help to erode white stereotypes of blacks' inability to excel in the corporate world.

13. Limitations of the Study

Since the investigation constituted an in-depth, focused study of the perceptions, attitudes and experiences of black managers and selected work colleagues, the sample size was, of necessity, small. Furthermore, given the relatively recent advent of black job advancement, there were at the time of the fieldwork, very few blacks at managerial levels in the Natal region (from where the sample was drawn).

In addition, only 21 of the 34 black managers interviewed in Phase I, had peers and a mere 11 had immediate subordinates. Hence a full complement of work associates could not be obtained for all the black manager subjects. It is also unfortunate that, in the follow-up study on the black managers interviewed in Phase I, three of these 34 informants could not participate because they were overseas.

On a more general level, a major and obvious disadvantage of any survey is that it freezes events in time and may depict a static and artificial reality (Schlemmer and Boulanger, 1978). Yet it is not to obtain a complete picture of social reality that one conducts a study of this nature. Such investigations present indices at a particular point in time, which serve to "anchor" in empirical reality what may hopefully be a more dynamic interpretation. Besides, the inter-relationships between factors revealed in survey findings tend to be fairly enduring over time and in this sense, survey results can provide valuable insights.

Unfortunately, any survey is prone to reactive effects, such as acquiescence, falsification or social desirability response sets. For example, it

seemed that a few of the bosses were careful to uphold the image of their company and were reluctant to admit to intergroup ethnic problems or discriminatory practices that were not in keeping with their firm's official policies.

In addition, possible sources of error and distortion in self-reports of the interviewees included variations in clarity of the subject's awareness, lack of adequate symbols of expression, and feelings of threat and of personal inadequacy. Statements from even the most cooperative individuals about attitudes and behaviour in a particular context could also have been incomplete. As Oppenheim (1968:73) observes:

"People are often poor predictors of their behavior, so that statements of intent often lack validity when compared with subsequent events, though they may well have been valid statements of hopes, wishes and aspirations."

This issue of attitude-behaviour contradictions was discussed in Chapter 4, Section 3.2.

Notwithstanding the potentially compounding factors discussed above, the researcher is confident that she established an atmosphere of trust. As noted in Chapter 6, Section 5, the free flowing and lengthy nature of the interviews ensured that rapport was built up between the interviewer and respondents. In addition, since the researcher was an independent agent, unrelated to the organizations, the informants felt free to express their views. It also appeared that, as a female, the researcher was able to probe into sensitive matters, without the male respondents taking offence. The highly personal nature of some of the comments volunteered by the informants, as well as their general remarks about the interview itself, also pointed to the authentic nature of the interviewer-interviewee interaction process that took place.

14. Recommendations for Future Research

Although the sample of subjects who participated in the present study was drawn from organizations in metropolitan Durban, metropolitan Pietermaritzburg,

and Richards Bay areas in Natal, it is the author's opinion that the results apply to black managers in other city centres of South Africa. This is because all blacks in the country are subject to repressive racial laws, as well as physical and social distance from whites. Furthermore, the findings of other studies on black managers in South Africa lend credence to this argument (see, for instance, Gathercole, 1981; Hofmeyr, 1982; Human, 1981a, 1981b, 1984; Wella, 1983). Nonetheless, a replication of the research with a larger sample covering other regions of South Africa is suggested.

There also remain opportunities for work based on a racially comparative sample, with white peers as a control group, against which the perceptions, attitudes and experiences of black managers could be contrasted. An examination of perceptual discrepancies between white managers and their immediate boss, peers and subordinates, could also be informative if compared to intra-dyad perceptual disparities between black managers and similar categories of work colleagues. This could indicate the areas in which perceptual consensus and disagreements existed that were specific to the black manager or white manager and their respective colleagues, or alternatively, which were common to both groups.

While the present study has helped to present a picture of the black managers' work related perceptions, subjective interpretations, and experiences, it is likely that richer understanding will accrue from more tightly focused investigations. These could be designed to look at specific issues in a more rigorous fashion than was possible in the present more exploratory study. For instance, additional research should be conducted into the coping styles of black managers. Firstly, this is because there is a paucity of research in this area. Secondly, according to Lazarus and Launier (1978:308) "There are intuitive and empirical grounds for believing that the ways people cope with stress are even more important to overall morale, social functioning, and health/illness than the frequency and severity of episodes of stress themselves". Thirdly, such investigations could help to distinguish further survival and success strategies that black managers could in fact be taught, or personally try to implement. Alternatively, ineffective,

dysfunctional coping mechanisms (as perceived by the black manager himself, and/or his role set, and/or the organization, and/or the researcher) could be identified, and attempts made to formulate other coping devices.

Studies are also needed that attempt to specify individual differences in sensitivity to role requirements which are high in conflict potential, as well as individual variations in coping with such conflict. The effectiveness of various managerial techniques in reducing specific kinds of experienced role conflict should also be explored. These research suggestions would appear to be critical because the present study revealed that those black informants who were exposed to role conflict situations (such as industrial relations managers and personnel practitioners), occupied crucial intra-organizational boundary-spanning positions at the black-white interface. This assumes significance in an era of growing societal turbulence in South Africa, in the form of strikes, increasing political awareness of black workers, and general labour unrest.

As suggested in Chapter 10 and Chapter 11, the personality "types" of black managers could also be explored further. The moderating effects of these subject types on the stressor-stress link, on the stress-strain relationship, and on the kinds of coping devices implemented, could also be investigated. Additional research could be undertaken to gain clarity on the link between work stress experienced by the black managers, and boss-black manager interpersonal perceptual disparities. The question of the extent to which interpersonal perceptual discrepancies or consensus are moderated by the nature of the relationship between the black manager and his role set, could be examined. The nature and intensity of the work pressures impinging upon staff black managers as opposed to their line counterparts, is a topic that also warrants examination.

A longitudinal study, exploring work stress over time, could also be useful in highlighting the dynamics of the stress process, as experienced by the black managers.

Using the game metaphor, (discussed in Chapter 10, Section 2.2.7, and Section 1.16.2 of this chapter), research could also be conducted into the types of gambits utilized by successful black managers when playing the corporate game. The factors facilitating the acquisition of such gambits (for instance, the influence of personality factors, company structure, organizational climate, antecedent life history variables and the like), could be studied. Group interviews with black managers could uncover the types of gambits used by these individuals. Their "collective wisdom" about the essence of on-the-job activities could illuminate the nature and type of gambits underlying the formal rules and roles of management. Moreover, an examination of black self-help extra-organizational groups (such as the Black Management Forum, and the Durban Contact Group), could illuminate the gambits used by the members in negotiating the corporate system. For instance, the nature of problem-sharing, anecdotes, tactics, and solutions discussed during the meetings of such groups, could reveal the types of gambits employed by the black managers.

The author postulates that while some black managers may know and understand the gambits needed to play the managerial game, they may reject them because they are white-orientated (an "alienative" approach). Alternatively, the black managers may implement the appropriate strategies and gambits on a calculative, machiavellian level, without actually being committed to them (a "calculative" approach). That is, playing the corporate game would be a means to an end (for instance, it could ensure their job advancement). Finally, the black managers could implement the gambits because they have internalized them [a "moral" approach (Etzioni, 1961) or "assimilationist" approach]. The author has based the identification of these approaches to adopting gambits to play the managerial game, on the distinction made by Etzioni (1961) between kinds of involvement of organizational members (referred to in Chapter 7, Section 3.14.4 of this thesis). The hypothesized existence of these kinds of approaches could be explored in future investigations using the metaphor of the managerial game as the theoretical framework. The influence of antecedent factors (such as biographical variables, personality, organizational structure and climate), on the kind of involvement of black managers in playing the corporate game, could also

be considered.

Finally, the utilization of a survey design in the present study did not allow the investigator to obtain an empirical picture of the actual black-white interface in action. In a survey, one only hears what people say they do - one cannot see how they actually behave, which may be different both from what they say, and also think that they do (Denzin, 1978). Hence, participant observation or structured observation could be useful in examining the behaviour of the black managers and their colleagues in the work context, provided the necessary entry into the field could be obtained. Future studies on black managers and their work environment could, in fact, greatly benefit from utilizing an amalgamation of data gathered by survey techniques (such as interviews and questionnaires), which tap a narrow cross-section of the informants' attitudes, perceptions and/or behaviour, with material gathered from participant observation and case studies. Such methodological triangulation would provide greater insight into the research topic. This multimethod approach would also enable the researcher to take advantage of the strong points of each type of data, cross-check material collected by each method, and collect information which is available only through certain techniques.

15. Closing Comments

A stimulating and challenging field of study was entered into with this investigation, particularly because so many of the country's problems are reflected in the labour situation. Moreover, Nason (1976:66), referring to the American situation, makes a point which applies to the South African context as well, namely:

"Few whites have had the curiosity or taken the time to view the organization from the black vantage point. Of course, whites cannot even see through the black man's eyes, but an honest attempt to do so is a shaking experience."

Although the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions (discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2) initiated a process of labour reform in the late 1970's,

they also revealed inconsistencies that have been ignored in the overall scheme of reform. Indeed, the invidious middleman position and subjective experiences of marginality of the black managers who participated in the present investigation, reflected the tragic paradox produced by racial integration in the economic field, but with segmental racial segregation and inequality at educational, political and social levels. In the final analysis, the position of the urban blacks, the political rights of all peoples in South Africa, and the absolute removal of all forms of discrimination, are critical prerequisites for a total system of labour reform. Given the present untenable situation, it is not surprising that certain fundamental questions concerning the black managers remain unanswered. Beckett (1981:15) best sums up the essence of such questions, as follows:

"Creating buffers or spearheading changes? Suppressed and undermined, or artificially advanced? Obstructing black aspirations, or giving expression to them.....? The black managers are stuck in the middle of the central South African debate."

CHAPTER 13RECOMMENDATIONS OF AN APPLIED NATURE

INTRODUCTION

As indicated to in the previous chapter, deficiencies and factors hampering black managerial mobility in companies should be sought, not so much in management practices, as in the South African political and social system of which management is a part. In other words, the ultimate solution to problems pertaining to black managerial progression and to black occupational advancement as a whole, would involve the structural, societal changes accompanying the complete dismantling of apartheid as a system of racial-cum-class discrimination and exploitation. Associated with these changes there would have to be the necessary attitudinal modifications on the part of those in positions of power in industry, so that the doors of big business could be opened to blacks. The necessity of this is illustrated by the experience of white Afrikaners in the post World War II era, when they battled to gain positions of importance in what were then the white English-speaking dominated industrial and commercial worlds.

Within organizations, however, various practical courses of action can be taken at company, group or individual levels. These will be discussed in the following pages. The recommendations relate to black managers in particular (as well as to potential black managers) and to minority employees in general, who are located at skilled levels within the organization. Much of what will be said could, of course, be applied to managers as a whole.

1. Affirmative Action

Affirmative action on the part of employers and the community at large is essential if blacks are to be meaningfully integrated into the economic system of South Africa. As Chalmers (1983:325) states: "Failure to make interventions which are not normally made with Whites will tend to lead to failure for the company and the individual."

Nevertheless as pointed out in Chapter 3, Section 3.1, affirmative action policies and practices in America were, in some instances, counter-productive. That is, they gave rise to a backlash, particularly from the young whites who believed that meritocracy had been discarded for the sake of appeasement and political convenience. Obviously, such dangers should be borne in mind. However, passive adherence to non-discrimination policies will not break the historical, institutional barriers to minority group employment. Active, goal-orientated steps towards equal and fair employment of minority groups must be taken. As Jones (1973:116) contends, "Equal job opportunity is more than putting a black man in a white man's job. The barriers must be removed, not just moved".

2. Organizational Approaches to Eliminate Barriers

It seems that many companies have been concerned, not with carrying out the spirit and letter of the codes of conduct and black advancement programmes, but rather with achieving minimum compliance to policies pertaining to such issues. If progress is to be made, however, then management must comprehend, with substantially greater sophistication, the corporate barriers to black job advancement, as well as lobby for governmental and private action which will eradicate pervasive black deprivation and oppression.

A difficult yet crucial task facing business is that of self-analysis. Companies should take a critical and honest look at the deficiencies of the total organization and attempt to rectify them. Such in-depth analyses, frequently involving structure, philosophy, functions, leadership and mobility trends, communication flow, training and developmental activities, and organizational climate, are a vital (yet often neglected) part of equal opportunity programmes and black job advancement exercises (Pati and Reilly, 1977). An organization which does not carefully examine its total climate and other aforementioned variables, but simply wants to implement black job advancement programmes, will fail. It also runs the risk of fostering reverse discrimination charges and of hardening racial prejudices.

Once a programme of analysis has been conducted to uncover overt, and especially indirect, barriers to black managerial progression, organizational

and incentive reforms should then be implemented to bring about change. Hopefully, this process of analysis would lead to the establishment of understanding within the organization, thereby fostering enlightened internal and external racial practices.

Lastly, as Purcell and Cavanagh (1972) point out, the clear stance of top management is crucial in achieving acceptance of racial breakthroughs. Without it, the inertias and resistances to change will make themselves felt (Hague, 1974). It was also noted by Watts (1980) that where top management adopted a firm, unequivocal stand, white opposition was less intense.

3. Participation and Commitment Down the Line

Top management commitment to black job advancement is not enough. The co-operation, commitment and support of people "down the line" in middle management echelons and at lower levels at the black-white interface, must be obtained.

Companies should ensure that the organizational climate is conducive to black job advancement *before* they embark on any ambitious schemes - or else such schemes will be doomed to failure if other employees feel threatened and perceive them as "reverse discrimination". As reported in Chapter 3, Section 3.1 of this thesis, it appears that where management made efforts to prepare white employees for change, fewer difficulties arose (Fine Spamer Associates, 1981). Therefore, management should explain the situation to employees and perhaps even include them in the planning and monitoring of the exercise, to ensure their involvement. The specific problem of white attitudes should be approached by management in a sensitive and understanding manner. Companies should also stress job advancement for all, so that white employees do not feel neglected.

Line supervisors should be involved in establishing goals, policies and procedures. The extent to which they are held accountable for outcomes, could generate commitment. Hall and Albrecht (1979) and Human (1981b)

suggest that the best way to do this is to make the welfare of the black employee coincident with the well-being of his supervisor. Since bosses are evaluated on their ability to reach other important objectives, they should also be appraised on their black subordinate's progress and development. Such ratings should be tied to merit ratings and promotions. This accountability would signal to those involved that the company is genuinely trying to foster the upward mobility of black employees.

4. The Attainment of Genuine Black Job Advancement

Goal attainment is more likely when aims are specific and portrayed as tangible outcomes than when they are vague. Goal clarity can be regarded as an indication of company commitment and is vital to consider in developing systemwide support. It seems that companies and management are sometimes guilty of hiding objectives in nebulous generalities so as to cover themselves if they fail to meet black job advancement objectives.

If organizations wish to implement black job advancement successfully, they should first define what factors could militate against this. The place to begin is with the employees themselves. Not to understand what employees think are the issues and where they stand on these issues, really diminishes any black advancement programme in terms of operational importance.

5. Attitudinal Changes and Interracial Relationships

It should be borne in mind that changes in attitudes will lag behind changes made on a structural level. Thus, some kind of training for both blacks and whites is of paramount importance to assist each in beginning to understand the problems and fears of the other, and to weaken their prejudices and eventually overcome them.

Organizations must squarely confront the more subtle forms of corporate racism so that equal employment opportunities can become a reality and not merely a public relations catch phrase. Training modules that

emphasize attitudinal or behavioural changes would be useful. For instance, racial awareness programmes should be aimed at making both black and white employees recognize what issues, forces and behaviours impede the full utilization of black employees in a predominantly white organization. More specifically, sensitivity training, which utilizes unstructured group discussions to obtain greater awareness and understanding of one another, has yielded some favourable results in America (Cash and Oliver, 1972; Hall and Albrecht, 1979; Purcell and Cavanagh, 1972). Such programmes could be useful in helping black and white employees to explore their stereotypes, prejudices and general attitudes towards one another. They could also help participants to examine how these attitudes manifest themselves in on-the-job interpersonal relations. Notwithstanding this, however, sensitivity training (T-Groups) should be very carefully controlled and run by psychologists. Otherwise, such exercises could be highly damaging to individuals and to groups.

Other useful training modules are role playing, modelling, as well as informational and experiential learning. The reader may refer to the handbook edited by Fromkin and Sherwood (1976), which outlines actual workshop designs. These are directed at helping people of different groups expand their perspectives of themselves and of other individuals, and to explore more fully their choices for action.

5.1 Meetings with Other Graduates

Regular group meetings should be held with new graduates of all races in order to share and compare their perceptions and experiences in the organization, to identify key task-related and social problems, and work together towards solutions. This would help black graduates to pinpoint those problems that are commonly experienced by the group as a whole, those that are encountered by all, but exacerbated by race, and those which are unique to blacks. In addition, such meetings would encourage incoming graduates to identify with a graduate group rather than with an ethnic group.

Above all, a supportive organizational climate should be created which facilitates communication, trust and openness. Hopefully, black managers

would then feel secure enough to express their work-related problems and fears, and to seek help when required, rather than withdrawing from, or avoiding the situation.

5.2 Voluntary Communication Exercises

Since black employees do not have easy, immediate access to the informal white social network within the organization, voluntary communication exercises could be helpful in overcoming this handicap. Volunteer blacks in managerial echelons could be matched with white volunteer peers. These matched employees could then meet socially after work for a meal, drinks or to play sport. This exercise would allow both individuals to get to know one another more intimately, and to establish authentic relationships, rather than merely functional, instrumental associations with one another. Hopefully, such contact would also help to reduce distrust between whites and blacks and allow them to gain empathetic insight into one another's experiences.

Above all, white employees must come to understand the importance of sharing their "collective wisdom" with the black managers. The latter in turn must learn to share their perceptions with their white work associates.

6. Learning the Corporate Game

Since a knowledge of the rules of the game are not sufficient to enable one to actually play the game, attempts should be made to teach the black managers not only the rules of the managerial corporate game, but also the gambits (the moves, strategies, tactics) that are actually needed to play the managerial game. This could be achieved by allowing the black managers to become party to the intimacies and informal knowledge of the everyday organizational world captured, for instance, by anecdotes and "shop talk". Training modules, using the metaphor of games (both team and individual games) as a way of introducing individuals to managerial gambits, could also be formulated. Actual techniques used to achieve this end could include role playing, modelling, as well as experiential and informational learning.

7. Placement of Black Managers

Careful placement of black graduates and blacks in management positions is needed in terms of who their boss is. Livingston (1969:87) claims that:

"A young man's first manager is likely to be the most influential person in his career. If this manager is unwilling to develop the skills the young man needs to perform effectively, the latter will set lower standards for himself than he is capable of achieving, his self-image will be impaired, and he will develop negative attitudes towards his job, his employer, and - in all probability - his career in business."

One may argue that in the case of black employees entering a white-dominated managerial world based on white norms and social conventions, it is vital that a sensitive and skillful boss should be selected. The senior should take an intrinsic interest in developing his black subordinate, in teaching him about the machinations of the organization, and in helping to ensure his success. Furthermore, Pati and Reilly (1977), referring to the American experience, point out that line managers play a vital role in realizing equal opportunity efforts, since a supervisor's influence and his rewards are closely linked to the job performance and success of an employee. Unfortunately, however, the senior who has not experienced career development himself; who believes that his interests have been neglected by the company; who has been indoctrinated into being a production pusher; who has not been included in decision-making and therefore is frustrated himself, will represent a barrier to the stability and growth of blacks and other minority employees. Unless organizational conditions which perpetuate these feelings are removed, such supervisors will not be committed to helping the black manager succeed. In fact, they may feel threatened by their subordinate (Hall and Albrecht, 1979).

8. Supervisory Leadership, Support, and Mentorship

Black managers must be included in making decisions that will have a major impact on them. If not, the assumptions of white seniors will generally be incorrect (Dickens and Dickens, 1982). Bosses must also be attuned to

the differential consequences that a given behaviour can have for a black manager (or any minority employee) versus a white individual operating in a similar manner. For instance, a white senior should realize that a black subordinate may not be able to carry out a directive without meeting resistance from employees that a white counterpart would not encounter. If this is the case, corrective and/or supportive action must be taken.

Seniors should be sensitive to, and include, the black managers' perceptions and assumptions about a situation or task assigned to him. The black managers' superiors must be willing to discover how the black managers (and other blacks) perceive and define work situations. They should try to understand what meanings and interpretations the black managers ascribe to various problems and organizational events, and empathize with their world view. This process should constitute a daily style of leadership over the black managers.

Moreover, the mentor schemes which some companies are now establishing, seem to be promising. More companies should look into the possibility of implementing them, given the evidence that mentorship represents a critical on-the-job training and development tool that facilitates the upward progression of an employee (Jennings, 1971; Roche, 1979; Shapiro *et al.*, 1978). Volunteer mentors could be trained in the skills and qualities required to fulfill such a role. Each could then have a black employee assigned formally to them, or else they could acquire a black protégé of their own accord.

9. Job and Career Development

Companies should avoid presenting a glowing picture of job opportunities to a prospective black employee. Otherwise he will hold unrealistic expectations about his job. It should be pointed out beforehand that he is likely to experience various obstacles and difficulties. Possible strategies and procedures for dealing with such problems could also be discussed.

Black managers and trainees should be placed in challenging positions and provided with the support they need to succeed. Their jobs should offer the required key experiences and contacts to prepare them to progress.

Career counselling should be provided to help black managers and black trainees understand the opportunities and choices available, and to discover what they have to do to prepare for them. Career paths should be plotted out, so that the black employee has a sense of direction, identity and belonging.

Lastly, instead of blindly trying to meet quotas, companies should rather develop selected black managers. Otherwise, black managers who fail will merely reinforce white stereotypes that blacks are incompetent.

10. Management Development Approaches

McGregor (1960) has identified three approaches to management development undertaken by organizations. Firstly, the *laissez-faire* "sink or swim" model epitomizes an approach where a group with high potential is recruited on the supposition that those who survive will be managers. Secondly, the "manufacturing" model assumes that desirable management behaviours can be induced through training programmes. Lastly, the "agricultural" model suggests that managers should be nourished and encouraged to grow. Nevertheless, growth comes from within. Thus, the task of the organization, like that of the gardener, involves creating a climate in which they can develop. In this regard, the individual's boss will play a crucial role in encouraging such growth. Management development would occur on the job. Thus, the individual would benefit from experiential learning, rather than from fancy training courses.

The latter model seems to represent the most promising approach. Unfortunately, however, many companies adopt either the "sink or swim" approach or the "manufacturing" model when dealing with black managerial development.

11. Awareness of the Minority Group Experience

Firms should be more aware of the complexity of a number of factors which together give rise to particular behaviours manifested by the black managers. They should understand that much of the behaviour they perceive in a black employee is a minority group experience as opposed to an individual experience (Dickens and Dickens, 1982). As a consequence, they should exercise more caution in applying simple, catch-phrase solutions to complex issues.

Indeed, Dickens and Dickens (1982) argue that equal opportunity does not mean treating everyone in the same way as this merely perpetuates racism and sexism. For instance, by treating blacks the same as whites forces blacks into a mould they cannot possibly fit, and dismisses or minimizes the different difficulties blacks are faced with every day. Hence, equal opportunity should involve treating different people appropriately and not always uniformly under all circumstances.

It is the responsibility of companies to recognize the peculiar situation in which the black managers find themselves and to seek solutions to the many problems which they encounter. Organizations must become diagnostic and flexible, sensitive to events and their subjective interpretation by participants in a given situation, so that they can choose the course of action appropriate to that condition.

12. Identification of Training Needs

Most theories of individual change accept the premise that change does not occur unless the individual is motivated and ready to change (Schein, 1961). This implies that the person must recognize some need for change in himself, and must perceive the influencing agent as one who can facilitate such changes in a direction acceptable to the individual. Therefore, as far as possible, the black manager should agree with any training needs which may have been established for him. In addition, he should probably be involved in the process of identifying such training needs as well. Without agreement, it is unlikely that the black manager will be committed to training plans which are developed, or motivated to learn from any

training courses he is sent on. That is, companies should take cognizance of the black managers' subjective definitions of the situation, rather than adopting the attitude of "knowing what is best for them". As Combs and Snygg (1949:17) point out:

"People do not behave according to the facts as *others* see them. They behave according to the facts as *they* see them. What governs behavior from the point of view of the individual himself are his unique perceptions of himself and the world in which he lives, the meanings things have for him." (Combs and Snygg, 1949:17).

13. Strategies for Change

There is an unfortunate tendency among social scientists to isolate one facet of behaviour, develop a specific technique to modify it, and then, in the process of applying the technique, to lose sight of the complexity of human activity (Gilbert, 1980). Too much faith is placed in one technique or programme as the panacea for all ills. In South Africa, the 'need for achievement' training programme, being promoted as the solution to black job advancement problems, is an example of such an approach. This should not be taken to imply that such specific programmes have no value. It is merely a recognition of the fact that they lead to specific and limited attitudinal or behavioural changes, which are difficult to sustain and may be extinguished unless supportive changes also occur in other areas.

13.1 The Role Set as the Unit of Change

The disappointing results of many black job advancement programmes and of training exercises are due, in part, to the persistent utilization of the wrong unit for achieving change. The concentration has been on the individual, when it should be on the role set (the focal person and his role senders) when possible.

To remove a person from his role set, to subject him to a training course, and then return him to the unchanged role set, burdens him with a double responsibility. Not only must he change his own behaviour, he must affect

complementary changes in the expectations and behaviour of his role senders. This, according to Hague (1974:5), is known as the "re-entry problem". In this context, the most obvious and most likely course of action for the individual is to revert to his earlier pattern of performance. This state of affairs is then viewed by the role senders as proof that the black employee cannot be changed. Therefore, in order to ensure the transfer of newly acquired knowledge or action tendencies to the work situation, as well as the reinforcement and acceptance thereof, the role set must be seen as the primary unit for the achievement of change. In parenthesis, trends in therapy also show a turning away from the classic solitude of patient and analyst, in favour of utilizing the family and significant others as the unit within which the health of the patient is determined.

Advantages of this approach include the fact that:

- (i) It recognizes that the black manager does not operate in a social vacuum. The behaviour of an individual is of direct concern to others in his role set and is substantially determined by their behaviour towards him;
- (ii) It takes into account that there is a white problem as well as a black problem. By dealing with members of the role set, rather than with a particular individual only, no person is singled out as being the only one who needs to change;
- (iii) Too often, the desire to provide compensatory training for minorities results in unnecessary and segregated training programmes (Hall and Albrecht, 1979). Focusing on the role set as the unit of change, overcomes this problem.

Areas of concern could be discussed and worked through by the black manager and members of his role set. The emphasis would be on elucidating role expectations and on trying to affect changes, where needed, in the attitudes, expectations, perceptions and/or role behaviour of the role set. Whether a meeting of the whole role set, or consultation with the subset, or experiential learning, would be adequate, would depend upon the nature of the problem being tackled.

14. Reduction of the Black Managers' Interaction Disability

Attempts to reduce the interaction disability of black managers (discussed in Chapter 7, Section 3.1.4), should be directed at overcoming the status generalization process itself. Cohen and Roper (1972) found that the interaction disability of blacks in interracial groups could be overcome by means of a procedure which clearly revealed to both blacks and whites that blacks possessed superior competence at various tasks besides the immediate group task. Such positive information overcame the negative performance expectations held of the blacks. Thus, the black managers must be seen to succeed despite expectations of others to the contrary. This does not imply that "success" must be artificial or that standards must be altered. Rather, success must be acknowledged when it occurs (Moerdyk, 1983).

It is important to realize that Cohen and Roper (1972) dealt with the performance expectations for blacks held by both racial group members. Investigations which have only modified the blacks' expectations of their own behaviour, succeeded in making the blacks more assertive. However, such behavioural changes were opposed by the white members whose expectations had not been modified. Consequently, a status conflict arose, rather than equal status interaction (see for example, Katz and Cohen, 1962). Thus, as noted in Section 13.1 of this chapter, the unit of change must be the role set rather than the focal person only.

15. Stress Management

As House (1981:113) contends:

".... a balanced and effective approach to stress reduction and stress management must attempt to modify characteristics of social environments as well as characteristics of individuals. It should also attempt, where possible, to improve the compatibility or fit between individuals and their social environments."

In discussing possible remedies for some of the sources of organizational stress encountered by the black managers, then, one is ultimately dealing

with the "goodness of fit" between the black manager and his environment. Companies who wish to improve the fit between their black managers and job/role/organization/environment, must begin by trying to gain an in-depth understanding of how the managers perceive, experience and define work stressors. Only then should they explore when and how to intervene to help ameliorate the problems.

The following points cited by Newman and Beehr (1979) regarding strategies for managing job stress, should be borne in mind:

- (i) Adaptive responses to work stress can be initiated by the person (stressee/potential stressee), the organization, and/or by individuals or organizations outside the focal company;
- (ii) The key target of the adaptive responses are typically some aspect of the person (such as physiological, psychological or behavioural factors), and/or some aspect of the organization (for instance, job design, co-worker relations, supervisory style, structure);
- (iii) Adaptive responses may be preventive or curative.

An important point is that there is no one behavioural science package or "grab-bag" for dealing with work stress that could be effective across companies and or even across roles in a single firm. Interventions to reduce levels of stress have to be handled by diagnosis and in relation to the specific situation (Pettigrew, 1972). For example, black line managers experience different kinds of work pressures from their staff counterparts (see Chapter 11, Section 1.4.4). Organizations should take this into account, and formulate stress management programmes accordingly.

Part of the diagnostic process would involve ascertaining whether stress is a job phenomenon or a person phenomenon. Roles which are usually associated with the greatest overall stress should be pinpointed and redesigned, if possible. For instance, demands and resources could be reduced or increased (Pettigrew, 1972).

Since the key objective of the exercise would be to obtain a reasonable person-role fit, role analysis would have to be conducted in conjunction

with an analysis of the person. The characteristics of the successful and unsuccessful persons currently occupying the positions could be identified. Individual differences in sensitivity to environmental pressures and events could also be ascertained. Since certain types of people are more susceptible to stress than others, management may deem it appropriate to introduce new criteria for selection and placement of black managers in jobs which are unavoidably stressful. For example, the organization could endeavour to select employees who are better able to cope with stressors such as role conflict and ambiguity, with increased responsibility for people, and with workload when these are known to pertain to a specific job. Cooper and Marshall (1975) point out that an organization's ability to optimize the goodness of fit between the individual and job by selection procedures would obviously necessitate extensive validation and refinement of potential selection criteria.

Training modules could be designed to assist the black managers in increasing their stress tolerance and coping abilities. Moreover, techniques such as role-playing, personal growth groups, team building activities (as both a source of feedback about the person-job fit and as a source of support), could be utilized in stress prevention and reduction programmes (Cooper and Marshall, 1975).

Workshops aimed at the development of a sense of mastery or self-efficacy could also be developed. Moerdyk (1983) proposes that feelings of self-efficacy would reduce the amount of stress experienced, and assist in the development of stress coping techniques that enable the stessee to shape, change or control the situation. Bandura (1977) maintains that self-efficacy expectations can be established through direct experience, vicarious experience, verbal persuasion and emotional control.

Furthermore, organizations could hold integrated seminars on stress management. This could assist both black and white managers to deal with stress-provoking conditions and their consequences. It could also show blacks that they are not alone in experiencing stress and tension at work.

Lastly, regarding the issue of stress symptoms, management should not unquestioningly ascribe qualities such as passivity, a lack of involvement, avoidance of responsibility, low job performance, and a lack of drive, to stable personality or cultural predispositions of the black employee. It must be borne in mind that these attributes could, in fact, be stress symptoms.

To sum up, then, there are two ways in which the fit between the black managers and their environment can be improved. On the one hand, the individuals can be fitted to the environment (by training or education) or those who do not fit can be selected out (Moerdyk, 1983). Training programmes which attempt to instil in blacks a high need for achievement, rather than a need for affiliation, represent this approach of "fitting the man to the job".

On the other hand, existing organizational roles, structures and demands can be redesigned to meet the needs and values of the black managers, while maintaining the integrity of organizational aims. This process of "fitting the job to the man" seems to be a promising approach. For instance, attempts should not, perhaps, be made to teach the black managers to be more individualistic, competitive and achievement-orientated, since this may go against their need for affiliation (in terms of social support) in the face of work stress. Moreover, to be achievement-orientated in a system where there are numerous checks to black upward mobility, may merely breed frustration and disillusionment. Instead, the system itself should be altered.

Thus, for example, instead of trying to change affiliative behaviour into achievement directed behaviour, organizations must rather consider how the system can be changed so that affiliative needs of blacks can be effectively incorporated and utilized (Moerdyk, 1983). In other words, South African business should find ways of changing its structures and techniques to make them more coincident with the needs and values of black employees. Within this context, companies should take heed of the warning of Hupkes (1981:46) that: ".... too strong a commitment to traditional ways of doing things will blind managers to new realities and new possibilities". Moreover, South African industries should accommodate the black world view, perceptions, attitudes and beliefs. The source of strength will not be in sameness but in plurality. Since South Africa is a third world country, rather than a developed first world country, the styling of organizational structures and procedures on Anglo-American models should not be adopted uncritically. As disclosed in Chapter 3, Section 1.3, the indigenous black people have had to adjust to an imported, alien industrial system. With the rising tide of black consciousness, aspirations

and pride, this neo-colonial, ethnocentric approach may not be entirely appropriate*.

15.1 The Reduction of Role Conflict and Role Ambiguity

The issue is not the eradication of role conflict and ambiguity from organizational life, since this is impossible. Rather, it is the containment of such conditions at levels and in forms which are at least humane, tolerable, low in cost, and which at best might be positive in contribution to the black manager and organization.

With respect to the reduction of role ambiguity, clear job descriptions and key performance areas should also be outlined so that the black manager knows what is expected of him, as well as the limits of his authority and responsibility. This would also allow charges of window-dressing to be dismissed. There should be "joint target setting" involving management by well-defined goals that have been mutually agreed upon by the boss and subordinate. This should be a continuous process whereby both parties periodically delineate and agree on the subordinate's responsibilities, the means of measuring them, results to be obtained and/or the target levels of performance in each area. Frequent, relevant, clear and direct feedback about performance is crucial.

Specific job behaviours necessary for the attainment of rewards (such as salary increases and promotions), should also be made clear (Keller, 1975). Too often, it appears, employees are left to fend for themselves in determining what is expected of them. Low job satisfaction and inadequate performance often then result.

In regard to role conflict, Kahn *et al.* (1964) contend that individuals who encounter role conflict should be able to confront those who make excessive demands on them, or be able to talk to their superiors about it. In other words, the company should establish some form of feedback process to provide an outlet for stress-provoking relationships and discord.

Finally, Schuler's (1979) research indicates that direct intervention by the organization into role episodes of high role conflict and ambiguity are

* An examination of industrial organizational structures in non-western countries may provide useful clues for adapting South African industrial organizations to the needs of workers other than whites.

necessary in order to break dysfunctional patterns which become established in organizations between the role senders and the focal person.

16. Social Support

Knowledge of the importance of social support and of the skills necessary to provide support should constitute part of the basis of selecting and/or procedures for training people to manage minority employees. House (1981:122) points out that an immediate boss may not necessarily be the most effective source of support for all forms of work stress. Furthermore, the status differential between supervisor and subordinate can prevent the formation of an authentic supportive relationship. Consequently, efforts to nurture social support should also be directed at encouraging supportive ties among coworkers. However, House warns that although attempts to enhance social support can be directed at particular organizational roles, these efforts must take place within the broader organizational context.

"Workers will not support each other to the extent they could if the power and reward structures of the organization do not encourage (much less discourage) such efforts." (House, 1981:122.)

For example, if workers are not supported by their superiors, are always placed in competition with their peers, and are rewarded solely for productive activity for which they are personally responsible, they will possess little motivation to provide coworker support. Consequently, the higher echelons of an organization should provide models and positive sanctions for endeavours by lower levels to be more supportive.

16.1 Black Social Support

Black people need group support when working in predominantly white organizations. Individual blacks in large, white institutions can be submerged and overwhelmed by the very weight of the white majority structure. Those blacks who adapt may have to change life-long habits with a resultant loss of identity. They require support and reinforcement from other blacks to offset this loss. Thus, black managers should endeavour to support each other through formal and informal networks

and "mentor" black newcomers. It is apparent that extra-organizational support groups (such as the Black Management Forum and the Durban "contact group") could be invaluable in providing the black manager with a social support system that he often lacks at work. Such support groups could also expose less "seasoned" members to the gambits necessary to carry out the job of management. Furthermore, the pooling of the "collective wisdom" of the black managers by problem-sharing, the discussion of anecdotes, the typing of different kinds of employees, the discussion of strategies and manoeuvres, could further help the black managers to "learn the ropes" of how to function effectively as blacks in a white-run industrial milieu.

17. Final Remarks

If reform in South Africa is to be evolutionary rather than revolutionary, then business organizations must contribute by creating lobbies which push for meaningful extra-organizational changes. Indeed, black job advancement cannot be divorced from the general advancement of blacks on social, political and educational levels. As long as separatist ideology and praxis persist, black managers and other black employees will experience problems relating to the disjunction between the workplace and other aspects of their lives as second class citizens. The agents of reform should not only be the white-financed and white-oriented corporations. The black managers also have a part to play, along with other black employees, in redefining their rights and roles. Rules can be made and rules can be changed. It will take the combined efforts of the various players to develop a new corporate game. Unfortunately, however, the process of change will not be easy. Indeed, the cynical yet astute warning of Machiavelli (1952) should be borne in mind as a sobering thought.

"It must be considered that there is nothing more difficult to carry out, nor more doubtful of success, nor more dangerous to handle, than to initiate a new order of things. For the reformer has enemies in all those who profit by the old order, and only lukewarm defenders in all those who would profit by the new order, this lukewarmness arising partly from fear of their adversaries, who have the laws in their favour; and partly from the incredulity of mankind, who do not truly believe in anything new until they have had actual experience of it."

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A : PHASE I INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR BLACKSI. Biographical Information

1. Date of birth _____
2. Job title _____
3. What was the highest standard you passed at school? _____

4. What qualifications have you obtained since leaving school? _____

5. When did you first start working? Date _____
6. What was your first job, and with what company? _____

7. What jobs have you held before your present position? _____

8. How long have you worked for this firm? _____
9. How long have you been a manager? _____
10. At what level does your job lie within the organizational hierarchy?
 (i) Junior management
 (ii) Lower middle management
 (iii) Middle middle management
 (iv) Upper middle management
 (v) Senior management
11. Are you married? _____
12. If so, what is the occupation of your wife? _____

13. What township do you live in? _____
14. Where did you grow up? _____
15. Father's education and occupation _____

16. Mother's education and occupation _____

17. Brothers'/sisters' education and occupations _____

II. Job Characteristics

✓ 18. (a) Was your job previously held by a white?

(b) If so, does your job differ in any way from that assigned to your predecessor?

✓ 19. Do you have "real"

(a) responsibility

(b) authority in your job?

✓ 20. Are you able to use your initiative in your job?

✓ 21. (a) If your predecessor was a white: Do you think that your salary and fringe benefits compare favourably with those of your predecessor?

(b) Do your salary and fringe benefits compare favourably with those of your white counterparts?

III. Job Performance

✓ 22. How do you feel your performance compares with other white co-workers, and/or with your (white) predecessor (if applicable)?

23. (a) What personality characteristics, skills and other general qualities do you think an individual in your position should possess?

(b) Which of these qualities do you feel that you possess and/or lack?

(c) If you lack any of the required qualities what, in your opinion, is the reason for this?

IV. Job Satisfaction

24. (a) Are you satisfied with your job?

(b) What do you like about it?

(c) What do you dislike about it?

- 25. (a) Can you recall a time when you felt especially happy about your job? Why? Could you explain the event?
(b) Can you recall a time when you felt especially unhappy about your work? Can you describe the occasion?
- 26. What are the characteristics of your ideal job?
- 27. Do you think you'd go on working if you had enough money not to work?

V. Career Development

- 28. Are you satisfied with the course your career path has taken so far?
- 29. (a) Are you optimistic or pessimistic about your future job prospects?
(b) Do you feel that you have reached a "ceiling" in your job in this firm, or are there further promotional opportunities?
- 30. (a) Do you feel that your progress has been too slow; too rapid; or satisfactory?
(b) Do you feel that you deserve further promotion at present?
- 31. Do you feel that your potential, achievements, and work performance, as a whole, are adequately evaluated?
- 32. What job position do you think you'll be holding in
 - (a) 5 years time?
 - (b) 10 " "
 - (c) 15 " "
- 33. Do you have a mentor? If so, whom?
- 34. Do you ever worry about the security of your job?
- 35. Do you feel that you "belong" in your firm; that you are an integral part of it?

VI. Locus of Control

- 36. (a) Do you think that promotions that you receive will be due to lucky breaks, or due to recognition of your ability and worth?
(b) Do you believe that your life is determined largely by what you make of it yourself, or by external circumstances over which you have no control? If the latter, what are these external factors?

VII. Attitudes of White Employees

- ✓ 37. (a) Do you feel that your white colleagues have confidence in you?
(b) Who does?
(c) Who doesn't?
(d) Do you have confidence in yourself job-wise?
- ✓ 38. (a) What kinds of expectations do you feel that your white colleagues have of you and your job performance?
(b) How do their attitudes affect you and your work?
39. What attitudes do the whites in your firm generally seem to hold towards you?
- ✓ 40. What do their attitudes seem to be concerning black job mobility?

VIII. Relationships with Blacks

- ✓ 41. (a) How do you think the blacks in your firm regard you?
(b) Do they feel that you exercise real responsibility and authority, or do they regard you as a white man's mouthpiece?
(c) Do they resent your success?
42. Do you, in any way, feel caught between the black and white workers, and under pressure from both?
43. How do the people in your community/township view you? Are you looked up to as one of the community leaders?
44. Do you live in an area where most people hold similar types of jobs as you do? If not, do you live amongst unskilled workers? How do you feel about this?
45. What jobs do your close friends hold?

IX. Problems Encountered and Changes as a Result of Their Job

46. What problems have you encountered since you were appointed to your present position?
47. Do you feel that, as a black, you are discriminated against in any way?
48. Do you feel that your job has changed your
(a) attitudes
(b) values and beliefs
(c) lifestyle in any way? If so, how?

X. The Nature of Advancement

49. Do you think that there is any token advancement of blacks in your firm?
- ✓ 50. Does your company provide organizational support to help blacks with executive potential, to realize that potential?
- ✓ 51. Does "reverse discrimination" ever occur, that is, where white workers are in fact discriminated against in favour of black employees?
- ✓ 52. How genuine do you feel your company is about black job advancement?
53. Does your firm adhere to one of the codes of employment practice? If so, which one? (Sullivan, Saccola, Canadian, EEC, etc.?) What is your opinion of these codes? Are the principles adhered to? How effective and far-reaching are they?
54. Do you feel that blacks can meaningfully participate in South Africa's economy, given the present situation?
55. (a) Do you see yourself as actually having a place in white industry?
(b) Do other blacks, in your opinion, feel that they have a place in white industry? Do they identify with, and accept, the system?
- ✓ 56. To what extent do you think that differences in upbringing and outlook between blacks and whites cause problems in the work situation?
- ✓ 57. What are the chief factors inhibiting the advancement of blacks in industry?
58. Do you have any additional general or specific comments to make on the topic of black job advancement?

APPENDIX B : INCOMPLETE SENTENCES

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

- 1. Black workers junior to me _____

- 2. My work is _____

- 3. My family view me as _____

- 4. I often wish that _____

- 5. When making decisions _____

- 6. I cannot tolerate _____

- 7. I am not good at _____

- 8. Most people see me as _____

- 9. Rejection _____

- 10. I feel people respect me for _____

- 11. Training _____

- 12. My future _____

13. My workmates think of me as _____

14. Real job advancement _____

15. In my community, people treat me _____

16. The orders I give _____

17. In this firm, whites _____

18. My boss views me as _____

19. My strong points are _____

20. Being in a position of authority _____

APPENDIX C : PHASE I INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE WORK ASSOCIATES OF THE
BLACK MANAGERS (THE BOSSES, PEERS AND SUBORDINATES)

I. Characteristics of the Job

1. ✓ Was the black manager's job previously held by a black or white?
2. ✓ Do you feel that he exercises true
 - (a) responsibility
 - (b) authority in his job?
3. (a) If his job was previously held by a white, do you think that he gets the same salary and benefits enjoyed by his predecessor?
(b) Do you think that the salary and fringe benefits of the black manager is comparable to that of his white co-workers?

II. Job Performance

4. ✓ How does his job performance compare with that of his predecessor, and his white co-workers?
5. ✓ (a) What personality characteristics, skills and qualities do you think that an individual in the black manager's position, should possess?
(b) Which of these traits does the black manager himself possess and/or lack?
(c) In regard to those qualities that he lacks, what is the reason for this?
6. ✓ (a) Does he use his initiative?
(b) Is he assertive?
(c) Does he function autonomously?
(d) Can he handle increased responsibility?
(e) Does he show innovation and creativity?
(f) Can he make decisions by himself?
(g) Is he dependable?
7. ✓ How does he compare with his white counterparts on these points?
8. ✓ Do you have confidence in him?
9. Does he seem to have self-confidence?
10. (a) Does he seem to be loyal and committed to the firm?
(b) Does he seem to feel that he "belongs" in the company?

III. Job Satisfaction

- ✓ 11. Do you think that the black manager is satisfied with his job?
- ✓ 12. (a) What do you think he likes about it?
(b) What do you think he dislikes about it?

IV. Career Aspirations and Prospects

- 13. What do you think are the aspirations and expectations of the black manager? Are they realistic?
- 14. Do you think that the black manager is satisfied with the course his career path has taken so far?
- ✓ 15. Do you think that the black manager has reached a ceiling job-wise, in this organization, or are there opportunities for further promotion?
- 16. Does he deserve further promotion at present?
- 17. What position do you expect the black manager to be holding in
 - (a) 5 years time?
 - (b) 10 " "
 - (c) 15 " "
- 18. Do you think that the black manager has a mentor? If so, who is it?

V. Locus of Control

- 19. Do you think that the black manager would attribute success in his job to chance, good luck, or to his own efforts and hard work? Similarly, to what do you think he would attribute failures in his job? To bad luck, or external factors beyond his control (e.g. his skin colour), or to his own actions?

VI. White attitudes

- ✓ 20. What is his relationship with his white work colleagues like?
- ✓ 21. In general, what do the attitudes of the white employees in this firm seem to be in regard to black job advancement?

VII. Relationship with Black Workers

- 22. (a) What do the black workers' attitudes seem to be towards the black manager?
- (b) Do they recognize and respect his authority and position, or do they merely regard him as a white man's mouthpiece?

- 23. Do you think that he feels as if he is "stuck" in the middle, as it were, between the white and black employees and under pressure from both sides?
- 24. Is the black manager looked up to as one of his community's leaders?

VIII. Problems Encountered

- 25. What problems does the black manager seem to have encountered in his present job position?
- 26. Do you feel that, as a black, he is discriminated against in any way?
- 27. Do you think that his job has changed his
 - (a) attitudes
 - (b) values and beliefs
 - (c) lifestyle?

IX. The Nature of Advancement

- 28. Do you feel that there is any "window dressing" in your firm?
- 29. How genuine do you feel the black manager thinks your company is about black job advancement?
- 30. Are there any signs of reverse discrimination in your organization?
- 31. Does your firm adhere to one of the Codes of Employment Practice? If so, which one? What is your opinion of the codes? Are the principles adhered to? How effective are they?
- 32. (a) Do you think that the black manager feels that he can meaningfully participate in South Africa's economy, given the present situation?
 (b) Do you, yourself, feel that blacks can meaningfully participate in, and contribute towards, the South African economy?
- 33. Do you think that blacks feel that they actually have a place in white industry? Can they identify with, and accept, the system?
- 34. To what extent do you think that differences in upbringing and outlook between white and black workers, cause problems in the work situation?
- 35. What do you think are the chief factors inhibiting the advancement of blacks in industry?
- 36. Do you have any additional comments to make on the topic of black job advancement?

X. Biographical Information

1. Sex _____
2. Date of birth _____
3. Occupational position _____
4. What was the highest standard you passed at school? _____
5. What qualifications have you obtained since leaving school? _____

6. How long have you worked for this firm? _____
7. Are you married? _____
8. If so, what is the occupation of your wife? _____

APPENDIX D : INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR FOLLOW-UP STUDY ON BLACK JOB ADVANCEMENT

Introduction

I am doing a follow-up study on the black managers that I interviewed last year for my master's project on black job advancement. This follow-up investigation forms part of my research for my Doctoral thesis. I am interested in examining the stressful situations and experiences that black managers are encountering at work. Therefore, during the course of this interview, the questions that I will ask you will largely focus on the types of work stress that you experience at work, how you deal with it and so on.

Everything that you tell me during the course of the interview will be strictly confidential. Moreover, when I write up my thesis, the material will be presented in such a way that the subjects and their firms will not be able to be identified.

SECTION A

First of all, I would like to ask you a few questions to bring me up to date, as it were, with what has happened since I last interviewed you approximately eight months ago.

Since I last interviewed you:

1. Have you received any promotion in terms of job position, or received an increase in salary (job grade), or in fringe benefits?
2. Has the content of your job changed in any significant way? That is, have there been any important changes in the kind of work you do?
3. Has the amount of responsibility you possess
 - (i) increased
 - (ii) decreased
 - (iii) remained the same?
4. Has the amount of authority you have in your job
 - (i) increased
 - (ii) decreased
 - (iii) remained the same?
5. Do you still have the same boss?
6. Do you still have the same work colleagues?

7. Do you still have the same subordinate(s)?
8. Since I last interviewed you, has your relationship with your work colleagues
 - (a) improved
 - (b) deteriorated
 - (c) stayed the same?
9. More specifically, would you say that your relationship with your immediate boss is, in general,
 - (i) very good
 - (ii) good
 - (iii) fair
 - (iv) poor
 - (v) very poor?
10. In regard to your immediate work colleagues within the department, with whom you have daily contact, would you say that your relationship with them is, in general,
 - (i) very good
 - (ii) good
 - (iii) fair
 - (iv) poor
 - (v) very poor?
11. With respect to your job satisfaction, are you
 - (i) as satisfied
 - (ii) more satisfied
 - (iii) less satisfied
 with your job than you were when I last interviewed you?

SECTION B

12. (a) Do you feel that you are faced with more work stress than white employees at similar levels to you within this company?
 (b) If so, can you tell me about it?
13. In general, do you think that blacks at white collar levels in this company experience more work stress than their white colleagues?
 If so, why?
14. What about blacks in white collar positions in other companies?
15. What are some of the situations or conditions that you have to deal with at work that you find particularly stressful?

16.
 - (a) What do you usually do to handle such stressful work conditions?
 - (b) How do you feel about the way you go about handling these situations?
 - (c) Is there any other way in which you feel you could, perhaps, deal with them?
17.
 - (a) Could you tell me about the last time you were in a stress-provoking work situation.
 - (b) How did you feel when this came up?
 - (c) What did you do?
 - (d) What else did you think of trying to do?
 - (e) How did it work out? Did the problem finally get solved to your satisfaction?
 - (f) What else might you do if this stress-provoking work condition occurs again?
18.
 - (a) Have there been any instances in the last year or so when you experienced such great work stress that you felt that you could not handle it?
 - (b) What happened?
 - (c) How did you resolve it?
19. If not:
 - (a) Have there been any instances in the last five years, when the work stress that you experienced was such that you felt that you could not handle it?
 - (b) What happened?
 - (c) How did you resolve it?
20. When you are feeling very tense as a result of stressful work conditions, what do you do to relieve such feelings of tension?
21. What other strategies do you use to deal with stressful work situations? How effective are they in helping you to relieve feelings of tension?
22. When other managers that you know in the company, are in a stressful situation, (what you regard as stressful), what do they do? How do they react? Are their colleagues supportive towards them?
23. When in a stressful position, do you feel that you can chat about it to your immediate work colleagues, or approach them for advice or assistance?
24. How much help, support and co-operation do your immediate work colleagues give you when you are in a stressful situation?
25. Do they seem to realize, of their own accord, when you are under stress?

26. (a) How often do you chat about personal issues that are not related to your work?
(b) If so, what do you chat about?
27. Can you talk to your boss about stressful work conditions?
28. How supportive is your boss towards you in this respect?
29. Is there anyone else within the organization with whom you feel you can talk to about any work problems; from whom you can gain advice or assistance?
30. (a) Do you feel that you have a mentor within the organization - that is, someone who takes a personal interest in your welfare and progress; who tries to help and support you, and whom you can trust?
(b) If so, for how long has he been your mentor?
(c) How did the relationship arise?
(d) In what way has this relationship been important to you?
31. Is there anyone outside the organization with whom you can chat or consult in regard to work stress, pressures and frustrations?
32. Can you chat to your immediate family (for example, your wife), about work stress.

SECTION C

33. Some people have problems at work which cause them very little concern, while others are faced with the kind of problems that worry them a great deal. What are the problems in your work that tend to worry you most often?
34. Have you ever felt ill over work problems?
35. How often do you feel relieved/thankful at the end of a day's work, that the work day is over at long last?
 - (i) Never
 - (ii) Very seldom
 - (iii) Sometimes
 - (iv) Often
 - (v) Very often?
36. How often do you feel tense, worried or upset, at the end of a typical day's work?
 - (i) Never
 - (ii) Very seldom
 - (iii) Sometimes
 - (iv) Often
 - (v) Very often?

37. How often do work problems bother you outside working hours i.e. how often do you take your work problems "home" with you?
- (i) Never
 - (ii) Very seldom
 - (iii) Sometimes
 - (iv) Often
 - (v) Very often
38. I am also interested in your health. Would you say that you are in:
- (i) Very good health
 - (ii) Good health
 - (iii) Average health
 - (iv) Poor health
 - (v) Very poor health
39. How often do you experience the following? (Never, Sometimes, Often)
- (a) Headaches
 - (b) Stomach upset/diarrhoea
 - (c) Nausea
 - (d) Fatigue
 - (e) Loss of appetite
 - (f) Indigestion
 - (g) Depression
 - (h) Loss of concentration
 - (i) Stomach-ache/knots in your stomach
 - (j) Insomnia
40. If you had an offer to do the same kind of work, for the same pay and fringe benefits, but in another company, would you stay here or leave?
41. What are your leisure activities? (That is, what do you do in your spare time for relaxation and recreational purposes?)
42. Do you find that you can relieve job-related tensions through your leisure activities?
43. Are your leisure activities more fulfilling to you than your job?

SECTION D

STRESS INDICATOR

44. I am now going to read you out a list of statements that describe a number of situations that you may have been in recently at work, and which may have made you feel tense.

For each statement that I read out, I would like you to tell me:

- (a) *How often* you find yourself in this situation, and
- (b) *How much* tension do you experience when this situation occurs, or how tense would you feel if it did occur.

For example:

Statement - You are caught in a traffic jam or your train is delayed on your way to work.

How often does it occur?

NEVER	VERY SELDOM	SOMETIMES	OFTEN	VERY OFTEN

How much tension do you experience?

NOTHING	A SMALL AMOUNT	A MODERATE AMOUNT	A GREAT DEAL

If you are sometimes delayed by traffic jams or by your train being late, you would respond "sometimes". Similarly, if you feel very tense when it does occur, or if you would feel very tense if you were delayed in this way, you would respond "a great deal".

Please respond to each of the situations I am going to read out to you, in this way. Do not take too long on each item, but do think carefully about how you would react.

Remember, there are no right or wrong answers, and this is not a test of any kind.

1. Too much work is expected of you.
2. You are required to meet strict deadlines and schedules, some of which seem unreasonable.
3. You find it difficult to complete some of the tasks given to you, even when you have enough time in which to do them.
4. You have to go against established company policy in order to carry out an assignment.
5. You have to do things that you do not agree with; that go against your better judgement.
6. You receive incompatible, conflicting instructions from two or more people.
7. You feel that your job tends to interfere with your family life.
8. You are expected to do things without understanding why, or without being told why they have to be done.
9. Your job is not always clearly defined, so you do not always know what your exact duties are.
10. You do not know what your work colleagues expect of you.

11. You do not know what your boss thinks of you, and how he evaluates your performance.
12. You do not have enough authority to carry out your job properly.
13. You are given too little responsibility by your superiors.
14. You are expected to do work for which you have not been properly trained.
15. Your abilities are underutilized.
16. The work you do is monotonous and repetitive.
17. You feel that your qualifications and/or experience are not adequately rewarded.
18. You have to reprimand or discipline a subordinate(s).
19. Your job requires you to give instructions to people who are more important and respected than you are outside the organization.
20. You do not have enough experience to solve certain problems at work.
21. Your language and communication skills are not as good as they could be.
22. Your promotional prospects within this organization are lacking or severely limited.
23. You feel that you may be bypassed by work colleagues who are promoted "over your head".
24. You are subjected to excessive supervision by your immediate superior.
25. The supervision you get is too authoritarian.
26. You receive too little supervision or guidance from your superior.
27. You feel unable to influence your boss's decisions that affect you.
28. You have a major disagreement with your boss.
29. You feel that you may not be liked and accepted by the people you work with.
30. The various members of your work team or division do not trust each other.
31. There is too much competition amongst members of your division or department.
32. You feel that your views and opinions are ignored by your boss and colleagues.
33. The company climate here is unpleasant e.g. office "politics", gossiping, etc.

34. There is not enough communication of information within your work-group or department.
35. Too much emphasis is placed on job advancement or "getting ahead".
36. You do not get the same privileges and rights that other employees get because of your race, sex or beliefs.
37. The work situation does not take into account certain social and cultural factors that are important to you.
38. Your work "overflows" or carries over into your home or social life.
39. Factors such as transport problems, housing, etc., make it difficult for you to perform as well as you could at work.
40. Family affairs, family illnesses, etc., affect the way you do your work.

SECTION E

45. What advice would you give to a young black graduate who joins your company?
46. What would you say is the best way for a young black to achieve a senior management position?
47. General, additional comments and feedback about the interview.

APPENDIX E : CODE VALUES OF BLACK MANAGERS' BIOGRAPHICAL ITEMS

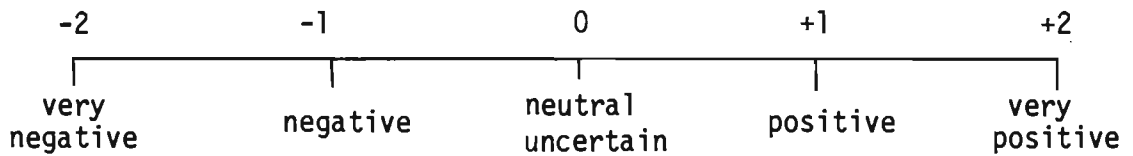
Items	Code Values	Coding Categories
Age, work experience, company service, length of time in present job	Variable	Actual years
Management level	1 2 3	Junior management Middle management Senior management
Black managers' and fathers' education	Variable	Standard 10 (matric) was assigned a value of "10". Thus, matric plus one year of completed study was coded as "11".
University attended (Educational quality)	1 2 3 4	Did not attend Black university only White university and/or Unisa Overseas university
Rural/urban background	1 2 3 4 5	Rural areas Small urban areas Metropolitan Pietermaritzburg Metropolitan Durban Witwatersrand and P.W.V. area
Job history	1 2 3 4 5 6	Held upper white collar (UWC) job only Lower white collar (LWC) → UWC Upper blue collar (UBC) → LWC → UWC UWC → UBC → LWC → UWC Lower blue collar (LBC) → LWC → UBC → LWC → UWC LBC → LWC → LBC → UWC
Line/staff function	1 2	Staff Line
Fathers' occupation	1 2 3 4 5	Unemployed Lower blue collar Upper blue collar Lower white collar Upper white collar

APPENDIX F : FACTOR CORRELATION MATRIX OF BLACK MANAGERS' BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Variable name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Age															
2. Functional domain	-,093														
3. Management level	-,005	,093													
4. Educational level	-,159	,308	,303												
5. Father's education	-,376	,177	,024	,211											
6. Father's occupation	-,090	,301	-,251	-,055	,449										
7. No. of companies worked for	,264	-,263	,096	-,047	-,100	-,229									
8. Job history	,472	-,156	-,160	-,239	-,103	-,093	,214								
9. Perception of management level	,061	-,122	,777	,295	-,128	-,180	,151	-,260							
10. Rural/urban background	-,298	,155	,141	,079	,251	,065	-,128	-,120	,096						
11. Length in industry	,924	-,209	-,108	-,418	-,412	-,080	,372	,466	-,044	-,359					
12. Company service	,777	-,065	-,269	-,446	-,429	,019	-,105	,526	-,178	-,312	,808				
13. Length in present job	,518	-,192	-,198	-,120	-,016	-,154	,031	,191	-,087	-,289	,533	,522			
14. No. of degrees/diplomas	-,133	,380	,172	,897	,148	,059	-,135	-,221	,119	,011	-,347	-,245	-,064		
15. University attended	,088	,225	,265	,652	,017	-,093	,072	-,266	,353	,039	-,099	-,161	,123	,597	

APPENDIX G : SCORING PROCEDURE FOR DATA AT A NOMINAL LEVEL OF MEASUREMENT

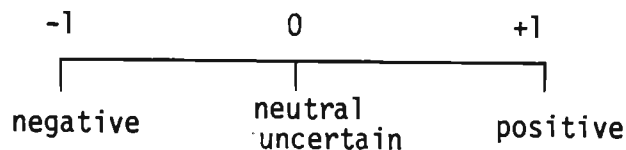
Perceptual and attitudinal responses to the interview questions were scored on a five-point scale as follows:



For example, the subjects' responses to the question "Are you optimistic or pessimistic about your future job prospects?", were grouped into five categories. These are listed below, along with the recoded value that was assigned to each category.

- RESPONSES:
- Optimistic (+2)
 - Optimistic but with reservations (+1)
 - In between - neither optimistic nor pessimistic (0)
 - Slightly pessimistic (-1)
 - Pessimistic (-2)

If the responses covered a smaller range, a three point scale was used, namely:



APPENDIX H : FACTOR CORRELATION MATRIX OF BLACK MANAGERS' PHASE I INTERVIEW DATA

Variable Name	Question No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	
1. Responsibility	19a																																						
2. Authority	19b	.287																																					
3. Initiative	20	.490	.342																																				
4. Remuneration	21	-.226	-.084	.149																																			
5. Job performance	22	-.079	-.087	.030	-.213																																		
6. Colleagues' confidence	37a	-.201	-.005	.207	.323	.180																																	
7. Colleagues' expectations	38a	.137	.148	.418	.251	.258	.211																																
8. Effect	38b	.038	.249	.286	.021	.175	.069	.674																															
9. Job security	34	.073	.087	.177	.098	-.079	.010	.123																															
10. Job satisfaction	24	.621	.396	.581	-.157	.196	-.036	.247	.144	.008																													
11. Career satisfaction	28	.505	.531	.554	-.137	.189	.007	.216	.111	.068	.696																												
12. Optimistic/pessimistic	29	-.083	.186	.142	.214	.016	.124	-.119	-.069	.295	.012	.028																											
13. Promotion deserved	30b	.050	.122	.042	-.015	.057	.139	-.079	.113	.213	.014	.137	.362																										
14. Achievements recognized	31	.597	.391	.589	.022	-.054	-.137	.260	.011	.327	.550	.506	.063	.143																									
15. Company help	50	.131	.358	.258	-.151	.071	-.201	.117	.095	.113	.331	.461	.079	.025	.416																								
16. Locus of control	36	.293	.183	.373	-.063	.120	.014	.221	.062	.120	.438	.419	.163	.036	.378	.271																							
17. Relationship - blacks	41a	.052	-.089	-.109	.169	-.131	-.155	.044	-.107	.200	-.139	-.193	.160	-.169	.017	-.114	-.104																						
18. Stoooge	41b	.128	-.035	-.122	.193	-.163	-.127	.042	.058	.085	-.084	-.058	.132	.094	.003	-.187	-.316	.548																					
19. Blacks resentful	41c	-.262	-.093	-.222	.063	-.005	.119	-.086	.088	.122	-.125	-.203	-.040	.157	-.176	-.432	-.128	.218	.369																				
20. Middleman	42	.091	-.184	-.013	.215	-.084	.273	-.059	-.077	.233	.120	.058	.146	.233	.034	-.086	.008	.351	.546	.506																			
21. Community leader	43	-.235	-.100	-.044	-.259	.342	.098	-.035	-.105	-.260	-.022	.152	-.170	-.166	-.190	.249	-.112	-.491	-.368	-.250	-.276																		
22. Attitudes	48a	.160	.144	-.009	-.286	-.200	-.079	-.261	-.306	-.200	.097	.225	-.027	.074	.068	.319	-.007	-.198	.009	-.192	-.072	.013																	
23. Values/beliefs	48b	.052	-.245	.141	-.192	.111	.162	-.016	.050	.087	.164	-.035	-.328	-.152	-.060	.238	.132	-.084	-.043	-.262	.038	.232	.182																
24. Lifestyle	48c	.019	-.427	-.145	-.093	.029	.019	-.040	.187	.365	.054	-.231	-.222	.093	-.137	-.064	.078	-.133	.165	.218	.183	.102	.184	.304															
25. Relationship - whites	39	.092	.223	.451	.039	.020	.154	.322	.554	.251	.076	.158	.277	.110	.322	.137	.329	-.005	-.048	.099	.003	-.114	-.151	.086	-.039														
26. White attitudes	40	.269	.157	.413	-.157	.049	.094	.208	.554	.215	.343	.262	.076	-.240	.388	.198	.359	.107	.126	-.062	.033	-.124	-.026	.422	-.094	.361													
27. Career progress	30a	.272	.235	.428	.115	-.250	-.105	.074	.284	.328	.402	.395	.233	.271	.450	.388	.099	-.311	-.236	-.270	-.115	.059	.189	-.104	.356	-.010	-.044												
28. Tokenism	49	.173	.209	.267	-.283	.157	-.220	-.040	.125	.200	.319	.395	-.104	-.104	.320	.543	.333	.064	-.205	-.023	-.135	.056	.204	.221	-.143	.138	.293	.287											
29. Company sincerity	52	.038	.114	.296	.071	.273	.283	.318	-.047	.170	.261	.402	.225	.263	-.323	.458	.437	-.140	-.096	-.213	.208	.158	.206	.302	-.024	-.001	.434	.176	.281										
30. Black participation	54	-.301	-.113	-.014	.036	.003	.102	.060	-.002	.232	-.094	.018	-.009	-.378	-.192	.278	.056	-.318	-.148	-.242	-.114	.473	.200	.220	-.044	.094	.180	-.006	-.035	.244									
31. Black manager - a place	55a	-.225	-.198	.147	.050	-.208	.191	-.095	.128	.064	-.163	.148	-.249	-.217	-.122	.304	-.062	-.305	-.279	-.195	-.034	.437	.191	.299	-.020	.182	.054	.079	.159	.124	.655								
32. Black place	55b	-.295	-.159	-.023	.141	-.068	.220	.066	.023	.235	-.199	-.048	.109	-.097	.348	.041	-.272	.082	.275	.127	.298	-.026	.064	.008	-.021	.131	.316	-.091	-.133	.319	.337	.204							
33. Belongs	35	.465	.099	.621	-.288	-.096	.053	.121	-.004	.071	.400	.474	-.197	-.003	-.120	.306	.492	-.394	-.388	-.181	-.087	.229	.176	.356	.150	.406	.350	.275	.410	.205	.220	.466	-.073						
34. Reverse discrimination	51	.210	-.098	.099	.086	.181	.235	.090	.128	-.127	.223	.073	.042	-.086	.001	-.045	-.135	.207	.255	-.231	.192	.057	-.098	.200	-.179	-.145	.016	.063	-.238	-.067	.059	-.043							
35. Culture	56	.017	-.519	.007	.264	-.060	.035	.161	.073	.060	.070	-.253	.081	-.175	.380	.247	.003	.070	.125	.161	.161	.028	-.133	.181	.149	.037	.005	.221	-.042	-.030	.145	.030	-.059	-.082	.231				
36. Discrimination	47	.059	.342	.165	.156	.293	.067	.334	.239	.176	.244	.284	.093	.214	.380	.247	.328	.079	.045	.099	.084	-.072	-.200	.023	.164	.228	.190	.157	.320	.358	-.109	-.345	-.058	-.047	-.027	-.206			
37. Codes	53	.341	-.050	.026	.318	-.050	.290	.161	.104	.081	-.005	.101	.152	.171	.096	.273	.019	-.092	-.011	-.054	-.227	-.036	.198	.053	.066	.267	.041	.271	.121	.574	.150	.098	.570	-.095	-.187	.212	.132		
38. Ceiling	29b	.039	.096	.130	.159	-.197	-.083	.070	.089	.028	.014	-.012	.569	.232	.067	.058	-.143	.355	.389	.119	.248	-.266	-.152	-.218	-.031	.271	.183	.020	.100	-.024	-.030	-.075	.143	-.118	-.097	.089	-.066	.000	

NOTE: Appendix A gives the full wording of those questions referred to by number in column 2.

APPENDIX I : VARIMAX ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX OF BLACK MANAGERS' INTERVIEW DATA

Category	Question No.	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
Responsibility	19a	0,710	0,302	-0,403	-0,069	-0,039
Authority	19b	0,405	-0,067	-0,220	0,563	0,149
Initiative	20	0,711	-0,020	0,065	0,057	0,358
Remuneration	21	-0,242	0,197	0,450	0,193	0,283
Job performance	22	0,027	-0,203	-0,037	0,011	0,409
Colleagues' confidence	37a	-0,073	-0,055	0,459	-0,118	0,370
Colleagues' expectations	38a	0,209	-0,008	0,145	0,015	0,737
Effect	38b	0,119	-0,032	-0,019	0,037	0,753
Job security	34	0,198	0,252	0,226	0,410	0,068
Job satisfaction	24	0,789	0,077	-0,130	0,014	0,134
Career satisfaction	28	0,754	-0,123	-0,002	0,224	0,040
Optimistic/pessimistic	29	0,017	0,208	0,274	0,486	0,039
Promotion	30b	0,084	0,174	0,105	0,463	-0,076
Recognition	31	0,730	0,162	-0,034	0,325	0,026
Company assistance	50	0,570	-0,380	0,229	0,164	-0,130
Locus of control	36	0,608	-0,060	-0,012	0,031	0,205
Relationship - blacks	41a	-0,105	0,686	0,025	-0,005	0,021
A stooge	41b	-0,080	0,761	0,172	-0,124	-0,043
Black resentment	41c	-0,265	0,504	0,048	-0,003	0,073
Middleman	42	0,074	0,651	0,452	-0,149	-0,056
Leader	43	-0,037	-0,711	0,040	-0,228	-0,008
Attitudes	48a	0,293	0,189	0,100	-0,069	-0,617
Values/beliefs	48b	0,311	-0,178	0,206	-0,634	0,027
Lifestyle	48c	-0,250	0,129	-0,007	-0,563	-0,192
Relationship - whites	39	0,298	0,012	-0,030	0,004	0,573
White attitudes	40	0,551	0,137	0,230	-0,246	0,267
Career progress	30a	0,426	-0,221	0,118	0,467	-0,109
Tokenism	49	0,579	-0,186	0,004	0,129	-0,148
Company's sincerity	52	0,482	-0,157	0,646	0,112	0,023
Blacks' participation	54	-0,020	-0,548	0,400	-0,347	0,066
Place in industry	55a	0,082	-0,546	0,321	-0,378	-0,094
Blacks' place	55b	-0,101	0,101	0,723	-0,061	-0,095
Belonging	35	0,715	-0,317	-0,065	-0,281	0,028
Reverse discrimination	51	-0,001	0,157	-0,014	-0,232	0,228
Culture	56	-0,045	0,076	0,240	-0,319	0,092
Discrimination	47	0,271	0,066	0,138	0,411	0,403
Codes	53	0,046	-0,093	0,808	0,237	-0,177
Reached ceiling	29b	0,062	0,300	-0,196	0,029	-0,116

NOTE: Appendix A gives the full wording of those questions referred to by number in column 2.

APPENDIX J : PEARSON CORRELATION MATRIX OF BOSSES' INTERVIEW DATA

Variable Name	Question No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	
1. Remuneration	3b																																							
2. Responsibility	2a	-.187																																						
3. Authority	2b	-.369	.422																																					
4. Job performance	4	-.138	.391	.163																																				
5. Promotion deserved	16	-.041	.038	.172	.523																																			
6. Initiative	6a	-.085	.152	.181	.619	.286																																		
7. Assertiveness	6b	-.034	.292	.244	.415	.257	.289																																	
8. Autonomy	6c	-.078	.300	.244	.638	.287	.661	.470																																
9. Increased responsibility	6d	-.265	.357	.216	.506	.358	.397	.250	.423																															
10. Creativity	6e	-.164	.249	.163	.695	.543	.739	.392	.362	.374	.399																													
11. Decision-making	6f	-.156	.572	.370	.569	.307	.472	.362	.374	.399	.624	.592																												
12. Compared to whites	7	.036	.393	.051	.658	.510	.427	.273	.374	.399	.624	.592	.449																											
13. Self-confidence	9	.215	.094	-.064	.313	.250	.278	.056	.097	.275	.413	.637	.449	.310																										
14. Boss's confidence	8	-.010	.528	.310	.564	.267	.398	.516	.634	.481	.411	.631	.264	.310	.625																									
15. Dependability	6g	-.121	.649	.341	.369	.216	.186	.416	.402	.417	.172	.536	.359	.111	.448	.420																								
16. Loyalty	10a	-.128	.436	.346	.253	.160	.253	.364	.405	.227	.289	.592	.329	.159	.582	.448	.420																							
17. Belongs	10b	-.168	.141	.138	.279	.220	.193	.148	.509	.095	.208	.208	.233	-.016	.343	.295	.420																							
18. Job satisfaction	11	.239	-.051	-.031	-.208	.198	.026	-.167	-.388	-.302	-.124	-.131	-.221	-.115	-.413	-.272	-.073	-.436																						
19. Ceiling	15	.067	-.189	.114	.179	.230	.514	-.024	.028	.278	.484	.226	.141	.176	-.029	.212	.075	-.073	.155																					
20. Career satisfaction	14	.091	.229	.057	.025	-.071	.081	-.004	.213	-.244	-.027	-.006	-.005	.025	.144	.095	.150	.222	.043	-.241																				
21. Locus of control	19	.355	.231	.071	.194	-.015	.289	.437	.361	.191	.359	.103	.091	-.030	.243	.160	.332	.138	.240	.067	.408																			
22. Relationship - whites	20	.158	.230	.197	.005	.116	.159	.034	.083	.152	.053	.234	.242	.049	.113	.399	.209	.202	.041	-.050	.027	.126																		
23. Whites' attitudes	21	.240	-.281	-.151	.054	.274	-.219	.060	.244	.012	.054	.149	.278	.256	.062	.129	-.046	-.119	.048	.054	-.172	.141	.217	.059																
24. Reverse discrimination	30	.243	.008	.151	.054	.274	-.219	.060	.244	.012	.054	.149	.278	.256	.062	.129	-.046	-.119	.048	.054	-.172	.141	.217	.059	.076															
25. Window-dressing	28	-.207	-.049	.002	.338	.142	.091	.299	.051	.142	.086	.253	.317	.346	.074	-.108	.128	.046	-.030	.009	.111	-.078	-.123	-.206	.076															
26. Blacks' attitudes	22a	.394	.293	.188	.084	-.090	.077	.183	.050	.105	.107	.109	.080	-.028	.126	.287	.122	.176	.133	.134	.006	.216	.212	-.105	.069	.319														
27. Stooze	22b	.261	-.114	-.160	-.192	.000	-.202	-.234	.123	.046	.017	-.264	.058	-.184	.215	-.142	.144	-.163	.148	-.423	-.016	-.046	.276	.128	-.499	.460														
28. Community leader	24	-.300	.138	.154	.315	.356	.094	-.039	.033	.321	.033	.366	.163	.140	.239	.291	.251	.341	-.081	.098	-.006	.273	.053	-.363	.126	.200	.162													
29. Attitudes	27a	-.312	-.036	.304	.107	-.049	.275	-.053	.134	.299	.203	.269	.209	.315	.038	-.118	-.006	-.056	-.224	.362	.166	.311	.070	.387	.234	.302	.162													
30. Values and beliefs	27b	-.650	-.102	.116	-.062	-.103	-.049	.467	-.097	.241	-.280	.034	-.076	-.072	-.180	-.149	-.075	.008	.100	-.031	.059	.623	.029	-.338	.245	.116	.237													
31. Lifestyle	27c	-.237	-.123	.202	.192	.136	.340	-.157	.150	-.049	-.385	-.251	-.247	-.159	.036	-.002	-.168	.069	-.212	-.192	-.054	-.382	.136	-.159	.178	.063	.154													
32. Middleman	23	.297	-.094	-.033	.191	.221	.253	.051	.104	.117	.315	.106	.211	-.117	.058	-.070	.075	.133	.051	.121	-.231	.069	.090	.365	.034	-.260	.328	.501												
33. Discrimination	26	.409	-.350	-.268	.459	.164	-.320	-.339	.373	.421	.459	.412	-.282	-.181	.335	-.150	-.158	-.005	.314	-.130	.206	.037	.226	.184	.285	-.045	.271	.155												
34. Culture	34	.270	-.058	.027	-.007	.131	-.055	.171	.130	-.247	.193	-.131	-.026	.059	.018	-.017	-.008	.282	-.042	.084	.122	.387	-.097	.507	.246	-.318	.073	.254												
35. Sincerity	29	.066	.036	.100	.169	-.106	-.281	.004	-.182	-.086	-.277	-.296	-.105	.335	.169	.010	.152	-.014	.248	.057	.181	.221	.047	.527	.215	-.167	.140	.143												
36. Black manager's participation	32a	.214	.191	.082	.050	-.086	.113	.126	.119	.015	.152	.086	.223	.227	-.084	.191	.011	.126	.296	.228	.151	.114	.223	.197	.184	-.254	.237	.083												
37. Blacks' participation	32b	.327	.059	.159	-.099	-.203	.023	.188	.015	-.089	-.007	-.216	-.012	.192	-.026	-.109	.065	-.269	.259	-.085	.018	.315	.200	.480	.062	.030	-.016	.042												
38. Blacks' place	33	.434	.141	.121	.037	-.136	.031	.035	.047	-.021	.120	-.092	.309	.001	-.068	.046	-.032	-.101	.022	-.116	.238	.333	.239	.181	.008	-.050	.319	.267												
39. Codes of conduct	31	.418	-.123	-.021	-.179	-.099	-.127	-.009	-.047	-.120	-.077	-.107	-.011	.015	-.011	-.151	.235	-.089	.236	.057	.194	.319	.177	.279	.270	.178	.310	.111												

NOTE: Appendix A gives the full wording of those questions referred to by number in column 2.

APPENDIX K : VARIMAX ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX OF BOSSES' INTERVIEW DATA
(PHASE I)

Question no. on schedule	Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
3b	Salary/perks	0,020	0,727	-0,158
2a	Responsibility	0,132	-0,016	0,721
2b	Authority	0,169	-0,171	0,420
4	Job performance	0,707	-0,043	0,431
16	Promotion	0,545	-0,010	0,170
6a	Initiative	0,738	0,092	0,210
6b	Assertiveness	0,296	0,181	0,518
6c	Autonomy	0,467	0,037	0,566
6d	Increased responsibility	0,566	-0,213	0,287
6e	Innovation	0,866	0,239	0,206
6f	Decision-making	0,593	-0,186	0,565
7	Compared to whites	0,659	0,102	0,316
9	Self-confidence	0,513	-0,115	0,087
8	Boss's confidence	0,330	-0,040	0,758
6g	Dependability	0,114	-0,036	0,797
10a	Commitment	0,155	0,056	0,690
10b	Belongs	0,093	-0,032	0,491
11	Job satisfaction	-0,185	0,291	-0,237
15	Job ceiling	0,584	0,132	-0,296
14	Career satisfaction	-0,294	0,075	0,441
19	Locus of control	0,026	0,628	0,414
20	Relationship - whites	-0,033	0,182	0,358
21	Whites' attitudes	-0,226	0,600	-0,113
30	Reverse discrimination	0,029	0,228	0,008
28	Window-dressing	0,207	-0,313	0,101
22a	Blacks' attitudes	0,029	0,402	0,196
22b	Stooge	0,030	0,434	-0,294
24	Community leader	0,151	-0,432	0,287
27a	Attitudes	0,472	-0,472	-0,194
27b	Values/beliefs	-0,067	-0,737	-0,157
27c	Lifestyle	-0,363	-0,399	-0,028
23	Middleman	0,328	0,523	-0,181
26	Discrimination	-0,570	0,293	-0,135
34	Culture	0,036	0,556	0,021
29	Sincerity of company	-0,383	0,460	0,080
32a	Participation	0,122	0,497	-0,005
32b	Blacks' participation	-0,147	0,608	0,011
33	Blacks' place	0,004	0,562	0,078
31	Codes of conduct	-0,227	0,490	0,064
	EIGENVALUE	7,69	5,32	2,98
	PCT OF VARIANCE	19,7	13,6	7,6
	CUM PCT	19,7	33,4	41,0

NOTE: Appendix C gives the full wording of those questions referred to by number in column 1.

APPENDIX L : LIST OF QUESTIONS ASKED IN PHASE I TO ALL FOUR GROUPS OF
SUBJECTS (i.e. THE BLACK MANAGERS, BOSSES, PEERS AND
SUBORDINATES)

NOTE: Euclidean distance measures were calculated from the informants' answers to these questions.

1. Black manager's predecessor.
2. Does the black manager have responsibility in his job?
3. Does the black manager possess authority in his job?
4. How does the black manager's salary and fringe benefits compare with those of white counterparts or alternatively to his predecessor?
5. Evaluation of black manager's job performance.
6. Does the black manager use his initiative?
7. Does the black manager's colleagues have confidence in him?
8. Does the black manager possess self-confidence?
9. Is the black manager satisfied with his job?
10. What does the black manager like about his job?
11. What does the black manager dislike about his job?
12. Is the black manager satisfied with his career path?
13. Has the black manager reached a ceiling job-wise in the company?
14. Does the black manager deserve further promotion at present?
15. Estimation of the position the black manager will hold in :
 - (a) five years time
 - (b) ten years time
 - (c) fifteen years time
16. Estimation of the number of years before the black manager will reach senior management.
17. Black manager's relationship with whites in the firm.
18. White employees' attitudes to black job advancement.
19. Black manager's relationship with blacks in the firm.
20. Do they regard the black manager as a white man's mouthpiece?
21. Does the black manager feel like a middleman?
22. Is the black manager regarded as a community leader as a result of the job he holds?
23. Has the black manager's job changed his:
 - (a) attitudes
 - (b) values and beliefs
 - (c) lifestyle?
24. Is there token advancement of blacks in your company?

25. How genuine does the black manager feel management is, in terms of black job advancement?
26. Can blacks meaningfully participate in South Africa's economy, given the present situation?
27. Do blacks in general feel that they have a place in industry?
28. Does the black manager feel that he belongs in the company?
29. Is the black manager discriminated against?
30. What problems has the black manager encountered?
31. Does reverse discrimination occur in the company?
32. Do cultural differences between black and white employees cause a problem?

APPENDIX M : COMMON ELEMENTS CORRELATION MATRIX OF 34 BLACK MANAGERS (WITH RESPECT TO THEIR SENTENCE COMPLETIONS)

Subject	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
1																																	
2	,315																																
3	,315	,444																															
4	,454	,343	,400																														
5	,368	,162	,270	,389																													
6	,179	,264	,316	,380	,308																												
7	,200	,354	,471	,182	,287	,280																											
8	,179	,316	,422	,271	,205	,150	,391																										
9	,267	,354	,530	,424	,459	,224	,500	,224																									
10	,194	,343	,386	,235	,111	,108	,424	,271	,364																								
11	,189	,167	,222	,343	,379	,264	,236	,158	,412	,114																							
12	,259	,286	,229	,412	,278	,434	,424	,108	,303	,235	,114																						
13	,315	,167	,333	,229	,324	,316	,236	,053	,354	,171	,444	,286																					
14	,060	,211	,158	,217	,154	,300	,280	,250	,168	,163	,211	,380	,211																				
15	,179	,211	,264	,434	,205	,300	,224	,350	,335	,271	,474	,217	,105	,150																			
16	,414	,243	,243	,376	,415	,231	,581	,289	,516	,313	,243	,250	,304	,173	,115																		
17	,378	,222	,278	,457	,324	,264	,236	,105	,412	,343	,278	,229	,222	,264	,158	,426																	
18	,239	,422	,264	,488	,359	,250	,447	,400	,335	,380	,211	,325	,211	,250	,150	,520	,527																
19	,189	,273	,389	,343	,270	,369	,471	,158	,412	,400	,273	,629	,444	,316	,211	,304	,333	,316															
20	,478	,211	,264	,434	,154	,100	,056	,200	,224	,163	,211	,217	,264	,100	,250	,346	,474	,350	,211														
21	,143	,315	,441	,389	,245	,359	,468	,359	,334	,324	,315	,519	,441	,359	,359	,345	,504	,418	,567	,299													
22	,126	,333	,444	,229	,433	,264	,471	,316	,530	,343	,389	,457	,333	,158	,316	,365	,278	,369	,556	,158	,378												
23	,378	,278	,222	,400	,216	,369	,236	,158	,471	,343	,333	,457	,333	,211	,474	,243	,222	,264	,222	,211	,504	,278											
24	,324	,400	,400	,471	,278	,325	,424	,217	,485	,471	,229	,353	,343	,271	,271	,376	,572	,542	,457	,325	,519	,286	,400										
25	,368	,487	,379	,445	,263	,308	,229	,205	,287	,278	,270	,223	,433	,205	,154	,296	,270	,513	,270	,256	,245	,379	,162	,445									
26	,120	,316	,211	,217	,256	,350	,447	,350	,280	,217	,105	,271	,211	,350	,200	,231	,211	,350	,158	,000	,359	,264	,316	,271	,103								
27	,334	,177	,412	,606	,459	,503	,250	,224	,563	,243	,354	,546	,412	,391	,280	,258	,471	,447	,412	,280	,735	,295	,589	,546	,287	,391							
28	,179	,422	,264	,325	,256	,100	,280	,050	,615	,217	,369	,217	,264	,150	,200	,289	,316	,200	,211	,100	,299	,369	,264	,271	,308	,300	,391						
29	,275	,365	,548	,626	,296	,289	,387	,346	,258	,375	,304	,376	,243	,462	,231	,467	,487	,577	,487	,404	,485	,365	,183	,376	,355	,346	,323	,115					
30	,441	,389	,167	,457	,270	,264	,236	,105	,236	,229	,333	,629	,278	,211	,316	,304	,333	,369	,389	,422	,441	,389	,333	,343	,324	,211	,412	,422	,426				
31	,126	,278	,556	,400	,487	,369	,471	,315	,471	,514	,222	,400	,389	,211	,316	,426	,444	,422	,500	,316	,630	,500	,278	,514	,379	,264	,412	,264	,487	,389			
32	,324	,114	,171	,176	,167	,217	,182	,163	,182	,059	,286	,118	,229	,325	,163	,125	,229	,163	,114	,325	,259	,171	,114	,059	,223	,217	,303	,217	,250	,114	,171		
33	,315	,389	,500	,457	,324	,369	,412	,264	,471	,229	,056	,572	,167	,369	,211	,304	,333	,369	,444	,316	,441	,389	,333	,457	,324	,211	,648	,211	,426	,333	,389	,343	
34	,418	,369	,474	,434	,308	,100	,280	,250	,559	,434	,105	,271	,211	,150	,250	,404	,422	,450	,369	,350	,418	,422	,264	,434	,410	,150	,280	,250	,462	,316	,474	,217	,422

APPENDIX N : PEARSON CORRELATION MATRIX OF BLACK MANAGERS' PHASE II INTERVIEW DATA

Variable Name	* Question No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. Received promotion	1																	
2. Responsibility	3	,389																
3. Authority	4	,336	,736															
4. Relationship - colleagues	8	-,095	-,071	-,115														
5. Relationship - boss	9	-,019	-,067	-,249	,240													
6. General relationship	10	,022	,131	,297	,315	,147												
7. Job satisfaction	11	,131	,459	,524	,264	-,125	,487											
8. Amount of stress	12	-,203	,029	,263	-,087	-,116	-,012	,091										
9. Chats - colleagues	23	,141	-,132	-,191	,005	,313	,373	-,034	-,185									
10. Chats - boss	27	,249	,098	,079	-,042	,377	,238	,096	-,165	,545								
11. Mentor	30a	-,078	,155	-,022	,161	,182	,103	,330	-,266	,267	,107							
12. Chats - outside company	31	,144	,133	-,059	-,230	-,035	,018	,150	-,003	-,035	,040	,148						
13. Chats - family/friends	32	,280	,278	,162	-,055	-,262	,034	,352	-,249	,014	,141	,402	,402					
14. Supportive colleagues	24	,038	-,045	,025	,404	,324	,242	,122	-,146	,275	,102	,114	-,066	,154				
15. Supportive boss	28	,073	,121	,109	,040	,093	,363	,020	,009	,339	,645	-,061	,197	,095	,046			
16. Personal chats	26a	,434	-,068	-,069	-,199	,140	,024	,055	-,266	,427	,344	,218	,246	,395	,326	,036		
17. Blacks' stress (in company)	13	,240	,046	,237	,189	-,190	,031	,112	,178	,083	,296	-,023	,142	,183	-,110	,126	,029	
18. Stress outside company	14	-,359	-,146	-,150	,294	-,119	-,001	-,107	-,248	,071	,024	,338	-,062	,055	-,144	,198	-,211	,227

NOTE: Appendix D gives the full wording of those questions referred to by number in column 2.

APPENDIX 0 : PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS: CORRELATION BETWEEN THE
"FREQUENCY" AND "INTENSITY" RESPONSES FOR EACH STRESS
INDICATOR ITEM (n = 40)

Item Number	Correlation between Frequency and Intensity
1	0,405
2	0,479
3	0,665
4	0,524
5	0,555
6	0,757
7	0,768
8	0,688
9	0,731
10	0,676
11	0,587
12	0,870
13	0,929
14	0,550
15	0,855
16	0,633
17	0,888
18	0,528
19	0,242
20	0,800
21	0,837
22	0,455
23	0,896
24	0,762
25	0,807
26	0,312
27	0,731
28	0,652
29	0,719
30	0,625
31	0,501
32	0,779
33	0,587
34	0,741
35	0,507
36	0,791
37	0,796
38	0,766
39	0,887
40	0,762

NOTE: Section D of Appendix D gives the full wording of those statements referred to by number in column 1.

**APPENDIX P : RELIABILITY ANALYSIS, MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE FINAL SET OF 26 COMBINED
FREQUENCY/INTENSITY STRESS INDICATOR ITEMS (ITEM - TOTAL STATISTICS)**

Item number from Stress Indicator	Corrected item - total correlations	Squared multiple correlations	Alpha if item deleted	Means	Standard Deviations
1	0,517	0,966	0,880	5,42	1,96
2	0,518	0,870	0,880	5,48	2,35
4	0,530	0,968	0,881	3,71	1,74
5	0,550	0,833	0,880	6,10	1,66
11	0,322	0,773	0,885	6,19	2,36
14	0,493	0,784	0,881	4,42	2,32
26	0,548	0,817	0,879	4,77	2,16
31	0,349	0,906	0,884	4,52	2,36
35	0,459	0,865	0,882	4,26	2,07
6	0,329	0,858	0,885	4,42	2,39
8	0,456	0,869	0,882	3,84	2,25
9	0,344	0,830	0,884	4,06	2,43
10	0,473	0,915	0,881	4,58	2,09
12	0,494	0,864	0,881	4,67	2,66
15	0,445	0,932	0,882	6,19	2,60
21	0,433	0,891	0,882	4,42	2,35
24	0,348	0,834	0,884	3,23	1,98
27	0,471	0,926	0,881	5,19	2,72
28	0,496	0,829	0,881	4,52	1,98
29	0,425	0,887	0,882	3,32	1,68
30	0,381	0,752	0,883	4,61	2,43
32	0,489	0,901	0,881	4,90	2,37
34	0,503	0,842	0,880	5,10	2,39
36	0,365	0,851	0,884	5,52	2,68
37	0,599	0,913	0,878	4,42	2,39
38	0,543	0,913	0,879	4,84	2,42

APPENDIX Q : DISCRIMINANT SCORES OF BLACK MANAGERS CLASSIFIED INTO SMALL
BLACK MANAGER-BOSS PERCEPTUAL DISCREPANCIES (GROUP 1) AND
LARGE BLACK MANAGER-BOSS PERCEPTUAL DIFFERENCES (GROUP 2)

Subject	Actual Group	Discriminant Scores
1	1	-3,430
2	1	-3,084
3	1	-4,035
4	2	4,841
5	2	4,053
6	1	-5,408
7	1	-3,562
8	1	-2,549
9	1	-3,353
10	2	4,428
11	1	-3,417
12	2	3,821
13	2	4,393
14	1	-1,493
15	2	4,871
16	1	-3,395
17	2	3,059
18	1	-2,877
19	2	3,638
20	1	-4,174
21	1	-4,096
22	2	4,775
23	1	-4,052
24	2	-1,089
25	2	3,781
26	2	4,201
27	1	3,323
28	1	3,067
29	2	1,682
30	2	5,872
31	1	-3,656

APPENDIX R : DISCRIMINANT SCORES OF BLACK MANAGERS CLASSIFIED INTO
TYPE I (GROUP 1) AND TYPE II (GROUP 2)

Subject	Actual Group	Discriminant Scores
1	1	-4,125
2	1	-5,311
3	1	-5,391
4	1	-5,598
5	2	5,466
6	2	3,565
7	1	-5,331
8	1	-5,318
9	1	-4,637
10	1	-4,837
11	2	3,234
12	2	5,273
13	2	3,606
14	2	4,584
15	2	4,749
16	1	-5,354
17	1	-4,272
18	1	-4,762
19	2	5,289
20	1	-3,339
21	2	5,406
22	2	5,551
23	2	5,410
24	1	-4,330
25	2	4,786
26	2	4,378
27	1	-3,406
28	2	4,792
29	1	-4,459
30	2	5,231
31	1	-0,850

APPENDIX S : DISCRIMINANT SCORES OF BLACK MANAGERS CLASSIFIED INTO
JUNIOR MANAGEMENT (GROUP 1) AND MIDDLE MANAGEMENT (GROUP 2)

Subject	Actual Group	Discriminant Scores
1	1	-3,024
2	1	-1,710
3	1	-2,585
4	1	-1,820
5	1	-3,395
6	2	5,778
7	2	5,003
8	2	4,936
9	1	-3,234
10	1	-2,678
11	1	-1,379
12	2	3,977
13	1	-1,432
14	1	-2,138
15	1	-2,749
16	1	-2,255
17	2	3,870
18	Ungrouped	-15,155
19	1	-3,085
20	2	3,196
21	2	3,245
22	1	-3,175
23	1	-2,856
24	2	4,495
25	2	4,275
26	1	-2,973
27	1	-3,423
28	2	4,340
29	1	-3,483
30	2	4,556
31	2	0,825

APPENDIX T : DISCRIMINANT SCORES OF BLACK MANAGERS CLASSIFIED INTO STAFF
FUNCTIONS (GROUP 1) AND LINE POSITIONS (GROUP 2)

Subject	Actual Group	Discriminant Scores
1	1	-3,686
2	1	-3,698
3	1	-3,563
4	2	6,411
5	1	-2,568
6	1	-2,137
7	2	7,765
8	1	-4,717
9	1	-2,939
10	1	-3,552
11	1	-3,433
12	1	-3,024
13	1	-3,361
14	1	-4,908
15	2	7,353
16	1	-2,713
17	1	-1,829
18	1	-2,446
19	1	-2,429
20	1	-2,842
21	1	-0,836
22	1	-3,686
23	2	5,464
24	2	6,611
25	2	7,967
26	1	-2,334
27	1	-2,152
28	2	7,200
29	2	9,080
30	2	6,480
31	1	-1,471

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