

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE
PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES OF WOMEN
IN SOCIAL WORK MANAGEMENT**

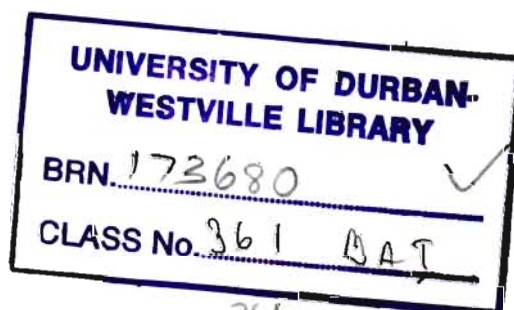
by

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in fulfilment of the requirements
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DEDICATION

TO MY MOTHER-

THE FIRST "SUPERWOMAN" I KNEW-

WHO TRIES TO BE ALL THINGS TO ALL PEOPLE.

WITH LOVE

I've had enough

I'm sick of seeing and touching

Both sides of things

Sick of being the damn bridge for everybody...

... I must be the bridge to nowhere

But my true self

And then

I will be useful.

From The politics of women's oppression

Donna Kate Rushin

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this research project was to explore the experiences of black and white women managers who are employed in private and public social work settings. The major stressors and challenges which women managers experienced in the workplace and in the home were explored. The ways in which women coped with the pressures were identified. Supports and obstacles which affected women's career paths were reflected in the study.

The literature study revealed that social work is a traditionally female occupation run by women for predominantly women clients. The profession has a caring ethos and a commitment to equal treatment. Social work managers are promoted from the ranks and it is significant that they are principally white and male (Burden and Gottlieb, 1986,p.5). Studies in Canada, Britain and in America reveal the effects of gender stereotyping. Firstly that the concept of management is defined in terms of male characteristics. Secondly that in seeking promotion women are subject to discrimination. Thirdly that a different set of barriers exist when they advance into management.

The literature as it exists reflects a white female perspective and there is a failure to address the discrete experiences which black women face. The literature has been built up largely in western countries and as such reflects the beliefs which

prevail in the host countries.

This empirical study used a feminist qualitative methodology to generate new information about women as managers in social work settings. The design is a descriptive one which seeks to understand a universe about which there is limited information. A sample of sixty women managers in the cities of Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg were interviewed using a semi structured interview schedule. Women managers from different racial groups, agencies and tiers of management were represented in the sample.

The empirical study demonstrated that one of the main pressures was the manager's own expectations. Women managers exhibited the "superwoman syndrome" in attempting to perform perfectly the multiple and conflicting roles of manager, wife, mother and friend. The findings also demonstrated that the main sources of support which included family members, community involvement and workplace colleagues, were also the main sources of pressure for the managers. Few of the managers had formal management qualifications and management training has only recently been placed on the social work agenda.

Women managers were found to manage differently to men- but they were no less effective. These managers invested time in building up good collaborative relationships with staff and through these relationships the goals of the organisation were accomplished. The style which the managers described resembled closely the transformational style of management and it is one which is well suited to managing in the current turbulent environment.

There were few black women in management positions and they appeared to be recruited mainly to middle management positions. They were highly visible, on the periphery, suffered performance pressure and had few supports.

The researcher had made recommendations for the recruitment of more black managers to permeate all levels of management. Another recommendation was for increased training and other development programmes. The creation of mentoring, sponsorship and networks to assist managers in their career development is presented as another necessary requirement.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

Social work aims to promote human welfare through the alleviation of suffering. Its particular focus has been with human problems of living and the manifestations of this concern have differed over the years for various reasons. Early social work programmes dealt principally with the problem of economic insecurity (Miringoff, 1980, p.2). Since that time the social welfare apparatus has dramatically expanded to confront a variety of emerging social problems.

Management as it is applied to social work, facilitates the functioning and the operation of the organisation. It achieves far more than the optimum use of resources; it ensures that the agency provides good quality services which enhance the benefits to society (Miringoff,1980,p.21).

From the period of social work's emergence as a vocation, remarkable women leaders have been involved in designing and administering programmes in settlements, health settings and in agencies providing services for families and children (Beagley, 1986,p.i). Leading theoreticians have also been female. Today, social work is still a traditionally female occupation. Women comprise the majority of carers, receptionists, secretaries and domestics. It is predominantly women who use these services (Beagley, 1986,p.i).

Social work writings and management texts have until recently, omitted or given only fleeting attention to managerial issues and problems as they affect women.

Current international literature on gender inequity in the social work profession confirms that women are the operational workforce and that men are the managers. Social work publications recognise that women have pioneered the field of social work. A less appreciated trend is the one which shows that women initiate new programmes areas only to be replaced by males in the leadership positions. Research studies internationally support this position (Foster (1987); Dinnage (1990); Coulshed (1992)).

Multiple explanations exist which reflect the reasons for the glass ceiling over women's aspirations which allows them to see where they might go but stops them from getting there (SSI report, 1991, p1). Three critical themes which are now being given attention relate to women's socialisation and male management styles; the difficulties with entry into management and the organisational barriers that act as impediments once promotion to management has been gained,

(Quartey 1990, p16-18). Brief discussion on these three types of discrimination follows:

A primary theme deals with socialisation and the gendering of work. The European Economic Community (E.E.C.) Project (1991, p.2) records that management is concerned with male qualities of functionality, rationality and instrumentality. The report claims that the few women in top management positions have had male management models of success and they have generally had to adapt to male defined positions. Popplestone writing in Britain (1981,p.15), submits that management is not a neutral activity. She claims that within the social work context it is not simply a matter of male predominance, but of male culture that women are expected to adopt. Rosener (1990,p.119) in an article on women managers in America, states that the first women managers who have become successful managers, have emulated many of the rules of conduct that spelled success for men. Other writers recognise that women in management are exceptions and that when women reflect characteristics of leadership they are viewed as "unfeminine" and deviant (Hanmer & Statham (1988, p.107); Lockley & Fawcett 1989, p.vi). Consequently they have to learn to manage the conflicting status of woman and manager.

According to Rosener (1990,p.119), there is a different trend emerging now. A second wave of women is making their way into top management, by not adopting the styles and habits that have proved successful for men but by drawing on the skills and attitudes they developed from their own shared experience as women

(Rosener, 1990,p.119). Billiard & Smale (1992, p.70) concur that women are using the unique aspects of their socialisation, which until now have been perceived in a pejorative sense, to achieve results in a positive way . A recent study of women managers carried out by Marshall (1985) underscores Rosener's contention. Marshall (1985,p.17) concludes that women tend to adopt a more democratic and friendly style of management which is open to change and to collaborative work. However, there tends to be a degree of discomfort in wielding power over others (Woo 1985, p.285).

The second theme is concerned with the discriminatory practices which affect the advancement of women into the echelons of management. The E.E.C.Project (1991,p.2) indicates that women are under-represented in management positions. Early explanations for the lack of women in management positions focus on the inadequacies of the individual. Podmore and Spencer (1987,p.21) attribute the under-representation of women in managerial jobs to a variety of discriminatory practices which are based on notions that women are lacking in responsibility, are unwilling to take risks, are less career orientated than men and are motivated by a desire to please. Armstrong (1982,p.10) points to the lack of qualifications, skills and inappropriate attitudes as reasons for women's slow progression into management. There is also the persistent belief that men should be the sole breadwinners (Austin, 1988,p.552).

More recent explanations focus on the external organisational barriers which operate around recruitment and promotion decisions.

Hanmer & Statham (1988, p103) state that in recruitment where men have a vested interest, access for women has been prejudiced. They state that where positions require ability, stability and mobility, women are less attractive candidates because it is assumed that they have domestic and family commitments. A number of studies report that discriminatory practices against women in relation to salaries, promotions, job opportunities and task allocations have occurred even when variables such as qualification, length of service, tenure, family commitments, family status and job mobility are controlled (Haynes 1989, p.3; Grant 1987, p.227 and Over & Lancaster 1984 p.309). It is further submitted that many women do not reach top management positions because they do not have the prior experience at middle management level (E.E.C. Report, 1991,p.3). The overall result is that there is a paucity of women in top management and this means that there are few female role models and mentors available to women who aspire to management (Haynes, 1989,p.3).

The third theme deals with the different set of issues that confront women managers once they have been promoted. Although there is now more receptivity to managers from stigmatised groups, there is a growing body of literature on the unique problems that these individuals face in working with staff, with managing scarce resources and in developing decision making styles (Vargus 1980,p.217).

The lack of mentoring, networking, career planning and the play of power politics contribute considerably to the difficulties which women face as managers and impact negatively on their career progression (Rothwell & Crosier p.16-18,1984).

2. MOTIVATION

South Africa is a society in transition. De V. Smit (1990, p.306) cautions that:

"South Africa is experiencing turbulent times and unless the old order of providing social work services changes in concert with the anticipated social, political and economic changes, it will not survive, or worse, it will be ineffective. Change and survival will depend largely on the degree to which social work managers can give direction to future activities..."

Smit (1990,p.306) recognises that the ability of the profession to make a worthwhile contribution in a changing South Africa depends on whether it can engage successfully in remedial action which will serve existing and emerging needs and with the increasing demands that will be made on the service. Social work managers have to equip themselves with the necessary skills and knowledge for the central role which they will have to play in influencing the way that organisations operate and in the kinds of services which are delivered.

Management theories have had an important impact on the practice of social work management. Traditionally the theories which inform social work development have been developed largely against the background of western society. As such the literature reflects the experience, beliefs and values that prevail in the western environment (Filella,1981,p.48).

Drawing on Patti (1983), De V. Smit (1990, p.288) submits that internationally, the theory of administration is marked by weak explanatory models, insubstantial empirical research which describes and evaluates practice, and by a lack of codes of conduct for practitioners.

The difficulty which De V.Smit (1990,p.306) foresees, lies in adapting a poorly systematised body of knowledge to an already complicated situation, as exists in South Africa. De V. Smit (1990, p.306) postulates that the main concern does not lie with the theories, but with the manner in which the knowledge is translated into action within specific indigenous environments. Roxas (in Filella, 1981,p.2) distinguishes three elements in his studies, which form essential ingredients in the indigenisation process. Firstly, there is the psychological structure, the consciousness which makes the manager a member of a particular community. Secondly, influences also arise from the paradigms, values, views and problems of the society. Thirdly, the technical preparation, expertise and technology has a discrete impact on the indigenisation process. The first two elements make the manager indigenous and the third makes the manager professional (Roxas, 1981,p.2). The analytical and operational tools of management may remain the same over countries, but it is the delicate balance between the pre-requisites of management, the communal organisation, available resources and the environment which provides the comprehensive picture and the variation between countries. It is an appropriate time in South Africa to generate indigenous knowledge for a variety of reasons. The more relevant ones are discussed seriatim.

South Africa has both first and third world economies and welfare services are provided by the public and private sectors (De V. Smit 1990,p.307). The residual welfare model which operates in South Africa differs from the welfare state model of developed countries and this is likely to impact on social work provision and on

the management of social work services (De V. Smit 1990,p.307).

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Social work managers deal almost entirely with immediate pressures and this leads Conway (1993,p.23) to refer to them as "now managers". These front line managers are "exposed managers" whose staff are working under considerable and constant strain in a system which largely ignores success but rapidly criticises and punishes failure (Conway, 1993,p.23). Frontline managers in South Africa are operating under considerable stress since bombardment rates are likely to be high because of the widespread poverty and the lack of resources to alleviate the plight of the needy.

Haynes (1989,p.ix) writes that social work is a profession that encourages self awareness and self critique. It is also future orientated and embraces change. The ideals of social work embraces notions of well-being, self determination, liberty and equality which encourages the nourishment of individuals and the strive towards justice. In the past, the social work profession in South Africa has not fully embraced controversial issues such as injustice and discrimination. Any serious attempt to respond to these challenges, will require that effective means become available to recognise the damage that discrimination causes and the ways in which existing oppression is sustained. Intense introspection will be a necessary pre-requisite to begin to identify the ideologies, structures and practices which are oppressive and to change them.

It is also the overwhelming presence of women in social work that makes it essential for the needs of women to be addressed within the context of women and management. It is, therefore, a requirement for good management practice that women are provided the knowledge, supports and infrastructure with which they will fulfil the challenges of the leadership roles which they will be required to occupy.

Internationally, there are now some studies emerging about women managers in social work, but there remains a dearth of literature on the position of black women as managers. It is crucial to recognise that women as workers are not a monolithic group. The available information, therefore, cannot be generalised to women who additionally belong to other stigmatised groups. Prevailing accounts show that in societies where racism, sexism and classism coalesce, black women encounter additional obstructions and are less likely to be encouraged to apply for promotion (Grambs, 1987, p.47; Ranger, 1988, p.12). It is, therefore, of critical importance that any study about women in management addresses the different experiences of white and black women in gaining promotion to management.

The discussion should sensitise all managers to the valuable roles, conflicts and contributions of stigmatised individuals. It should also serve as a basis for the construction of a model for equal opportunity employment and for informing future policy.

3. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

There is serious under-representation of women in management positions throughout industrial, commercial and public sectors (E.E.C. Report, 1991,p.2). Studies in Britain show that the female workforce increased from 32,2% in 1961 to 39,5% in 1981, but that only 13% of managers were women (Cooper & Davidson, 1977,p.17). Research in South Africa reveals that in 1984, 39,5% of women were economically active, an increase of 15,5% from 1960, but only 17,4% of managerial posts are held by women (Erwee, 1992, p.3).

The statistics in 1986 in the U.K. showed that over 60% of social workers were female, while women held less than 40% of middle management posts (Nice,1988,p.65). During 1987, women held only 12 of the 132 Director's posts (Foster, 1988, p2). Zunz (1991,p.39) quoting from studies by Austin (1988), Fortune & Hanks (1988) indicates that in the late 1980s men continue to hold two thirds of the managerial jobs. The membership statistics of the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) confirms this trend (Zunz,1991,p.39).

Prior to 1986, there was no statistical information on the promotion of black people to management positions. Statistics in the U.K. reveal that since 1986, three black male directors have been appointed to public social work departments but there are still no black women directors (Foster,1988,p.13). Schiele (1992,p.45) using the American Council on Social Work Education's Annual Report which compares representation of the sexes by ethnicity, comments that generally minority men tend to hold higher ranks than minority women.

Schiele (1992,p.45) ascribes this trend to the increasing attention which has been paid to the plight of Afro-American men. Progress in terms of promotion has therefore been minimal for black people, despite the implementation of equal employment opportunity initiatives in these countries. As yet there are no comparable statistics for social work management in South Africa, hence this particular study is of relevance.

4. CONCEPTUALISATION

The need for social care is a complex one which is not easily defined or described (Brown, 1975,p.115). The acceptance that individuals, families and communities need care because they have problems with which they cannot deal, provides the focus for the organisation of social work services. Miringoff (1980,p.4) writes that:

"social welfare institutions are the sum total of the resources, policies, programs and technical knowledge devoted by society to welfare".

Delivery organisations are designed in one of two ways; first as the deliverer of one type of service inter alia child care services, mental health agencies and services for the aged. The second kind of service is provided to all categories of recipients (Miringoff, 1980,p.4). Services are delivered by a range of organisations which include public, private, voluntary, community based and grassroots organisations. The mix of public and private organisations determines whether the national welfare system is classified as an institutional or as a residual system. South Africa has a residual system which comprises a contracted state sector and a large private voluntary sector.

The humanitarian intent of society is translated into effective programmes at the organisational level. The organisation interfaces with its public through its programmes and through the several groupings of personnel employed within these organisations (Miringoff, 1980,p.4). These staff include social workers, managers, support and clerical staff (Miringoff, 1980,p.4).^{Intro} The social work services are managed by a hierarchy of line managers, some of whom are responsible principally for the day to day functioning of the organisation and others further up the hierarchy who have prime responsibility for policy making. It is the group which performs the managerial tasks that is the subject of this study.

Accumulating evidence shows that while it seems easy enough for women to gain employment on the lower rungs of the career ladder, they experience more difficulty than their male counterparts in obtaining promotion (Podmore and Spencer, 1987,p.21). The issues for women who enter the management sphere are complex and they include organisational barriers, assumptions about socialisation and about domestic and family commitments, lack of available mentors and networks and difficulties with the planning of career strategies.

The employment profile that is mirrored, indicates that there is an under-representation of women in management positions. Important explanations for the different roles of men and women in social work can be arrived at by examining the history of social work and social work management. There are indications that in the 1940s when social work was concerned about its professional image, an attempt was made to recruit men into the profession.

With the establishment of large public social work departments in the 1950s, the caring activity became separated from the management of organisations (Haynes, 1989,p.4). The roles of women as the grassroots workforce and men as the managers became more crystallised.

Vargus (1980, p.200-201) makes reference to the model of individual behaviour and the structural organisational model which were used to explain the entrenchment of men in management positions. It is notable that the early theories on women in management concentrate on the first model which subsumes writing on character, temperament and sex role differences. Contemporary writers focus more on the structural and situational constraints to career development.

Theoretical contributions to the model of individual behaviour emanate principally from the fields of sociology, biology and psychology and are used to assess whether these sex-role assumptions are normal and natural or inculcated through socialisation. Marshall (1984,p.13) explores the stereotypes which are present in the early theories about women in management. These stereotypes are based on mainly negative rules emanating from tradition and bias which have been stable in many societies over time. Podmore & Spencer (1987,p.21) and Haynes (1989,p.5) posit that these beliefs are perpetuated from birth by the way in which children are raised. According to these beliefs socialisation is likely to emphasise feminine traits such as nurturance, passivity, caring, dependence and outer directedness.

Pinkstaff & Wilkinson (1979, p1) submit that these perceptions determine the self concept of the individual; it prescribes "who you think you are". Haynes (1989,p.5) states that as a result of the above assumptions, women are likely to be protected from exposure and risk taking and they will consequently have less opportunity for team play as well as for learning leadership roles.

Marshall (1984,p.13) asserts that sex role stereotypes which are active in the workplace are social creations which give meaning to biology. These sex-role conceptions in turn, are responsible for the noteworthy stereotypes which Marshall (1984,p.13-41) identifies as follows:

- ◆ women are different from men;
- ◆ women do not have the same motivations towards work as men do;
- ◆ when women work their families suffer;
- ◆ employers believe the stereotypes too and will not employ them;
- ◆ women believe the stereotypes and behave accordingly; and
- ◆ other people believe the stereotypes and make women's lives difficult.

Vargus (1980,p.200) drawing on O'Leary's comprehensive review of the barriers to occupational aspirations posits that assumptions about the perceived value of males and females are a source for the negative attitudes towards women in management, the prevalence of the male managerial model and the attitudes towards female competence. Studies aimed at assessing the potential of men and women for leadership have linked managerial styles with traits, behaviour, group processes and with leader behaviour.

The findings show that it is the male rather than the female sex stereotype which co-incides with the managerial model has been borne out by the studies of Schein (1973), Massagill and Di Marco (1979), Powell (1988). Haynes (1989,p.7) acknowledges that gender differences exist in communication patterns and managerial styles and she urges for studies of these managerial styles and their impact on superiors, colleagues and subordinates to be carried out.

There is presently a growing movement away from earlier assumptions justifying natural ascendancy for men towards an appreciation of the ways in which structural and situational factors inhibit the development of women as managers. Moss Kanter (1977) and Burden & Gottlieb (1987) outline some of the formal and informal barriers which restrict women's advancement. Organisational barriers may be located in the formal organisational structure and in the attitudes and behaviour of others and these present not only as barriers to managerial positions, but also as formidable impediments on promotion. Formal barriers have been found to exist in relation to job qualifications, recruitment and promotion. In order to understand organisational dynamics, the part played by the informal network has to be appreciated. A network is a chain of interconnected people and networking involves individuals getting together to benefit themselves. At one level the network is a social formation of relationships, but it can also act as a powerful channel which supplements, undermines and sometimes completely contradicts official structures (Haynes, 1989, p52). These informal channels are thus important for transmitting information and provide a vehicle for coping with uncertainty, a decision making forum and a carrier of feedback.

By blocking women off from informal networks, they are also blocked off from important mechanisms which could impact positively on their careers. These include mentoring, role models and networking. Haynes (1989,p.6) writes that the proportion of women in the higher echelons of management is small and so few women have access to managerial women as mentors. Much of the literature on mentoring suggests that successful men have had mentors. These mentors show protegees the ropes, the informal rules and the strategy to succeed.

Networking also occurs outside of organisation in the form of specific support groups. These support groups provide amongst others, a safe outlet for sharing common concerns and strategies for coping; for catharsis and feedback; for obtaining useful knowledge about the wider organisational sphere and for specific information about vacancies and career planning (Haynes, 1989,p.6).

Career planning takes on an exaggerated importance for women because of the combination of factors and frameworks which are unique to women's lives and their socialisation. Haynes (1989,p.6) advises that women aspiring to management must firstly acknowledge to themselves that it is acceptable to pursue a career. Their diffidence about being career women shows in the increased emphasis which they place on self improvement and their sense of passivity with regards to career planning and decisions. Haynes (1989,p.6) regards the process of the job search as a critical step in the successful attainment of upward mobility and advises women to be prepared and assertive when contemplating career advancement.

One of the main reasons for their diffidence about being career women is related to the multifarious pressures with which they cope both in the home and work environment. Balancing career demands with personal interests is a struggle for all managers, but the juggling act is more complicated for women who have domestic and family commitments. Haynes (1989,p.7) advocates that the managerial woman must "accept the impossibility of the superwoman syndrome and must set realistic limitations" if she is to cope successfully with the complex demands from various areas of her life.

It is clear that a range of barriers can influence the mobility of women and the first steps to overcoming these barriers is an awareness of them, an ability to identify them accurately and to implement strategies to transcend the barriers. Increasingly attention is being paid to the plight of women as an oppressed group. The lack of attention given to the barriers faced by black women as managers leaves a lacuna about one of society's most oppressed groups. A study which includes black and white women managers permits an analysis of the effect of gender on the mobility of black women managers in the social work field, the difficulties which they experience and the ways in which they cope with their challenges and stressors.

5. RESEARCH AIMS

This study is devoted to exploring the experiences of black and white women managers in social work. The available literature of social work management is scant and has come from overseas, reflecting conditions in the host countries. To

the researcher's knowledge no study of this kind has been undertaken in the social work field in South Africa. This study is regarded as a grounded study because it has been a hitherto undeveloped field of interest in social work in South Africa. The research, therefore, constitutes a descriptive and qualitative study of the issues which women face as managers in social work and the ways in which they cope.

Pertinent questions which are posed include the following:

- (1) Which factors assisted the individual's career path and which factors presented as obstacles?
- (2) Which discriminatory practices have, according to the respondent's perception, impeded her career?
- (3) Is there a conflict between home and work pressures? If so, how do the major stressors and challenges of home and work pressures affect women managers in social work?
- (4) What are the strategies which individuals have used to cope?
- (5) What kinds of changes should be incorporated into employment policies and practices in order to minimise the problems faced by women managers in general and black women in particular?
- (6) In which ways do the experiences of black women managers differ from those of white women managers?

The study also produced data about the differences encountered by women managers of colour. By making visible the different patterns of discrimination and

the extent of the complexity of these issues a view of management from a black female perspective was also furnished.

6. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS OF INVESTIGATION

The design of the study is a qualitative one in that it seeks and describes an in-depth understanding of the relevant factors for a small sample of participants. The research approach was considered to be an appropriate one, given the exploratory nature of the study and the lack of research evidence available on the subject under study in South Africa. The study also uses a feminist perspective in which women's experiences, ideas and needs are valued in their own right. This makes available a previously untapped reservoir of knowledge about what it is like to be a woman, a manager, what the world looks like to women and how that world is constructed and negotiated (Cummerton, 1986,p.85). The feminist perspective focuses predominantly on generating new concepts, meaning and information rather than on testing existing theory because of the paucity of knowledge about many aspects of women's experience.

The elements of the research process are that:

- ◆ the subjects of the study are a loosely knit group;
- ◆ there is direct social interaction between the researcher and the group;
- ◆ data does not easily lend itself to quantification; and
- ◆ data is collected, analysed and presented in the research report as qualitative data (Rose 1988, p.108-116).

The objectives of this study were accomplished by:

- ◆ A local and international survey of the literature on social work and of social work management
- ◆ A literature study on women in management
- ◆ A study of the dynamics of inequality
- ◆ A research study which uses a life history approach with participants who are drawn from black and white managers in the public and private social work organisations. It was believed that this method would be constructive in uncovering crucial concerns for women managers in social work settings and in revealing the mechanisms which they use to cope. The identification of key issues would provide a basis for further study.
- ◆ Quantitative data generated about the demographic details of the managers and their management experience which were deemed to be essential to the context or to the questions asked.
- ◆ A research study which utilises a feminist perspective.
- ◆ A collaborative approach between the researcher and participants is part of the process of feminist research. Cummerton (1986,p.86) refers to this as intersubjectivity. The objective-subjective dichotomy of quantitative research is replaced by a dialectical relationship between researcher and participant. Participants can be actively involved in this process from the formulation of the question to be studied, providing data, explanations, reviewing findings and in suggesting alternative explanations. The researcher's technical skill in constructing instruments and the research process is not nullified by the participation of respondents.

- ◆ Analysis and interpretation of the data to show how these translate into the lives of the sample studied.

7. SAMPLING

The feminist approach takes the view that the size of the sample is dependent upon the number of participants necessary to identify the range and similarities of experience. To the researcher's knowledge there is no existing database in South Africa of women managers in social work. Given the residual nature of welfare delivery and the existence of a formal and an informal (NGO's) sector, the universe of welfare organisations in South Africa, still remains to be quantified.

Currently there are black and white managers in senior positions in social work institutions who know what the pitfalls are and the strategies necessary for career success for under-represented groups. Information gleaned from these managers will be of use to others in the same position and to institutions committed to eradicating sexist and racist bias. In this study women managers were contacted and were asked to unlock their networks. In this way sixty managers were located, who satisfied the race and agency requirements. Snowball sampling was used to stipulate the number of respondents. Consideration of the volume of the material which is likely to be generated for analysis, was an additional factor. The managers who were interviewed had a sufficient professional experience of management in the social work milieu to be able to communicate the perceptions and feelings of a woman manager in this setting. The sample is not a representative sample, but rather a group of people with characteristics of the

target group. Women managers only were interviewed on the grounds that with a study which includes men and women, the analysis is based principally on sex differences. Snowball sampling techniques, using a small sample is not an unusual sampling method for this type of study. Research studies in Britain and America in the past and currently have used this approach to locate a sample of women managers (Davidson & Cooper, 1977; Marshall, 1984; Zunz, 1990). The respondents were drawn from the three cities of Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban and as such represents an urban view of the subject under study.

8. INTERVIEWING

A semi-structured interview schedule was developed and tested and the refined version contained a set of basic questions. A questionnaire was developed to provide demographic data and information about the participants' management experience. The researcher was the only interviewer and interviews were conducted in the participants' work setting, using a tape recorder for the semi-structured interview. The questionnaire was completed by the respondent prior to the administration of the semi-structured interview schedule. The focus was on work and on the conflict between work and home. A list of prompts was developed and a questionnaire and list of prompts are included as Appendices 1 and 2. Qualitative data may not lend themselves easily to quantification, but a thorough and systematic classification and reporting of the facts, ensures the rigor of the process and assists with issues of reliability and validity.

9. ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH RESULTS

An analysis of informants' perceptions was organised according to the format of the interviews. A full account of each interview was written up and a copy of the transcripts forwarded to managers for correction and addition to the information, if necessary. As the contributions and interpretations represent the perceptions of respondents, a degree of bias was removed from the findings. The responses were analysed through a method of content analysis to arrive at categories which could be further examined so that a comparison with the literature was possible. Categories were developed by clustering together information. Each transcript was analysed, the results of the analysis was recorded and from this the results of the study were generated.

10. RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

Reason & Rowan (1989,p.239) and Deshpande (1983,p.105) discuss the limitations of the traditional quantitative research when applied to the social sciences. According to them research cannot be totally objective. It has to be based firmly in the experiences of those interviewees who form the subject of study but it also has to be "objectively subjective". Ambiguity should be avoided by the degree of accuracy or precision of the instrument, consistency in the administration of the instrument and available assistance to interpret the questions should this be necessary in semi-structured interviews. The researcher expected that replies would differ, depending on the context and the manager, despite the fact that the same interview schedule was used.

A feasibility study was undertaken of women managers in voluntary and public welfare organisations to assess whether there was evidence that women managers in the social work field were affected by the pressures of dual career responsibilities and to identify appropriate questions for study. These were seen as producing face validity. Similar themes and topics emerged which indicated that women encounter similar obstacles to those identified in the general literature on management and similarities emerged also in the range of strategies which they use to cope. As the questions yielded answers congruent with the contexts of the different countries, contextual validity has been demonstrated.

11. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The following constitute the shortcomings of the study:

- ◆ The study was restricted to three major cities in South Africa. For reasons of accessibility, time and cost constraints, not all the provinces were included and the rural areas and independent states were not studied.
- ◆ The data generated has been voluminous and mainly descriptive. The difficulty lay in reflecting accurately the quantity of information obtained. The process of content analysis which was utilised required "immersion" into the material in order to appreciate the inherent patterns and the significant issues.
- ◆ The establishment of rapport can affect the research process. This is especially significant with race dynamics, where the researcher and participant are from different racial groups.
- ◆ The adoption of a snowball sampling technique means that participants

were nominated by other respondents who had some affiliation to them. A sample of sixty managers was involved in the study. The use of this particular sampling technique means that these findings are not generalisable to a wider population.

The few studies on this subject which have been undertaken in Britain and in America in the past and currently (Marshall,1984; Zunz,1991; Davidson & Cooper,1982), have used snowball sampling because of the difficulty with locating women managers. Finding the sample, even in a study located within a traditional stronghold of female employment, was by no means easy and was an informative process in itself. A great part of the difficulty was caused by the lack of a database of women managers and the dearth of information about the number of social work agencies, which constitute the formal and informal welfare sector.

- ◆ The data was analysed using descriptive statistics. Analytical statistics could have produced some additional material about relationships between the factors.
- ◆ The sample consisted only of women in management. As no men were included gender comparisons were not possible, to any great extent, although information about the perceived roles and attitudes of men were generated. Given the restricted sampling, the findings may apply equally to social work managers in general and not specifically to women. Follow up studies should include a sample consisting of male and female managers.

- ◆ The study did not discuss to any great extent the legal factors related to employment, and the bill of rights, as revised versions of these aspects have not been promulgated.

A summary of each chapter of the study is set out hereunder.

CHAPTER 1 : MOTIVATION/INTRODUCTION

The chapter sets the study in context. It provides an introduction to the issues for social work management as contained within the western literature. This is followed by the motivation for the study of women in social work management in South Africa. The conceptualisation of the study is then provided and the chapter ends with a definition of the terms. Seeking definitions starts the process of seeing the relationships of these terms to social work practice. It provides the strands for weaving together the fabric of informed and equitable social work service delivery.

CHAPTER 2 : STRUCTURED INEQUALITY AND SOCIAL WORK MANAGEMENT

This chapter explores four aspects which reflect the developments in social work and social work management as well as issues of discrimination and equal opportunity initiatives.

The chapter begins by tracing the historical roots of social work to developments

in Britain and North America. A review of the changing trends in social work management follows and the current approach which combines instrumental and expressive qualities and emphasises equality in service delivery, is discussed.

The post 1960 emphasis on issues of race, gender and employment, internationally and in South Africa is explored as a precursor to the study of equality practice. The Chapter concludes with the recognition that conditions in South Africa render the development of equality strategies in the Social Work field, as imminent.

CHAPTER 3 : THE IMPACT OF INDIVIDUAL CAREER PATHS

Two key themes are explored in this chapter. The first relates to the exclusionary factors and mechanisms which influence the career patterns of individuals. There exists a range of historical and traditional beliefs and assumptions that give rise to gender related inconsistencies with regard to career patterns. The attitudes and behaviours which are located at individual, familial, organisational and societal levels are examined as they impact on career paths of individuals. The second theme acknowledges that the barriers will continue to exist and offers constructive suggestions about the development of a woman centred model for career development. The suggestions include the need to identify the barriers to promotion, to plan the pace of promotion, to identify supportive individuals, frameworks and learning experiences that would help with the move into management and to make informed decisions about career moves which take due consideration of home and work commitments.

CHAPTER 4 : LEADERSHIP SKILLS

The chapter examines whether actual differences exist between male and female leaders that could serve as a basis for stereotypes. It explores leadership theories based on key descriptive traits, behaviour style theories, group maturity and leadership style theories. These theories conform to traditional concepts of leadership. The modern notion of leaders as organisational innovators, with vision and an ability to inspire and mobilise followers, is then discussed. Perceptions of women and leadership are explored to show the similarity between the entrepreneurial approach to leadership and the woman's approach. The difficulties which leaders from stigmatised groups have in motivating followers is also explored. The chapter ends with an examination of specific areas of growth for women leaders and suggestions for opportunities to stimulate this growth.

CHAPTER 5 : METHODOLOGY

This chapter reports on the design of the empirical research. It begins by exploring the differences between qualitative (feminist) and quantitative (traditionalist) methods. The qualitative research approach was chosen, as an in-depth understanding of the relevant factors was sought.

The research design was a descriptive one which involved a limited sample of 60 managers from the three cities of Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg. The sample included managers in middle, senior and top management positions.

Data was collected using a questionnaire and a semi-structured interview schedule containing basic questions and prompts. These questions were aimed at understanding managers' lives holistically, through focusing on aspects of work and home. Transcripts of the interviews were forwarded to the managers for their correction and for the addition of information where necessary. The information was presented using descriptive statistics.

CHAPTER 6: THE RESULTS OF THE STUDY

This chapter contains the results of the research as a whole. The data from the empirical study was analysed through a process of content analysis. The implications which are drawn about the participant's experience as managers, the barriers, satisfactions and style are analysed and presented.

CHAPTER 7 : SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter contains the conclusions drawn from the study and provides suggestions and recommendations for future research.

12 DEFINITIONS

(a) Stressors and Challenges

The Oxford English Dictionary defines challenge as to make demands on, a call to engage in a contest or argument, a demanding or stimulating situation. Stress is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as mental, physical or emotional strain or tension; to subject to stress. A stressor is defined as a factor that imposes stress.

Davidson & Cooper (1982,p.17) view stressors as work related pressures and as specific pressures and problems which have been isolated as being unique to female managers. For the purposes of this study, the words challenges and stressors are conceptualised as pressures experienced by the respondents, within yin and yan terms. Challenges are allocated a positive connotation and become opportunities for growth while stressors are challenges which are perceived in a negative way. If viewed differently these stressors would also constitute growth points for the manager.

(b) Strategy

The Oxford English Dictionary defines strategy as a plan; a long term plan for success. Cox (1979,p.279-280) views strategy as central to the achievement of long term goals. He perceives strategy as a planned process which is employed to promote change and as a gameplan which is achieved through "orchestrated effort". He defines orchestrated as an effort which takes into account the actions and reactions of key actors and adversaries as they affect the goal of the individual actor or more general goals. A strategy thus assists with identification of essential players and the anticipation of moves. Strategy helps with the assessment of tasks which are necessary to achieve these moves and an evaluation of the individual's ability to carry out the strategy.

Davidson & Cooper (1982,p.17) view strategies as acts which assist women to cope with pressure and as an important factor contributing to their

success. These strategies can be effective and less effective coping mechanisms, but they constitute the best way in which the manager copes at a particular point in time. Coping strategy is defined as a vision or a plan which enables the manager to identify essential support frameworks and actions which will assist in dealing effectively with the pressures which arise.

(c) Management

Management activity has functioned as a trellis for the growth and advancement of social work practice. It was only in 1929 with the Milford Conference that the interlinking of social work and management was recognised (Patti, 1983,p.2). The literature provides descriptions about the meanings of both administration and management. Often the words are used interchangeably, for example, the Oxford English Dictionary defines "administration" as the "management" of public or business affairs. The word "manage" is described in terms of effective control, success in doing or producing something, ability to cope or to contrive to persuade by use of tact, flattery or other means. Rist (1991,p.8) considers that the term management can be used as a synonym for the term administration. Schwella (1985,p.45) contends that the term management is used in preference to the term administration as this avoids the ambiguity of the term administration. The ambiguity revolves around the usage of the term administration as either office routine or as the managing of the activities of others. Schwella (1985,p.45) views administration as a cycle of inputs,

transformation and outputs and mirrors the perception of management as "those functions used by public managers in the process of setting and reaching governmental and organisational goals efficiently and effectively".

These definitions overlap too with Dunsire's (1973,p.229) conception of administration as the "work of analysing, balancing and presenting for decisions complex policy considerations, assigning due weights to each factor and balancing short term considerations"... Schwella & Fox (1991,p.45) conclude that the administrative process includes both administration and management.

Rist (1991,p.8) suggests that the term "management" is customarily used in private industry. He defines "management" as the "functions performed to create and run a private enterprise for profit and in the most expeditious manner. Cloete (1991,p.7) in comparing the function performed by private and public enterprises, concludes that there was much overlap. Cloete (1991,p.7) points out significant differences such as, public enterprises which substituted the profit motive for the general welfare of individuals and which differed in respect of the stance towards politics, ethical considerations and accountability of officials. The purists view of administration reflects the implementation of policies and strategies, while management is seen as the day to day control of activities. These definitions seem to fall short of prescription about the two concepts. De V. Smit (1990, p.287) acknowledges that "in recent years authors such as Hasenfeld, Austin, Odewahn, Kadushin, Weiner, Slaving, Skidmore, Sarri

and Patti have made considerable contributions to the development of a knowledge base in social work management and administration". Their arguments which he summarises resemble those already rehearsed and he concludes that "in spite of the arguments preferred by those who advocate distinctions, the author agrees, albeit reluctantly, that the terms can be used alternatively".

Attempts to define administration as a discipline and professional practice run into difficulties in the social work field as it shares a technical process with wider administration which reflects organisational requirements and also some structural and political dynamics. It also involves the development and implementation of social work policies, procedures and practice. The new managerialism carries the expectation that the same person will be required to undertake the dual responsibilities of policy making and of the translation of the policy into practice. Warham (1975) in Coulshed (1992, p6) offers a useful analysis of administration as a generic process of which direction, thoughts and supervision are intrinsic elements. If administration refers to the process of organising resources to get things done, then this responds to the long term planning contained in top supervisory positions. The use of the term management in preference to administration is also linked to the new rhetoric about social work practice. In response to stress, burnout and uncertainty which have become recognised hallmarks of social work practice, the imagery of competence and control has been evoked. So social work is viewed in terms

of managing clients, managing caseloads, managing in groups, managing self and managing others and management is viewed in a similar proactive way as the managing of individuals, groups, resources and change.

Another interesting perspective is provided in the literature which looks at male and female connotations. Mant (1977,p.20) in his book, "The rise and fall of the British Manager" comments on the masculine and feminine usages of the word management. He contends that the word "manage" derives from two quite distinct sources. The Italian word "maneggiare" can be traced to the Latin word "manus" meaning hand and is used in the sense of handling things, especially horses. In this context it can be perceived as a male concept related to taking charge. The French word "menager" which means careful use or careful housekeeper, gives a more gentle, perhaps feminine usage.

Mant (1977,p.20) states that the original meaning of the word management in the English language was the hermaphrodite outcome of the fusion of masculine and feminine conceptions borrowed from other cultures. In the nineteenth century, the transmutation of management, which had by then come to be used in a neutral way for agents or owners of large workhouses, to a respectable state of being within an industrial setting, occurred. From this point in the Anglo-Saxon culture, management no longer meant simply another type of worker, but the manager was seen as not operating as a grassroots worker. This interpretation has come to be accepted as common

currency internationally.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines the manager as a person who is in charge of the affairs of a business and one who manages a household in a certain way, while managing is defined as having executive control or authority and as being in control. These definitions combine both the male and female usages and view management as both action and practice. Human & Hofmeyr (1985,p.vi) writing in the South African context, define a manager as "someone who sets objectives, who motivates, who establishes yardsticks and who develops self and other people". Embedded in this definition are the notions of care and control and the recognition of management as the act of leading and developing. The definition appears to lean towards the more purist explanation of management.

For the purposes of this study management will be defined as the art, act and practice of leading, directing and developing self, people and policies in the attainment of organisational goals.

(d) Leadership

There is a difference between a manager and a leader. Josefowitz (1980,p.195) says that "manager" is the title given to you when you accept the job and "leader" is the position that you earn. This distinction does not go far enough as the two terms can still be viewed as synonymous. Leadership can be viewed as a group process that occurs independently of

management and Bass (1985,p.1) states that management is not only leadership nor is leadership only management. But managers need to appreciate the leadership expected of them. De V. Smit (1990,p.291) argues that management is a profession like any other with functions, skills and abilities which have to be learnt. Administration is a generic term of which management is a part,the term leadership is not synonymous with management, but a function of it. Within social work administration, leading is viewed as a management function, commensurate with other functions of planning, organising and controlling. De V. Smit (1990,p.299) defines leadership as a process that involves the leader in providing direction and motivating individuals and groups in a non-coercive manner to achieve commonly held goals. Bennett (191,p.331) defines leadership as the process whereby one person influences the thoughts and behaviour of others, while Dessler (1982,p.325) argues that leadership occurs "whenever one person influences another to work towards some pre-determined objective". In similar vein, Stoner (1978,p.438) defines leadership as "the process of directing and influencing the task related activities of group members. The definitions as they stand depict leadership in terms of tasks and accomplishments and reflects scientific management principles. Moreover, they project a static quality which is out of keeping with the dynamism of organisations. Vision, creativeness, the creative tensions between equity, quality and limited resources, all require a high level of resourcefulness which does not feature in the above definitions. While Van Rooyen (1989,p.8) concurs that leadership requires administrative

competence and technical skills, she adds that personal qualities which assist in team building and worker motivation are important characteristics. Leaders who have confidence, self determination, are articulate and able to transform needs, values and objectives into action, while simultaneously encouraging individual growth and development are well suited to the present turbulent climate.

Josefowitz (1980, p.195) defines leadership as the process or act of influencing and authority as the power to exercise leadership. Leadership is viewed here as representative both of power and of effectiveness; as in the ability to produce and the capacity to mobilise people and resources to produce. She states that a leader has the authority to decide what should happen and who should do it; responsibility to make it happen and accountability for what does actually happen. Her definition embraces concepts of power, effectiveness, responsibility and accountability all of which pose serious dilemmas for middle managers. Leadership is not simply an act and a process.

Van Rooyen's (1989,p.8) standpoint that leadership is "difficult to define because it is so closely related to circumstantial demands", provides the flavour of uncertainty and turbulence which are essential ingredients of today's management.

The writer considers that leadership is the art, act and practice of motivating, supporting and building confidence in self and group members, learning new skills to meet the changing internal and external demands on the organisation and addressing inequality is also involved.

De V. Smit (1990, p.287) using Patti (1983) writes that "while social work has been practised in various forms for almost a century, it has until recently done so without reference to a formal body of knowledge in social work management and administration. According to De V. Smit (1990, p.287) in recent years American writers have placed increasing emphasis on administration in social work, but "this field is still in an early stage of theoretical development" De V. Smit (1990, p.288).

(e) **Black**

Except where otherwise noted, the term black as used in this thesis represents a political colour. It refers to all people who are oppressed because of the colour of their skins. In South Africa this definition applies to all people who are not classified as white according to the Population Registration Act.

CHAPTER TWO

STRUCTURED INEQUALITY AND SOCIAL WORK MANAGEMENT

1. INTRODUCTION

An exploration of the issues and the dilemmas which women face as managers in the social work field in South Africa requires an appreciation of the contemporary situation and of the internal and international events and pressures which have shaped social work services.

Debates and discussions about the position of women in management has to be based on a questioning and often a rejection of traditional values, practices and assumptions. Any emerging paradigm of management practice has to be compatible with the changing and challenging society within which it is emerging. An analysis of management practice has to occur in relation to the past, present and future roles and tasks of managers.

An examination of the responsiveness of social work services to its consumers should incorporate a focus on issues of discrimination. Consequently, specific concerns about oppression, sexism and racism are reviewed as an important precursor to the discussion of some of the strategies which have been employed to develop and manage the delivery of equitable services in South Africa.

Four specific aspects have been selected for attention in this chapter:

the history of social work;

the development of social work management;

themes of inequality; and

equal opportunity practice.

2. HISTORY OF SOCIAL WORK

2.1 Development of social work - pre 1970

Lombard (1992, p.31) submits that South African social work practice is influenced by the historical developments in British and American social work practice. Butrym (1976, p.1) expresses the general view that social work originated in the Charity Organisation Society (COS) in Britain. The social casework and community work methods which were predominantly used in the Charity's work were transplanted and transformed in the United States of America and were then re-incorporated to enrich the theory and practice of social work in Britain. Bernstein (1993,p.270) submits that the drive towards professionalism also had considerable impact on the nature and the development of social

work. She (1993,p.270) reports that the quest for professional status began in earnest in America and Britain from the 1900s. The development of training courses and the recruitment of men into the profession can be viewed as two of the products of the move to achieve professional credibility. According to Bernstein (1993,p.270) social work training in South Africa commenced during the 1930s and there are currently 20 schools and a social work council which regulates and registers social workers.

In this study the key developments which occurred during crucial periods of history, up to the 1970s will be reflected using an adapted version of Lombard's framework. Lombard (1992,p.31) developed a comparative format which highlights the similarities in the three countries. These developments are depicted as phases of development and contained in the tables which follow.

2.1.1

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL WORK

PHASE I - TABLE 1

PERIOD	UNITED KINGDOM	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	SOUTH AFRICA
Pre-1870	<p>1598 : The Elizabethan Poor Law - Set out the principles and criteria for poor relief. The Poor Law made a distinction between the deserving and the undeserving poor.</p> <p>Religious and philanthropic institutions and mutual aid were the main sources for poor relief.</p>	<p>Chief providers of social work services included religious and philanthropic institutions and voluntary contributions from people and networks in the community.</p>	<p>The Dutch East India Company provided poor relief through the Dutch Reformed Church in Holland.</p> <p>1814 : Religious organisations were active in providing services to the deserving poor who were viewed as children, the disabled and the indigent.</p> <p>1856 : The first law on the protection of children was passed in South Africa.</p>

PHASE 11 - TABLE 2

PERIOD	UNITED KINGDOM	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	SOUTH AFRICA
1870-1920	<p>Urban growth and industrialisation led to the founding of the <u>Charity Organisation Society</u> in 1869.</p> <p>The <u>aims</u> of the organisation were to :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ provide personal services to alleviate the poverty of the deserving poor ◆ to organise and co-ordinate the services of the charities ◆ systematisation efforts led to the establishment of the National Council for Social Work 	<p>1877 : The first urban <u>Charity Organisation Society</u> was founded in Buffalo by a Britisher, the Rev. S H Gurteen.</p> <p>The <u>aims</u> were :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ to provide a scientific, efficient and preventive service to families and individuals in need ◆ to avoid duplication of services provided by the establishment of a central index of clients and of welfare boards ◆ to provide a collaborative approach to social and welfare problems ◆ to collect and disseminate knowledge of social work 	<p>1870 : The discovery of gold led to common problems of urban growth and industrialisation which exacerbated white and black poverty.</p> <p>Indigenous whites were unable to compete with foreigners who were more educated and skilled and with the unskilled black workers. Black poverty increased because there were jobs, but no permanent residence in urban areas.</p> <p>1899 : Anglo-Boer War in which farmlands were razed to the ground and this affected whites in rural area.</p>

PHASE 11 - TABLE 2

PERIOD	UNITED KINGDOM	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	SOUTH AFRICA
1870 - 1920	<p><u>Casework services</u> developed from the counselling activities. As clients were viewed as suffering from personal inadequacy, casework techniques were informed by psychological theory which was used to understand the maladaptive behaviour of clients.</p> <p><u>Community work</u> origins can be traced to the efforts to systematise welfare services. A linking with the settlement movement also evolved.</p> <p><u>Groupwork activities</u> From the settlements which were established by students who provided leadership in working class neighbourhoods.</p>	<p>Casework and community work foci were evident, but as separate fields of specialisation.</p> <p><u>Casework services</u> were intense and involved extensive investigation of character and circumstances. After World War II casework services became more focused on individual and family trauma.</p> <p><u>Community work</u> focused on the planning and co-ordination of services and became more linked with the settlement services.</p> <p><u>Groupwork activities</u> Developed out of the provision within settlements for clubs, recreation and class for adults. The emphasis of the settlement movement was on social reform.</p>	<p>1903 onwards the Poor White Question became a pertinent issue for the church and government.</p> <p>Black poverty was ignored and Africans were seen as a reservoir of labour.</p> <p>Women's organisations were established. ACVV (Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereeniging) was established in the Transvaal in 1904 and in Natal in 1915. A Women's society was established in the Orange Free State in 1911.</p> <p>Child care societies were established in Cape in 1908 and Johannesburg in 1909 following the promulgation of Child Protection Laws in South Africa.</p>

PHASE 111 - TABLE 3

PERIOD	UNITED KINGDOM	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	SOUTH AFRICA
1920-1950	<p>Focal point of activity was the operation of the Community Association movement.</p> <p>1919 : Great Depression when employment slumped.</p> <p>1930 : <u>Amendment of the Poor Law</u> when service provision was placed under the Local Authorities.</p> <p>Establishment of Industrial Councils; Ministry of Health; National Insurance; Unemployment Benefits.</p> <p>1946 : National Health Service Act established the <u>National Health Service</u>.</p> <p>1948 : <u>Education Act</u> established a National Curriculum.</p> <p>1948 : The establishment of the <u>Welfare State</u>.</p> <p>Development of Social Work Education.</p>	<p>Establishment of <u>Community Chests</u> to co-ordinating funding efforts and service provision.</p> <p>Development of <u>Boards</u> which were later joined with Community Chests. Co-ordinated by the American Association for Community Organisations renamed the United Community Funds and Councils of America.</p> <p>1917 : <u>First Modern State Department of Public Welfare</u>.</p> <p>1919 : Great Depression created large scale unemployment.</p> <p>1921 : Establishment of <u>National Health Board</u>.</p> <p>1922 : Establishment of <u>Social Work Board</u>.</p> <p>Development of Schools of Social Work.</p>	<p>Characterised by the Establishment of National Boards, Unemployment and the Poor White Question.</p> <p>Creation of <u>Federal Boards</u> for Women's Organisations and <u>National Boards</u> for Mental Health, Child Care, the Deaf and the Blind.</p> <p><u>Poor White Problem</u> 1923 : ♦ Establishment of Department of Labour and work created on railways and in armed forces ♦ Establishment of poor relief schemes</p> <p>1930: Development of social work education</p> <p>1932 : Carnegie Commission Report</p> <p>1937 : Establishment of the Department of Social Welfare</p> <p>1937-1950 : Discriminatory state sponsored social welfare programmes for various population groups. Benefits from private and state ventures were weighted in favour of whites. The Social Security payments were in the ratio : 3 : 2 : 1 White Coloured Black</p> <p>1945 : S A investigated and rejected a Welfare State System on grounds of cost.</p> <p>1948 : National Party acquired power and the Apartheid State was created.</p>

PHASE 1V - TABLE 4

PERIOD	UNITED KINGDOM	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	SOUTH AFRICA
	<p>High expectations and confidence in the ability of social workers and the establishment of specialised departments of social work.</p> <p>Development and consolidation of a professional base for Social Work Practice.</p> <p>Increased emphasis on community work and on the effects of the social environment on individuals. Concern also about the role of community workers as agents of social control.</p>	<p>Professionalisation of community and the use of community work as a main method in public welfare departments.</p> <p>Development of National Community Work Programmes.</p> <p>Emphasis on the role of volunteers and on the wider implications of the environment - "public ills and private troubles."</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Firm entrenchment of apartheid policies which favoured the white minority and a lack of services for urban Africans. ◆ Residual Welfare System established which emphasised : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * cure rather than prevention * Increase in community sponsored welfare enterprises * partnership of voluntary welfare organisations and state systems ◆ Quadrupling of state departments to offer particularised welfare services to different race groups. ◆ Directives to Regional Welfare Organisations to offer services to specific race group.
1968	<p>The struggle for civil rights and racial justice changed the face of social work policy and practice in the United Kingdom and the United States of America. This aspect is dealt with in greater detail later in this chapter.</p> <p>Unification of specialised departments into monolithic social work departments in Britain</p>		<p>Until 1967 the SA Welfare Policy provided for subsidisation of casework services and consequently there was an over-emphasis on the casework method.</p> <p>It was only since the 1980s that a pragmatic approach to community work which is relevant to local conditions has developed.</p>

Compiled using Lombard (1992,p.33), McKendrick (1990,p.5-18) and Langan (1992,p.2).

The developments indicate that colonialism and apartheid have featured as significant forces in the development of the social work profession in South Africa.

Tables 1 and 2 indicate that the purposes of social work activity in Britain and North America were to provide help, social care and support to the urban poor, as well as social control through the systematisation of services and conceptualisations of "deserving poor". McKendrick (1990,p.10) contends that one of the legacies of the colonial period was a social work profession, with the main emphasis of the activity being "on its social control or functional role" .

The history of social work in South Africa from 1903, as depicted in tables 3 and 4, show welfare as being intertwined with the poor white question. Patel (1992,p.36) quoting from Potgieter (1973) records that a range of welfare initiatives was established by agents such as the state, church, family, voluntary welfare efforts and particularly by women's organisations. Joint welfare initiatives between the state and community networks subsequently became an important feature of the post 1948 residual welfare system. Various writers affirm that race was a primary feature of the emergent residual welfare system. Lund (1989,p.3) describes the welfare system as "founded on racially discriminatory patterns. The perceived value of citizens has been reflected in a concrete way in differential provision of subsidies for institutions and for professional salaries, in the scope of services offered

and in benefits such as pensions". She concludes that the provision of services has been far more advanced for white people and had not been targeted towards the most needy. McKendrick (1990,p.12) recognises similarly, that "...Africans, unquestionably the most needy of all of South Africa's so-called population groups, have the fewest services and of the lowest quality". Patel (1992,p.42) expresses the view that by giving cardinal consideration to the needs of whites, the government ensured the support of the white electorate thus linking the principle of welfare to political objectives.

2.2 History of social work development - post 1970

Since 1976, the white minority regime of South Africa has been facing a very serious crisis. Magubane (1988,p.151) writes that the economic recession, political turmoil and the divestment campaign have combined to create a crisis for South Africa. A review of the more recent developments reveals the existence of a formal and an alternative welfare system. Although this thesis is primarily concerned with the formal welfare sector, for completeness, the writer will briefly focus on the development of the alternative welfare structure in South Africa. It is noteworthy that this structure is derived from the organised political resistance in South Africa, which placed additional stress on a government already pre-occupied with growing economic instability.

2.2.1 The Alternative Welfare Structure.

South Africa has a history of resistance which was distinct and identifiable during the period of colonialism and imperialism. In 1948 the Nationalist Party was swept into power and through the creation of the apartheid system, they gave the policy of white supremacy and black exploitation a sense of finality (Magubane, 1988,p.112). The decade following 1948 is described by Patel (1992,p.53) as "a period of protest action and government reaction", which culminated in the Sharpeville massacre of 1960. A state of emergency was declared and the regime banned the two black organisations which were politically active, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress (Patel, 1992,p.53).

A period of industrial growth and relative peace descended on the country in the early years of the 1970s, but black workers were quietly developing extra legal forms of politics on the factory floor. Magubane (1988,p.126) submits that by the mid 1970s "the black working class with a revolutionary consciousness had emerged ...and students became an important component in the new phase of the struggle that opened in 1976". The 1976 student uprising which by 1977 had escalated and involved the coloured and Indian students, political insurgency, civil disobedience and rent strikes created political turmoil within the country. The plethora of grassroots associations which emerged from the 1970s consisted of direct action groups which Patel (1992,p.66) describes as "authentic bottom up groups rather than top down welfare agencies".

These grassroots organisations were concerned with periodic relief measures and with addressing the basic needs of the people for services such as decent housing, health care, education and social benefits (Patel, 1992,p.66). The thrusts of these direct action groups were focused on developing a mass base, putting together liberal coalitions of professional people, students and workers and constructing an ideology concerned with meeting the needs of the little people. The structures which materialised from the various political and social service activities were transformed into civil organisations and provided the membership base of the United Democratic Front (UDF) which was founded in 1983 and The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) established in 1985. Following the establishment of the UDF, there was an upsurge in political activity and a state of emergency was declared in June 1985. By 1988, the regime had banned more than 25 organisations (including the UDF and Cosatu) and had suspended the publication of some major grassroots newspapers (Magubane, 1988,p.146). The resistance effort now altered its focus to construct localised and more tenacious structures which could withstand the coercive measures taken by the state. Patel (1992,p.56) notes that the people's perspective had altered from one which sought to modify the existing order to one which was in line with the A.N.C's vision of the new society. The newly formed community based organisations met the priority needs of the people and helped to shift the balance of power towards the poor and lay the foundation for shaping the society. An alternative welfare system was thus created which also integrated social service with political objectives.

Patel (1992, p.66) submits that the alternative structure has been instrumental in "strengthening civil society". Her listing of the distinguishing features of the formal and the alternative welfare structures in terms of their goals, ideology, democratic participation, model of welfare, methodology of service delivery and knowledge base of social welfare, depicts the wide gulf which continues to exist between the two structures (Patel, 1992,p.151-156). In her article "The evolution of a Democratic Welfare Policy for a post-apartheid South Africa", Patel (1991,p.155) contends that redistribution issues will feature prominently with the transformation to a more egalitarian society. She sees a continuing role for social movements, which will involve vying for scarce resources with compromise as a key feature in the struggle for redistribution of resources.

Perlman (1979,p.403) in contrasting historical and contemporary struggles in North America, notes that early struggles for change took place at the point of production, but that the more recent struggles are often waged at the point of consumption. In her article titled "Grassrooting the System" she examines the nature, lifespan and impact of post 1970 alternative community based activity which was organised around social service delivery and economic development. She concludes that although these organisations placed issues of redistribution, economic control and decentralisation on the national agenda, their rapid growth, rapid turnover and competition for scarce resources militated against their ability to exercise any lasting effect on the formal welfare

system (Perlman, 1979,p.425). She proposes that grassroots organisations should form a federation which will given them the membership and the mandate to ensure that the state remains responsive to the needs of the people.

The literature shows that the socio-political context in South Africa was conducive to the creation of an alternative welfare system which was sensitive to the needs of the people and which was in many ways out of kilter with the existing formal welfare system. The role which these progressive organisations will fulfil in the future will be determined by the way in which these movements are able to articulate their future role in a new South Africa.

2.2.2 Formal welfare system

An examination of the trends within the formal welfare sector in South Africa shows the continuing influence of the solutions fashioned by conservative governments in the West. Their responses were developed to counter the worse effects of the international economic recession, but they were also in accord with the New Right ideology which dominates contemporary conservative thinking. These circumstances will be explored briefly to provide a necessary backdrop for a review of current welfare policy initiatives in South Africa.

The Yom Kippur War in Israel during the 1970s sparked off the oil crisis and this marked the start of the world economic recession. Becker

(1984,p.108) writes that the war of 1973 boosted morale in the Arab world and that the Arab states, as the major oil producers for the industrialised West, used oil supplies as the weapon to swing international opinion in their favour. They threatened the United States with total stoppage and embargoed oil supplies to Holland, while other Western European countries and Japan had their supplies cut by twenty five percent. The economic war was then extended to include countries who were not so friendly towards Israel. At the end of 1973, the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) raised the price of crude oil steeply in an effort to bring pressure to bear on the West. "The shock of the oil hype was to make itself felt throughout the world economy. However, the countries most hurt by the oil hype were not the West nor Israel, but Third World States" (Becker, 1984, p.109). Patel (1992,p.54) writes that "by 1976, South Africa was facing a deepening economic and political crisis based largely on rising oil prices, an international recession and growing industrial, political and economic instability".

The oil crisis occurred at the time that conservative governments in Britain and America were launching resource constraint policies. The ideologies of the New Right which influenced conservative thinking employed two rather different strands for streamlining public service provision. Firstly, "There is a revival of liberal political economy which seeks the abandonment of all kinds of government intervention ..and re-establishes free markets and extends market criteria into new fields"

(Brown & Sparks, 1989, p.xiii). Privatisation and the mixed economy of welfare services provided by the state, individual, family, community, voluntary organisation, employer and private enterprise were the products of these policies and the rhetoric of "choice" was utilised to sweeten this palliative (Harris, 1989, p.1-16). Rationalisation attempts in Britain included the devolution of diminished welfare budgets from central government to local authorities, affecting both the level and quality of all public service provision. In this process, local authority services came to be viewed as inferior provision by the general public and the heavy spending Labour Local Authorities were controlled by strict budgets. Mitchell & Russell (1989,p.63) in their examination of the "conservative and xenophobic nationalist ideas" prominent in both the United States and in Britain, point to the second strand of New Right Ideology, which is concerned with race. Sivanandan (1983,p.2) contends that discrimination in Britain had altered from attitudes about racial differences which he equates with racialism to institutionalised racism which is concerned with power and resource allocation. Sivanandan (1983,p.6) writes that during Thatcher's first term of office she issued a clarion call to the nation to beware that "this country might be rather swamped by people of a different culture". As the recession worsened, she increasingly employed the rhetoric of state and nation with race and it is this ideology which leads Mitchell and Russell to declare that "a hallmark of the new racism has undoubtedly been its readiness to mobilize public opinion by appealing to the common sense and the genuine fears of the British people". In this way the economic argument

was joined with the ideological and political discourses. According to Daljord (1985,p.218) the intention was to mobilise support for decreased state intervention with regards to race relations and racial disadvantage because "it is a basic truth that like prefers to be with like and that people should always have the right to choose freely which cultural groups they wish to identify with and associate with" . Wellman (1977,p.4) depicts an analogous situation in the United States where at a group level "race is ascribed by way of culturally sanctioned responses to struggles over scarce resources which tend to defend the advantaged position of the privileged white group".

Lund's (1989,p.4) discussion of the South African welfare policy initiatives illustrates the similarity of prescriptions proposed for South Africa. According to Lund (1988,p.22-37) the recommendations for changes in welfare policy are underpinned by three main trends of differentiation, privatisation and devolution. She notes that in 1984, welfare became an "own affair" under the new constitution, with welfare for coloured, Indian and white people controlled respectively by the departments of Representatives, Delegates and the House of Assembly. Welfare for African people remained initially under the administration of various state departments , until 1987 when it was transferred to Provincial Administrations. Areas with self governing homeland status created their own departments of welfare and a few voluntary organisations operated in these areas. The policy recommendations were tantamount to the continuation of racial segregation with the state

responsibility for many welfare functions devolved to provincial and local authorities. Lund (1988,p.22-37) also notes that the specifics of the policy of privatisation had not been clearly articulated, but the expectation was that employers would take on a greater responsibility for welfare benefits. Patel (1992,p.45) contends that the move towards privatisation reflects the impact of international economic crisis on the domestic economy and represents an obstacle which is likely to "prevent a new government from adopting radical redistributive policies" (New Nation (22-28, February 1991); Patel (1992,p.45)). Opposition from various quarters register that a move to privatisation represents a the shirking of state responsibility to the needy. In reality choice will be restricted to those who could afford the privatised services and would be unlikely to meet the needs of those who are poor (Patel, 1992,p.46).

Various writers draw attention to the events of 1990 which underscored the need to formulate proposals to restructure the existing welfare system (Patel (1992,p.47), Patel (1991,p.160) and Drower (1991,p.141)).

Much debate and discussion about the dismantling of the apartheid system was evident following the unbanning of political and resistance organisations in February 1990 (Patel, 1992, p.47). In the welfare field the activity occurred both in state departments and amongst voluntary organisations. The report of the Department of National Health and Population Development issued in 1990, was based on a new democratic dispensation and in January 1992, a working document appeared which advocates "a residual social welfare policy for the future, broader

participation in policy making, the interdependence of social welfare and development programmes and a phasing in of racial parity in the payment of social grants within five years". The voluntary welfare sector has engaged in various activities to attend to personal racism among staff, institutional racism and the scrutiny of their service delivery. Patel (1992, p.48) contends however that the essential developmental work which could become a mechanism for redistributing wealth and resources has not been implemented to any significant extent. De V. Smit (1994,p.4) contends that "despite the now famous 2/2/90 speech delivered by the State President, there has been no major change in our system of welfare. It remains, at best, impotent in addressing the country's social ills".

The existing information indicates that while the alternative welfare system was concerned with meeting the needs of the people for basic services and with encouraging indigenous participation and representation, the formal system continued to look outwards and to transplant the solutions fashioned in the West.

3. SOCIAL WORK MANAGEMENT

There is a dearth of literature about social work management and research to date is embryonic. Slavin (in Perlmutter & Slavin, 1980, p3) notes that of the many aspects of social work practice, administration is the least developed conceptually, yet the history of social administration is as old as the beginnings of social work. Bamford (1992,p.xi) states

that where management information exists it is usually viewed within the organisational context from which it derives and Slavin indicates that in other fields too, to one degree or another the situation is "similarly vague and indecisive".

There has been a significant rise in the demands for the education and development of managers in the West because of the difficulties which managers face with balancing the demands of cutbacks, achieving effectiveness and satisfying equity. At the same time, there has been a critical evaluation of the traditional model because of its over emphasis on task accomplishment. In South Africa, managers additionally face a volatile and changing economic and socio-political environment. The discussion which follows is based on the realisation that there is a need to arrive at proposals and processes which will inform managers in a rapidly changing society. Correcting the type of management exercised in the past requires the development of critical consciousness which incorporates a notion of past, present and future.

3.1 The traditional role of managers in social work

The use of the term management to social work is of recent origin.

Social work managers, unlike managers in the commercial sector do not enter the organisations as trainee managers. They are promoted from the ranks and the promotion of basic grade social workers into supervisory and management posts was based on outstanding performance as functional specialists (Collins, 1977,p.1). Supervisors

were in effect "super" caseworkers who had risen from the ranks and who then received on the job training for management. Collins (1977,p.1) explains that in the post war decade the manager's job was to keep the system running. He states that middle managers were not involved in the design of the system nor was the manager expected to alter the system or to make any major policy decisions. At most the manager implemented and adapted policy decisions to local conditions. The job was thus narrowly defined with limits on authority. The traditional role of the social work manager can be envisaged as someone who was responsible for the work of others rather than one's own work. The emphasis of the role was on case review schedules, case assignment, workload management and a variety of routine management functions (Collins 1977,p.3)

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s social work organisations grew in size. Sarri (1973,p.43) comments that there was a growing realisation that the assumptions which underlie the promotion of practitioners trained in direct service methods to administrative positions were inappropriate. Social work managers seeking to establish a specific niche for themselves during this period turned to the techniques of industry and commerce to inform their style. The scientific management approach which was in ascendency at the time, incorporates the experiential work of Taylor, Fayol, Mooney and Urwick which attempted to codify the functions of management and by implication, the experience of successful organization (Morgan, 1986, p.25). Taylor's scientific management

studies which were aimed at increasing the efficiency of the work process, served as the basis for contemporary time and motion studies, management by objectives and other methods which emphasise rationalisation and control (Hughes, 1988,p.302). Fayol's typology which sought to profile managerial functions, roles and good practice has been used to clarify the overarching managerial functions of planning, commanding, co-ordinating, controlling and motivating the work of others (De V. Smit, 1990,p.287). The analysis of social work provision within the framework of business concepts, meant that the solutions were also conceived within this framework. A distancing between the philosophy and theory of social work and management practice was inevitable. As those who deliver the service are not responsible for the design of the system, there is a separation of planning, thinking and doing. This move is commensurate with scientific management principles which "take all the important decisions and planning which vitally affect the work of the shop out of the hands of the workers and centralise them to a few" (Howe quoted in Clegg, 1979, p130). These tactics constitute a strategy of control and in the process people are deskilled.

3.2 Contemporary trends in social work management

Organisations change in order to cope with changing conditions and changing practice. Irrespective of the source of the change, the effects are likely to impact on the setting, on providers and on recipients of the service. As the manager is ultimately responsible for service provision and for the successful negotiation of change, attention has to focus on the

environment in which people work, to the way in which people are developed and to ways of sustaining the improvement achieved.

In an article titled "Strategic planning: critical elements in changing the nature of welfare services", McKendrick (1992,p.2) explores the role that social work managers play in the context of change in South Africa. He uses an adaptation of Warren's model as the theoretical underpinning for his study of the perceived need and direction of change. The study focuses on the change efforts of five welfare organisations in Johannesburg.

He reports that all the organisations believed that change in agency services was necessary and that three organisations (A) had achieved "modest" change while two (B) had managed extensive alterations to the services offered. The Directors of organisations in the "A" group held clear views about how services could be changed to become "more relevant and effective" (McKendrick, 1992,p.7). He maintains that "they had firm ideas about the objectives of change, they had some notion about resources for change and resistances to it, and they were able to identify some of the things that needed to be changed and ...to pinpoint the primary change target- overcoming staff resistance to change and creating staff support and enthusiasm..." However, they had no detailed plan to achieve the required changes.

The two organisations which had achieved "dramatic change" had initiated joint planning processes led by outside facilitators and involving the various stakeholders in the agency. This vehicle allowed for consensus about future development of the services and the commensurate changes in the structure and organisation of the agencies were effected to achieve the vision. Consequently these organisations now provide increased primary and secondary preventative services and are engaged in the deliberate targeting of vulnerable groups and the racial integration of their services. [McKendrick (1992,p.10) recognises a central role for the director in promoting exercises "to stimulate stocktaking, appraisal and future planning" in organisations. Another identified factor concerned the commitment to "collaborative work" which encourages ownership, personal interest, commitment, risk taking and clarity from the planning process. Ongoing training and staff development were viewed as important vehicles to create an organisation responsive to continued change efforts (McKendrick, 1992,p.11). The task of the directors can thus be viewed as the creation of an organisational culture which makes available training and support and which provides a long term perspective for the service.]

[Smith & O'Hara (1992,p.244) writing in Britain, propose a similar approach to that which McKendrick has described and which they refer to as "a proactive approach". They view a proactive approach as requiring the regrouping of a set of resources, money, buildings and people into a new pattern of services based on the qualities of efficiency

and effectiveness. They (1992,p.244) endorse the "responsive organisation model" as proposed by Hadley & Young (1990). The key factors necessary for building a responsive service organisation are :

- * envisaging success based on principles of quality and value;
- * nurturing of strategic thinking and creativity within organisations;
- * determining support structures for pathfinders, decision makers and implementors;
- * sustaining shared values of the organisation through enabling styles of management;
- * positively approaching and resolving conflict; and
- * adopting risk analysis to support risk taking.

The two models which have been discussed present interesting detail about the altered functions and processes involved in management practice, but they ignore the most common and most significant factor which is present in all managerial situations- the people.

3.3 The future role of managers

People management skills are now acknowledged as being among the most important components of the skills and abilities required by managers. Effective management requires the management and development of people and it requires managers who are equipped to undertake this management function. Lupton (1992, p.98) describes "the new managerialism" as the combination of a strategic goal setting

managerial style with the exhibition of compassion and participation in a changing external environment. Recent information about leadership styles which are detailed in Chapter Four, emphasise the important differences between transactional and transformational leaders. Transformational leadership which emphasises managerial qualities of accessibility and supportiveness, concern with people's needs rather than distance, but also directiveness and prudence, is viewed as the more appropriate style for a climate of change. Martin (1993,p.1) identifies the new managerial model with the total quality management approach (TQM). The philosophy of management is based on the concept of quality and the approach attempts to strike a balance between Taylorism and the Behaviourist School. The basic tenets of TQM are that systematic analysis of agency function has to be combined with the management of people if improved services are to be sustained.

A greater awareness of the need to develop people has focused increased attention on issues of inequality. Williams (1991,p.17) states that the ability to manage a multi-racial workforce is the acid test of good management. Motshabi (1991,p.117) suggests that the process of change has become quite deep and rapid in South Africa and that political, economic and demographic factors are encouraging employers in the private sector to hire more black people. "The wide racial spread of employees will bring two broadly different cultures, black and white, into intimate and continuing contact" and managers have the responsibility to handle this new diversity and to ensure that employees

work together as a team. Motshabi (1991,p.117) asserts that "if not handled properly, racial and cultural diversity can impede the building of such relationships" and this will prove detrimental to the interests of the organisation. Issues of equality thus place additional tasks on managers to ensure equality and to provide opportunities for people development.

* (include 176-177)

Williams (1991,p.17) asserts that managing a multi-racial workforce requires additional management skills as institutional and individual racist assumptions and practices have to be confronted. In an article, (Williams, 1991,p.17-21) about equal opportunity for black workers, specifies some of the important skills which managers should acquire as:

- * forward planning and team building requires a leader who can interpret and confront issues in an effort to avoid staff alienation;
- * the ability to determine appropriate methods for resolving potentially explosive situations;
- * the regulation of each other's behaviour by challenging breaches in management and practice;
- * the recognition of collusive practices and management at all levels;
- * setting targets which should be monitored at all levels;
- * the confrontation of racist attitudes in the selection and recruitment process;
- * the development of a sound induction package;
- * a proactive stance in identifying the training needs of black staff

and the encouragement of these staff to take advantage of further training;

- * support to black staff as a right and not as patronage and this includes the provision of adequate supervision and feedback and the valuing of their contributions;
- * development of monitoring systems which will ensure the overall effectiveness of procedures, process, policy and practice; and
- * an adequate support and networking system for black workers, with time for these workers to attend meetings of the group.

The changing trends in society have placed considerable pressure on social work organisations to provide services which are relevant and appropriate for their clients. The uncertainty and contradictions which accompanies the reconceptualisation and restructuring of services will require managers who have the necessary skills to ensure quality and equality in service delivery and who are able to develop staff who can operate in an effective, efficient and non discriminatory way.

4. THEMES OF INEQUALITY

Equal opportunity policies are based on the recognition of the rights of all individuals to equal treatment and equal access opportunities. The exclusion of certain individuals can be understood as a reflection of how society assigns worth or value to some people, characteristics and activities as well as the exercise of social power which determines whose values gain general acceptance.

As dimensions of race and gender form key concepts of this thesis, the perspectives of black and women writers are important sources which are highlighted in this section. The key aspects which will be explored relate to race, the common oppression of gender and the specific oppression of black women. The latter distinction is regarded as an important one because the life and experiences of white and black women show substantive qualitative differences. A special focus on the South African experience of race and gender inequality follows. Finally, the impact of equal opportunity initiatives on the social work profession will be explored.

4.1 Women and inequality

The Civil Rights Struggle of 1968 focused attention on white racial prejudice. The focus particularly on its psychology and historical origins, revealed the dynamic nature of discrimination and triggered campaigns for political and legal emancipation and for equal access to employment opportunities (Davis, 1974, p.8-9). A cardinal achievement of the

movement is that it fractured an intellectual tradition.

As Lee & Loveridge (1987, p2) state,

"the questioning of values and discourses has led to a re-examination of social history and of the assumptions made by its authors".

Before this event the doctrine of determinism governed the perception of difference. This doctrine accepted mistaken notions about the attributes and capabilities of different groups and condoned the oppression of women and black people as the norm and as an immutable truth (Curtin, in Mintz, 1974, p.18).

The movement marked a turning point in the study of race relations. Banton (1974,p.37) notes that the scholarly enterprise manifested itself in London with the founding of the Journal of Race and Group Relations, in France with the establishment of intercultural studies at the France Institute d'Etudes and in Southern Africa the Institute of Race Relations at U.C.T. and in Johannesburg were created. A significant development was the crystallisation of the principles of affirmative action principles, policies and practices, which have informed policy development in other societies concerned with ensuring justice and equal treatment. The civil rights movement invigorated and gave impetus to the scholarly enterprise of the women's movement.

The second wave of the women's movement in the late 1960s, can be seen as an outflow of the civil rights movement and occurred as a realisation

of white women's position in society as that of second class citizens. Feminist writers record that historically women's roles have been central and inextricably linked with those of men and it is by explaining the world in male terms that women became peripheral (Mitchell, 1971; Dally, 1987).

It is noteworthy that the lauded pioneers who have attempted to explain inequality in society since 1820 were all male. The compendium of the works which follows, attest to the invisibility of women and where black people have been acknowledged it has been in the context of slavery, imperialism and colonialism; all of which bear witness to the visceral nature of the interaction between black and white people (Curtin, 1974,p.21).

Richardson & Lambert (1986,p.79) state that Marx explained inequality in terms of ownership of the economy and hegemony. He believed that a basic struggle between owners and workers determined all inequality in society and indoctrinated working classes to aspire to middle class values. Weber recognised that the forces of production were the perpetrators of inequality (Richardson & Lambert, 1986, p79). He introduced the concept of life chances which established different yardsticks for measuring inequality. Using the concept of life chances one could extrapolate in terms of gender and race (Millett, 1979, p.120). An educated white woman, for instance, would be seen to be less disadvantaged and less unequal than a working class white or black

woman. Durkheim, writing at much the same time provided a collectivist approach, with order as his central concern. His themes of solidarity and cohesion were derived from an idea of collective consciousness (Ladner, 1973,p.228). If this consciousness was white, heterosexual and male, then it follows that other groups would be ordered by men along a continuum. Engels was one of the few theorists who attempted to render women visible in relation to the institutions of family and marriage. As Millett (1979, p120) observes, "his attempt to demonstrate that they were not an eternal feature of life was in itself a radical departure." These two institutions, according to Millett (1979,p.120) survive on the exploitation of women.

The originators perceived that the basis for a universal explanation of inequality is through economics, dialectics and evolutionary theory as if unequal relations lie principally in the class structure and the workplace. No plausible explanations for gender and racial inequality are articulated. These contributions from the social sciences perceive difference as inferiority. The interpretation of difference as deficit, has encouraged pejorative notions of black people and this in turn means that the difficulties which they experience are seen as reaffirming the stereotypes.

4.1.1 Feminist Theories

The women's movement has done much to redress the balance of centuries of misrepresentation. Yet, despite a central aim, women have

remained hopelessly divided at the ideological level and the spectrum they address is incredibly broad. Phillipson (1991, p.17) submits that this discord occurs because feminism is not a uniform concept. She regards feminism

"as a way of understanding the world, it challenges many previously held ways of describing and theorising about the world. It is also concerned with ways of behaving and being in the world".

According to Phillipson (1991,p.17) the different accounts of feminism do contain common strands. Three approaches will be explored which highlight these distinctions.

- (a) Liberal feminism represents essentially a reformist position. Liberal feminists argue that by changing the education system and legislation, women will be given choice. They do not challenge the patriarchal system and the family as do marxist and radical feminists (Haralambos, 1987, p.398).
- (b) Marxist feminists draw attention to the structure of society which oppresses working class men and women and ensures the continuation of inequality. To redefine women's oppression the leading feminists have re-examined the works of Marx and Engels to infuse their seminal work with a feminist perspective. Although this still entails working within a framework devised by men, it restates history and corrects the male perspective. Marxist

analysts such as Barrett (Barret & McIntosh,1982, p.61) utilise Marx's analysis of working class oppression to explain women's oppression. Barret's focus utilises an ideological rather than a material basis to argue about women's oppression. Her work cannot explain why women have been oppressed in virtually every society, even where the state was not capitalist. However, the classiest element does explain the different levels of oppression in that an upper class white woman will be more equal, but will still be oppressed within her sex role (Barrett & McIntosh, 1982, p.61, Mitchell,1971, p.82).

- (c) Radical feminism concerns itself with the patriarchal structure of society. Exponents hold a mixture of views which are difficult to categorise. Some advocate the exclusion of men and others concentrate on sexual violence, celibacy and matriarchy. Their treatises depict the struggles of contemporary women in terms of patriarchy, the division of labour and the organisation of characteristics and personality. Delphy (in Haralambos, 1987,p.396) argues that women's oppression is more fundamental than class oppression because it includes her role as a housewife which lacks both recognition and payment . Women's oppression therefore has a material base and is founded in marriage which allows oppression. A counter-argument has been posed that class inequality subsumes women's inequality. The rhetoric is that women were excluded from the labour market as they did not

produce surplus value and therefore they were not categorised as a separate class (Millett, 1979,p.122). It was also parried that women's role in the bourgeoisie family has been recognised by the references made by Marx and Engels to the separation of private and public work which was an acknowledgement of women's work in the home. Hartman (1979,p.219) examined the partnership between capitalism and patriarchy. She posits that capitalism is explained in terms of labour, but that these categories are sex blind as the different positions of women are unexplained. The counter-argument which has been posed is that patriarchy is older than capitalism. Inequalities are therefore, not explained by inequality in industry although the two concepts have to be examined together. Millett (1979,p.122) observes that:

"the political power that men wield over women amounts to the fundamental division in society where the rule of women by men is more rigorous than the class stratification and more enduring".

Firestone (Haralambos, 1987,p.397) states that sex, class and the dialectic of sex springs from the biological entity and is based on woman's reproductive role and her child rearing responsibilities. She advocates that women must seize the means of reproduction through cloning and genetic engineering and this will ensure liberation from family and sexual oppression. The implications of her suggestions takes no cognisance of issues of race and fails to acknowledge the separate struggle of black feminists and the uniqueness of their oppression.

4.1.2 Feminism and race

Sargent (1979,p.xx) in "The unhappy marriage of Marxism and Feminism" expresses the alienation and isolation which black women feel from the women's movement. She says that

"racism while part of the discussion was never successfully integrated into feminist theory and practice, resulting in a strong black feminist protest against the racism and classism implicit in a white feminist movement".

Natoolo (1985, p.12) argues that although white women may understand their own situations, their failure to grasp the crucial differences between experiences of black and white women and the enormous differential of power, measured by both income and range of options, show the existence of false consciousness. She states that the voices of black women that have not met the criteria and terms defined by patriarchal centric women's movement have been dismissed.

Eisenheim (1979, p.33) writes that black women and other women of colour pointed to the insensitivity of white feminists in assuming that their experience could speak for that of all women, or alternatively in using the experience of blacks as a metaphor for that of (white) women. The argument made that the writings of middle class white women who are not fully prepared to acknowledge their own repression, is refuted by feminist writers like Eisenheim (1979,p.33) who counter that the content of the ideas, not the writer is the most significant.

This discourse is taken up by Hooks in her book "Ain't I a woman". Hooks (1982,p.52) focuses on the content of white feminist arguments by exploring the form of feminism. She states that black women have suffered multiple oppressions of racism and gender as well as being on the lowest level of the social scale. She highlights that

"no other group has had their identity socialised out of existence as have black women...they are rarely recognised as a group separate and distinct from black men" or as a presence apart from the larger group "women".

Hooks (1982,p.52) uses historical issues to illustrate that while white women's organisations in the nineteenth century could confine their attention to issues like education or charity, black women dealt with issues like poverty, care for the elderly and disabled and prostitution. Davis (1981,p.43) asserts that when white women gained the vote, they used their voting privileges to support male figures in their lives, not women's issues. In her book "From margin to centre" Hooks (1984,p.13) shapes her theory on the conflicts between black and white perspectives and then applies these to specific issues to show the contradictions.

Hooks (1984,p.13) further takes issue with the assumption that all women are oppressed. She asserts that being oppressed means that one has no choices and many women do have choices. Feminists would argue that middle class white women are oppressed within their sex role, even when they had choices and this leads Hooks to charge that what white feminists had managed to do was make their interests the primary

focus of the movement and then employ a rhetoric of commonality. Hooks (1984,p.13) suggests that by projecting onto black women the image of power and strength, white women promote a false image of themselves as powerless, passive victims and so they deflect attention away from their aggression, their power and their willingness to dominate. Moreover, Hooks (1984, p15) points out that white women and black men can act as oppressor or oppressed. She posits that sexism from black men exists, but this cannot represent the patriarchal society, as black men do not hold power within society. Their oppression and indoctrination into attainment of white norms and values, have helped them to practise sexism. In this way white women have played a major role in perpetuating and maintaining the victimisation of black women, and in particular the stereotypes. Black women who did involve themselves with the movement found their presence to be that of a tokenistic gesture or else suffered the condescending attitude of white women (Hooks, 1984,p.15).

The relationship between capitalism and the division of labour is a priority subject for feminists. The division of labour historically and currently shows that with the systematic organisation of work, the emergence of social classes, with socially constructed values which are absorbed from the patriarchal society was inevitable (Mandal,1982, p.14). It is charged that segregation is actively encouraged by employers who set out to segment labour markets in order to maximise their profits and to fragment the collective power of labour (Mandal, 1982,p.14).

Feminists argue that women's roles were seen as providing for the well being of the family while theories about employment have been restricted to the public arena in which the dominant group performs. The concentration on paid employment denies the world of family, home, social and community relations and thereby defines women's value in a male world. Mainstream literature depicts the qualities or groups of male and female traits, which are engendered by the socialisation process and which influence the decisions which women make about whether to work and in what capacity. While a perspective has to be developed which would do justice to the roles women play, the feminist declaration that

"work outside the home was the key to liberation...would break the bones of economic dependency on men, which in turn enables them to resist sexist domination" (Millett, 1979,p.28),

presupposes that women are a monolithic group. This is far removed from the experiences of black women who have worked in jobs that have neither liberated them from dependence on men nor made them economically self sufficient. Poor women know that work is neither personally fulfilling or liberatory- it is for the most part exploitative and dehumanising (Hooks, 1984,p.15). Engaged in waged work on the periphery and generally paid on a substantially lower scale than men these women are in Braverman's (1974,p.5) terms, the "ideal reservoir of labour".

The dual responsibilities for household and socialisation tasks that women who work as full time wage earners are forced to assume, have caused some scholars to view them as "semi-proletarianised" (Berger, 1988,p.217). This implies that their labour force participation is deemed to be insufficient to foster class consciousness. Rowbotham (1972,p.113) writes of European women that "women's relationship to reproduction and consumption, meant that her work outside the home was an economic supplement to the family" and that women retained "certain features of a procapitalist labour force. They never fully learnt the rules of the new economic game". Dual role responsibility is an insufficient explanation for semi-proletarianisation when, as Berger (1988,p.217) acknowledges, working women in South Africa who have similar dual role responsibilities display a degree of consciousness inconsistent with the idea of semi-proletarianisation. Berger (1988,p.217-219) asserts that particular conditions in society account for the development of class consciousness. She lists the following as possible factors contributing to the development of consciousness:

- ◆ a general atmosphere of economic and political unrest, economic exploitation and racial oppression;
- ◆ a high degree of economic obligation;
- ◆ limits on the right to organise freely;
- ◆ communal living situations that heighten the sense of shared experience;
- ◆ gender based inequality;

- ◆ harassment at work;
- ◆ a tradition of gender solidarity; and
- ◆ a relationship to collective struggles in which women have participated.

Tilly's (Berger,1981,p.233) proposal of a continuum that defines women's issues as either incidental to or intrinsic to popular struggles, places Berger's contribution into perspective. Berger (1988,p.219) suggests that for black South African women the relationship between work, home and the necessity to feed, clothe and educate their children is not a longing for an idealised past, but the expression of a concrete present need. Such needs are articulated in various forms ranging from resignation and acceptance to active struggle in the workplace. From this it is apparent that women's problems are only part of their struggle, but issues like low wages and harassment help to fuel discontent and provide a

"sense of solidarity that was not incidental to the strikes and stoppages which have occurred increasingly since the 1970s" (Berger,1988,p.233).

She (1988,p.233) also suggests that groups provide a sense of female solidarity. She argues that family lends a sense of purpose that leads women to:

"struggle readily to improve their wages and working conditions, but that family members, through their assistance with child care and other reproductive tasks, often provide women with the support networks that enable them to engage in such activity".

Family ties are often the only supportive system for exploited and oppressed peoples. In South Africa, the black family is not the site of oppression, but it has been the site of resistance against an oppressive state which engages in the forced separation of families. This reality is in direct contrast to the experience of white women activists who view the family as the site of oppression and who call for its abolition.

In conclusion it can be noted that the feminist literature covers a broad span of approaches. It incorporates some widely held beliefs but no one ideology is identifiable. There are several reasons for this, some of which relate to the different historical and political beliefs. Some of the literature also is based on individual rather than collective experience, some of the works are normative others are evaluative, and a few display intolerance towards alternate belief systems. Hooks (1982,p.16) and Natoolo (1985,p.6) take issue with specific aspects presented by white women activists because their arguments had not fully considered the different experiences of black and white women. Hooks (1985,p.6) argues that historically black women have been pushed into identifying themselves as a separate group and have simply realised that in order for them to develop, they must challenge racism as well as the ideologies of the white feminist movement. The feminist slogan "the personal is political" demonstrates white women's view of feminism as a lifestyle choice rather than a political commitment (Hooks, 1985,p.6). While this may help to raise consciousness and develop shared identity, it may have little appeal to black South African women, who experience community

anyway, but who seek ways to end exploitation and oppression. The slogan which these women may be able to align themselves with is "the political is personal" which avoids emphasis on individual lifestyle and brings into focus the multiple oppression which they share.

Despite these differences, the feminist literature focuses on the future and emphasises that women need to value themselves and each other. The contemporary focus is on acknowledging and respecting diversity and on joint initiatives which address a range of concerns. This new focus which is occurring in South Africa and abroad, is explored in greater detail in Chapter Three.

5. THEORIES OF RACE

5.1 The construction of reality

An examination of the changing nature of racism is crucial to an appreciation of how racism operates in society and in social work in particular. This knowledge provides an essential base for the development of anti-oppressive practice.

Sivanandan (1983,p.2) declares that "racism does not stay still: it changes shape, size, contours, purpose and function with changes in the economy, the social structure, the system and above all, the challenges and the resistance to that system". He identifies early forms of discrimination as racialism which he maintains is "a racial prejudice, which is carried over from the colonial period". Batts (1982,p.207-209)

describes the view that blacks are inherently inferior to whites as "old fashioned" racism. Old fashioned racism involves behaviour, practices and attitudes that overtly define blacks as less than whites and thus entitles them to fewer of society's benefits. Behaviours such as whites expecting blacks to defer to them or use separate entrances to buildings are examples of this kind of racism. These behaviours are expressions of the doctrine of racial superiority which has been constructed from evidence produced by science, biology, genetics, psychology, anthropology and sociology and these beliefs are used to determine the "place" of an individual in society.

Sivanandan (1983,p.3) asserts that the racism which emerged during the 1960s is a structured arrangement which allows the powerholders to act out their prejudice. According to this perspective, prejudice had become institutionalised and was perpetuated through the policies, practices and structures in society. Batts (1979,p.10) defines modern racism as the attribution of non-race related reasons for behaviours that continue to deny equal access of opportunity to targets of systemic oppression. Although these beliefs are based on assumptions of inferiority, the affect is expressed in subtle and different ways (Batts, 1979,p.10). She considers that the impact is no less because the expression of such behaviours results in the oppressed being denied their fair share of benefits. It can thus be inferred that the old fashioned notions of race provided the rationale for oppression while modern racism serves to maintain the systemic oppression.

Oppression will be examined by exploring critical themes which underpin old fashioned racism. Modern racism will then be described and finally a critical perspective of social work practice and racism will be provided.

5.2 Old fashioned racism

The following four aspects which have been selected for attention emphasise the contributions from different disciplines. Included are:

the delusion of race;

biology, genetics and stigma;

the historical emphasis on race and

the sociology of disadvantage.

(a) The Delusion of Race

The apartheid structure rests on the notion of white male supremacy which orders the superior white race at the top of the race typology and locates other groups in inferior positions. The delusion of race has been based on a classification of human beings which was developed by 19th century European thinkers. A typology was developed by Gobineau (Haralambos, 1986,p.8) as follows:

Caucasoid - Europid

Mongoloid - Mongolid

Negroid - Negrid

Australoid- Australasid

Capoid - Koisand (local South African)

The typology rests on gender types which are fixed and permanent and represents phenotypical group differences and patterns of physical differences like hair type, skin colour, nasal shape and lip formation. Many anthropologists believe that these classifications are of limited scientific value and carry the risk of "inviting abusive generalisations". The study of eugenics is a reflection of such an abuse (Curtin,1974,p.17). Darwin's theory of evolution which suggests a natural process of evolution and a natural selection of the fittest, served as the launching pad for the study of eugenics (Curtin,1974,p.17). Darwin had little to say about racial differences, but "his views were at least consonant with scientific racism, and others wrote about race struggle in much the same terms he had used in discussing the struggle of survival among species" (Curtin, 1974,p.19). As has already been stated, the typology was based purely on physiognomy but prominent psychologists such as Bowlby and Eysenck have linked it to the quantification of intelligence and so created the ideology of white heterosexual male supremacy (Altarf, 1984,p3). The resultant view of black people as congenitally defective, childlike, uncivilised and unintelligent and of women as submissive, weak and emotional, allowed for the relegation of these groups to inferior status.

(b) Biology, genetics and stigma

The notion that biological levels set limits on cultural achievements served as a useful justification for imperialists and colonialists to rape, pillage, exploit and murder (Curtin, 1974, p.19). In the aftermath of the atrocities which led to World War II, Unesco commissioned biologists and social scientists to give an exact scientific meaning to the term race. The Unesco Document which appeared in 1966 addresses the nature of race and racial differences and contains the unambiguous conclusions of scientists about the biological aspects of race.

The document states that all human beings belong to a single species and are derived from a common stock, which has been dispersed through various migrations. Therefore pure races in the sense of genetically homogeneous populations do not exist in the human species. There are physical differences which have a genetic component; and the different classification of human beings into major stocks is based on scientific measurements and research studies of physical traits; but these are not clear-cut categories.

The Unesco document (1966, p. 4) argues that while heredity may have an influence in the variability shown, no difference in genetic endowments have been convincingly proved in psychological tests. The document posits that differences between individuals within

a race or population are often greater than the average differences between races or populations. The assertion is made that "neither in the field of hereditary potentialities concerning the overall intelligence and the capacity for cultural development, nor in that of physical traits, is there any justification for the concept of "inferior" or "superior" races" (Unesco, 1966,p.6). There is thus no valid basis for the psychological traits attributed to particular peoples. There is however, ample evidence which shows that genotypes and not phenotypes are determining factors. Genotypes shows that genetic patterning is determined by the physical, cultural and social environments, by diet, social influences, geographic boundaries and political forces which have an effect on the achievements of different peoples (Unesco, 1966,p.8).

The document concludes that the biological data stand in open contradiction to the tenets of racism, that the racist theories have no scientific foundation and cautions that anthropologists should prevent the results of their research from being used in a biased manner (Unesco, 1966,p.12) .

(c) The effects of the historical emphasis

The extent of the power of white heterosexual male domination became apparent with the re-examination of the traditional view of history and the attempts of prominent writers to correct the distortion, deletion and denial of the contributions of women and

black people to civilisation (Curtin, 1974,p.17). The cumulative efforts at correcting information highlighted a more sinister and damaging process which was at work. By controlling the process of who asks the historical questions and defines the problems, the dominant systems and actors have shaped the uses, values, interests and ideologies. By writing the history, reality was shaped in white heterosexual male images and interests. To appreciate the extent of the damage, we have to recognise that

"history is a mirror...a source of understanding of society and self...a measure of achievement and an indication of what people can aspire to" (Karenga, 1987, p.43-52).

When people's legacies are purloined and their contributions are obliterated, then what is also stolen is their belief in their own ability to achieve. Oppressed groups internalise their lack of value and support white and male dominance because they are so effectively socialised into white and male values through cultural mechanisms. Batts (1982,p.210) refers to this phenomenon as "internalised oppression". Galtung's (in Smith, 1981,p.301) theory of imperialism records the way in which imperialists ruled through overt power and hegemony. Objectified control is achieved through economic, political, military, communication and cultural imperialism while their values and orientations would be subtly inculcated through family, school, religious, social and political systems of the structure. The process whereby the beliefs and

achievements of a dominant group are continuously enforced on stigmatised individuals who then accepted the superiority of the group is called hegemony. In the process the subordinate group members accept their inferiority and they consequently aspire to become like the elite. Once individuals are indoctrinated into the precepts of inferiority and superiority then stigmatised individuals have to negotiate not only the external barriers to success, but also their own internalised oppression which undermines the belief in themselves and their ability to control their lives.

(d) The Sociology of Disadvantage

Gilroy (1987,p.54) states that the sociological writings on race relations fall into three categories reflecting analysis of structures, meanings and culture. Race is seen as both a property of structures and a source of meanings. Various debates on race, as are reflected in the contemporary sociological theories, will now be examined.

- (a) Functionalism is a refined and sophisticated version of Darwinism. It is based on concepts of consensus, social stability and integration. According to functionalism, society is composed of various institutions which reinforce the agreed and prevailing norms and values in society (Haralambos, 1986, p.73). These institutions mould members into suitable citizens. The most basic of these institutions is the family which is responsible for

productive and reproductive functions. Educational, religious, economic and other institutions also perform socialisation functions. Functionalism accepts change as an inevitable process, which occurs through evolution. This approach denies that there are groups which are dominant and in a position to construct the social world because of their superior economic and social powers (Haralambos, 1986,p.71). Functionalism recognises poverty as an unsettling factor and finds the causes of poverty in the culture and social organisation of the poor. There is the view that traditional values hold poor countries in poverty. The Weberian concept of "underclass" which has recently been developed is applied to poor and principally to black people who are unemployed and unemployable because of "loosing battles in markets for jobs, housing and education" (Dunleavy, 1980,p.39; Rex 1983). Brittan & Maynard (1984,p.6) assert that the underclass is more than a denial of access, the entire system is structured to prevent oppressed groups from succeeding. This focus succeeded in moving blame from the victim to understanding oppression within the power structures and the constraints which determine the socio-economic position of disadvantaged groups and influence their relationships with dominant groups. Human & Hofmeyr (1985, p10) assert that in South Africa the segregation of education, housing and neighbourhood provides better opportunities for white advancement and has allowed a black underclass to develop.

(b) Marxist analysis argues that economic relations have a primacy in determining the character of race politics. Ladner (1973,p.228) quoting from the Communist Manifesto concludes that Marx held the third world in contempt because it did not compare with western countries. Marx states that the bourgeoisie:

"draws all, even the most barbaric nation into civilisation... just as it has made the country dependent on towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on civilised ones"...

He described the Bengalese community as a "small barbarian semi-civilised community" and the Chinese as a "fossil of social life". The Sap rebellion in India and the Moorish wars were viewed as due to the "cunning of semi-savages". Marx (Ladner, 1973,p.228) rejected any notion of genuine virtues in traditional communal systems by statements that these communities

"restrained the human mind... making it an unresisting tool of superstition, enslaving it beneath traditional rules, depriving it of grandeur and historical energies" (Ladner,1973,p.228).

Engels (Ladner, 1988,p.229) too spoke of Asiatic barbarity and of the difficulties of training Oriental because of their "ignorance, impatience, prejudice and vicissitudes".

Both Marx and Engels viewed imperialism as an important act for the progress of civilisation. Fannon (1982,p.28) recognised the flaw in Marxist reasoning that denies all history to underdeveloped countries. He proposes that invasions interrupted history by imposing the yoke of imperialism. Miles (1982,p.12) opposed to the race and class dichotomy, contends that racial structuration may be imposed by capital, but it is compounded by state institutions and agencies. He states that economic structure is not enough to shape the social reality of intergroup conflicts, the existence of a set of beliefs about inferiority of the black race gives the impetus. These beliefs are inculcated by the family, school, social, political and religious structures within society.

5.3 Modern racism

Sivanandan (1983,p.3) asserts that a different kind of racial prejudice was visible from the 1960s, which he refers to as racism. He considers racism to be virulent because it personifies the acting out of racial prejudice. He (1983,p.3) elucidates that attitudes can be tolerated, "but it matters to me if I can't send my child to the school I want to send my child to, if I can't get the job for which I am qualified and so on". Sivanandan (1983,p.3) contends that when the acting out of prejudice becomes institutionalised and perpetuated through the structure, "then we are dealing not with attitudes, but with power. Racism is about power not about prejudice". The change in the nature of racism in Britain became visible during the 1960s with the restriction of resources and it worsened in the 1970s when "the recession began to bite".

Wellman (1977,p.4) writing in North America, expresses a similar view that racism is ascribed inequality which is the result of "culturally sanctioned, rational responses to struggles over scarce resources...". He alleges that racism reflects real and material conditions, and as such they are not simply irrational concerns, misperceptions or inaccurate information. He declares that it represents the "ideological defences of the interests and privileges that stem from white people's position in a structure based in part on racial inequality". It is notable that Thatcher's discourse on race in the 1980s was forged on the ideological level through the media and effected on the political level through forces of law and order, principally the courts and the police (Sivanandan, 1983,p.3). Through her rhetoric she succeeded in moving the site of the struggle to the ideological and political levels thus changing the nature and function of racism (Sivanandan, 1983,p.6).

Galloway (1991,p.240) contends that racialism and racism are interrelated. It is difficult to separate personal, institutional and cultural racism as they are embedded within the structure of society and intrinsic to the issue of privilege. Experiences of oppression and of oppressing others at institutional, cultural, social or personal levels inevitably involves both racialism and racism. It is noteworthy that these experiences create the daily reality of individuals which is the prime focus for social work intervention.

6. RACISM IN SOCIAL WORK

Radical and feminist writers since the mid 1970s have been concerned with the biases inherent in social work theory and practice. Their main foci have been on the reconceptualisation of social work and with the fundamental changes required to ensure equitable and relevant practice.

These writers have seriously questioned the philosophy and theory of social work as well as the traditional social work practice (Langan, 1992,p.2). Galloway (1991,p.242) using Midgley (1981) maintains that social work values such as liberalism, individualism, humanitarianism, the work ethic and capitalism unencumbered by government interference are the cornerstones of the profession. Galloway (1991,p.242), in his examination of the principle of individualism in a casework context, expresses the view that this value becomes racist because it divorces the individual from his/her identity and so fails to recognise the impact of differences. He writes that such an intervention:

- neglects the impact that racist history has had on black people;
- pathologises black people;
- presumes that black and white people have the same problems;
- ignores the specific problems and needs of black people as a group;
- denies the black struggle;
- emphasises the adjustment of black people to the environment;
- maintains the status quo; and
- identifies social work as the apparatus of the state.

Radical social workers charge that the predominant casework method endorses an individualistic approach which emphasised private ills rather than public issues and which assisted people to adjust to an oppressive society (Bailey & Brake, 1975,p.9). Radical social workers propose a paradigm in which individuals are viewed within wider social, economic and political contexts and "where problems are seen as originating in the environment rather than the individual client".

Bailey & Brake (1975,p.50) explore the power differentials between the social worker and the client as the site of discrimination. They contend that social welfare organisations deal with individuals who are suffering severely from the effects of an oppressive social system. Bailey & Brake (1975,p.50) argue that "these effects are experienced at a personal level; they involve people's feelings about themselves and others" and they caution that "a radical perspective which ignores or argues away the psychological effects of experience...is in danger of failing to consider others as whole persons, of perpetuating in another form a fragmented, dehumanized view of men and women". The social worker also, is the agent of the organisation and the gatekeeper to resources. Galloway (1991,p.244) refers to this as the controlling dimension of social work "it excludes people from social work service and becomes a rationing device in the hands of under-resourced social work agencies...". Wellman (1977,p.35) concurs that resource control occurs "in culturally sanctioned rational ways" which takes no account of the difference that race makes. The power of the social worker is thus an essential ingredient within the

helping process. The facts which emerged from several studies in Britain (Rooney, 1982, Cheetham 1986, Dominelli 1988, Jordan 1983, Bailey & Brake 1975) showed that clients from stigmatised groups received services which were neither appropriate nor sensitive to their needs. Accumulating evidence showed that black people encountered racial prejudice and hostility from staff and that professionals sometimes failed to assess important and emerging needs (Ahmad, 1988,p.31). Bailey & Brake (1975,p.50) accordingly recognise that only viewing individuals in context is an insufficient framework as the institutionalised structures and belief systems which create inequality have to be challenged. Jacob et al (1991,p.250) use Dominelli's exposition of racism as it exhibits within the social work context. Dominelli recognises the existence of individual, institutional and cultural discrimination. She defines individual racism as made up of those attitudes and behaviour depicting a negative prejudgment of racial groups. Institutional racism is viewed as endemic to organisations and embodied in their policies, practices and procedures. Cultural racism relates to a system of beliefs regarding the acceptance of white western culture as superior. These forms of racism are embedded within both the value base of social work and conventional social work practice.

The history of social work developments in South Africa showed that welfare was intertwined with the poor white question and that apartheid legislation in South Africa had dictated who will receive social work services and to what extent.

Galloway (1991,p.245) declares that social work in South Africa manifests racism

through its value base;

with its focus on the residual model of welfare;

through the belief that the individual is responsible for his or her own welfare;

through the methods of social work service delivery; and

increasingly in terms of social control.

Galloway (1991,p.247) considers that there is "a new wave of racism in social work in South Africa". This trend is discernible from selected documents formulated in 1987 and 1990 which relate to training for the social auxiliary worker, financing of the welfare sector, minimum standards for tuition and training in social work and rules concerning the social workers scope of practice. He expresses the opinion that "it is alarming that such a rush of documents have been produced at this time...which are overtly racist and which emphasises the social control function of social work". He considers these policies and documents to be racist and advocates that they be rejected because:

they maintain the power position of white people over black people;

ration resources in such a way as to harm black people;

reiterate the social control function of social work; and

further entrench social work within an ideology of "personal deficiency".

O'Neill (1992,p.39) asserts that in the current social and political climate the social work profession raises serious challenges to its commitment to social justice and social responsibility. Its commitment has been challenged especially in the context of the role and relevance of social work in the black community. Mason (in McKendrick, 1990,p.86) reports on the dissatisfaction that black social workers express about the casework method. They describe casework as unhelpful and inappropriate in a third world context where clients issues relate to material aid and access to wider public services. Mason calls also for attention to be given to the development of ethnic sensitive practice.

Muller (1991,p.31-37) reports on an Human Science Research Council (HSRC) study which reveals some of the difficulties which black social workers experience in their roles. The majority of black social workers are appointed as caseworkers and manage heavy caseloads. Pervasive poverty, lack of resources, time pressures, conflicting expectations and values held by the community and by the authorities seriously affect the quality of aid rendered in both city and rural areas. Muller (1991,p.32) describes black social workers as struggling to cope with workloads. In the community work arena, projects are hampered by time constraints, bureaucratic redtape and decision making power which is not devolved to the community. The way in which the worker is perceived can also produce conflicting responses. When community workers intervene as activists involved in consciousness raising or advocacy, police harassment can follow and when they are viewed as dispensers of material aid or

agents of social control, they encounter resistance and suspicion in the community.

The discrimination which clients experience may not be a deliberate act but may be based on misunderstanding which emanates from cultural differences. Rees (1975,p.63) notes that the potential for misunderstanding exists even before the parties meet, as the social worker and client have lived in different worlds where different norms and values apply. Labelling and stigmatisation can result because of the lack of exposure to alternative lifestyles and because of different interpretations of resources, objectives and the means to attain the resources. McKendrick (1990,p.12) indicates that in South Africa where same race servicing applies, the racial distribution of registered social workers shows the numerical superiority of white social workers. The racial distribution is 5% Indians, 11% coloureds, 16% africans and 68% whites. The move away from same race servicing is inevitable in a changed South Africa. With transracial intervention, however, the potential for misunderstanding is multiplied. This is an important aspect which social work managers will have to address in the development of anti-oppressive practice.

7. EQUALITY INITIATIVES

Since the 1960s serious efforts have been made by employers internationally to address inequality and to remedy the employment disadvantages derived from oppression and segregation (Coulshed,

1992,p.148). Equality legislation promulgated in many countries makes it unlawful for an employer to discriminate on grounds of ethnicity, gender, marital status, religion, disability and sexuality in terms of employment, promotion and training. Initiatives which were then developed in America were referred to as affirmative action while those developed in Britain were called equal opportunity initiatives.

In the U.S.A. affirmative action policy was introduced which allowed for a quota system and for reverse discrimination so that stigmatised groups were given access to various resources and preferential treatment. This method of equalisation is based on teleological principles which revolve around corrective justice and restitution for the past (Parker, 1975,p.71; Glazer, 1983,p.30). The American system is viewed by Human & Hofmeyr (1991, p.30) as a contest system where an active race confrontation policy confirms that all individuals can aspire in the face of obstacles.

Lines (1990, p24) reviews the working of the Plowden report in Britain which was an early attempt at universal justice. She notes that in Britain the Plowden report of 1967 introduced the concept of positive discrimination. This was a means of diverting resources more accurately to groups in need without stigmatising individuals. Lines (1990,p.24) records that twelve years later, the notion was viewed as dangerous and insidious as compensatory ideas, which reflected reverse discrimination, had intervened. Quota systems were considered to be loaded

mechanisms so the need for a multi-dimensional framework was satisfied by the development of equal opportunity policies based on "open competition" and without regard to factors such as race, age and sex. Positive action clauses were inserted into the legislation to address injustice by giving preferential treatment to stigmatised individuals in training and job opportunities where those specific groups are under-represented (Brayne & Martins, 1990 p.293). This type of action is based on deontic principles which establish universality and fair opportunity. Stringent equal opportunity legislation has been developed in Britain in the 1980s as a result of vigorous and vociferous campaigns by black people and concerned white people. A review of the effectiveness of equal opportunity initiatives showed that many of the initiatives remained at the symbolic level (Ahmad, 1988,p.33).

8. EQUAL OPPORTUNITY INITIATIVES IN SOUTH AFRICA

According to the Sunday Tribune of 13/9/92, equal opportunity initiatives are not new to South Africa. Introduced some twenty years ago when American companies operating in South Africa were forced to adopt the Sullivan principles, the initiatives appear only recently to have moved beyond symbolism.

Erwee (1989, p1) and Van Rooyen (1989,p.16) confirm that the trend towards equalising opportunities in the field of commerce in South Africa has increased during the past decade and they suggest that the impetus for change has been propelled by economic rather than humanitarian

concerns. An approach to promote social justice should be set against the economic background of stagflation which is a result of unemployment, low productivity and monetary problems (Van Rooyen, 1989,p.7). Emerging policies, if they are to be successful, should be based on principles which strengthen the relationship between economic growth and human welfare in all its dimensions. The initiatives developed in commerce represent the adaptation of equal opportunity principles and practice to local conditions and can be used as guidelines for the development of analogous policies in the welfare arena. For this reason, they will be briefly discussed.

Early studies of equal opportunity development in South Africa show that there has been uneven development. The studies also indicate that private companies have emerged as forerunners in the field (Human, 1991,p.220; Erwee,1989,p.1; Van Rooyen,1989,p.7) In an article titled "managing diversity", Human & Bowmaker-Falconer (1992,p.25-29) review the development of equal opportunity initiatives. They conclude that the new initiatives which are referred to as the "management of diversity", are merely a euphemism for black advancement programmes and are doomed to failure because of misconceptions about development. The Sunday Tribune's survey of 750 South African companies confirms that affirmative action is based on "a set of procedures aimed to pro-actively address imbalances of the past and champion the cause of black people in business" and is " a programme of action instituted by the management of an organisation to recruit, train and nurture black

employees in preference to white for ascertain targeted positions". This leads Human & Hofmeyr (1985, p.10) and Human (1991,p.220) to infer that equal opportunity programmes subscribe to the deficit model which views black development as a black problem. Black advancement programmes have the effect of pathologising black people as they are based on the belief that black people are lacking in the essential qualities required to succeed in the "white world of work". The concepts of adjustment and assimilation which underpin these black advancement programmes place the onus therefore, on black people to change their way of doing things and this emphasis allows various personal, organisational and societal biases to remain unchanged. The features targeted for change are usually related to the inferior education, traditionalism and the culture which it is considered do not foster the necessary entrepreneurial attitude, ambition, initiative to make it in the business world (Human Bowmaker,1992,p.28).

8.1 Achievements of equal opportunity in South Africa

Has the new climate of equal opportunity in commerce produced any significant changes? Statistics on the appointment of managers indicate that in 1960 white men constituted 6.3% as compared to 1,8% white women and 0,1% black managers. By 1970 the white male aggregate had moved to 7,1%, compared to 1,1% white women and 0,1% black managers. In 1980 there was 8,9% white male managers, 2,0% white female managers and 0,1% black managers. While statistics for both white men and women in management have increased, the percentage of

black managers remained static (Human & Hofmeyr,1985, p.7).

This management picture emerges during the same period that Erwee (1993,p.2) reports a significant increase in the employment rate of women in South Africa. Currently the employment figures stand at 36% for black, 41% coloured, 28% for Asian and 36% for white women. Human & Hofmeyr (1991,p.7) contend that shifts have occurred in the occupational structure as a greater number of black people have moved upwards, but that such shifts are not so striking if the relative number of people are considered.

The level of occupational segregation in organisations by gender is high. Van de Walt (in Erwee, 1993,p.31) shows that 55% of all employed women in South Africa are found in four traditionally female occupations: nursing, teaching, clerical and sales occupations. Van der Walt (in Erwee, 1993,p.31) shows that white and black women dominate in these professions, while other racial groups are under-represented. Prekel (1989,p.10) claims that black women are upwardly mobile in certain professional categories and that similarly to white women, black women constitute 17% of all managerial, executive and administrative posts filled from within their racial groups. Information produced by Human & Hofmeyr (1985,p.8) indicates that the greatest movement is among females moving up into clerical and sales positions and that the rates of black people in professional and managerial positions has been slow to increase. They (1985,p.8) show that in 1960, 0,8% of economically active

black males were employed in professional and technical capacities; in 1970 there was 1,0% and in 1980 the percentage increased to 2,1%. Between 1960 and 1980, the percentage of black males employed as professional and technical workers has nearly trebled while those holding managerial positions have remained static over the same period. Prekel (1989,p.15) pays tribute to the "quiet contributors", the many black women who have to their credit made inroads into many occupations, against overwhelming odds. She notes that in a country where discrimination is acceptable and where black women face double discrimination because they are black and female; that their entrepreneurialship, hardworking and responsible attitudes and personal attributes, have assisted with their positive advancement. She (1989,p.15) submits that this has occurred despite the fact that black women have been overlooked in black advancement policies and attests to the strengths and resilience of black women.

Jacob, Joseph & Van Rooyen (1991,p.249) writing in a social work context, contend that the country is undergoing a period of dynamic social change where the demise of apartheid is inevitable. The urgent need is for a more appropriate model for service delivery. The review of equal opportunity initiatives in the British and American contexts show that racism will not be legislated away with the removal of apartheid. McKendrick (1990,p.15) maintains that the development of a new approach to service delivery has to reflect clarity about its primary concerns. He (1990,p.15-17; 1992,p.1-4) identifies the paramount

concern as being the provision of a service for the disadvantaged and for the vulnerable where "priorities should be determined by human need, not by colour". McKendrick (1990,p.15) proposes a paradigm for practice which is based on the ecological perspective propounded by Germain & Gitterman (1980). This approach recognises the interdependence between the individual and the wider context and identifies the significant tasks for social work activity so as:

To enhance the problem solving and coping capacities of people;

To link people with systems in their environment that provide them with resources, services and opportunities;

To promote the effective and humane operation of these resource systems; and

To contribute to the development and improvement of social policy (McKendrick, 1990,p.15).

The positives of this approach are located in the shift in focus from the individual to society, the acknowledgement of the interconnectedness of person and environment, the emphasis on primary prevention, the fostering of people's abilities and the vision of a proactive role for social workers. Jacob, Joseph & Van Rooyen (1991,p.254) contend that the ecological perspective is commensurate with the liberal approach which "assumes that the capitalist order is the best one, but that it may at times require fine tuning as problems arise and systems change". Quoting from Coates (1990) they state that although there may be

sensitivity to the impact of social inequality, there does not appear to be any questioning of the fundamental nature of the social order.

Although the ecological perspective employs the radical rhetoric of change, it is an insufficient framework to achieve the radical change which is required to fundamentally alter welfare provision. The framework deals essentially with social situations and issues of stratification and power distributions are largely unrecognised.

Galloway (1991,p.245) advocates that social work must confront its own racism and recognise that it is a political activity. Social workers must be aware of the power relations in their work with black people.

Galloway (1991,p.247) offers the opinion that social workers must:

become racially aware;

work to eliminate racism in their agency and their practice;

take up the anti racist struggle more generally through political activity;

move problem definitions from individual pathology to structures; and

recommit to social reform and think of the profession as a movement bent on making major changes.

From the above, it can be stated that the changes required are fundamental because of the various levels and different sites of oppression, as well as the complexities of the interplay between the past and the present. The nature and speed of change is affected by the spectrum of attitudes, which range from the pressure and impatient

demand of citizens of colour for equality and justice, to the determined opposition from the privileged white minority. These are intertwined with different shades of political opinion and violent confrontation which add to the complexity of the situation. This reality confirms the view that oppression is not simply a reflection of history, it is an enduring structural feature of society.

The elements which should be included in a framework for anti-oppressive practice should reflect all these different sites of oppression. With this in mind it is proposed that a new paradigm has to incorporate: an appreciation for the dialectic of people and systems and ways of releasing the creativity and potential of the people; an acknowledgement of the oppressive and supportive sources of systems and of ways in which to enhance the supportive features; and an understanding of the dynamics and the effects of discrimination on the oppressor and the oppressed, with the clear responsibility on the social worker to accept that discrimination exists and to examine the various sites for discriminatory practices and to address these.

9. CONCLUSION

The historical background and development of the formal social welfare structure shows that social work in South Africa has been motivated by the developments in Britain and North America and by the push for professionalism. The poor white question of 1903 acted as the impetus for the creation of the formal welfare system and the discriminatory

pattern of welfare has been evident in the services and benefits which have been weighted in favour of white recipients.

A turning point in the history of social welfare services occurred in 1976 with the proliferation of social and political movements which were established at grassroots level to meet the welfare needs of the people and to articulate their political demands.

The literature on management shows the change in management practice from an approach which emphasised efficiency to one which combined efficiency, effectiveness and people management skills. The promotion of people management skills emphasised the importance of equality and of managing diversity.

It is accepted that individual oppression can only happen because discriminatory behaviour is supported by the structure of oppressive thinking and action in the wider society. This chapter has provided an understanding of the ideas, notions and myths about gender and race which still prevail in the wider society.

The significant issues in equal opportunity struggles in Britain and America which began in earnest in the 1960s have been examined, as have the initiatives undertaken in the field of commerce in South Africa. The rapidly changing socio-economic climate in South Africa has rendered it essential for social work organisations to take appropriate

action in order to provide relevant and anti-oppressive social work services.

The tasks for social work managers are formidable as they will be required to develop and implement equal opportunity policies as well as to deal with the various resistances to change. Their skills will be fully tested in order to confront, to avoid alienation and to provide support and encouragement.

CHAPTER THREE

INFLUENCES ON THE INDIVIDUAL'S CAREER PATH

1. INTRODUCTION

Women's failure to plan for a career is often cited as one of the significant reasons for their difficulties with achieving success in management. More recent writings on women and management recognise that when women's progress is impeded within the promotional hierarchy, usually a combination of personal and organisational barriers are responsible.

Differential socialisation may prepare men to embark automatically on career development planning, but women are not given the same support to pursue careers. Women, therefore, have to struggle against the myths and their own internalised beliefs that they are biologically not equipped for management, that they are too subjective and that they are uncommitted to careers. Women today, do have options about career and life choices and often these entail making difficult choices about work and home. Another central theme in overcoming barriers to advancement is the recognition that barriers in the workplace are not due to natural phenomena, nor are these

solely the result of unintended consequences. Discrimination is a socially constructed phenomenon which has to be located within the context of purposive action and its intended outcomes.

Career planning may help with identifying and negotiating some of the barriers that hinder women's progress towards the achievement of managerial and leadership positions. Career planning is addressed only in a limited sense within the social work literature. Those women who aspire to management positions in the social work field will have to compete with men and require appropriate tactics and strategies to plan successful and long term career moves.

This chapter explores the factors and frameworks that enhance and impede the career patterns of individuals. The important role that critical factors, events and relationships play in shaping people's experience, expectations, potential and aspirations at certain trajectories in their careers will be examined as they occur generally and in particular within the South African context. The latter part of the chapter provides a focus on the career choices open to women and encourages women to take charge and to manage their careers.

2. FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE CAREER PATHS

Valuable paradigms for understanding an array of significant factors which influence career patterns have been provided by Josefowitz (1980), Haynes

(1989) and Powell (1988).

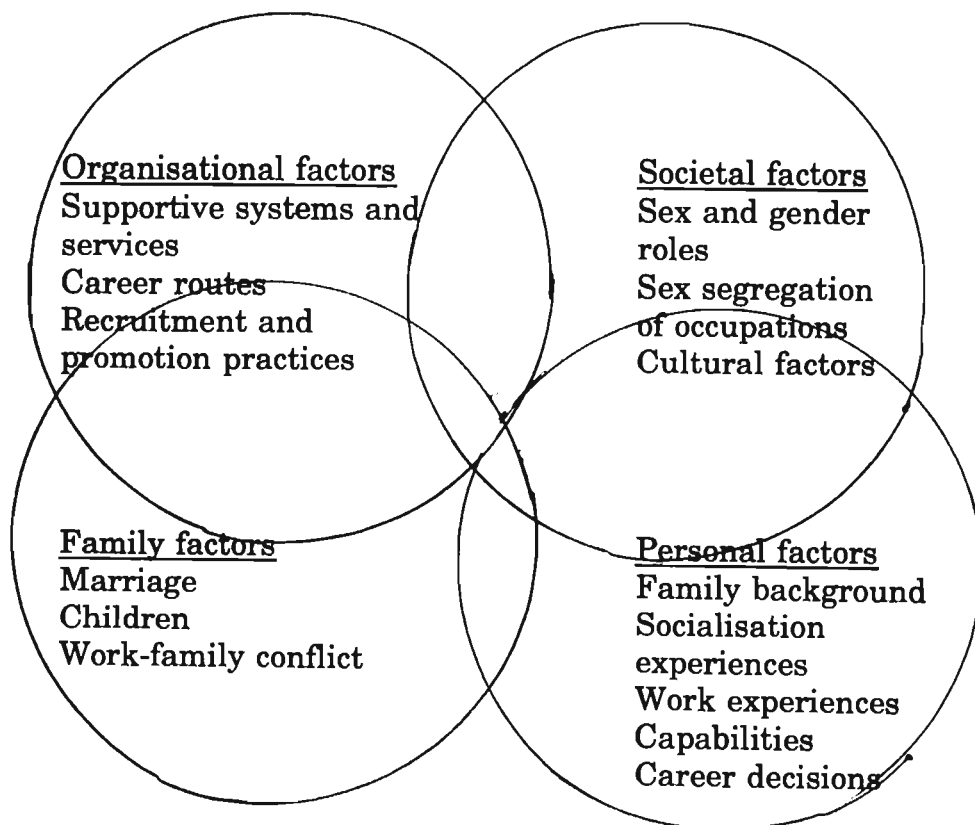
Josefowitz (1980,p.5) refers to the intermeshing of internal and external roadblocks which hinder women's paths to power. Internal roadblocks are viewed as those imposed by the self while the external blocks are related to the expectations of others. She submits that the roadblocks are different from those of men, as are women's "climbing styles" and that their paths are not clearly marked by precedent.

Haynes (1989,p.10) asserts that barriers, real or perceived, overt or covert, hinder progress towards the achievement of managerial and leadership opportunities for women. She describes external barriers as those which lie within the environment, in the organizational structure as well as in the attitudes and behaviour of others. She (1989,p.15) describes internal barriers as psychological barriers or internal factors which are used to explain the reasons for women's failure to become managers. The attitudes, aspirations and the behaviour of other women can also inhibit women from moving into management positions.

Powell (1988,p.189) submits that the current nature of career patterns shows that individuals and organisations are influenced by societal factors, that the two influence each other reciprocally and that they combine to influence career patterns. The interplay between these factors can advance or hinder an individual's career prospects. Once the individual has gained

promotion, these barriers are used to create, to promote and to set the parameters of the participation of stigmatised individuals in management. Powell (1988,p.189) identifies six sites of influence each composed of a clustering of influencing factors. These sites are societal factors, organisational factors, family factors, personal factors, decisions by organisations and actions by individuals. Powell's framework has been truncated and an adapted version is presented in figure 1. This framework will be used as the basis for discussion.

FIGURE 1 : SIGNIFICANT FACTORS IN CAREER DEVELOPMENT



3. SOCIETAL FACTORS

Powell (1988,p.194) states that societal norms depict the traditional concepts of men and women. The attitudes, aspirations and behaviours which are encouraged through the socialisation process can inhibit women from moving into management and can affect their performance after appointment. Erwee (1993, p.6) in an article on changing career patterns, submits that women managers in the commercial field in South Africa are facing a host of problems which are similar to those reported for American women. She explores characteristics of South African society which contribute to the differentiation in career development for the various race groups. Her work will be used to explore the significance of these internal and external factors as they operate especially for black South African women.

3.1 The sex-gender debate

This is an important debate that links the ideology of caring to women's oppression and limits both male and female employment options. This debate rests on two inter-related fields of study; the sex role socialisation and the psychology of women more latterly the impact and influence of role modelling on career development has been recognised.

3.1.1 Sex role socialisation

Sex role socialisation as a barrier to achievement is based on the argument that specific male and female traits are engendered by the socialisation

process. Theoretical contributions emanating principally from the social sciences are used to support theories of differential development (Nice, 1988,p.59).

The biological determinist perspective advocates that women are inherently different to men in their personality and physique. Haralambos (1986, p.369-404) acknowledges that women are clearly biologically different from men, but that there is disagreement about the exact nature and consequences of these differences. Some social scientists consider that these differences are sufficient to explain the basic sexual division of labour. The psychological argument proposes that the sexes differ in their psychological make-up and the psychodynamic perspective is used to illustrate that women are not ambitious because it is not part of their inherent personality structure.

In the family setting, in school and with other socialising agents, children learn the rules and scripts which are enacted throughout childhood to prepare them for public work. As children grow they are exposed to different discourses on subjects and using these as guidelines, they develop their own set of rules. The process of socialisation through which norms, values and beliefs about reality and about "difference" are structured are described variously as an "enactment" process, as phenomenology or as the social construction of reality. (Loveridge, 1987,p.3). This serves as the foundation for the argument that human behaviour is largely directed and

determined by the culture (Haralambos, 1987,p.369-404). From this perspective, gender roles are a product of culture rather than biology. Oakley and Friedl (Haralambos, 1987,p. 378) support the cultural explanation. Oakley's tracing of the status of women in Britain shows that women's roles have changed because of industrialisation and the demands of the labour market. She also submits that the sexual division of labour is not universal by reviewing societies in which biology has little influence on women's roles.

Career theorists seeking to understand the careers of women have focused on variables within socialisation which support the belief and the value system that gender roles are normal and natural. Holland's theory of career development which appeared in 1985 is an update of earlier theories on sex segregated occupations. It focuses on six categories of vocation personality types and suggests that because of their socialisation women are ideal "social vocational personality types" while men are "enterprising vocational-personality types" who are suitable for management (Zunz, 1991, p.41). This discourse lends support to the notion that women are equipped to enter occupations where overwhelmingly traditionally female qualities are required like helping, caring, giving social and emotional support (Knights & Wilmott, 1986, p.12). This kind of conceptualisation systematically discriminates against women's appointment to management positions. It also substantiates the claim that men have been taught authority, control and competition and are thereby "naturally" prepared for

domination and for management positions (Lockley & Fawcett,1989,p.vi; Grimwood, 1989,p.i). Burden & Gottlieb (1987,p.97) point out that sex stereotyping has had a negative effect on social work in two ways. The profession is often cast as the handmaiden to other professions and the leadership positions have been predominantly a male preserve. Burden & Gottlieb (1987,p.97) indicate that the caring role has all too often been assigned to women and has been equated with weakness.

Haynes (1989,p.6) submits that certain repercussions flow from these assumptions. Women are likely to be protected from exposure and discouraged from risk taking. Refusing requests induces guilt in women as " The heavy doses of niceness orientation makes it difficult for them to refuse unreasonable demands or expectations" (Haynes, 1989, p.6). Yet, saying no to the right requests frees the manager to allocate time to important requests.

The researcher concurs with the arguments that sex-role socialisation has the effect of limiting women's employment opportunities to those occupations which are deemed to be sufficiently feminine and in the process valuable potential and talent are lost to organisations.

3.1.2 The psychology of women

One of the popular explanations for the under-representation of women in management is related to women's psychology and is referred to as the fear

of success. According to this explanation women's internal motivation requires them to fail, especially when success is in sight. Powell (1988,p.107) states that the fear of success theory was popularised by Matina Horner who proposed that women have particular anxieties concerning success, because of the assumption that this would lead to rejection by others. This notion was acceptable because it reinforced different suppositions regarding the capabilities of the sexes. It meant that while women may not be incapable, they feared the consequences if they did well and performed to their full capabilities and alternatively it supported the belief that they were less equipped than men to deal with achievement (Powell 1988,p.107). This assumption seemed to be employed more often when the activity was one which was seen as being appropriate for men, such as management. Powell (1988,p.108) states that Horner's theory failed to hold up under scrutiny in later studies and he suggests that the anticipation of social approval is a more pertinent factor in the success avoidance of both sexes. Haynes (1989,p.16) suggests that while the fear of success may have been successfully contested, two tendencies still appear to exist. Firstly, that women are less likely to expect to succeed than men and secondly that when they do succeed, they attribute their success to external factors, like luck. One of the aims of social work is to assist clients to be self determining. The assumption is that the attitudes taught to clients will be self fulfilling and as significantly, that individuals ought to be able to control their own lives and destinies. Women need to incorporate this aspect. If women believe and act as if they will succeed,

they improve their chances of being successful. Ironically, women are not only fearful of success, but they experience guilt and ambivalence upon achieving success. Haynes (1989,p.17) submits that guilt is associated with their inability to attribute success to talent and that they often feel that they have succeeded too quickly.

3.1.3 Role Modelling

Haynes (1989,p.17) submits that women should learn to ignore the association between male characteristics and the management activity.

There is evidence that the endorsement of prevailing gender stereotypes had contributed to the difficulties which women experience in achieving promotion into management (Zunz, 1991,p.1). Early career development theories of Meuller and Super reflect the confusion between sex and gender and make a case for gendered work based on their faulty interpretations. Powell (1988,p.43) puts forward the argument that sex which is a biological characteristic is often confused with gender differences which is essentially a labelling process set into motion by assumptions and beliefs which individuals hold about males and females. Cook (1985, p3) too, draws attention to gender roles and the sex typing process. Sex typing refers to the inculcation of appropriate characteristics and values for the person's sex as defined by their culture (Cook, 1985,p.3). Gender roles are viewed as sex linked constellations of personality traits, attitudes, preferences and behaviours that a person learns through the sex typing process.

Podmore & Spencer (1987,p.20) explore the relationship between the gendering process and notions of work. They assert that in the employment sphere, when identified work becomes labelled a male or female job then a specific scenario follows which has implications if a person who is out of the norm, occupies the position. In the case of management, which is differentiated as male work, it is understood that the job will require traits which are associated with the stereotype of maleness. Consequently, this sex structuring has implications regarding entry to the job, power within the role and in turn influences performance, especially if the person who is out of the norm, is appointed to the post. This helps to explain why those who cross the line can be faced with a hostile or at best a contradictory environment. Women are therefore cautious of entering male domains. Podmore & Spencer's (1987,p.20) observation that "the way that these beliefs and assumptions are played out and supported by individuals in the workplace can therefore result in women being subjected to a stigmatisation process which prescribes their career horizons" and acquires a verisimilitude in the light of the foregoing discussion. Haynes (1989, p.17) suggests that if women re-conceptualise the definition of management from controlling or directing activity to facilitation, "they may begin to realise that they are ideally suited to management". She points out that women's qualities of nurturance and empathy for others, far from being pejorative are invaluable to successful managers. The current trend for management training in industry is about participatory management, interpersonal skills, awareness of shortcomings, at which social work managers are

experts. In the absence of significant role models, women have to model for themselves by deciding their interests and by making decisions to guide them through job choices and related job difficulties.

4. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL INFLUENCES ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF BLACK WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA

Erwee (1993) in an article titled "South African Women: Changing career patterns" discusses many of the social and cultural influences on women's participation in the employment arena. Erwee (1993,p.3) explains the employment participation rates for black women, which is quoted in full hereunder :

"Black women are a few years older than the other groups when they enter the workforce-this is due to the structure of the school system. As black women tend to have much larger families than the other groups between the ages of 35 to 50, they are forced through economic necessity into the market place in even greater proportions. Most of these women fill unskilled, service, clerical and sales jobs. Due to the escalating divorce rate, many black women are single parents who then have to support large extended families. There is a significant increase in their participation rates between the ages of 35-45".

While accepting unreservedly that it is not Erwee's intention to distort the facts, a failure to relate these facts directly to the effects of the inhumane apartheid system results in a distortion of the picture and has the effect of blaming the victim. Maforah (1992,p.1) writes that "it is a commonly

known factor that the industrial revolution initiated highly disruptive changes which affected African family life". She cites the colonial changes and the economic recession as adding to the "appalling conditions of poverty under which most black families live". The Human Science Research Council Report (No 5, 1979) examines the effects of the current apartheid system on black families. The report concludes that the structure and function of the black family has undergone great changes as a result of detribalisation and urbanisation and that role differentiation between men and women is undergoing similar changes. These findings lead to the conclusion that the black family is part of a society in transition.

Since 1986, much attention has been focused on the educational opportunities which are available to black children. The serious handicaps of poverty and deprivation imposed by the apartheid system inevitably impact on the performance at school, forcing children to be taken out of school at an early age to augment the family income and thus becoming detrimental to the life chances of the individual (IDAF Report, 1980,p.35-37). The school system which until recently has been a fee paying system for black students, militated against black children remaining at school for long years. For women who do succeed in the education system, Erwee (1993,p.4) notes that in South Africa the vocational choices of women limit their entry to managerial ranks. She contends that women still tend to choose traditional fields of study at university such as social work, etc., as can be noted from the percentage of female graduates of certain faculties.

Erwee's (1993,p.3) contention regarding the increase in single families headed by black women, should be placed in the context of the obdurate apartheid system. Robinson (1979,p.53) in her discussion of family breakdown among the different racial groups in South Africa, acknowledges the impact of urbanisation, a migratory labour system and forcible removals to unknown homelands, on the high rate of family breakdown among Africans.

The argument which Erwee presents regarding employment also deserves comment. Erwee (1993,p.3) claims that white, asian and coloured women are continuously employed until the early twenties when they leave presumably because of domestic responsibilities. The more educated white women with access to better jobs remain in the workforce and Erwee estimates that the number remains constant for ages between 30 and 50 years. Robinson (1979,p.53) argues that for white women the use of domestic help on a full time basis is common practice. This arrangement leaves them with time as well as the psychological security to continue working. This argument may also hold for women managers who may be more likely to afford domestic help. This argument may also hold for social work managers who may be more likely to afford domestic help. The family-work conflicts in contrast, will be qualitatively different for women who are unable to afford domestic help and who are still required to cope effectively in home and work spheres.

It is argued (IDAF Report, 1980,p.55) that black women are likely to have worked continuously since leaving school at tender ages. The kind of work that will normally be available to black women workers who have only a rudimentary level of education, is likely to fall into the unskilled manual labour and domestic work categories which involve long hours and low pay. Morphet (1985,p.35) drawing on a survey by Cock, Klugman and Emdon provides interesting insight into the lives of working black women.

"They work long hours and some have to leave their children with minders as they sleep over in white suburbs as domestics...The mothers who use child-minders on a daily basis bring their children as early as 6am and fetch them about 7pm" (Lines, 1986, p2).

Morphet (1985,p.35) asserts that "they are not free to go home and relax for...the domestic duties of cooking, ironing and making the fire could be waiting for her when she gets home".

Lines (1986, p204) in a study of day care in Khayelitsha in Cape Town, shows that the long hours worked necessitates the common practice of leaving children with the extended family or with child-minders and contributing to their upkeep, which constitutes a further drain on their income.

In considering entry into management which Erwee (1993, p.5) points out, is attached to tertiary education and long service at specific levels of responsibility, few black people are likely to be equipped for high level

management positions. Erwee (1993, p.5) quoting from Dostal (1985) confirms that the pool of suitable black applicants is negligible as in 1980, only 8,3% of the white labour force and 0,2% of the black labour force had academic degrees.

This leads to another significant issue which Erwee (1993,p.14) raises, that in the South African culture women are expected to give priority to traditional roles and she also notes that black and Asian women are more bound by their traditions. Erwee (1993,p.7) highlights that "despite the changes which the black culture is undergoing due to urbanisation, the lobola system, according to which a bride price must be paid, is still in operation". This can make a successful black woman "unaffordable" in terms of the bride price. She also points out that when a successful career woman married, her "in-laws according to tradition, may veto her decisions about career advancement".

Setting this argument in the context of the rights of women, Erwee (1993,p3) states that in 1984, the Matrimonial Property Act recognised the right of white, asian and coloured women to negotiate and undertake contractual agreements. Black women are still subject to tribal laws according to which black women are regarded as subordinate to men regardless of their age or educational status.

The Herald Tribune of 14/11/93 reports on a current debate which follows the controversial proposal by the Congress of traditional leaders to the negotiating Council (Contralesa) that women married under customary law should not be protected by the bill of rights. The effect of this proposal could lead to the establishment of two regimes - one governed by the bill of rights and another by customary law. While some academics and women's groups view customary law as repressive and discriminatory against black and Indian women, some religious and cultural bodies and tribal leaders argue that customs should be maintained. Professor Nhlapo of the University of Cape Town (Herald Tribune, 14/11/93) suggested that it was "dangerously imperialistic to disregard customary laws or to say to communities that they have to modernise". He was in accord with the view that the customs which did not promote human dignity should be dispensed with.

Customary Law was reported as promoting the following injustices:

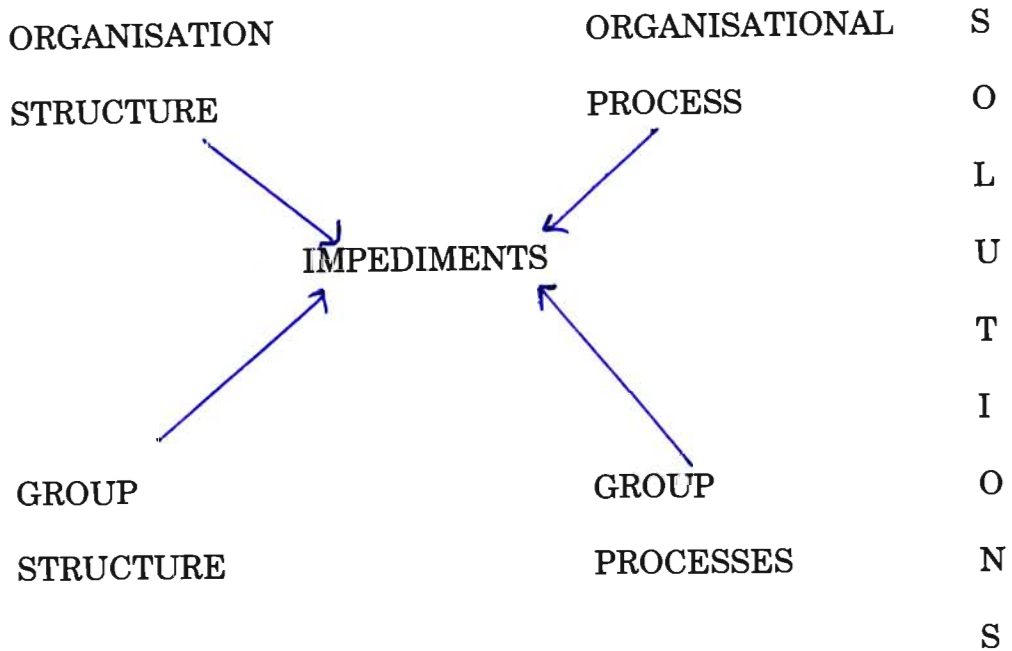
- ◆ women married under this law are regarded as perpetual minors;
- ◆ customary law marriages do not have the same status as civil law marriages;
- ◆ customary law inheritance denies women access to land and property and excludes women from decision making in their homes and communities; and
- ◆ Muslim women do not have equal rights under Muslim personal law

The debates indicate that a consciousness of women's oppression is now emerging which is separate from the struggle for equality. A variety of important factors, some of which have been identified above, will have a role to play in the transformation of women's position in South Africa. It also reinforces the point that professional women aspiring to a leadership position have to carefully court personal and supportive relationships which will provide opportunities and benefits to assist in the bid for upward mobility.

5. ORGANISATIONAL FACTORS

Previous research has indicated that women are often channelled into jobs that offer little visibility, mobility or influence (Phillipson (1991), Moss Kanter (1977)). According to Hearn et al (1990,p.3) women do not go up the ranks easily because organisations remain gendered. Erwee (1992,p.9) postulates that there are factors in the structure and processes of the organisation which separately and in conjunction create an organisational climate which can be conducive to women's career progress or can create impediments. The occupational differences that occur with recruitment are perpetuated by the policies, practices and power inherent in organisations (Erwee, 1992,p.10). Erwee (1992,p.9) drawing on Rosner (1989) proposes a model which recognises the impediments within the organisational climate.

FIGURE 2: THE ORGANISATIONAL CLIMATE.



The four factors identified in the above model will be discussed, using a perspective of different types of power to provide insight into the ways in which inequality is created and maintained in organisations.

5.1 Organisational Power

The prime requirement to enter the organisational power game and play the Machiavellian intrigue of influencing and controlling for personal advancement" is "immersement" into the complex network of appropriate authority (Van Schalkwyk,1989,p.1). Immersement is interpreted as "the ability to know, understand and manipulate the system". Van Rooyen

(1989,p.16) in an article titled "Organisations and power", concludes from the research evidence available that "women's lack of progress is the result of women's lack of insight into power and their inability to effectively play organisational games and power politics". An introduction to power dimensions which are sited in the formal hierarchy and in the informal networks of organisations will be discussed hereunder.

The sociological rediscovery of power began in the 1950s with the publication of Mills' book on "The Power Elite". Olsen & Marger (1993, p.xi) point out that issues around power were intense and focused in the 1960s because the "conflicts that erupted in the U.S.A. over race, gender, poverty and other critical issues radicalised the social sciences" and led to the establishment of specific movements. The rediscovery intensified between the 1970s and 1980s when terms like oppression, patriarchy and empowerment became common currency (Connell, 1991,p.viii) dominating the social science disciplines and generating important studies. The idea of applying the concepts of power and political actions within an organisational context became popular with the realisation that organisational politics hinges on the relationship between interests, conflicts and power reflecting the way in which individuals and groups use available power and exclude others from power.

Gummer (in Perlmutter, 1980,p8) in reviewing the theoretical perspectives on power in organisations, observes that there is no coherent framework

related to power, the approach is based on a convergence of salient themes from the literature on power. Power in organisations may be achieved by direct influence, by means of agendas which are carefully controlled and by the unobtrusive control built into structures of communication, attitudes, beliefs and rules and the process by which people are socialised into these elements of control. Lukes (1986, p.19) refers to these sources as the three dimensions of power which shall be discussed hereunder. Power in the first dimension represents force; second dimension power is covert power and third dimension power rests on controlling information. Power in the first dimension portrays power as force. Power in the second dimension includes overt and covert power while third dimensional power includes components from all dimensions. These dimensions are depicted in Table 5 and discussed using Clegg's framework (1989,p.88).

TABLE 5: LUKES' THREE DIMENSIONAL FRAMEWORK

Key elements	First Dimension	Second Dimension	Third Dimension
Objects of analysis	Behaviour Concrete decisions Issues	Interpretive understanding of intentional action. Non decisions Potential issues	Evaluative theorisation of interests in action. Political agenda Issues and potential issues
Indicators	Overt conflict	Covert conflict	Latent conflict
Field of analysis	Express policy preferences revealed in political participation	Express policy preferences embodied in subjective political grievances	Relation between express policy preferences and "real interests"

Reproduced from Clegg (1989,p.88)

5.1.1 Power as force

Power in the first dimension refers to forcefulness where one individual has direct power over another. This is commensurate with a common sense negative perspective of power as imposing one's will upon other individuals and groups, including those who are reluctant. Within this concept of power is the notion of compliance obtained by coercion. Martin (1977,p.37) suggests that the term 'power' can be used to describe any influence that is exerted by one individual or group over another. Bertrand Russell interprets power as "the production of intended effects" (Lukes, 1986,p.19). Power is thus related to the ability to impose one's will on others, despite resistance, by the threat or application of negative sanctions. Weber (1978,p.92) perceives power as "the chance of a man or a number of men to realise their own will even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action". Weber's definition also implies that powerful individuals or groups hold power at the expense of others. When this power play occurs within organisations, it is known as organisational politics. Organisational politics is, therefore, more than the jockeying for position, it involves activities and behaviour through which power is used in organisations and which determines the dominant ideology and values. This straightforward or one dimensional view of power perceives power as containing an element of intention or will and as one party having power over another.

5.1.2 Covert Power

By way of criticism of this narrow one dimensional view of power, Bachrach & Baratz propose a two dimensional view which, while accepting that A has power over B, introduces the notion that power can be exercised without interaction between the players (Clegg, 1989,p.75). Lukes (in Clegg, 1989,p.86) refers to this as covert power which occurs when issues are kept off the agenda so that grievances do not become full fledged demands.

Often those whose issues are being suppressed are not aware that this is happening. Chernesky & Kowalski (in Armstrong,1989, p9) submit that even if they are aware, marginalised individuals are denied access to information essential for participation and excluded from important exchanges that occur informally. If discrimination occurs because of the presence or absence of certain groups of people, it is likely that certain individual's career patterns will be affected.

Erwee (1993, p.10) indicates that surveys in 1982-1984 regarding employment conditions in South Africa showed that for professional women there was inadequate career planning, lack of access to training programmes, discrepancies in fringe benefits, pay differentials and fewer opportunities for promotions. Powell (1988, p.191) identifies a range of blocked opportunities for women like exceptions from resource planning exercises, inadequate career planning, inadequate training programmes, training programmes run by men which do not deal with women's issues, lack of support programmes and lack of facilities to recruit and retain

women employees. Haynes (1989,p.10) recognises barriers which are concerned with qualifications, job descriptions and task assignments, evaluation mechanisms for performance, distribution of benefits and organisational relationships.

Powell (1988,p.193) submits that individuals from subordinate groups should be present at forums where the programmes and techniques that organisations use to meet their own staffing needs are discussed. Women especially should participate in decision making forums where the availability of facilities which encourage women to remain and re-enter the workforce are discussed.

5.1.3 Power and "real interests"

This dimension deals with the control of knowledge and information as sources of power. By controlling these key resources, a person can systematically influence organisational situations. Lukes' (in Clegg, 1989, p.88) third dimension deals with the control that is built into the structures of communication, the attitudes, beliefs and the process by which people are socialised into these elements of control. This dimension is concerned with issues of suppression and social conditioning and with normative and moral judgements which those who are in power make about subordinates. It rests on the belief that those in power are able to judge what people would decide for themselves if they knew what the consequences of their actions would be. It may be true that individuals may be so indoctrinated that they

are unable to recognise their real interests. Subordinate groups tend to suppress their own needs and to meet the needs of those who are dominant. The criticisms of Lukes' theories are that he argues that theories are value dependent and then contends that the third dimension can be empirically verified. While his theory provides useful insights into capitalist society and the allocation of resources, it overlooks the fact that history and achievements are also sources of power which go beyond the purely observable conflicts in society. Lukes also appears to confuse the idea of different preferences with "real interests".

5.2 How power politics influences organisations

In order to fully understand the political dynamics of organisation it is necessary to explore the structures and processes through which people engage in conflicts and power plays and to appreciate how these impact on women as managers.

5.2.1 The formal organisation

The hierarchical model is commonly found in formal social work organisations where large numbers of people are employed and where there are clear lines of command, coherence, predictability, rules and regulations. Formal structures of organisations usually represent pyramids, where information flows up the pyramid and orders flow down.

The manner in which organisations are structured ensures that people are

allocated specific functions and tasks, which are then co-ordinated so that organisational goals can be attained. Each person knows the task, role and responsibilities expected of their job and different levels are controlled by layers of management. In this way the structure of the organisation becomes a framework both for co-ordinating and for control.

Power is associated with the position which the individual holds and the rights and obligations attached to the position. Van Rooyen (1989,p.48) states that individuals are perceived as powerful if they have the ability and the right to sanction behaviour because of status, authority or influence, if they can influence or control significant sources of information, knowledge or skill and if they function at strategic positions in a web of exchange relationships. Within organisations, three levels of top, middle and junior management can be discerned and Pfeiffer (1981,p.48) states that symbols like titles, status, reputational and representational indicators help one to assess the power attached to each individual.

It can thus be appreciated that the values of leaders influence the direction of the organisation, in that "leaders serve as role models, set the standards for performance, motivate employees, make the company special and are a symbol to the external environment" (Koontz and Weirich 1988,p.281). Leaders can thus make things happen according to their value system and in this way hierarchical domination is augmented by ideological domination (Hearn, 1990,p.29). As leaders are not able to control on their own, they

consult with their boards of managers or executive committees, the majority of whom are likely to be white, heterosexual, male and middle class (Hearn, 1990, p.29). This occurs partly because mutual trust has to be a critical factor in appointment to these positions. In this way uncertainty can be controlled.

5.2.2. Organisational processes

Rules and decision making processes which are the underpinnings for organisational processes are discussed hereunder :

(a) **Rules**

Mills & Murgatroyd (1991, p.3) identify rules as a root metaphor in organisational life. They state that rules are phenomena whose basic functions include controlling, containing, guiding and defining social action" (Mills & Murgatroyd, 1991, p.3). These rules and ways of operating are crystallised in times of threat and change.

When people arrive in organisations, they want to know the rules of the game. Learning certain explicit and implicit rules about the structure of the work experience, the arrangements of power and authority in the workplace and the myths, metaphors and symbols helps to develop a rule set. Moreover, beliefs and values place the rule set in context.

Rules exist in both written and unwritten form and power relations and control can best be understood and appreciated as part of the rules of the game. The ability to use rules to one's advantage is thus an important source of organisational power. For instance, rules which are there to guide and streamline activities and to enhance efficiency are often used to block activity.

Rules play a variety of roles in organisations. Jackson & Morgan (1978,p.268) argue that rules are observed by the organisations as a whole because of the stabilising and predictable effect of these on controlling uncertainty and of facilitating success. Rules determine and shape the behaviour of individuals and groups by providing guidelines for orderliness, co-ordination of activities, predictability, efficiency and control in times of uncertainty. In social work agencies, uncertainties are dealt with by routinising and regularising as many aspects of behaviour as possible and the effects of the standardisation is far reaching as rigid adherence to rules can also routinise responses to clients.

Rules also define and specify authority relationships and within the hierarchical model, whether this be worker and client or worker and line manager. They serve to depersonalise decision making and this absolves individuals who make these decisions from personal responsibility. A study undertaken by Hall, Johnson and Haas

(1967) found that rules also had the effect of reducing the discretion that workers were able to exercise (Morgan, 1989,p.179).

Rules used in the above ways are mechanistic, functional and deterministic and Mills and Murgatroyd, (1991,p.30-32) propose an alternative view of rules as interactionist. Rules here, are seen as the way in which individuals interpret their own actions and the actions of others. Individuals develop their own set of rules based on their interpretations of the world. These rules include self rules, which are cumulative and built on past experience; social rules which relate to conforming in groups and societal rules which depend on notions of what is socially desirable (Mills and Murgatroyd, 1991,p.30-32).

(b) Power and decision making

An ability to influence the outcomes of decision making processes is a well recognised source of power. All bureaucratic rules, criteria, requirements and other administrative controls that guide organisational functioning give potential power to the controllers (Lippett, 1982,p.125). An individual or group which can exert a great influence on the decision making processes has the power to control the affairs of his or her organisation. Morgan (1989, p. 179) in discussing the kinds of power utilised in decision making distinguishes between inter-related elements of decision premises,

decision processes and decision issues and objectives. He argues that decision making processes are more explicit than decision making premises. Much of an organisation's activities hinges on control of agendas and on decision premises that influence how a particular issue will be approached (Clegg, 1989,p.207). Control of decision making processes is also more visible than decision making premises. The ground rules that are there to guide decisions are important variables that organisation members manipulate to use in favour of or against a given action. Issues and objectives can for instance be controlled by the order of an agenda, the way the discussion is led and the emphasis given to a particular item (Clegg, 1989,p.209).

5.3 The group structures and processes of informal organisations

Most organisational theorists subscribe to the existence of informal networks of cliques and coalitions which exist in all organisations. These networks are not structured or determined by organisations, but are viewed as natural formations which appear in response to the need for social contact. Ganguli (1964,p.9) defines the informal organisation as:

"constituted by the pattern of relations existing at an interpersonal level between executives, supervisors and workers who are members of the organisation. It has reference to friendship groups and cliques mostly based upon close association, mutual interests and antagonisms within the formal organisation".

Clegg (1989,p.193) records the purposes of the informal organisation as being to provide for the satisfaction of socio-psychological needs, to establish communications which supplement information disseminated through formal channels and as offering leadership based on certain attributes.

Erwee (1992,p.10) writes that the manner in which individuals relate to each other in a work situation is to some extent related to the way in which they perceive each other and she recognises that these perceptions are often consolidated in informal settings. Rogers (1988,p.27) asserts that a highly developed informal network is inevitable in well established organisations and they usually include an array of clubs, pubs and other organised activities and facilities which help to sustain certain images of masculinity. These facilities help men share and develop male camaraderie and develop important work related networks (Rogers, 1988,p.27). It is a significant fact that women have limited access to important formal and informal forums which are normally open to men and where important decisions are made. Support from networks of other women become important lifelines for many women managers, but they do not automatically provide the guidance and coaching which aspiring women managers require.

Studies on countercultures and subcultures affirms the contentious nature of the informal groupings and the role that key actors within the organisation play within the subgroups which are vying for power. Clegg (1989,p.103) submits that these organisational members are seeking to promote self interest and that their behaviour is likely to be guided by that

consideration. Gummer (1980,p.38) too recognises that once one group or clique can exercise control over the bulk of resources, there exists a concentrated power situation and like Giddens (in Kirton, 1987,p.58), acknowledges that consequences follow which have little to do with production, profits or efficiency. These are hegemony and discrimination.

5.3.1 Hegemony

Hegemony operates by indoctrinating people into conforming to certain ways of thinking, perceiving and working, which are prescribed by the dominant group and to which members of muted groups will aspire (Clegg, 1989,p.103). Various theorists have studied some of the informal and discrete means by which individuals are enculturated into organisational life (Kakabadse (1983,p.6). Influences such as stories, myths, rituals, ceremonies, language, relationships and meetings and so forth determine the understandings and expectations that guide people in appropriate and relevant behaviour. Kakabadse (1983,p.6) states that part of this culture is in the form of standardised procedures and the "right way of doing things" which are assumed to offer a consistent and objective response and so they would appear to be non-discriminatory. This is misleading. These official sources are likely to be biased since the standardisation is consistent with the norms and values of the dominant group. In this way, each organisational reality will itself shape experiences and discourses about the rules, scripts, beliefs and values. As the perceptions which often become institutionalised in the shape of attitudes, stereotypes, values, beliefs and

rituals, are those of the dominant group the perspectives of those who don't belong to this group are likely to be dismissed or relegated to "alternative" appendage status.

5.3.2 Discriminatory Practices

Moss-Kanter (1976,p.129) argues that recruitment and promotion practices reflect evaluations about whether the applicant is the right sort of person. She writes that "Getting in, getting along and getting on" is linked with the "fit" in organisations and Pillay (in Erwee, 1992,p.10) also highlights the subjectivity involved in employment decisions which exclude certain groups from gaining entry to promotion ladders. Erwee (1992,p.12) acknowledges that the indices of social closure such as type of school attended, fathers' profession, relatives in the profession, race and gender operate in organisations. These indices ensure that those who are most likely to move into the managerial ranks would be socially similar subordinates who were considered as loyal, trustworthy, likely to conform to a prescribed pattern of behaviour. The yardsticks which are used can be conceptualised as including measures of competence, character and communication as well as shared values which exist by socialisation and professional training. The notion of stability through normative consensus or a dominant ideology is a powerful one within the upper echelons where there are less precise tools for decision making. This emphasis does not take account of individuals who are professional and who have diverse experience and are able to exercise a high level of discretion but who may differ from the common

sense notions of "compatibility". The E.E.C.Report (1991,p.2) posits women seeking management posts are often subject to discrimination by men on recruitment panels and Ball (1987, p.58) submits that "access is permitted to a few safe outsiders". Phillipson (1991, p.12) reveals that in social work women who were gaining promotion moved into specialist, tokenistic or developmental posts rather than senior management posts.

Erwee (1993,p.9) posits that because of the apartheid in South Africa, some employers still practice discrimination related to hiring, training and remuneration. Moreover, the practice continues because bodies which can prosecute employers for transgressions do not exist. She surmises that the discrimination is perhaps more blatant than in countries where legislative equality and watchdog bodies like the equal opportunities commission or the commission for racial equality are in place. Where these mechanisms are in place discrimination is likely to be more subtle. All of these writers concur that when more explicit criteria for entry and appraisal for promotion to management and routes for promotion are developed, stigmatised individuals may still have to fit into white male environments but the process will not be hidden and this would lessen the chances of discrimination. Employment procedures would also act as a baseline for appeal for those who are discriminated against.

Stigmatisation when used as an instrument for exclusion becomes a critical functionality in explaining strategies used to ensure white, heterosexual,

male, middle class domination. McNay (1992, p.8) argues that the process of exploitation by exclusion is deliberate, complex, widespread and inculcated. The dynamics which are set up support the reproduction by social criteria and the belief that those who are appointed deserve authority. Ironically, this practice in turn becomes a self fulfilling prophecy. The more closed the circle the more difficult for outsiders to penetrate. The inability of outsiders to enter is then used as justification that the insiders were correct to close ranks. The more closed the circle, the more difficult it becomes for insiders to share power and control. To compound an already complicated scenario, the formal structure of organisations converges with the informal networks to create alliance power, through sponsors and networks which control an individual's career paths in a number of ways. These are crucial mechanisms for women's advancement and they are explored in greater detail later in this chapter.

6. FAMILY FACTORS

6.1. Domestic responsibilities and career patterns

Promotion depends on reaching appropriate rungs on the career ladder, which as Erwee (1993,p.7) notes rests on an uninterrupted career. Prevailing career paths fit the lives of men better as women's careers run co-terminously with their family and domestic responsibilities. Women do interrupt their careers during their twenties, the very years that men achieve promotion, so they do not reach the appropriate rungs on the career ladder (Crompton & Jones,1984, p.12). Their centrality in the family as

wives and mothers, usually means that women have been unable to build up work skills and career prospects which might otherwise enable them to compete with men in better paid jobs (Howe, 1986, p.21). Perpetuation of the view that they would regard their careers as less important than their families, is misleading since there is little evidence to show that they are less committed when they do have family obligations. This line of reasoning also embodies the notion that the myth of motherhood is applicable to all women, irrespective of their individual circumstances (Podmore & Spencer, 1987,p.21). Studies by Foster (1987, p.12) reveal the reality "that women change jobs less frequently than men and are less mobile and more stable than men in the workplace". Foster (1987, p.14) shows the "new department hopping" syndrome that young male directors engage in. Societal ambivalence about women's participation in the labour market is influenced by the additional impediments such as absence of child care and caring resources and the continuing socialisation of women for care-giving roles.

In 1968, a study undertaken in Britain by Hunt, analysed a general population survey about "the why and how of working women" (S.S.I.Report, 1991,p.25). It was found that women's lack of participation in the labour force related to significant constraints of responsibility for family, local availability of employment, husband's attitude and lack of appropriate training (S.S.I. Report, 1991,p.25). Hunt also found that working women were mainly responsible for running their homes and that

help from partners was limited. Even when household activities were more evenly distributed, the responsibility for housekeeping still rested with the female partner (S.S.I. Report, 1991,p.24). A survey by Mirides & Cotes (1980) of 335 women in management and administrative posts and a study by Dinnage (1990) of social workers in a British local authority, revealed that professional women suffered similar constraints to those found by Hunt.

Maforah (1992,p.1) submits that in South Africa the notions of women as wives and men as breadwinners is a myth, because of the appalling conditions of poverty under which most black families live. Maforah (1992,p.1) contends that the black woman is now an equal partner in providing for family needs and in many cases she is the sole breadwinner.

At the same time she is expected to shoulder a disproportionate share of the domestic commitments. Trying to be successful in the workplace and at home places intolerable stress on these women. In her study of the relationship between traditional feminine roles and stress among black professional women who are married, she depicts forcefully, the great struggle that these women have in negotiating for equality in their customary law marriages. The women interviewed were women who no longer accepted the restrictions and constraints of customary law marriages but out of a group of twenty four professionals from different walks of life, only one had been able to negotiate a state of "part-time breadwinner and part-time bread baker" for both partners. Her determination for an

egalitarian arrangement is reflected in her statement that did not want a similar existence to her mother and older sister (Maforah, 1992,p.1)

7. PERSONAL FACTORS

Powell (1988, p194) states that the personal aspects particularised the influences and circumstances which shape an individuals self concept and identity. Demographic factors like age, education, race are significant factors as are career decisions, strategies and tactics.

7.1 Career Attitudes

Haynes (1989,p.22) writes that career planning involves taking a long term view and militates against the "band-aid" perspectives so often adopted by women managers. Career planning is a multi-faceted project involving an analysis of one's career goals and also of talent and interests. In career planning, multiple choices such as marriage and children are difficult areas. These need not be mutually exclusive, but they do represent choices.

Career and life planning are ongoing processes which include elements of past, present and future. A significant family factor which has been identified by Powell (1988,p.196) is related to the aspirations of parents and other significant individuals in the community who assist with the education and career development of a selected individual. Powell asserts that the messages sent by role models become important criteria for later career decisions. He regards as important whether an individual's parents

played traditional or non-traditional roles. Powell's writings focused on gender inequity in Western countries and does not sufficiently address the milieu encountered by black women. Parents are only one set of socialisers and often carers, teachers and other professionals in the black community are other significant sources of inspiration for individuals.

7.2 Career tactics

The adoption of specific career tactics are integral to overcoming barriers and central to career development. Of particular importance is having a mentor. Mentoring has been linked to the different guidance and exposure which has been offered to specific individuals and which have assisted their career development. The distinction is sometimes made that the mentor is the guide and teacher while the sponsor creates ladders of opportunity. The likelihood is that individuals usually act both as mentor and sponsor. Young men were reported as seeking mentors early in their careers and successful men reported that mentors were critical to their careers (Powell, 1988, p.201). These mentors provided sponsorship, coaching and protection, but they also ensured exposure and visibility, which assisted male managers with effectiveness.

Studies suggest that women who gain promotion often do so because they have received specific advice and encouragement at crucial stages in their careers through mentoring or sponsorship (Marshall 1985,p.134). York and his colleagues (1985, p.32) examined the career development of women in

social work administration and concur that positive role models and mentors play a crucial role in career development. Haynes (1989,p.41) quoting from McLane (1980) indicates that women are no longer waiting to be discovered, they are actively seeking mentors and in so doing, are overcoming a lifetime of social conditioning. Mentors are teachers or coaches whose functions include teaching, demonstration, interaction, giving feedback and counselling. Mentors can take the form of informal peers, collegial peers and special peers but they can also be high level "godfathers or rabbis". McKeen & Burke (in Haynes, 1989,p.3-41) assert that mentors help proteges learn the ropes and adapt to organisational expectations and so improve the quality of organisational life They make introductions and move the protegee effectively through the system. Moss Kanter (1976,p.279) states that they also fulfil important functions of being in a position to fight for the person, to stand up for the protege if controversy occurs and to promote the person for promising opportunities.

Sponsors provide an important signal to other people through reflected power (Moss Kanter 1976, p.279). The sponsor indicates that the protege has the backing of an influential person and the credit which is extended to the protege is important. Everyone knows who has been fast tracked and that the person is seen from above and below. As long as the sponsor remains in favour the protege will have a clear path. The higher disadvantaged individuals climb, the more isolated they become in an increasing male dominated environment. The predominantly male

environment means that women are further disadvantaged by a lack of role models and peers with whom they can identify and who would act as mentors (Moss Kanter, 1979, p.276). There are relatively few older women who are available to mentor women entering management. Early studies indicate that the few successful women managers did not share their skills and knowledge and they were labelled as "queen bees" (Haynes, 1989, p.47). Recent literature indicates that more women managers are engaged in actively mentoring aspiring managers. There would appear to be substantial evidence for the importance and virtues of being a protege. The benefits to mentors should also not be overlooked. It is in their best interests to promote people who share their ideas and higher status professionals derive pleasure in "passing on" their ideas to up and coming professionals.

7.3 Networking

Networking is an important means of gaining power and Haynes (1989,p.52) points out that today's mentor is tomorrow's network associate. Networking is a concept, a process and a technique. It is a forum where praise and reassurance, feedback free from direct competitiveness, social contacts, resources, confidants, outlets for anger and sympathy can be realised. Networking also opens doors to information about available jobs, role models and wider organisational information. Networks can adopt a formal and an informal structure. Formally they exist as support groups and informally they meet on a social basis outside of the workplace (Haynes, 1989,p.55). As this forum provides an enhancing effect on

women's careers and serves as a healthy outlet for organisational ostracism and criticism, increased use should be made of networking.

7.4 Career Planning

Career planning is the single most important activity to increase women's chances of upward mobility. Career planning is a process that can be positively influenced by the seeker being an active agent. Personal action plans are developed which include an evaluation of assets, desires, values, determining areas fit for meeting these needs and considering actual tasks which will fit with these plans. Erwee (1992,p.13) advises that any potential applicant should utilise the basic steps in career planning to develop their future career.

"The hypothesis has been proposed that there is a difference by gender in the purposiveness with which one pursues a career in management" (Zunz, 1991,p.48). The limited research evidence available supports the proposition that women's and men's career patterns are different. These studies show that men view career development as part of their long terms goals and as something they did for themselves, their family and for money. Grant (1987, p.227) and Howe (1986, p.25) assert that men tended to map out their careers. Studies are quoted which support the belief that women managers in social work do not plan their career paths or seize opportunities appropriately, but fall into promotion, often needing to be prompted by others; and that the majority of women became managers

because the offer was "difficult to refuse" (SSI Report,1991,p.25; Grimwood (1989, p.1). Studies by Hunt and Dinnage (S.S.S.Report, 1991,p.25) show that women do want paid employment but that their decisions to work are linked with other critical domestic and family factors. Other constraints to their career development proposed by Kanter and Stein (1979, p137) are that women are less likely to be given the necessary grooming for management. They identify the "lack of indoctrination and feedback" as major hindrances to women's development and advancement. They include under this rubric, being promoted too quickly, lack of proper induction, no feedback on how to improve even when advice is sought and overprotection by management. The result is that women are not provided with the necessary opportunities for decision making and exposure to risk taking which are important to secure careers in the higher echelons of management.

7.5 Career Decisions

Gilbert, in an article in *Social Work Today*, (1992, p. 12) acknowledges that "giving up the coalface and becoming a manager" is a difficult decision for both male and female social workers for a host of reasons. Studies by Gilbert (1992) in London and Zunz (1991) in New York, show the common fears which, according to both sexes of social workers, deter them from "stepping up" for promotion. The descriptions of the fears which exist for newly appointed social work managers are similar across the countries.

Zunz's (1991,p.48) study of fifty five new social work managers in the New York city area, explored their concerns around promotion to management. Women indicated fears related to their lack of competence and acceptance, as well the loss of direct contact with clients. The demands of the work and their fears that they would not like management, rated lower. Men expressed slightly more confidence about their promotions. Zunz's (1991,p.47) study of social work managers who had entered managerial jobs for the first time, found no difference by gender for those who believed that they would become managers. Similarly, there was no significant difference in planned versus unplanned moves into management by men and women. Moreover, men had a slightly higher level of planning a move into management whilst women were slightly more likely to feel that they were pushed or fell into it. These studies counteract arguments that it is not cost effective to train women for managerial positions. Haynes (1989,p.21) states that it would be women's loyalty to the organisation combined with a greater fear of risk taking that reduces upward mobility.

8. SUMMARY

There is a range of barriers that can control the entrance of women in management positions and which determine their success after appointment. The first steps in overcoming these barriers is an awareness of their existence.

These barriers are internal and external and they influence each other. The actions of individuals determine career patterns. Individuals decide which career opportunities to pursue and how to prepare themselves for these opportunities. Career patterns are influenced by the different levels of barriers which are located in society, in organisations, in the family and within the individual. Each of these types of factors may contribute to or alleviate sex and race differences in career patterns and the impact of the various factors will differ according to the stages of career development. Family influences may be less prominent once the individual has started a career and organisational issues may have a greater effect. Similarly the strategy of locating a mentor may be more useful in initial stages of career development.

Career planning is a process that can be positively influenced by active planning, thereby increasing control of the situation. Personal action plans which highlight the skills and experiences which the individual requires should be integrated with tasks for achieving these goals. The use of career tactics like mentoring, sponsoring and the co-operation of women in professional networks where an atmosphere of support and trust prevails, are important to the development of a successful career strategy.

CHAPTER FOUR

LEADERSHIP SKILLS

1. INTRODUCTION

Womens' progress into leadership positions is notable when compared to a decade ago but unimpressive when compared with that of men. It is important for more women to accept the challenge of leadership, especially in traditionally female occupations (Grimwood, 1989,p.i). It is also true that society undervalues women's attributes and therefore underrates the positive contributions that they make as leaders in the workplace. In order to achieve representation and success, women must be prepared for leadership positions and this entails learning the task and the process skills of management (Josefowitz, 1980, p.195). She submits that women bring to the positions a willingness to look at the art of leadership, not as a right of the leader, but as a function best carried out by qualified people (Josefowitz, 1980,p.195).

This chapter will explore the impact of leadership by using six broad themes for discussion. These relate to perceptions of leadership, theories

of leadership, leaders and followers, women and leadership behaviour, innovative leadership and the paths to effective leadership.

2. PERCEPTIONS OF LEADERSHIP

Josefowitz (1980, p.199) posits that leadership is a process or an act of influencing and that managers have the right by virtue of their positions to influence subordinates. She submits that leadership applies to any level within an organisation where someone has to manage, set a direction, motivate workers, rank priorities and promote the integrity of work issues. De V. Smit (1990, p.299) considers leadership as a process which involves the leader in providing direction, influence and motivation to individuals and groups in a non-coercive manner with the aim of achieving commonly held goals. The leader's power emanates from specific power bases. De V. Smit (1990,p.299) drawing on French & Raven, identifies the following five interpersonal bases of power:

- ◆ legitimate power which represents the authority vested in the office;
- ◆ reward power which is the ability to reward through recognition or promotion;
- ◆ coercive power which is the ability to negatively sanction the subordinate;
- ◆ expert power which is associated with the special expertise; and
- ◆ referent power which relates to the leaders personality or

charisma.]

These power bases are a combination of the attributes of the leader and those which can be located in the organisation. Dependent on the situation, the leader may use these singly or in tandem (De V. Smit, 1990,p.299). These views of leadership perceive the activity in a narrow and segmented way. There are other pro-active views of leadership which depict leaders as charismatic, as inspiring and as visionary.

[Van Rooyen (1989,p.8) views leadership in relation to power. She associates leadership with the capacity to motivate and to mobilise people and to provide access to resources.] When viewed in this way, leadership is a response to circumstances and she considers that this makes the activity a difficult concept to define outside of identified situations.

Gummer's (1992, p.36) concern with the influence of managers in contemporary organisations, leads him to study the behaviour of successful leaders. In an article titled "Organisational change: the breakfast of champions" he discusses leadership behaviour as inspiring others through imparting a vision of potential which strengthens followers' commitment and support for their mission. Kouzas & Posner (1990,p.4) submit that contemporary leaders thrive on change, exercise control by means of vision and a sense of direction and arrive jointly with their people. Leadership is, to them, an active not a passive process.

When leaders' performance is at its best, five fundamental practices occur, they challenge, inspire, enable, model and encourage (Kouzas & Posner 1990,p.1). Through these activities, they secure growth and the trust of their followers.) Kouzas & Posner (1990, p.1) advance the interesting observation of leaders as living their lives backwards. Their view co-incides with that of Gummer (1992, p.36) that leaders, with their vision of the outcomes, show involvement in their mission and through their persistence, they gain commitment and support for their blueprint or model. A clear image pulls these leaders forward and a vision is imparted.

The view of leadership has moved from a technical process to one which involves charisma and vision. The attributes required of good leaders include energy, creativity and a focus on future directed goals which makes the activity applicable for both sexes.

South Africa is undergoing large scale transformation and leaders are faced by uncertainty and intractable environmental constraints. Survival of organisations will depend on the ability of managers to be creative and innovative and to develop and inspire people with whom they interact.

3. THEORIES OF LEADERSHIP

There have been many approaches to the definition of leadership. Historically and schematically theories of leadership have developed from taking a narrow view in which personal characteristics of the leader are important to an acknowledgement of the importance of the group and of the environment (Marshall, 1984,p.14)

3.1 Personality traits

Early approaches to leadership theory focused on the belief that leaders possessed specific personality traits. Traits were classified in terms of physical attributes, intelligence, ability, personality and social background (Stoner, 1978,p.440). These traits were either classified through comparing the traits of leaders with those of followers or by comparing effective with ineffective leadership. A more recent attempt by Ghiselli (Powell, 1988,p.145), uses a typology of leadership including abilities, personality traits and motivations. The most powerful trait for leadership effectiveness has in the past been viewed as supervisory ability. This may no longer be the supine skill, given the skills and knowledge demanded of leaders, who operate in a changing and turbulent society.

3.2 Behaviour style theories

Behaviour style theories focus on individual behaviour and priorities that the individual reads into the role.

Style theories are conceptualised in terms of both leadership style and

functions (Dessler, 1982,p.337). The functions relate to task and group maintenance functions, while the styles are classified into autocratic, democratic or *laissez faire* modes. In later theories (Marshall, 1984,p.16) task and group maintenance functions were reframed as consideration and initiation behaviour and as employee and production orientations. The two functions were viewed as independent, but there was consensus that the different styles only represented different routes which affected employee motivation.

3.3 Motivation theories

Management style was altered in line with McGregor's thinking on motivation of workers. Mcgregor's Theory X and Y moves the emphasis from employees as being lazy and lacking in ambition to people who can be motivated by the satisfaction of their drives and needs. McGregor's X Theory advised close supervision of employees to prevent them from shirking their responsibilities. He submitted that financial incentives were the only real motivation for workers. Theory Y viewed motivation as a force which "causes, channels and sustains" human behaviour (Stoner, 1978, p.405). If work was made interesting and satisfying, then it was argued, workers would be motivated and committed. The focus was thus moved from punishment to reward. Commensurately, the management approach moved from structural task incentives to more of a humanitarian emphasis.

3.4 Contingency theories

The more complex contingency or "fit" approaches which emerged, match the aspects of leader behaviour with task, group and context and evaluate the relationship between these variables in terms of the leadership and the circumstances dichotomy (Bennett, 1991,p.333). An example of this is Fiedler's approach which matches leader performance in terms of situational variables of group atmosphere, task structure and positional power (Bennett, 1991, p.333). House's path goal theory presupposes that once goals have been clarified and the blockages have been eliminated, then structure and achievement success will follow (Bennett, 1991,p.333). These theories represent variations on the task and relationship dichotomy and they have been severely criticised for ignoring the "people factors". The theories which followed attempted a correction of this oversight.

3.5 Leadership style theories

The theory of Hersey & Blanchard (1982,p.5) points out that the maturity of the team is a significant situational variable. The group's psychological maturity is portrayed by their willingness to help. Hersey & Blanchard (1982,p.5) construct a typology consisting of three areas of technical skills, knowledge and people skills. Their life cycle theory of leadership presupposes four phases of maturity which moves leadership support from intense to consultation levels in all three categories of skills.

Their categorisations of sell, tell, consult and join have been updated to sell, tell, participate and delegate. This theory assumes a flexibility in leadership style as well as openness to change of attitude, growth and maturity. Coulshed (1992, p.108) extends the four behavioral types to a spectrum of seven leadership types. While her amendments create finer distinctions within the four categories, it does not add to the leadership style theory. Leadership style inventories which construct a profile of leadership style have become popular as training exercises.

3.6 Managerial Grid

Blake & Mouton (Marshall 1984, p.15) designed a managerial grid which brought together work and people dimensions. Two axes indicating qualities of concern and task management were used to plot leader behaviour and then to evaluate the leadership style. Leadership behaviour was determined by a series of sequences reflecting differing approaches to team leadership and to concern and task achievement dimensions (De V. Smit, 1990, p.302). This exercise is frequently used today in training sessions which seek to profile leaders and to establish the gaps which leaders should work on.

4. WOMEN AND LEADERSHIP BEHAVIOUR

Marshall (1984, p15) in her examination of whether women have management potential, utilises findings from various studies to demonstrate that women leaders favour a two dimensional approach

which includes structuring and supporting functions. Powell (1988, p152) refers to these two critical types of leader behaviour as initiating structure and consideration behaviour.

Powell (1988,p.152) indicates that research studies find generally little difference in leadership, attitude and style between women and men. The only variable that seems significant is the perceptions of power. He (1988,p.152) cites a study carried out by Muldrow & Bayton (1979) which found that although women took fewer risks in decision making their overall accuracy matched that of men studied. The most frequently reported difference is that women scored higher on the supporting dimension of leadership. Stewart (1970, p.68) identifies many women managers as having difficulty with delegation and that this occurs because of lack of exposure to this technique. Studies by Donnell & Hall (Powell, 1988,p.152) examined the leader's use of exposure (open and candid sharing of feelings) and feedback (active solicitation of feelings and information). They found that women were less open and candid than male leaders and concluded that this may be related to lack of self confidence and esteem (Donnell & Hall, in Powell, 1988,p.152).

The difficulties which have been identified for women managers are similar to those that inexperienced male managers meet with and are therefore not gender specific (Moss Kanter, 1976,p.262).

A different scenario is played out when women display the male

characteristics necessary for "success" in that those positive characteristics are overlooked where a female is involved or they will be attributed to some fault in the women's character (Podmore & Spencer, 1987, p.22). Successful women are sometimes characterised as "hard and feminine" or "queen bees" (Davidson & Cooper, 1982, p76). Another important stereotype which concerns the use of authority, labels women as "bossy" and intimates that other people reject or undermine their use of authority (Davidson & Cooper 1982,p.76; Moss Kanter, 1976,p.263). This perception persists despite the fact that various studies have shown it to be unfounded. The way in which women leaders have negotiated the balance between the status of woman and leader will now be examined.

There have been studies of individual women who have become successful leaders (Marshall (1984); Davidson and Cooper (1982); Quartey (1990)). These studies examine the way in which these women have understood and negotiated their career path into leadership positions. The findings indicate that these women have developed a leadership style which is androgynous. Feminist critique of patriarchy led initially to a notion of androgyny in which male and female sex role traits are amalgamated into one personality (Korabik, 1989,p.136). This perspective is a response to questions about whether women could use their people concerns and their high value orientation to be effective leaders.

Studies that have correlated masculine and feminine indices with success have found that people who are highest in both traits are the most effective managers. The androgynous personality was viewed as a balance between perceived male sex roles which emphasise task centred and instrumental traits and female roles which highlight supportive and expressive traits (Korabik 1989,p.24). The strength of the androgynous approach lies in the ability to move between the styles as the situation demands. Marshall (1985, p.134) refers to the construction of a unique leadership style as being self defined. Marshall (1985, p136) uses Goffman's theory of stigma to explore how women become labelled as well as to examine the ways in which women manage their femaleness. Goffman (1968) studied the moral career of the mental patient. He argues that when mental patients are admitted to institutions, after a while they develop secondary symptoms, which are unrelated to the reasons for their admission. These symptoms then become the reason for their prolonged detention in the institutions.

In examining the way in which adjustment occurs, Goffman (1968, p.171) identifies primary and secondary modes. Primary modes occur when the individual conforms to the setting. Secondary adjustments reflect unauthorised means and ends of getting around the prescribed role. Sheppard (1990,p.140) concurs that deliberate behaviour is needed to balance the conflicting status of female and manager. The status conflict is resolved when dress, language and relationships with peers are used to blend in and to maintain conventional rules and expectations of

gender. These tactics are commensurate with primary adjustments and they avoid role conflict. Marshall (1985, p.145) contends that the concept of self remains culturally defined and these women tend to remain lower down the hierarchical scale. Other women move to a transition phase which is often marked by anger and rebellion at the difficulties with securing promotion, at unrecognised competence and at being undermined (Marshall, 1985, p. 136). A less commonly used strategy of "rightful place" which challenges the system, makes men feel uncomfortable, shows anger and sees problems as being structurally based can be brought into play. This strategy corresponds to secondary adjustments and inevitably militates against promotion.

A third strategy is used by women to find a carefully negotiated balance which is androgynous. Techniques used by women who adopt this style are humour, not identifying with other women and separating themselves from women's functions and roles and identifying with management. Moss-Kanter (1976,p.135) describes some of the success strategies used by women in an industrial sales force which had transcended the cultural definition of women's work. She submits that these women had a history of self assertion and relied on competence, knowledge and professionalism, a good sense of humour and tolerance. Marshall (1985, p.137) regards women who achieve success in this way, as characterised by self definition.

Rimmer & Davies (1985) do not look at moral career paths, but at the styles of leadership of women who have achieved promotion to principalship in high schools. Their styles will be incorporated within the discussion about the valuing of female attributes.

It is noteworthy that the women who do conform to the standards set by the organisation and are promoted, face considerable difficulties as they are still judged by male standards. The picture that emerges is one of women steering a course between deviancy and conformance, which many of them will experience as role conflict. Women who have successfully negotiated this transition also experience a sense of achievement and job satisfaction and had the opportunity of implementing many of the policies to which they were committed (Moss Kanter, 1976,p.265).

4.1 The Perspective of valuing women

Studies of woman managers (Healy, Havens & Chin 1990, p.79-96; Rosener 1990,p.120) report on the leadership style that women managers have adopted. Healy, Havens and Chin (1990, p.89) identify empowerment, compromise, negotiation and discussion as integral to this leadership style. Rosener (1990,p.120) refers to the style as an "interactive leadership style" and she associates the style with inclusion, participation and the sharing of power and information. From the late 1970s feminism emphasised a perspective that celebrated women's experiences, traditions, values and ways of feeling, thinking and

behaving and this culminated in the development of the transactional and transformational leadership dichotomy.

4.2 Transactional and transformational leadership

Welch (1992, p.1) investigates the recent debate regarding the differences between transactional and transformational leadership, a dichotomy already identified by Burns in 1978. Billiard & Smale (1992, p69) state that this theory gained widespread attention in an article by Judy Rosener in 1990 Harvard Business Review. According to this theory there is a style of management particular to women. Rosener (1990, p.121) found in her study of managers that men described their leadership performance in terms of transactions with subordinates.

Transactional leaders were viewed as setting goals, objectives, giving advice and assistance and operating from a reward and punishment system with power to reinforce organisational position and formal authority. Welch (1992,p.1) drawing on Kuhnert & Lewis (1987) and Waldman (1988) suggests that the transactional relationship involved initiating contact with the purposes of enhancing something of value and that this style can be usefully associated with the effective maintenance of organisations, rather than with the negotiation of change.

The behaviour that characterises the transformational style is that of leading from the front, of inspiring others with vision of potential and of the future (Rosener, 1990,p.122).

Workers were motivated and committed by the vision and the energy and persistence of the leader. The style is one of building confidence as well as providing opportunities for the learning of new skills. These opportunities include self development and the establishment of a system of career development profiles and plans for employees. Rosener (1990) contended that women are more likely to give descriptions of a leadership style of transformational leadership. Women as bosses are described as employing a more personal approach and creating a more supportive culture with an emphasis on teamwork. They are prepared to listen and to brainstorm. Decisions are not merely handed down to subordinates. Women were found to motivate others in ways that transformed their self interest into organisational goals and in so doing, they transformed fundamental attitudes and fostered an increased sense of community awareness. When the vision has been achieved, these leaders give recognition to others who were involved in the endeavour (Rosener, 1990, p.122).

Bass (1985, p111) describes transformational leaders as charismatic individuals, who are considerate and provide intellectual stimulation.

A principal difference between transactional and transformational leadership is that the followers of transformational leaders experience a shift in beliefs, values, needs and goals. Moss Kanter (1976, p.263) too made reference to the fact that women leaders often energised followers through their own enthusiasm and influenced their attitudes and values.

It is noteworthy that Rosener never restricted this type of leadership to women. She stated that women are also comfortable using a variety of styles and in circumstances where time is of the essence, "they take the bull by the horns". Bass (1985, p.24) concurs that most leaders employ both transactional and transformational styles and that these are incorporated within their overall leadership style. The transformational style which expresses compelling visions and creativity is a necessary style to cope successfully in a turbulent environment, filled with uncertainties.

5. INNOVATIVE LEADERSHIP

Moss Kanter (1984, p.207-240) examines the power skills of organisational entrepreneurs and concludes that a person in the driver's seat and a source of power is all that it takes to get an innovating organisation. She views this as "someone to push the process of pushing". She found, interestingly that younger managers and women were more likely to risk testing of the organisational limits.

The first step lies in understanding how a combination of skills, strategies, power tools and tactics can exert leverage in an organisation. Moss Kanter (1984,p.207) submits that corporate entrepreneurs create new possibilities for change by pushing their creative products and innovations and for this they require skills in obtaining and using power.

The environment is viewed as the key ingredient which creates an atmosphere for entrepreneurialship. For Moss Kanter (1984,p.212), innovation goes beyond the job description and the duties of the person. She recognises that innovators are not mere custodians of routine and direction. Innovation is risky, it generates more excitement, more feeling and it is more controversial. She submits that innovation is not about genius, it is about manoeuvring to secure power, support and resources. This activity includes (Moss Kanter, 1984,p.217-236):

- ◆ Problem definitions which include organisational politics and the investing of time to understand how the organisation works as important pre-requisites for action.
- ◆ Coalition building which transcends the formal bounds of the job and the immediate team to build up a network of support. Innovators have to be team creators, team users and team participants in order to co-opt others and so secure the necessary resources.
- ◆ The mobilisation of support moves the innovator from the role of composer to that of prime mover in the management of the innovation. This activity includes courting support and handling both covert and overt opposition

Entrepreneurs acquire power through mobilising others as collaborators. They secure information, support, power and resources by building an

explicit team of people who will maximise the goals of the organisation through their involvement.

6. LEADERS AND FOLLOWERS

De V Smit (1990,p.301) contends that as a leader, a manager can influence the actions of others toward achievement of expected outcomes.

Josefowitz (1980, p.199) argues that a leader can only lead if there are followers who consciously agree to be led. She makes a distinction between those followers that are led and must follow and those who want to follow. People who must follow do so because of economic necessity, fear, ignorance and lack of viable alternatives. Those who want to follow do so for potential gains, either in terms of material reward, personal fulfilment or achievement. An effective leader is one whose subordinates want to be led, instead of a situation where followers feel co-erced to do so.

De V. Smit (1990,p.301) posits that even if the leader is a popular and trusted leader who achieves results, it is unlikely that all employees will follow. He associates employee motivation with the desires, wants, needs and motives of employees and links these to motivation theories, job design, job enrichment and to peer influence. Other explanations for the difficulties which some leaders experience are related to the negative perceptions of black people which some white workers hold and which affects the credibility of the leader.

6.1 Skills of the leader

Coulshed (1992,p. 105) submits that the key to becoming a leader is related to having influence with people and is usually associated with qualities like charisma, competency, professionalism, support and concern. Kouzas and Posner (1990,p.1) report on the findings of a study at Santa Clara University and AT & T Sales and Marketing Education Centre in U.S.A. which showed that followers want to be led by people who are honest, competent, forward looking, inspiring and courageous.

The attribute chosen most frequently as representing trusted leadership, was competency. They (1990,p.3) posit that the norms of competency are constructed around the leader's knowledge base, expertise and performance as well as the ability to step into the unknown (pioneers). Kouzas & Posner (1990, p.3) submit that good leadership requires what they express as VIP (vision, involvement and persistence). Their active involvement in all the work is not required, but they should be able to recognise and support good ideas and take risks and also be brave enough to fail as a leader.)

Kouzas & Posner (1990, p.7) found that there are many striking similarities between what leaders say that they do and what followers admire. The kind of activity that leaders engage in, involves a search for opportunities and experimentation and the taking of risks. It involves shared vision which builds commitment, enthusiasm and excitement around an innovation, and in so doing, fosters collaboration (Kouzas and

Posner, 1990, p.7). The important task of expressing confidence in others' capabilities to meet the vision and the recognition of individual contributions and of celebrating accomplishments is part of this leadership style.

6.2 Credibility

Kouzas & Posner (1990, p.3) argue that demonstrated ability is not enough, followers are motivated and inspired by a leader who has credibility and who adds some value to the position. Credibility denotes a belief in leaders and trust in their knowledge and skills. O'Reilly (in Kouzas & Posner, 1990, p.24) studied credibility and found that loyalty and commitment was correlated with the credibility of the leader. They found that a careful balance had to be struck between the leader's desires to achieve important ends and their follower's needs. The outcome has to indicate that the leader has the followers interests at heart. Kouzas and Posner (1990, p.24) caution that leaders have to guard their credibility as this asset is fragile and it is the pivot around which the leader's ability to take strong stands, to challenge and to guide, is organised (Kouzas & Posner, 1990, p.24) When there are few extrinsic rewards like promotion, increased salary, it becomes more difficult to motivate followers to enlist and perform at a higher level. It is then that the credibility of the leader is a paramount consideration.

Credibility is also linked with the value added quality which implies that the leader adds some quality to the position. Leaders who are from stigmatised groups are not perceived as adding value to the leadership post. The reluctance of followers, especially males with female leaders can be understood in terms of the value added quality. Haynes (1989,p.62) asserts that sexuality is the primary way that men and women have learned to relate to each other. Many of the difficulties which women experience as leaders appear to be related to the socialisation process and to sex role bias. Studies of the relationship between sex, managerial stereotypes and gender stereotypes confirm the correlation between male characteristics and management activity (Schein (1970); Butterfield and Powell (1988)). The notion of manager as analogous with male has led to feelings of discomfort being reported about working for women managers, the labelling of assertive women as "bossy woman" and the contention that women did not belong in executive positions. Although these typecasts have long since been disproved, these assumptions still underpin some of the problems which women experience as managers.

The literature also shows that black managers are marginalised irrespective of the influence which they should have by virtue of their formal authority. Williams (1991,p.18) submits that when a black manager is appointed, it is to a position which is fraught with pitfalls. She notes that various problems which were previously neglected

suddenly achieve an urgency. If there are no immediate solutions forthcoming, then the competence of the manager becomes the subject of discussion and open scrutiny. This behaviour reinforces the myth that black people do not have the expertise which the work requires. In direct contrast, white people are allowed to make mistakes and this is viewed as part of the learning experience. Williams (1991,p.18) submits that if black managers are to succeed, then they must have the support of senior managers. Credibility upwards is vital in order to retain support from subordinates. Without upward credibility, credibility with subordinates is doubtful, irrespective of the outstanding qualities that the manager may have. This discussion shows that upper management can confer formal management authority, but leadership is earned through the credibility given by followers to the leader.

Moss Kanter (1976,p.264) observes that findings of "differences" are minimised when the influences of age, education and experience of leaders and subordinates are controlled. She notes that the power that devolves on star performers was found to wipe out differences related to sex and disadvantage and that individuals who acquire executive power stop arousing concern about whether they have leadership qualities.

7. PATHS TO EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP

Josefowitz (1990,p.100) submits that leaders are effective when they portray qualities that instill trust in their ability to lead.

The literature identifies some of the growth areas to which women should give attention. Essentially this lacuna reflects women's lack of exposure to the skills of risk taking, decision making, delegation, time management and stress management within organisational contexts.

7.1 Risk taking

Risk taking is about knowing when, where and how to take risks. Most of the decisions taken by managers involve some degree of risk and this activity can take many forms. Decisions related to recruitment, promotion, delegation and forecasting all involve risk, which could rebound. Risk taking is about autonomy, leading, making decisions and being accountable for self growth and team growth. The major steps involved in risk taking relate to establishing and analysing the outcomes, predicting the results and examining factors which would minimise risk and then taking the risk. Haynes (1989, p.62) investigated women's discouragement from and lack of exposure to risk taking behaviour and the tendency for organisations to protect them and place them in safe situations. These women constantly had to fight off the protection as they were aware that it hinders their mobility prospects.

7.2 Decision making

Decision making involves risk taking and when a decision is required a similar process is followed of defining the problem, weighing the information, generating the alternatives and selecting the most feasible

option (Haynes, 1989,p.64). A significant issue for any stigmatised individual is that as tokens a poor decision will stereotype the entire group they represent as poor decision makers. Men know how to make a joke out of their mistakes, but because of high visibility stigmatised individuals will be adversely affected. It is necessary to learn from mistakes. The distinction has to be made between seeing a mistake as a wrong move or a wrong decision rather than to view a mistake as the wrong decision and to judge an individual's capabilities based on this decision (Haynes, 1989,p.65).

7.3 Delegation

It is interesting that at junior management levels, women have difficulty with delegation. Stewart (1977,p.68) states that delegation is a way of managing in which the manager multiplies her self, time, energy and ability to take on many activities and to get results. It is the managers' professional way of getting on top of things that constitutes a productive approach to decision making, setting priorities, initiating new projects, dealing with emergencies and due dates. The visible advantage of delegation is that more is accomplished through others. This frees the leader to deal with other performance pressures which are inevitable for women managers. For the organisation it is a better use of talent, it improves morale and provides a new source of ideas. When the responsibility is delegated then shared authority and an assumption of accountability is required of the subordinate.

Effective delegation is not dumping, it is about making decisions whether a task is an appropriate one to be delegated. This helps the subordinate to grow in terms of decision making, problem solving, confidence and understanding.

It is argued that women do not have this skill as they have not had the opportunity to develop and use the skill. As more women move up the hierarchy, there is a greater need for delegation and so these managers will acquire the delegation skills.

7.4 Time management

The management of time is crucial for stigmatised individuals (Stewart, 1977, p.156). These individuals are assailed by tasks of budgeting, financial control, discrimination, unreliable supplies, trade unions, culture of organisations, grievance procedure, male and female labour relations, their own ambivalence, family and career goal compatibility. In addition to all these major considerations, they have to contend with performance pressure.

It is not so important to define time management, the important activity is taking time to review how they are using or misusing their time. It is then possible to introduce techniques for using time more creatively. Part of this activity is about how to protect time and this involves listing the time robbers : telephone calls, meetings, reports, visitors, not

delegating tasks, procrastination, emergencies, special requests, delays and reading (Josefowitz, 1990, p.102).

The LEADS method of time management is regarded as one of the most effective methods for creating time. This entails:

List activities

Estimate time required

Allow time for unscheduled tasks

Decide priorities. The latter activity involves a classification of priorities in terms of:

- ◆ importance and urgency of the task;
- ◆ tackling one task at a time;
- ◆ tackling tasks that you can handle effectively;
- ◆ dealing with objectives that you can attain; and
- ◆ providing a listing of the assignments completed

Scan scheduled tasks

Managing time at work requires implementation of the leads method to complete daily or weekly work, setting time aside for creative thinking, allowing time for the unexpected, combatting procrastination, by wherever possible, handling each piece of paper only once and learning to say "no" (Josefowitz,1990,p.104) .

Another very important technique is related to asking for time. This applies when people make requests or give orders and are not sure of the implications in terms of time. Asking for time is essentially thinking space to weigh up the pros and cons and deciding what is best for you. Asking for time is about taking yourself seriously and valuing your time.

7.5 Stress management

There is much controversy about the term stress as it means different things to different people and the amount of stress that people can take differs. Some people enjoy working under stress, while for others it is harmful. Stress is an intrinsic part of women's lives and the multi-committed woman seldom has real choices in fulfilling her many roles.

Stress is often caused by the simple overload of high demands and high constraint combined with low support. It is stressful to be a stigmatised individual in a management position because of being marginalised and on the periphery and yet vulnerable and visible.

Clarke (1989,p.2) interprets stress from an individual and an organisational point of view.

Stress can occur from an individual perspective if:

- ◆ individuals make very high demands of themselves by having very high expectations of what they should be achieving at any one time;

- ◆ individuals work under enormous constraints when can result in their becoming physically and emotionally run down;
- ◆ they are unwilling or unable to get support from friends, family or the organisations; and
- ◆ they are perceiving or distorting a situation or event to make it more stressful than it actually is.

From an organisational perspective, stress can occur if:

- ◆ an organisation places high demands on an employee;
- ◆ an organisation is unable or unwilling to provide the resources to enable the individual to meet these demands; and
- ◆ no support is provided to the employee.

The main coping mechanisms for stress include becoming knowledgeable about stress, coming to terms with feelings, developing effective behavioral skills, creating and using support systems, trying to organise life in such a way that extra burdens are kept to a minimum, remembering spiritual development and working on self management. Self management includes exercise, a balanced diet, time management, setting space aside for a quiet time and creating support systems. A vital question for women aspiring to management is whether they want the additional stress which goes with the management job.

8. SUMMARY

Rosener (1990, p.119) submits that women who have broken through the glass ceiling have proved that effective leaders do not come from one mould- that the traditional and male orientated way is not the only way to succeed. This chapter has explored the theories which have been at the heart of moving the concept of management from a technical process to a visionary activity. It has shown that working in a position where stigmatised individuals are few in number puts the woman in a bind. She needs to learn the rules of the game, to take control and develop a leadership style that will assist her to deal constructively with the multifarious issues with which she will be confronted. Yet she will still be faced with opposition from the tradition and bias which exists in individuals, groups and within the organisation.

Although the selection of a leadership style is dependent on choice, finding the golden mean on a continuum of autocratic to democratic styles of leadership is an important exercise because of the effects of these styles on subordinates. A very directive leader may impact on the challenge, autonomy, and control of the staff and so de-motivate them, engender anger and lowered commitment. There are circumstances of uncertainty and crisis when directive leadership is important and managers need to be able to recognise and respond to these circumstances.

Democratic leaders focus on building a team and sharing individual expertise and can be viewed as not providing sufficient direction to followers. Women prefer to adopt a participatory style of leadership which closely resembles interactive leadership and transformational leadership. The capacity for innovation contained within this style of leadership renders it an appropriate approach for uncertain and turbulent conditions.

For woman as leaders, it is also necessary to measure outcomes by measures other than observable behaviour. Developing, modifying and assessing one's own leadership style and retaining a sense of perspective is essential for success and it provides an indication of what the individual hopes to accomplish and what the person is willing to sacrifice.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

Quantitative and qualitative paradigms are used in the research process to test and generate knowledge. Traditionally, quantitative paradigms are used by the natural sciences and qualitative paradigms are used by the social sciences. Social work research methods have been constructed principally from the social sciences. The qualitative and quantitative approaches are often presented as polar opposites, as independent and as mutually exclusive (Kuhn, 1983,p.101). There is tacit acceptance of both method and assumptions underlying these methods. Daly (1986,p.80) submits that this uncritical adoption of methodology, "has wiped out women's questions so totally that even women have not been able to hear and formulate our own questions". As a result, important questions and valuable data remain unresearched.

Cummerton (1986,p.81) argues that if social work's commitment to social justice is to be realised, then the sexist bias in research has to be addressed. She suggests that alternative means of increasing knowledge and understanding of people and institutional arrangements through which services are delivered, have to be used.

This study uses a life history approach. Roberts (1984, p10) argues that this approach is important when there is a lack of personal documentary evidence. There is a dearth of literature in South Africa about the topic under study and the lacuna is blatant in relation to black women in social work management.

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, it describes and contrasts the two approaches; the traditionalist quantitative approach and the feminist qualitative perspective. Secondly, it discusses salient aspects of these approaches as they are used in the research design and the methodology of this study.

2. PARADIGMS

Paradigms synthesise problems and provide a framework for study. Thomas Kuhn (in Deshpande, 1983, p.101) defines paradigms as a set of linked assumptions about the world shared by a community of researchers investigating that world. He states that this set of assumptions provides a conceptual and philosophical framework for

study.

Within this framework the following four functions are served:

- ◆ Providing guidance on the important problems and issues in the discipline
- ◆ Developing an explanatory scheme which can place these problems and issues in a framework.
- ◆ Establishing criteria which define the appropriate "tools" for the study; and
- ◆ Providing an epistemology in which the preceding tasks can be viewed as organising principles for carrying out the "normal work" of the discipline. Within this framework problems worthy of exploration and the methods and tools available for study are defined (Kuhn,1983,p.104). Once a researcher accepts a paradigm, then the tools and the instruments follow. Table 6 provides a comparison of the epistemological implications of the research components of the two approaches.

TABLE 6: COMPARISON OF THE TWO APPROACHES

COMPONENTS	FEMINIST-QUALITATIVE	TRADITIONALIST-QUANTITATIVE
Data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Descriptive * Validity is critical; so "rich", "deep", "soft" data is required * Feelings, behaviour and actions as witnessed or experienced are studied. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Statistical; measurement * Reliability is critical- so hard, replicable data is required. * Attitudes and actions are studied
Hypothesis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Formulated during and after research process. Hypothesis generating. * Not rejected * Other variables interwoven with research variables 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Formulated in advance as a question for investigation. Hypothesis deductive. * Can be rejected * Research revolves around the hypothesis
Concepts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Discovered from data * Broadly defined and so can assume various meanings * Interpretive analysis is required as natural events are studied, encased within their own contexts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Known in advance * Explicit operationalising of concepts * Specific, so that what is described is measured

Sampling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Theoretically directed. Based on the number of participants necessary to identify the range and similarities of experience. * Subjective; insiders perspective; * close to the data * Uncontrolled, naturalistic, observational measurement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Representative * Objective; outsiders perspective * Distanced from the data * Obtrusive, controlled measurement
Data Analysis and presentation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Descriptive: summaries and illustrations * Holistic - attempts to synthesize. Similarities are studied 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Measurement, Tables * Particularistic - attempts to analyse and then to universalise. Differences are studied.

COMPONENTS	QUALITATIVE	QUANTITATIVE
Theory-evidence links	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Theory building * Grounded theory: discovery orientated, exploratory, expansionist, descriptive and inductive * Concerned with understanding human behaviour from the <u>actor's frame</u> of reference and emphasising situational determinants of behaviour. * Phenomenological approach * Process orientated * Feminine approach which includes communal methods which are naturalistic, co-operative and participatory. * Establishes trends for the group studied. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Theory Testing * Ungrounded theory: verification orientated, inferential and hypothetico-deductive * Seeks the facts or causes of social phenomena without advocating subjective interpretation * Logical positivist approach * Outcome orientated * Masculine approach which rests on controlling, separating and quantifying data * Generalises findings

Compiled using Reichardt and Cook (in Deshpande 1983,p.3); Rose (1982,p.117); Chaudary (1991,p.81); Mouton (1988,p.1)

From the table, it is evident that the link between the theoretical paradigm and the research method is a strong one. Rose (1982,p.108) notes that the distancing between the two paradigms is notable as well as the linking to a preferred set of scientific methods. The very use of the terms quantitative and qualitative implies certain preferences in the kinds of research designs and analysis subsumed by each paradigm. Rose (1982,p.108) states that "systematic attention to the methodology dates mainly from the late 1960's" when feminists and sociologists questioned the use of the quantitative approach as an appropriate framework for descriptive studies. Their main contentions revolve around two critical features which concern epistemology and objectivity.

3. EPISTEMOLOGY

Mouton (1988,p.2) examines the preponderance of utilising a quantitative framework for generating social science knowledge. In his paper "Contemporary philosophies of science and the qualitative paradigm in the social sciences" (1985,p.3), he uses the analogies of the body and of society as working systems to explore "the methodological consequences" of the quantitative approach. Three consequences are isolated which form cornerstones for the quantitative paradigms:

- ◆ The cause and effect result which occurs when $x \rightarrow y$;
- ◆ The practice that only behaviour that can be observed will be measured; and

- ◆ The scientific notion of objectivity in research assumes centrality within the process. This concept incorporates an understanding of control and neutrality.

The first two consequences have been combined and have come to be referred to as logical empiricism. The two aspects of logical empiricism and objectivity dovetail, but they will now be examined as separate themes and they will be related to feminist research.

3.1 Logical Empiricism

The principle theoretical paradigm of logical empiricism as the only verification for phenomena has been criticised by writers who support qualitative research (Walsh in Deshpande, 1983,p.101); Kirton, 1987,p.87). Walsh (in Deshpande, 1983,p.101) offers the criticism that when only overt behaviour is considered, "then the precise character of the world, namely its intrinsic meaningfulness" will be lost.

In their comparison between science and pseudo-scientific "systematic empiricism", Willer & Willer (in Kirton, 1987, p.26) argue that while science entails rational connections which correspond to observable connections, systematic empiricism links observation to statistical aggregation and correlation. They contend that it is inherently conservative, tied tightly to what "is" as measured, only generating independent bits of knowledge with common sense explanations because

it lacks any rational component which allows interconnection and transcendence.

3.2 Feminism and empiricism

Since the 1960's feminist scholars have demonstrated that "the world of women has been made invisible by traditional research" (Burden & Gottlieb, 1987, p.54). Empiricist studies usually treat sex as a variable and generate substantial amounts of information on "sex differences". This information is contained in attitudinal and classificatory categories such as checklists and rank orders.

Typically, however, findings are simply reported or explained within narrow confines. Concern to explain findings or to set these in context appears rare, although this does not always dampen the ardour for polemic. The empiricists concern for staying close to the evidence can transform correlation into explanation. Observations on unequal treatment, for instance, are often neither developed into nor located within any coherent theory of sexual inequality. While results are not portrayed as natural, the absence of alternative formulation leaves ample scope for such interpretation.

Feminists charge that a focus on the observable and measurable may create an air of thoroughness and practicality, but this brings inherent biases associated with using that paradigm and its allied methodologies.

A view of social life and social science which takes cognisance of gender has been advocated which pays attention to modifying current knowledge as well as research procedures.

Implicit throughout the above review has been a plea to locate interviewee accounts within a context of social relations, which has to be explained more fully, not least because of this study's reliance on respondents accounts.

3.3 Objectivity

There are writers who have focused specifically on the question of objectivity. The issue of whether researchers can be truly objective has been studied in terms of control of the research process and neutrality. Cummerton, (1986,p.83) identifies the following assumptions as implicit in the traditional paradigm:

- ◆ Research is a rational, logical, coherent and orderly process which is controlled through the use of standardised procedures which specify the exact working and sequence of research instruments.
- ◆ The research will produce evidence which can be generalised to explain or predict large segments of reality.
- ◆ Certain data gathering techniques will produce more objective results, such as standardised questionnaires.
- ◆ The units of study will be defined and operationalised.

- ◆ The criteria used in judging the validity of the study include the significance of results and replication of the research.
- ◆ The researcher is in control of the interviewees and the research process and this includes :
 - Standardisation which prescribes interviewer behaviour and ensures that an objective and detached attitude is adopted;
 - Topics or questions which are selected for their potential contribution to the study;
 - Variables which are selected by researcher; and
 - Interpretation which is based on empirical data sifted by the researcher.

The above assumptions represent the accepted norms against which research efforts are compared and judged.

The growing recognition of the sexist bias inherent in this paradigm, has led to the criticism that research cannot be objective in the true sense because of biases within the researcher (Fielding 1986,p.35). He submits that understanding and interpretation is concerned with more than superficiality of the text it is bound up with tradition and with cognising apparatus as found in the individual's experience. Fielding (1986,p.36) makes reference to the "non conscious ideology" which impacts

on the choice of variables, the questions which are defined for study, the process of answering and the interpretation of the data. Lees (1975,p.274) submits that genuine conceptual correspondence, referred to as "verstehen" in Sociology, requires understanding and empathy in the minds of the researcher and the researched and this is not achieved simply by processes of standardisation and objectivity.

3.4 The impact of world views

Feminist researchers have charged that studies of women have been found to be influenced by the male view of women in society and male definitions of problems and that women's perspectives and experiences have been trivialised and their contributions devalued (Cummerton, 1986,p.87). Female invisibility is not of course primarily an empirical matter. Hanmer & Statham (1988,p.35) submit that empirical confirmations of common sense gender roles often provide a platform for the latter's reinforcement. These studies are used to provide guidelines for policy makers and to determine the uncritical acceptance of the sexual division of labour and the failure to account for changes in the labour market and the family.

Feminists contend that if the researcher is white, male and heterosexual, then these characteristics are likely to be conceptualised as the norm. Where out of norm individuals have been subjects for study, traditional research has promoted the understanding of these individuals within

certain scripts. People of colour will for instance be seen in the race script, women will be seen in a marriage script and men too will be restricted in the areas of their lives under study. A feminist perspective values women's needs and celebrates their ideas and experiences. Androcentricity-man as the norm - ceases to be the traditional frame of reference.

Qualitative research has as its starting point the individual's experience.

The procedure subscribes to an inductive, subjective and process orientated world view (Quartey, 1990,p.87). Rather than beginning with hypotheses, models or theories, these concepts signal that the act of building commences with the comprehension of minute interactions or episodes. This process can be envisaged as the collecting of strands of the phenomenon, similar to a rippling effect, which begins with subjective and personal experiences which are then placed in the context of the situation. This process asserts functional relationships and creates order and in so doing, describes the order and explains social phenomena. This process allows a focus on individual and collective behaviour without losing sight of the mutual dependence of the two (Quartey, 1990,p.87).

In a feminist perspective, women are at the centre of the study. They are neither compared with nor measured against normative (male) standards. What is valued is the experience of women and the socially significant problems which are often but two sides of the same coin (Cummerton, 1986,p.87).

4. VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Rowan & Reason (1989,p.239) point to the limitations of the two approaches. They submit that the dominance of any one theoretical dimension which limits the study is flawed on the grounds of validity and reliability. O'Neill (1992,p.220) drawing on Reason & Rowan (1981) summarises these criticisms. She states that research cannot be totally objective and should be based firmly in the experiences of respondents. The qualitative approach stands accused of unreliability because reliability in the logical positivist sense is not possible when dealing with interpersonal phenomena (O'Neill, 1992,p.220).

A valid measure is seen as "measuring what it sets out to measure" and in this sense validity corresponds with empiricism. Validity can also be viewed as definitional as the measure itself helps to determine the term to be measured (Reason & Rowan 1981,p.239). Validation can thus be seen as a combination of the empirical and definitional. Reason & Rowan (1981,p.239) examine qualitative research using the criterion for rightness as being inter-subjectivity. Inter-subjectivity is seen as the dialectical relationship between researcher and respondent and Cummerton (1986,p.86) submits that feminist research encourages intersubjectivity because it is concerned with both process and product. The researcher's work is shared with participants from the beginning, who may themselves influence the concerns of the research. They may be involved in formulating the problem or the questions to be asked,

providing data, reviewing findings and their interpretation, suggesting alternatives or using the findings to influence their own situations. When considering validity the connection is not only with whether it is right, but also whether is it useful and illuminating. This perspective suggests a sharing of power, but by confirming the realities constructed by individual researchers, these world views are accessed and understood. Respondent feedback as to the accuracy of interpretation, satisfies the constructs of validity as well as reliability. A feasibility study which determines whether responses to the questions yield similar replies, would establish face validity, while congruency with responses in the contexts of different countries will demonstrate contextual validity. Reason and Rowan (1981,p.239) advocate what they term an "objectively subjective" position which essentially is an amalgamation of the two approaches. Although the preferred methodology for feminist research is the qualitative approach, quantitative information is acceptable when essential to the context or the questions posed.

Riechardt & Cook (in Deshpande, 1983,p.108) present another significant reason for the liaison in that the orthodox quantitative methods have been developed most directly for the task of verifying or confirming theories and that qualitative methods were purposely developed for the task of discovering or generating theories. It is suggested also that with topics where there is little existing knowledge, qualitative research can precede quantitative research as the former can generate crucial

information for follow up with quantitative studies (Kuhn in Deshpande, 1983,p.108). These follow up studies should demonstrate concept validity.

5. DECIPHERING THE RESEARCH STUDY

The framework for this section includes the following broad steps: research design, research tools, research process, population under study. Subsumed within these overarching categories are topics which deal with the aims of the study, gathering background information, choosing the sample, design of the questionnaire, interviewing respondents, recording data in practice , individual checks, tabulation, analysis of the data and possible biases.

6. RESEARCH DESIGN

6.1 Aims of the study

Quartey (1990,p.89) uses the argument that understanding the lives of women must be done from women's own perspective and requires an open, empathic interaction. The central arguments of such an approach is that so much of women's reality has been distorted by male dominated studies that a necessary corrective from women's experience must be developed.

To the researcher's knowledge, the subject under investigation is a topic about which there is limited information in South Africa. Some

knowledge about women managers in commerce has been generated within the South African context and this has been examined and integrated within the study. The literature about women as managers in the social work field has been built up largely in western societies and as such reflects the experience and the beliefs and values that prevail in western societies. The challenge still remains to build up a body of knowledge peculiar to South Africa within its dynamic context.

Goode (1952,p.27) submits that descriptive studies are conducted when the researcher has no formal hypothesis.

This is especially true in a study when the researcher is exploring a new subject. The task with descriptive studies is to learn more about the subject in general in order to answer questions about what is currently happening. In order to respond to the question fully, the researcher has to gather information about the specifics of the topic. Sekaran (1992,p.96-97) submits that a descriptive study is undertaken in order to ascertain and to be able to describe characteristics of variables in a given situation. A descriptive study is undertaken to learn about and describe the characteristics of the group under study. The goal therefore is to describe relevant aspects of the phenomenon of interest. Such information is often vital before even contemplating further steps. Sekaran states that descriptive studies help to :

- ◆ understand the characteristics of a group or a situation of interest;

- ◆ aid thinking about the subject under study;
- ◆ offer ideas for further probing or research; and
- ◆ help to make certain simple decisions about direction.

The intention in this study is to define some of the pressures and to identify some of the sources of potential disadvantage and discrimination as well as the sources of support which women managers encounter. The study also aims to investigate how they persevere in organisations. Descriptive research requires that the researcher has a good working knowledge of the subject prior to carrying out the research. An extensive literature study was completed and the questions generated for the research study were in the first instance a reflection of this literature study.

The research design also has elements of the quantitative descriptive studies described by Tripodi, Fellin & Meyer (1983,p.28) and Deshpande (1983,p.101) which is concerned with knowledge generation. According to Bailey (1987), Good (1963) and Borg (1967) the principal objective is to define concepts and to develop questions for further research. Bailey (1987), Good (1963) and Borg (1967) contend that descriptive research precedes other types of research because the existing facts and prevailing conditions need to be shown. Cummerton (1986,p.95) submits that much feminist research focuses on generating new concepts, meanings and new information. This kind of research does not begin with precisely defined

conceptual and operational definitions of the phenomena, because of the state of knowledge about the phenomena under study. Exploratory research acquaints the researcher with characteristics of the research target (Black and Champion, 1976,p.79).

O'Neill (1992,p.209) using Tripodi et al (1983), states that usually neither a priori hypotheses nor specific questions are formulated to guide the research. The study does not start with a hypothesis but uses analytic induction which generates patterns of results. Once there is information about the way in which women overcome common experiences then issues which recur can be developed into categories and concepts and raise questions for further research.

This study will utilise the experiential analysis as developed by Reinharz (1983) which is characterised by a collaborative, non authoritarian involvement with subjects and with analysis and interpretation grounded in the subjects experience. Reason & Rowan (1981,p.239) acknowledge that true human inquiry needs to be based firmly in the experience of those it purports to understand, involving collaboration between researcher and subject, so that they work together as co-researchers. Feminist research is conceptualised as being process orientated. Subjects are involved in various phases of the process, defining themselves and their experiences (Cummerton, 1986,p.87). The research question has different meanings for people in different contexts and if the

subject is not offered the opportunity for offering their perceptions of what is happening, then essential knowledge has been overlooked. In this research the subjects were involved in a feasibility study which defined the questions to be investigated.

Pertinent questions which emerged were the following:

- (1) Which factors facilitated or hindered the individual's career path?
- (2) Which discriminatory practices have influenced the respondent's career?
- (3) Is there a conflict between home and work pressures? If so, how do the respondents balance the pressure from home and work commitments?
- 4) What tactics did the individuals use to cope?
- (5) How do the experiences of black women managers differ from those of white women managers?
- (6) What kinds of changes should be incorporated into employment policies to ensure equal employment opportunities?

Feminist research should be concerned about all the participants who contribute to the subject's reality. Cummerton (1986,p.88) asserts that the analysis of oppression based on any form of discrimination, must look at the oppressor and the oppressed and the interaction between them.

7. RESEARCH PROCESS

7.1 Duration of the research process

- The process of identifying core issues from the literature occurred intensively prior to the drawing up of the questionnaire but continued throughout the research process.
- A feasibility study was carried out in July 1992 with managers in Cape Town and Durban.
- Alternate sources of information which were contacted to obtain information and statistics about possible respondents.
- Appointments made to visit managers in Cape Town and Johannesburg during December 1992 and January 1993. Managers in Durban were interviewed from February to May 1993.
- Interviews conducted at appointed times ranging between 1 hour to 2 hours in length.
- Subsequently tape recorded interviews were analysed and forwarded to respondents for comment. The amended information was included in the analysis.

8. METHODOLOGY

8.1 Gathering background information

- ◆ This took the form of meeting with managers of social work agencies in Durban, Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria.

These meetings were used to arrive at an understanding of the current issues and pressures and to procure information about the strategies which they used to cope, as well as exploring the feasibility of the study. Their responses underscored the need for the study.

- ◆ The study of local and international literature was undertaken which provided a primary source of data.

8.2 Exploring the feasibility of the study.

A feasibility study was carried out with a small sample of managers in two cities. Cummerton (1986,p90) submits that the researcher attempts to investigate the gaps on research on women. The problem selected for exploration was female orientated and aimed at the generation of knowledge about the similarities and range of experiences that women had as managers in social work environments. Congruent with feminist research perspectives, the development of a relationship was encouraged between the researcher and the participants which accepted the participant as an active collaborator - an expert on her own perceptions and experiences. The constraints highlighted by managers appeared very similar in the cities, across race groups and agency types.

9. RESEARCH TOOLS

9.1 Designing and structuring the questionnaire

The research instrument (See Appendix Two) used by the researcher was

designed in two parts. The first part consisted of straight forward, uncomplicated identifying information about the manager and her managerial experience. The semi-structured interview schedule which followed consisted of open questions, as this is an effective medium with people who are able to express themselves and can do so succinctly. In addition, prompts were used during the interview to ensure that all the material was covered by respondents. The researcher was present to clarify any confusion.

The questionnaire was designed to produce two things: accurate communication and accurate response. According to Young (1956,p.183) "accurate communication is obtained when respondents understand the research objectives. Accurate response is obtained when the replies contain the information sought and at the same time fulfil the demands of tabulation plans and analytical programmes".

In the first part, the order of the questions was given consideration so that factual but pertinent questions were asked initially and then there was progression to more involved aspects which required reflection. The questions were brief, devoid of jargon and infinite care was taken to avoid ambiguity.

The subject matter was likewise meticulously framed in that questions relating to a specific subject were grouped together and the respondents were alerted to the change in subject during the interview.

According to Dixon & Leach (1984,p.33) "normally 30 minutes interviews should be considered a good maximum". These interviews were scheduled to last for approximately an hour with the use of different mediums of writing and tape recording. This mix of mediums allowed for maximum rapport with the respondent.

9.2 Improving the questionnaire

Initially some pre-testing and redrafting of the research tool was undertaken with a small group of respondents to check for content and ambiguity and terminology. Moreover, academic staff scrutinised the questionnaire for inconsistencies. As a result some changes were made to terminology and to the arrangement of questions.

10. POPULATION UNDER STUDY

10.1 Choosing the sample

According to Babbie (1983,p.160) "Sampling is the process of selecting a subset of observations from among many possible observations for the purpose of drawing conclusions about the larger population". He cautions that the language of representativeness needs to be employed carefully when field researchers are pursuing opportunistic or snowball

sampling.

Quartey (1990, p.89) using Glaser & Strauss (1967) assert that the theoretical sampling use grounded theory leaving the selection of informant, who is interviewed, at what stage, in what manner, to the interviewers judgement.

Rose (1980,p.120) states that the sampling involved in fieldwork studies is different from the samples which are based on approximations to representativeness, because of issues concerned with the general universe and the working universe. Various steps were taken to locate a database of women managers. The Bureau of Statistics, the HSRC, The South African Council for Social Work and the Women's Bureau were unable to provide statistical information about women in social work management. The State departments were reluctant for the researcher to access their general information which was held for subsidy purposes. Moreover, there was no tangible information on the number of non governmental organisations (NGO's) which is a significant informal network of welfare provision. The general universe of social work managers was therefore unknown. The selection of a working universe was based on the premise that this was a universe which had previously not been studied and where because of the unavailability of data, there would be a need for collaboration. Rose (1988,p.120) asserts that in these circumstances problems of generalisations are left aside as the purpose is to establish a manager's view of pertinent issues.

The feminist perspective (Cummerton 1986,p.93) concurs that generalisation of findings does not go beyond the group studied. Rose (1988,p.122) submits that while we may expect the material on theoretical sampling to act as a guide, in qualitative studies, sampling is not completely in the researchers control since it is constrained by potential interviewees. Rose (1988,p.120) submits that "the net result is a sample which is to a greater or lesser extent accidental". He concludes that theoretical sampling is "best seen as an attempt to make systematic the inevitable non-representative or accidental aspects of sampling" inherent in the process. The feminist research perspective submits that the size of the sample is based on the number of participants necessary to identify the range and similarities of experience.

The factors involved in the choice of sample were based on the lack of information about the general universe, the similarity of responses obtained in the feasibility study, the element of accidental sampling, the fact that the qualitative approach generates a richness of detail and a volume of material to be managed.

The sample of sixty participants located in the urban areas of Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg was chosen as they fall within different provinces and a spread of twenty respondents allowed for a reasonable amount of data to be collected, if variables of race, agency type and

service type were to be considered.

Currently there are black and white managers in senior positions in public and private welfare institutions who know what the pitfalls are and the strategies necessary for career success, for under-represented groups. Information gleaned from these managers will be of use to others in the same position and to institutions committed to eradicating sexist and racist bias.

Tentative contacts with individual women managers indicated that there was support for the study, but there was a reluctance to commit to participation because of concern about the agency response. Three head offices were reluctant to release the names of employees because of implications for the institution.

University Social Work Departments were then contacted and a variety of organisations appearing on University placement lists were approached to identify women who hold management responsibility. The avenue produced positive responses and these managers were then asked to unlock their own network of colleagues in similar positions. Potential participants who had been identified by other named managers were prepared to assist with the study.

Contact was established with respondents by letter well in advance and their permission obtained for an interview which would be tape recorded. This was followed up by a telephone call in which firm interview dates

were established. Anonymity was assured to respondents prior to the interview.

10.2 Interviewing respondents

There is a good deal of difference between the interviews discussed in standardised research texts and the actual practice of interviews. Structured interviews are emphasised, which assumes control over a list of questions and so objectivity is achieved. Various writers (Goode & Hatt, 1952, Seltiz, 1965) offer advice about the dangers of over-rapport. Proper interviewing thus upholds values, underlines objectivity, distance, detachment while the errors of poor interviewing comprise subjectivity, involvement and the fiction of equality. Seltiz (1965,p.583), Richardson (1965,p.129) and Corbin (1971,p.303-5) concur that interview bias can merely be interviewer difference and that the exact type of relationship between the interviewer and those interviewed is something that the interviewer cannot control entirely.

10.3 Feminists and interviewing

The dual concerns about the quality of respondents' participation and the quality of information being sought are addressed by feminist researchers. Oakley (1978,p.38) in an article called "Interviewing women" states that the traditional criteria for interviewing women results in a one way process which narrows the data in the scope of the interview.

This type of interviewing does not validate women's subjective experience. Hobsen (1978,p.80-81) and Oakley (1978,p.38) used semi structured interviews which were tape recorded. Oakley (1978,p.38) observes that one difficulty in interviewing women was that they asked questions back and that "it is difficult to avoid answering the questions as honestly and fully as I could" and Hobsen responded to this dynamic by allowing discussion and time for questions after the taped interview.

The researcher limited her involvement to giving factual information when asked for direct advice during the interview. After the interview there was some time for discussion, if the respondent indicated the need for discussion time.

Grinnell (1981,p.262) submits that a semi-structured interview schedule includes some specific items, but there is also latitude for the interviewers to explore in their own ways other matters which pertain to the research question. Oakley (1981,p38) writes that unstructured or semi-structured interviews are used frequently in qualitative work because of the attraction of allowing interviewees to develop their answers to full complexity outside of a pre-structured format.

Grinnell (1981,p.262) asserts that the semi structured interview requires more skill than the structured form in which the instrument describes exactly what items will be asked, their sequence and specific wording.

In order to succeed in the subtle task of encouraging interviewees to be expansive on interesting themes the interviewer needs to have considerable knowledge of the phenomenon under study. In this study the researcher was the only interviewer. An extensive literature study had been completed prior to undertaking the research and with six years of experience as a manager in social work and education settings, the researcher considered that she had the skills to elicit the relevant information.

Dixon & Leach (1984,p.32) state that the "successful interview can take place anywhere that the respondent feels comfortable and relaxed..." Interviews were conducted in the respondent's work setting. Respondents were also given the choice as to whether the interviews were to be conducted in the medium of English or Afrikaans.

10.4 Recording data in practice

The meeting with respondents was divided into two parts. First the respondents completed the questionnaire and then an interview was conducted using the semi-structured interview schedule. This interview was tape recorded and the transcripts were then forwarded to respondents for correction and for the addition of relevant information. Feedback as an important source of correction, insight and knowledge utilises respondent validation (Deshpande, 1983,p.116).

The concept of "respondent validation" where interviewees are given the opportunity to give feedback, is a significant technique for control of bias in qualitative approaches. Using this technique, allows respondents to comment on and to correct the beliefs and behaviour contained in the accounts given by the researcher. This process is viewed as another valuable source of data and insight. Concern is therefore not with the mechanical process of data collection, but with the logic of the validation.

11. ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

As the study is an exploratory study, descriptive statistics are deemed to be sufficient for the purposes of the research study. The researcher had gathered mainly numerical and descriptive data which were organised manually. Open ended responses were classified into main categories which reflected a similarity of response and which lent themselves to meaningful tabulation. Graphic presentations were provided when data were considered to be better displayed than in tabular form.

12. POSSIBLE BIASES

- ◆ The research does not begin with precisely defined conceptual and operational definitions of the phenomenon or with deductive hypothesis testing are likely to arouse concern from researchers versed in traditional patriarchal method of quantitative research.

- ◆ The sample size can be seen as a source for criticism particularly

as it bears no relationship to the general universe.

- ◆ The use of the snowball sample is a source of bias in that only the known networks of people were accessed. Consequently there was a predominance of respondents from private welfare organisations. The sampling was also restricted to three cities, which does not include all the provinces and omits the rural areas and homelands. Although the researcher was able to exercise limited control over the respondents interviewed, the sample included less people classified as "black" according to South African population statistics.
- ◆ Interaction between the researcher and participant can be viewed as introducing subjectivity into the interview. Interviewee/interviewer rapport can be viewed as a cause for concern. Where the researcher was of a different race group to the respondent, it may have been difficult for the respondent to admit to experiencing difficulties with coping.
- ◆ The types of data collected also constitute a difference. While quantitative research focuses on the reports of attitudes and actions through standardised instruments, this study extracts the feelings, behaviour, insights and actions of the participants.
- ◆ Generalisability of the findings is restricted to the group studied because of the sampling techniques.
- ◆ Shortcomings of available statistical tools as findings are represented descriptively rather than analytically.

Despite the shortcomings of the research it generated a rich seam of material which can be used for research of a quantitative nature.

CHAPTER SIX

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the results of the study of black and white women managers in public and voluntary social work agencies are presented and analysed. The major issues and concerns experienced by women managers in social work organisations were investigated and the ways in which they handled these problems were recorded.

Two activities were structured in the discussion with the managers. Firstly, the respondents completed a questionnaire and secondly, an interview was conducted using a semi-structured interview schedule.

The results of the study were organised into ten sections under headings 2-11. The first section contains information about the participating agencies. The second theme which includes figures 3-6 and tables 7 and 8 provides a profile of the manager in terms of her personal characteristics.

The third section incorporates figures 7-13 and provides information about the subject's management experience.

Section four which includes figures 14-16, provides an overview of the supportive networks which assisted the manager in her career development. The fifth section which contains figures 17-22 reveals the managerial styles which had been adopted. Theme six encompasses figures 23-25 and 28. The first three figures concentrate on the pressures and satisfactions in the workplace and figure 28 provides a listing of the strengths of women managers. In the next section which includes figures 26-27, attention is given to the pressures and satisfactions outside of the workplace. The eighth section reflected in figure 29 considers equal opportunity issues. Then there is a discussion of the strategies which women have adopted to cope with the challenges and stressors which they experience and the results are contained within tables 8-12. Finally the advice which these managers offered to junior staff members who were aspiring to management, is outlined in figures 13-15.

The first three sections reflect the information which was collected using the questionnaire. The sections which follow constitute the material which emerged from the recorded interview with the women managers. As such, both quantitative and qualitative information have been produced.

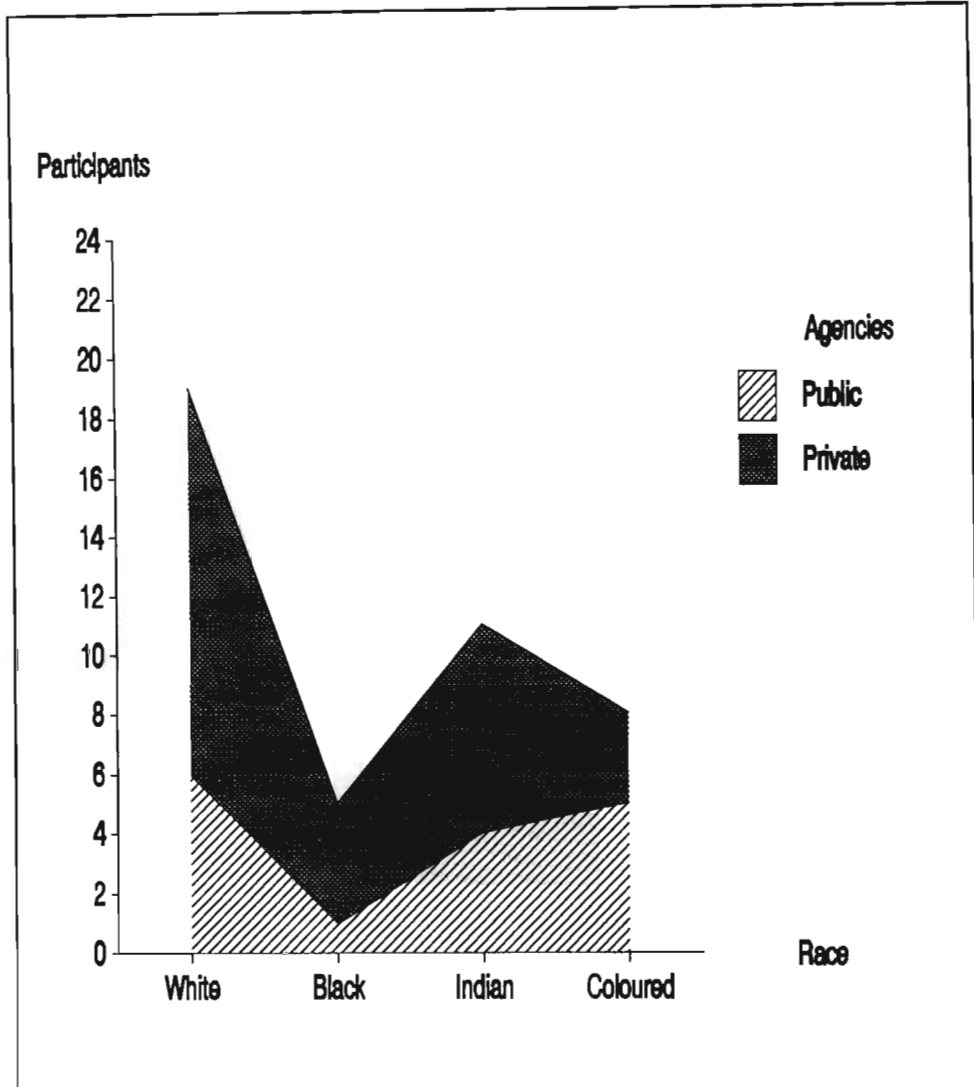
The aspects which are presented for analysis have been organised according to the format of the discussions.

2. PARTICIPATING AGENCIES

At the request of managers, a listing identifying the locations of participating agencies is not included. An indication of the representative organisations include Family and Child Welfare, National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders (NICRO), South African National Council for Alcoholism (SANCA), Family and Marriage Guidance Society of South Africa (FAMSA), Mental Health Societies, four religious organisations, seven community based organisations, South African National Epilepsy League (SANEL), SHAWCO, one hospice, four large residential institutions and the State departments of the House of Representatives, the House of Delegates and the departments of the Provincial Administration.

3. PROFILE OF MANAGERS

FIGURE 3 : DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY RACE AND AGENCY TYPE



N=60

The above figure represents the participating black and white respondents from a cross section of private and public organisations, religious organisations and community based organisations. A total of sixty managers were interviewed from the ranks of middle, senior and top management.

Sixteen respondents (26,6%) were from the House of Representatives, the House of Delegates and the Provincial Administration Departments. In view of the fact that South Africa operates a residual welfare system, where services are provided overwhelmingly by private agencies, this proportion constitutes a reasonable sample.

Respondents were asked to state their official race designation. Many respondents initially inquired about the relevance of this question. All of the respondents were able to appreciate the appropriateness of the question in view of the reality that the race classification still existed, and because of the need to collect baseline data about the existing situation. It is significant that all of the respondents who were officially categorised as "African", classified themselves as "black". As this question allows for self classification, the word black will be used for the official designation of African. In this figure, the word black is used in a more restricted sense than is intended in this thesis.

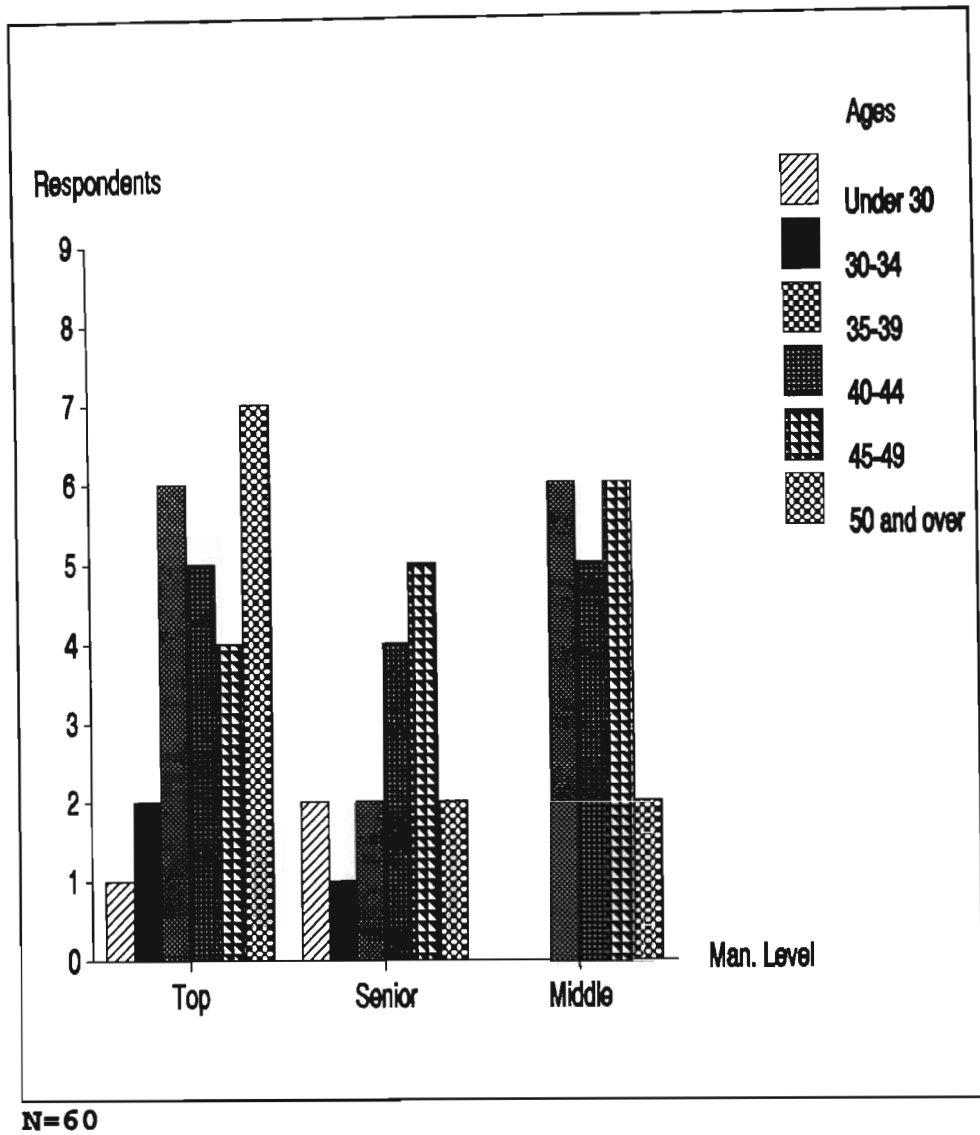
Based on the South Africa race classification, 41,7% of respondents were white and 58,4% (rounded) were non-white. Of these 10% were classified as belonging to the black racial group, 26,7% were classified as Indian and 21,7% were from the coloured racial group.

The majority of the respondents were therefore from the officially designated "white" racial category. Attempts were made to interview a larger number of black managers but this was not possible because five

black respondents were unable to obtain permission to be interviewed, of which three were performing managerial tasks without the title.

As respondents were suggested by other participating managers, it was a difficult exercise for the researcher to control the spread of managers. This was achieved by keeping statistics of respondents by type on an ongoing basis. This spread of managers by racial category is not an unusual one. Erwee's (1993,p.28) table of the racial distribution of managers in administrative and managerial positions in the commercial arena in South Africa shows a similar dispersion.

FIGURE 4 : MANAGEMENT LEVELS AND AGE RANGE



The sample of respondents included managers from the ranks of middle, senior and top management. There is a tendency in research studies to define the designation of "manager" in order to find sufficient respondents to fit the research procedure. In this sampling the assessment of management grades was left to the respondent's discretion.

Approximately 41,7% of the managers interviewed identified themselves as being "top management" and they were predominantly located in the age ranges from 35 years upwards, with the highest concentration being in the 50+ age range. The senior management range comprised 26,7% and agewise they were clustered between 40-49 years. Some 31,7% regarded themselves as middle managers and they were spread fairly evenly in the age ranges which extend from 35 years to 49 years. It is notable that 12 (20%) of the managers were less than 34 years of age and that 10 of these managers were located in the senior and top management ranges. All but one of these younger women were qualified social workers. Seven of these managers indicated that they had completed education or training in management prior to their promotion and all had undertaken some management training since their appointment. It is unclear from the data whether this trend of appointing younger people to top positions, who had exposure to management training, is due to a change in the profession (so that people can be promoted faster) or whether this is a response to the rapidly changing conditions in South African society. Further study is needed to examine the reasons for this finding.

In this study it was found that managers defined themselves as middle management when they were in supervisory positions.

Those who defined themselves as senior managers used a wider definition of one or two reporting levels from the Board level.

They were usually the heads of smaller agencies or sub-areas of larger departments. Top management represented heads of large agencies reporting directly to Board members.

TABLE 7: NUMBER OF WORKERS MANAGED

Number of workers	Public Departments	Private Departments	Total
Less than 10	7	14	21
11-19	1	9	10
20-29	1	8	9
30-39	2	3	5
40-49	2	2	4
50-59	1	0	1
60-99	0	3	3
More than 100	2	5	7

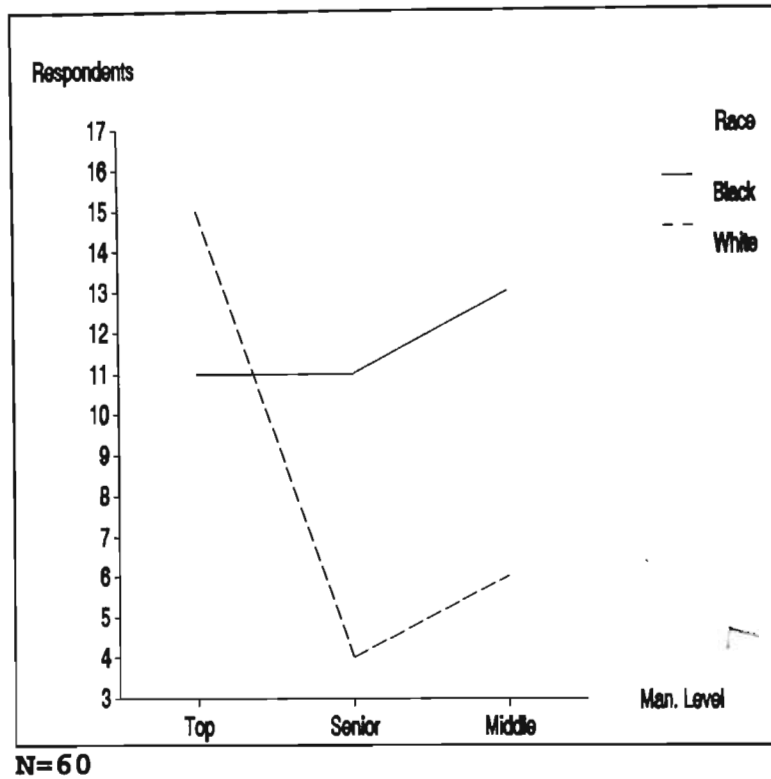
N=60

In this sampling the meaning of manager was typical of the setting. Some of the managers had few subordinates, while others had 600 employees who reported to them. In this study, it was found that middle managers were responsible for less than 10 workers and two senior managers at smaller agencies were also included in this category.

Top managers supervised large numbers of workers and it is because of the uneven spread of workers that the penultimate and ultimate categories represent unequal intervals.

In the 60-99 category, the three managers were found to hold responsibility for 70, 65 and 81 workers. In the final category, two managers had 110 and 150 workers placed under them, two managers each held responsibility for 300 workers, two managers had workforces comprised of approximately 350 workers each and one manager counted 600 workers who were accountable to her. While this spread may raise methodological issues in terms of comparison based research, it depicts where the managers are rather than creating artificial parity.

FIGURE 5 : MANAGEMENT LEVEL AND RACE



The figure indicates that the highest number of managers (37%) within the group of black female managers was located within the middle management category. Some 31,4% were situated in both the senior and top management categories and these managers were mainly based within racially segregated state departments.

The white managers interviewed were clustered at the top management level. They represented 60% of the managers interviewed, while senior and middle management represented 16% and 25% respectively. While this dispersion could be viewed as a reflection of the sampling procedure, it could be contended that when black women are promoted into management positions, it is to the lower echelons of management. It was

found in this study that progression to higher echelons appeared to occur more frequently for black people who were employed in state departments which served their specific racial grouping.

The responses from managers in the State Social Work Departments and in voluntary agencies support the contention that the clustering of black women managers at the lower levels of the management hierarchy, is the result of explicit policies of promoting white workers into supervisory positions.

A senior black manager in a private organisation asserted that the biased selection practice occurred because "management posts were not advertised and you were co-opted into the position". De V. Smit (1994,p.7) records that management selection currently, is generally done through the selection interview, references and the past work history which usually highlights performance as social work practitioners. He concludes that these are insufficient to demonstrate management potential. The more objective assessment of candidates, albeit an inadequate assessment, may be one factor which has allowed for the appointment of more black managers. One manager reported that "until 1972 there were only white managers in the agency and another pointed out that "despite complaints, only white managers were appointed, until very recently when more black managers were selected for promotion".

Seven respondents from the State departments, attributed the unfair promotion practices to the merit system of appraisal which operated in favour of white workers. The ways in which the racial skew was maintained is discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Two managers observed that "it was only after 1986 when white social workers disappeared that coloured and blacks were appointed into supervisory posts".

The data shows that the allocation of management posts in both public and private welfare organisations, was based on recommendations from senior managers. When there is a reliance on recommendation, whether this is part of a merit system or not, it is inevitable that "suitable candidates" will be identified based on subjective judgements about character, acceptability and the fit with the agency.

TABLE 8: MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS

MARITAL STATUS	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Married	44	73%
Unmarried	10	16,6%
Divorced	5	8,3%
Widowed	1	1,6%

N=60

The time commitments and demands made of managers in the social work field could lead to the expectation that women managers would be single and without family commitments. An analysis of the data shows however that nearly three quarters of respondents in the sample were married.

The respondents in the sample (16,6%) who had never been married, were clustered in the under 34 years distribution and in the 40-49 year age range. Those women managers who featured in the latter age band regarded themselves as career orientated and they had all achieved levels of Assistant Director and Director in their organisations.

Women managers who were under 34 years of age had experienced specific attitudes and behaviour in the workplace which impacted on their effectiveness in their roles. These included the belief that "the respondent was filling in time before marriage and was therefore not serious about the post"; the tendency to "go over my head to the trustees" and "some hostility and harassment" which two respondents found difficult to place on the agenda. The difficulties with socialising with workers was revealed by one manager who "would never think of having a drink with some of the people in the organisation as this would be construed as issuing an invitation". Three respondents revealed that being unmarried affected their lives outside of work. The effects reported were that while some people issued invitations to them because of their status, others were threatened by their positions and so avoided

them. One manager reported on the loneliness in that "I come home feeling tired and irritable and having to let off steam. I don't have a husband and family and it becomes difficult to counteract the stresses and frustrations of the workplace".

Three out of five respondents who were divorced indicated that they had family commitments and were expected to cope with the double burden of work and home commitments.

The data indicates that the marital status and the ages of the subjects may have a significant impact on the sets of problems which these women encounter. The influences of these variables on the personal power of women managers is a subject for further study.

FIGURE 6 : FIRST LANGUAGE OF RESPONDENTS

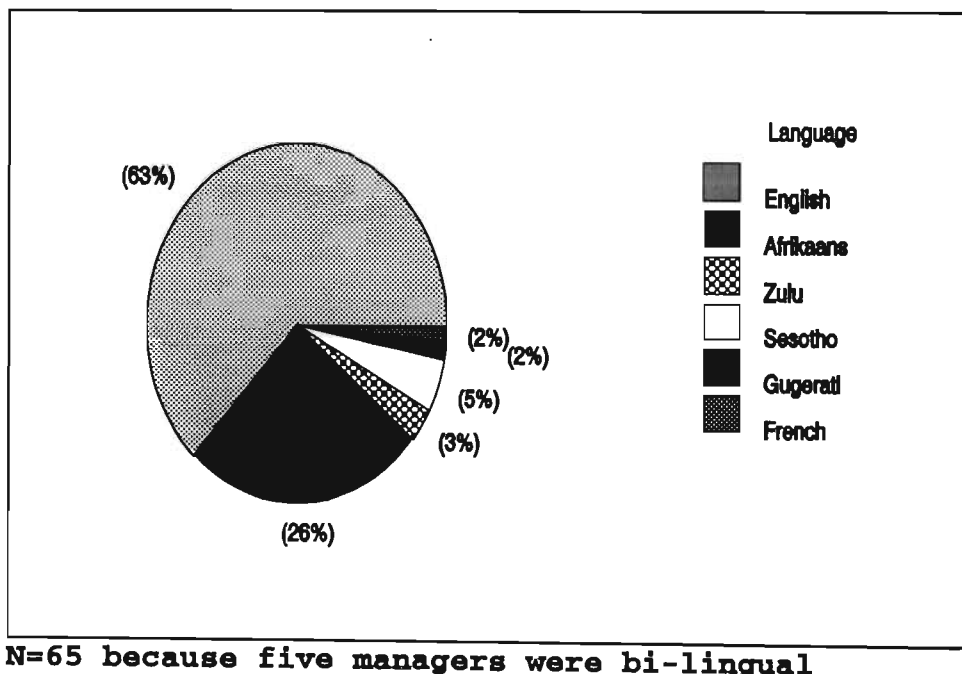


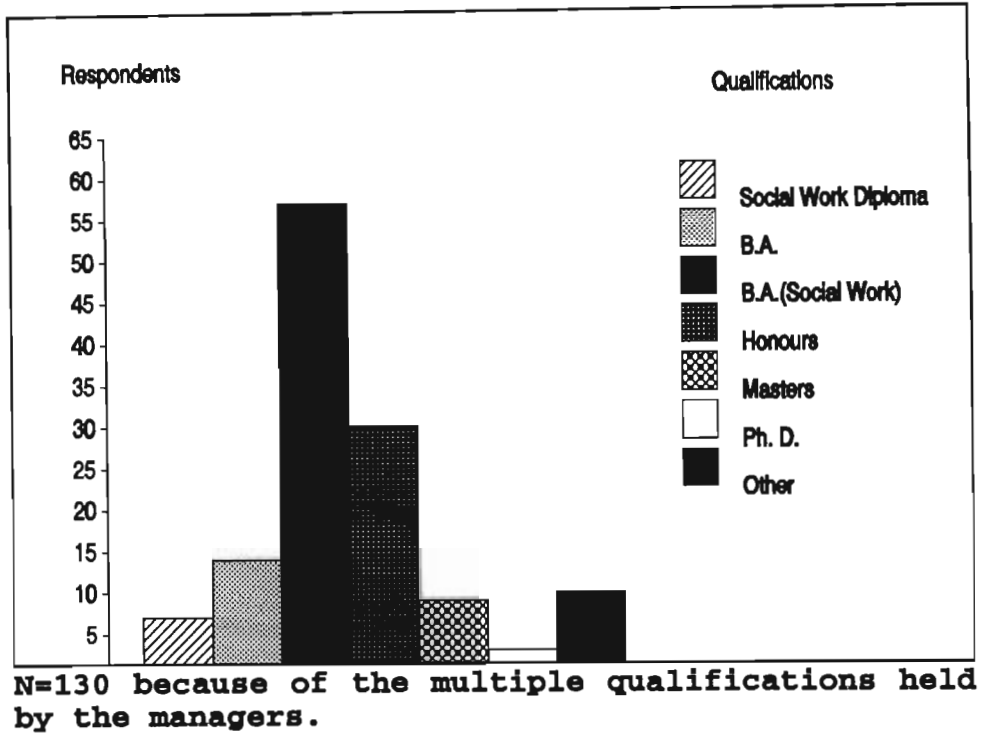
Figure 6 reflects the diversity of the languages spoken by respondents.

It was established that all of the respondents spoke either one or the other of the official languages of English and Afrikaans. This is expected since university education is conducted in the two official languages and at qualification level all social workers would be expected to be proficient in one of the languages. Two thirds of the sample regarded English as their first language and just over one quarter of the sample listed Afrikaans as a first language. The respondents who were Afrikaans speaking were from White and Coloured race groupings only. The overwhelming majority of the respondents were unable to communicate in any vernacular language.

Patel (1992,p.81) indicates that over 70% of the total population speak an African language as their first language. This incompatibility could have a potentially detrimental impact on communications with agency managers, who have the responsibility and the power for ensuring the provision of appropriate and relevant social work services.

4. MANAGEMENT EXPERIENCE

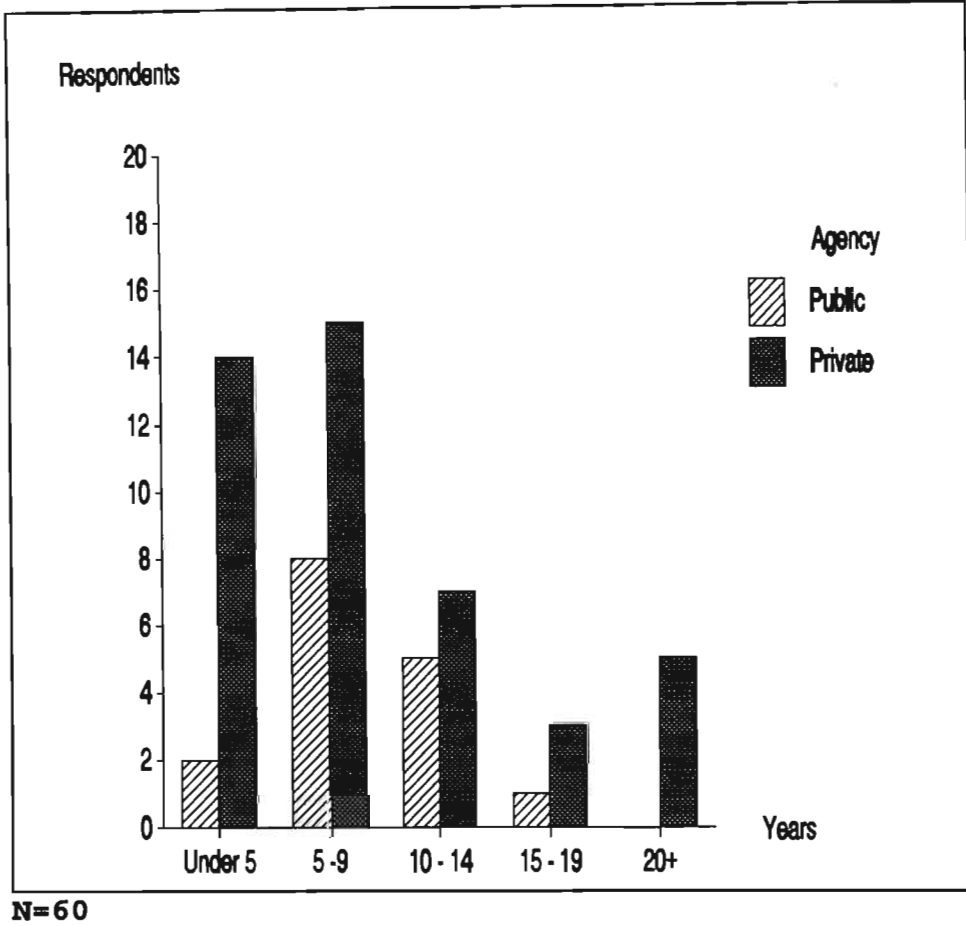
FIGURE 7 : EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF MANAGERS



The importance of qualifications was mentioned by many respondents. Although all managers have a first degree, not all are qualified in social work.

Ninety five percent hold a basic social work qualification and the remaining 5% were qualified in the education and health fields. Fifty percent of the managers had obtained an honours degree, 15% had acquired a masters degree and 5% of the white respondents held a doctorate. Few have management qualifications. Only three of the managers had acquired formal management qualifications in addition to their social work qualifications.

FIGURE 8 : MANAGEMENT EXPERIENCE OF RESPONDENTS



While 50% of managers in private agencies appear to have had less than nine years of experience, the managers in the public sector are spread across the five to fourteen year ranges. Few managers in the public sector had less than five years experience. This is likely to be the effect of the meritocracy system which promotes respondents at fixed intervals. At the top end of the scale, which ranges from fifteen to twenty years of experience, private sector managers feature prominently.

ETHOS OF HARD WORK

All respondents emphasised the need for hard work to gain promotion and for their continued success in management positions. All of the managers in the private welfare organisations felt unable to comment on parity between the workloads of males and females. They were of the opinion that all workers were coping with extremely heavy workloads. Respondents in the public sector predicted that the loads were equal because of the way in which the merit system operated. Respondents supported the notion that differential pressures in terms of gender may exist in industry, but that this situation did not apply in the social work field.

The differences in workloads emerged more clearly with regards to race. One of the important findings was that the reactions of many of the black woman managers to discrimination was, to work harder.

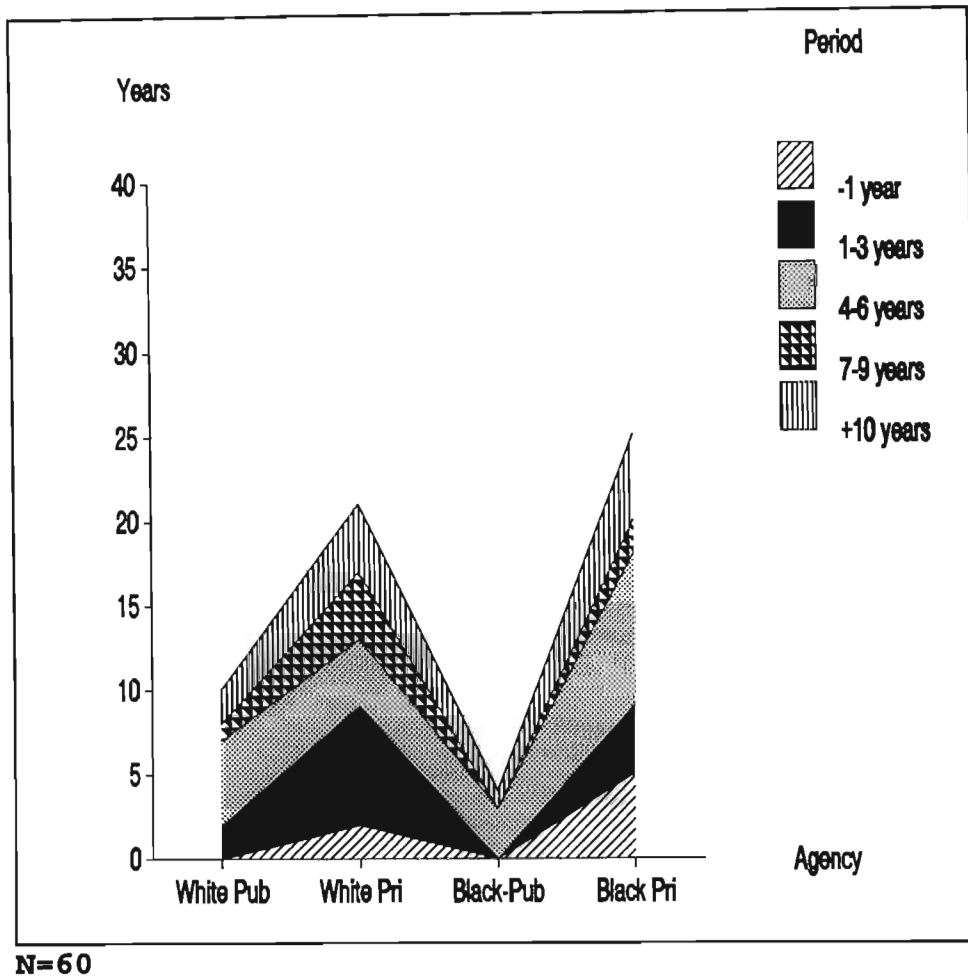
In the past management posts were not advertised and people were co-opted into the positions without preparation for the job.

The doubts expressed by black managers on their promotion was about "whether I was capable of doing the job"; "whether I had the skills and experience for the job"; "whether people were going to accept authority from someone other than a white person and what would happen if I did make a mistake". The solutions were "running that extra mile to compete with colleagues who are not black"; "somehow it was always an

inspiration for me- even if it meant working very hard and staying on after hours just to achieve what has to be done"; "I felt that I had to prove myself and I felt that I had to work harder, had to prove more and accept rejection and negativism from colleagues".

It is evident from the data that all managers emphasised the need for hard work and that black managers were extremely industrious in order to ensure success in their jobs.

FIGURE 9 : LENGTH OF TIME TO FIRST MANAGEMENT PROMOTIONS BY RACE AND AGENCY TYPE



The pace of promotion was calculated by subtracting the year of first entry to the profession from the year of promotion to the first managerial post. The data indicates that the highest number of white managers in the private agencies had been promoted in the 1-3 year period. In the periods between 4-10 years, there was an even spread of promotions. The majority of black managers in private agencies (9) were promoted in the 4-6 year range.

The spread was fairly consistent over the other categories, except for the 7-9 year range where there were only two promotions. From the information provided it was evident that white women who were promoted in the first instance had less experience than their black counterparts.

In the public agencies the highest number of both white and black managers was promoted in the 4-6 year range. Seven black respondents in the State Departments reported experiences of organisational discrimination and prejudice in their careers. They believed that black people faced greater difficulties with securing promotion because racial preferences were catered for by a variety of practices inherent in the system of meritocracy. These included the open endorsement of white workers for promotion, the provision of two notch salary increases to white workers and the improvement of the eligibility of white workers by the exposure of these workers to the necessary experiences required for promotion.

This study also identifies capable white and black women who did not accept senior positions because of conflict between home and work commitments. One respondent had not applied for the Director's post because it would have meant that she "would have lost contact with the community and have had less time for the family".

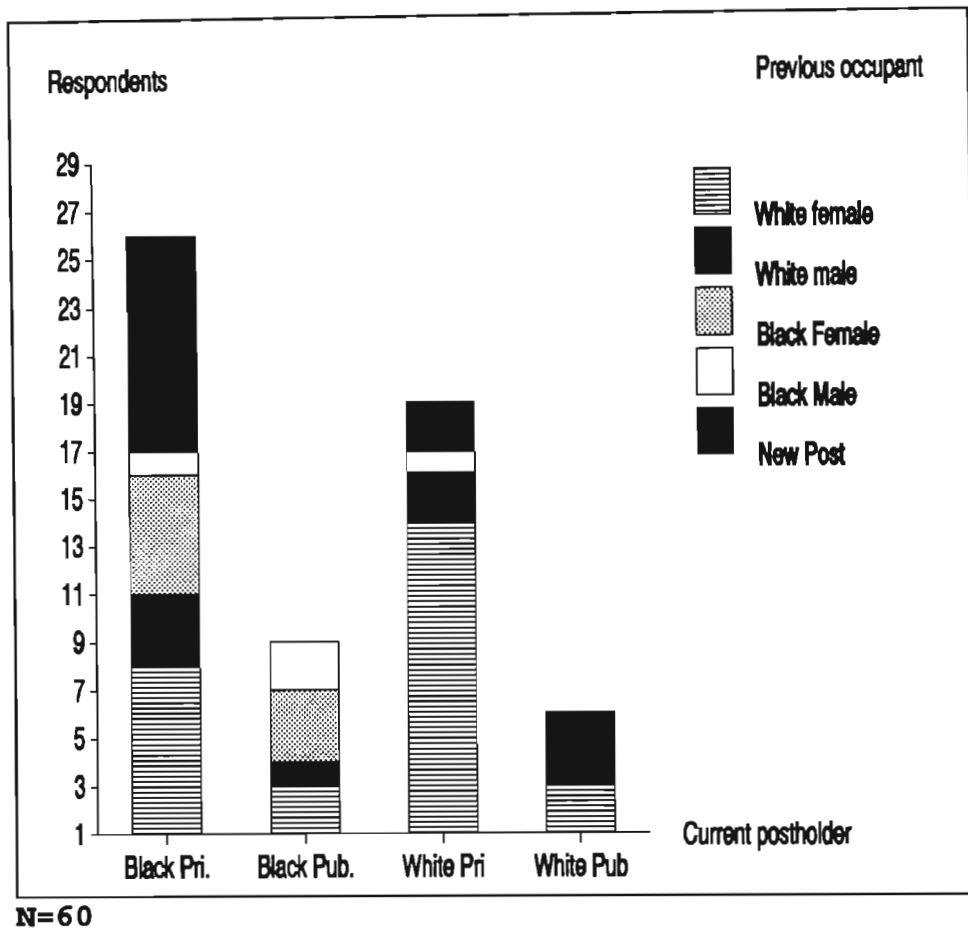
Two respondents in the public sector had refused promotions because it would have involved extensive travelling and a move away from home.

Five of the respondents had husbands who were ill and two of these had been tempted to take part-time work. Three respondents were expected to be involved intensely on a voluntary basis with their husband's career.

This evidence lends support to the conclusion that for a woman it takes a great deal of self examination before committing herself to a senior post and women make decisions which are bound up with other commitments.

The findings indicate that there was a racial bias in favour of the promotion of white women and that the racial preference in part reflected discriminatory practices engaged in by the organisations. In part, individual choice was exercised in that there were examples of women managers who had not pursued promotions because their home commitments would have conflicted with the heavy demands of their jobs.

FIGURE 10: PREVIOUS POSTHOLDER BY RACE AND SEX

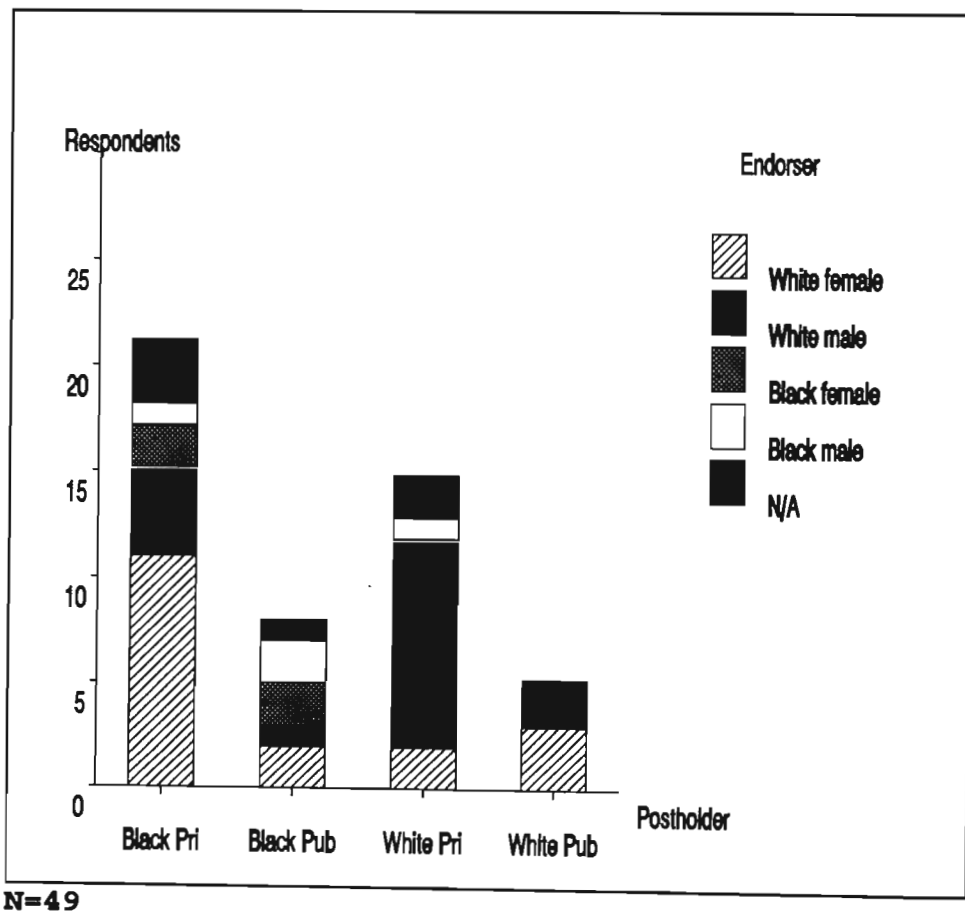


From this figure it is evident that the majority of posts had previously been occupied by white managers, with white women continuing to feature significantly as managers. The figure also shows that black women were represented as previous postholders in private organisations, but not in the public social work departments. The remaining number of posts represent newly created positions.

While the findings indicate that white women are still the predominant postholders, the representation of incumbents shows an increase in the overall number of posts which are held by black women.

This trend could be attributed to the increased number of black women who are applying for management positions or to affirmative action initiatives. Further study is needed to establish the reasons for this finding.

FIGURE 11 : MANAGERS WHO REPORTED HAVING BEEN RECOMMENDED FOR THE POSTS WHICH THEY CURRENTLY OCCUPY



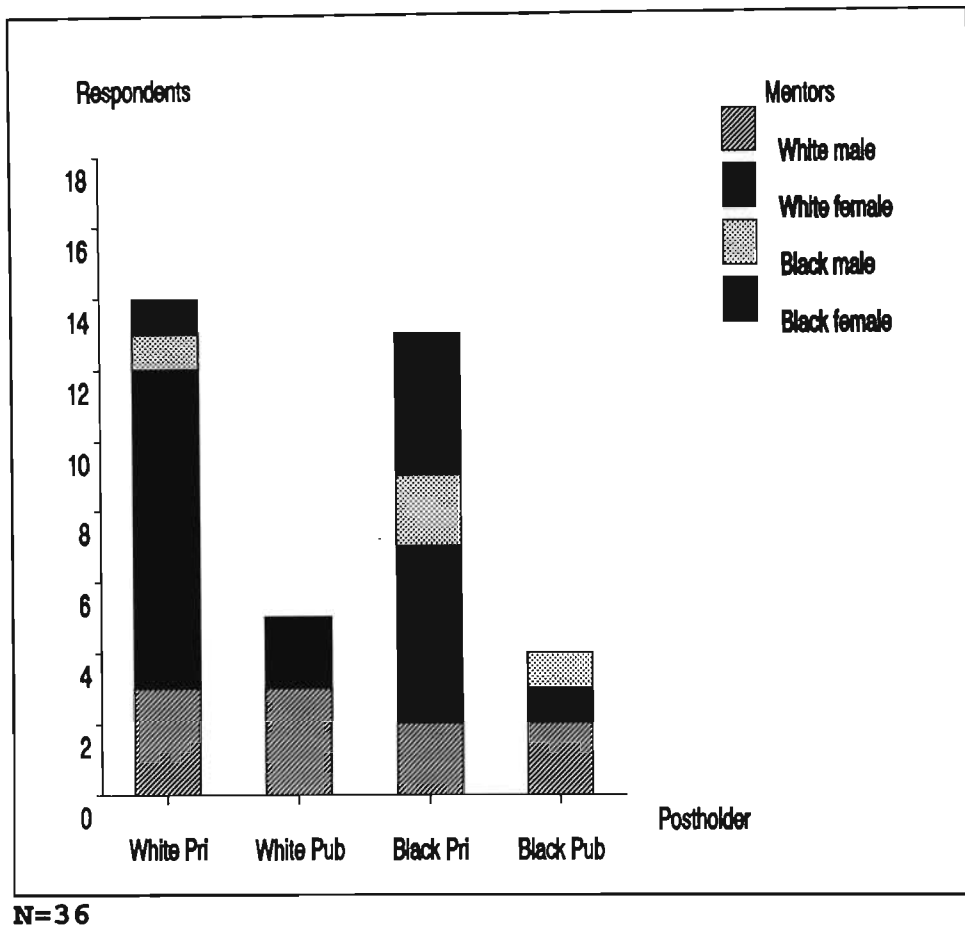
The data reflects that nearly 20% of the respondents had not been sponsored for the posts which they currently occupy.

Of the 11 respondents who had not been sponsored, five black respondents and two white respondents were from the private sector. In the public sector, one black respondent and three white respondents had not been sponsored for their posts. All of these respondents had applied in response to advertisements.

The literature indicates that recommendations are usually made by sponsors of the same sex and race as the person recommended. It is noticeable in this study that white women feature significantly as sponsors both in the public and private sectors. While white men appear to be more actively endorsing black and white respondents in the private welfare organisations, they featured more significantly as sponsors of white women.

One explanation for this situation is that black managers are supervised principally by white women who then acted as sponsors. In South Africa, the virtual absence of black managers as endorsers reflects the reality that there are few black managers in the higher echelons of management.

FIGURE 12 : MANAGERS WHO REPORTED HAVING HAD A MENTOR



Sixty percent of the respondents reported that a mentor had been instrumental in helping them in their career development and 40% had no access to a mentoring system. The vast majority of mentors were from the employing agencies. Many of the respondents confirmed that the mentors were principally senior staff who acted as guides to these managers who were then junior staff.

Although the line managers from within the agency helped principally with work assignments they also took an interest in the development and

the promotion of protegees.

Three respondents reported having acquired mentors outside of the agency who were experts in their areas of work, two of whom were in academic institutions. The help which respondents reported they had received included guidance about work areas and advice as to the correct career moves at specific points in their careers.

There appeared to be no formal mentoring system in operation at any of the agencies.

FIGURE 13 : RACE AND SEX OF MENTORS

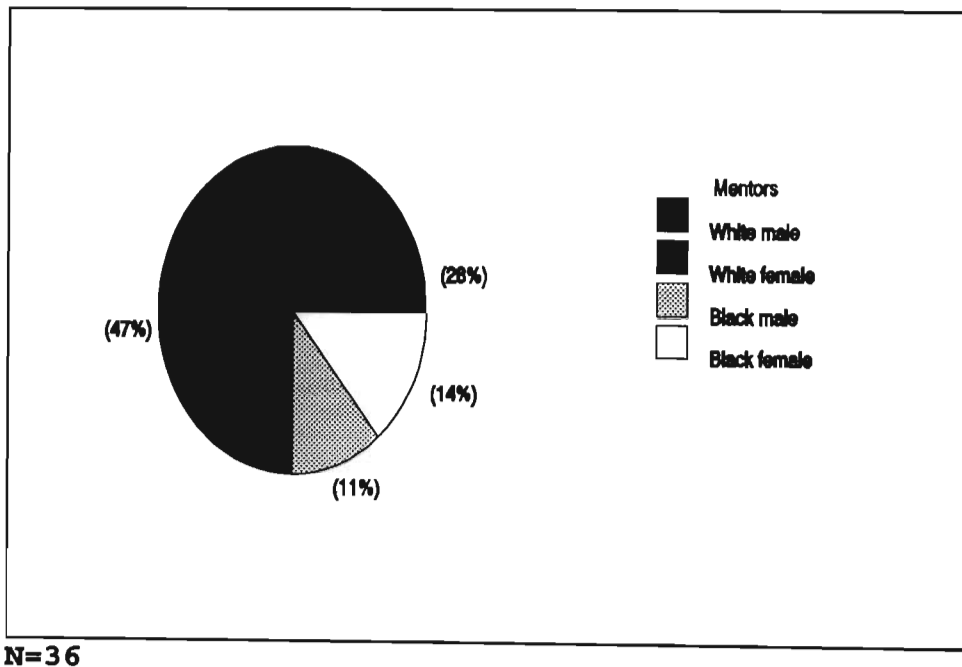


Figure 13 shows the proportion of mentors by race and sex and provides a clearer picture of who the mentors are. The data in this study indicates that nearly half of the mentors were white and female which shows that the current generation of women are making conscious efforts

to help junior managers. Although 28% of the mentors were white males, it was found that their activities supported the move into management of mainly white women who were located in the private welfare organisations.

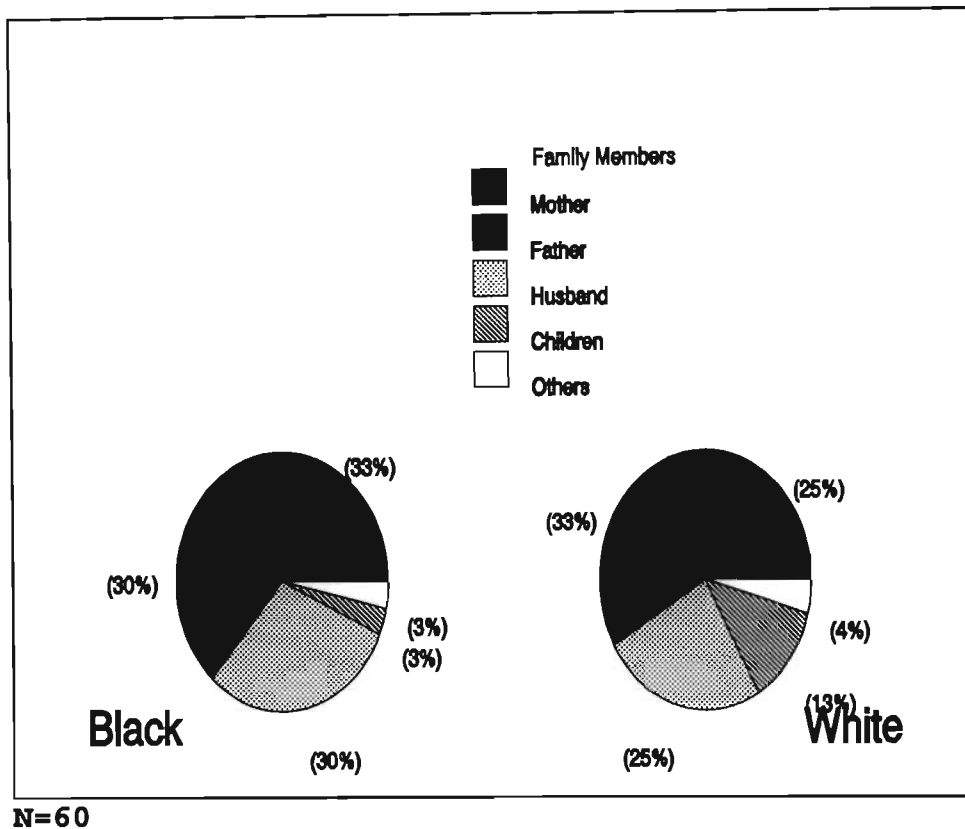
The small percentages of black male and female mentors recorded are likely to be a reflection of their poor representation in senior positions. It is noteworthy that despite their small numbers, these managers are supportive of the development of other aspiring staff.

A significant finding in this study was that black women managers who were now holding senior positions were aware of other black people in senior positions in voluntary organisations. One director in a voluntary organisation highlighted that "there are only two black women who are Directors of large voluntary welfare organisations". The lack of supportive systems were a major pressure for five managers who had recently moved into senior positions. One subject found that "it is difficult to establish a network with colleagues. Although I was previously in top management, it was not at Director's level...and I now feel extremely isolated". Another senior manager in her discussion of a similar need for greater networks and support, recounted a conversation with "another black director who experienced negativity around his appointment. He has had to establish a network of junior managers who are all black- which I would not see as a way forward for me at this

stage". When the manager discussed her isolation with him, his response was "welcome to the club". Another manager networked with fellow students who had attended a joint management development programme with her and "who have similar frustrations to those which I experience". An Assistant Director who was already part of a management support group, welcomed the idea of a network of black managers as she found that "the group is uncomfortable when I raise issues related to race since I am the only black member of the group". These managers raised the need to establish a network to discuss common issues and for support, sharing, feedback, to keep abreast of wider organisational issues and to be recognised for their contributions.

5. SUPPORTIVE FRAMEWORKS

FIGURE 14 : SUPPORTIVE FRAMEWORKS IN THE FAMILY



Mothers, fathers and husbands were identified as key supports by both black and white women managers. Approximately 30% of black managers reported that fathers and husbands had proved to be helpful and one third had found their mothers to be helpful sources of support.

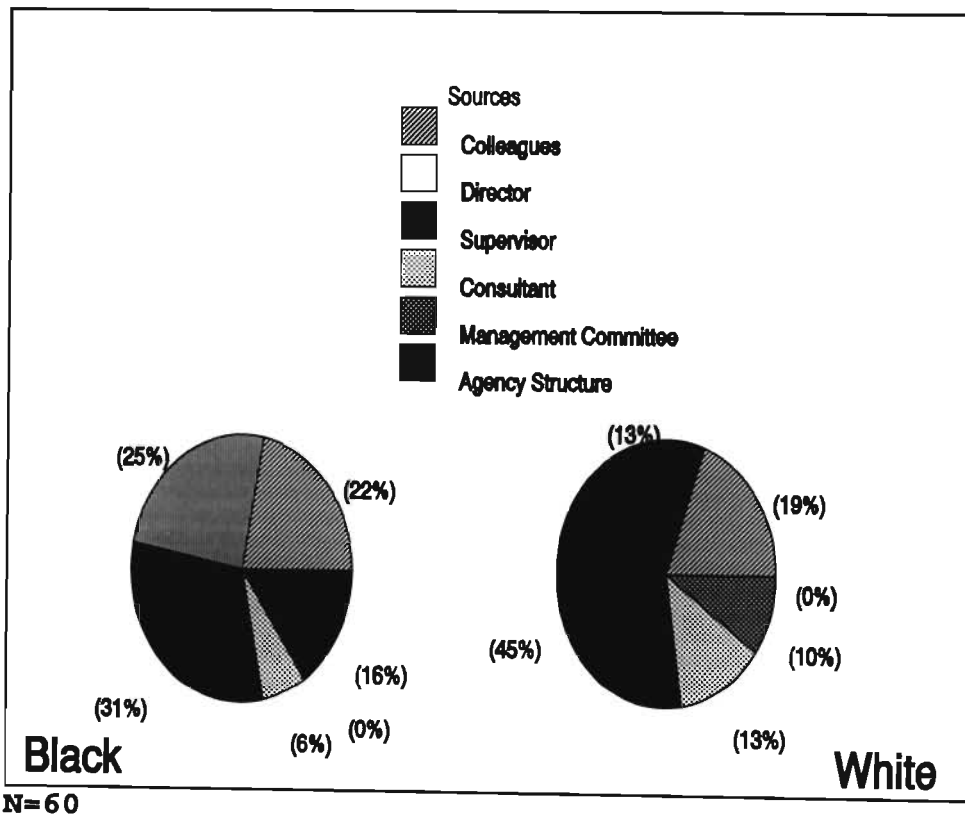
One third of the white managers had described their fathers as being helpful and half of the respondents had received encouragement from their mothers and husbands. Children were also reported as giving loving support and time. Other individuals like an aunt and a brother were mentioned as positive influences.

The study of women managers shows that the major influence was their parents who served as role models. Only eleven respondents came from homes where their parents were not professional and of the respondents who had professional parents, these were mainly fathers. They described their mothers as being hardworking, broadminded, caring, supportive and a good manager. Fathers were described as "an achiever who expected us to achieve" and who encouraged independence and leadership. For others, fathers particularly wavered between "wanting me to be a professional and a housewife", yet still encouraged career development. Some respondents described being assisted by parents with their career choice to the extent that two fathers completed their application forms for university studies. Respondents who found their parents to be supportive also indicated that their parents have always given feedback on their career development.

Husbands and children were reliable sources of support. Many of the managers reported that they enjoyed good and supportive marriages. One respondent had experienced "a lot of family opposition and I had to work hard for the bonding and to make my marriage work". Some respondents conveyed their feelings about having strong and positive home bases through comments like "My home is my haven" and "When the tension becomes high, knowing that I am going home makes me feel good".

Support initially came from immediate families. Parents especially had provided role models, encouraged the work ethic, supported education and established an ambitious climate. Ambitious parents were reported as making substantial efforts to promote their children's interests. This support helped the children to believe in themselves and boosted their confidence. These findings serve as endorsements of the need for specific family support and encouragement.

FIGURE 15 : SUPPORTS IN THE WORKPLACE



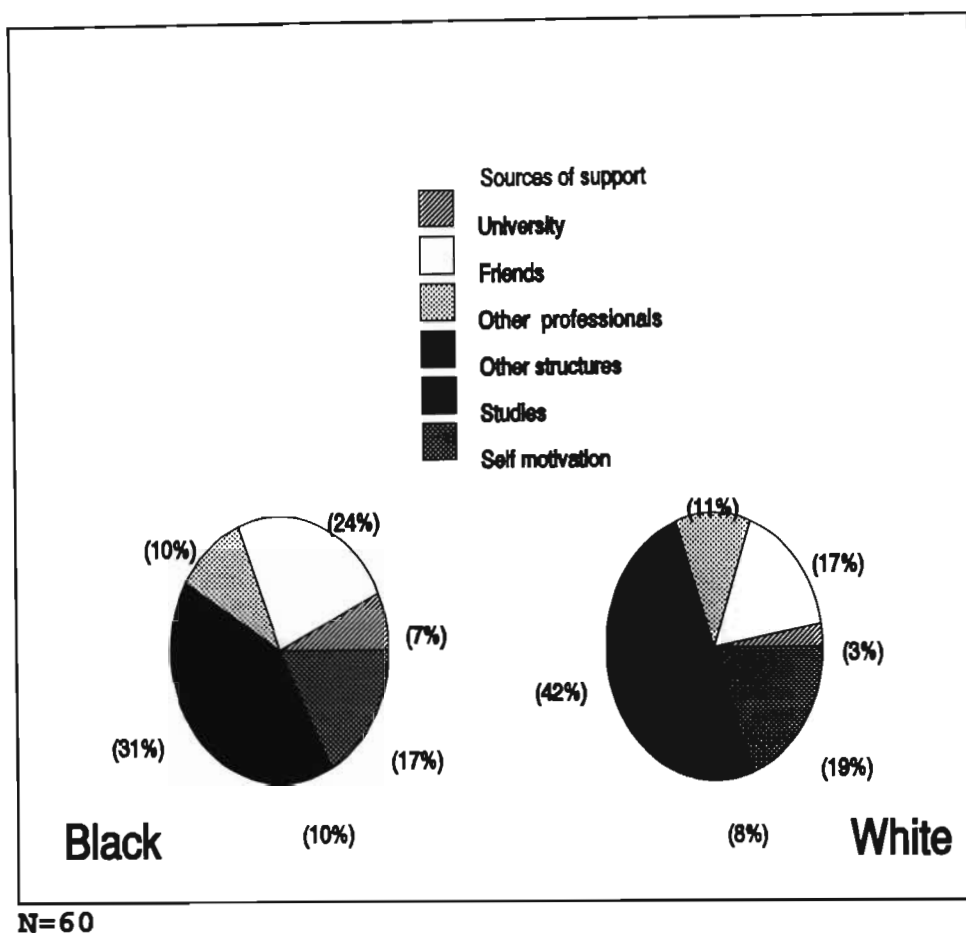
As careers progressed, professional support frameworks became established in the workplace. A high proportion of black and white managers indicated that the more senior staff who acted as supervisors or mentors to junior staff, numbered among their main supports.

Women managers made mention of colleagues or consultants who were particularly helpful and who had provided additional support and encouragement and temporary mentoring during certain phases of their careers.

White women managers reported that in the workplace supervisors were the main supports, although colleagues, the management committee and the agency structure were also significant supports.

Black women listed supervisors, directors and colleagues as the main sources of help. While consultants were helpful to a greater number of white women managers, 16% of the black respondents indicated that agency support was a significant source of help for them. The agency supports which managers had found to be helpful consisted of guidelines and procedures which clarified their roles.

FIGURE 16 : SUPPORTS IN THE COMMUNITY



Initial sources of support for 7% of black respondents and for 3% of white respondents consisted of lecturers and supervisors who had tutored and trained them during their under-graduate social work studies.

Some of the managers were found to be part of wider ideological, political or religious groupings and these structures provided inspiration. Support from the community was important for all of the applicants and many managers identified the church as a major structure for satisfaction and reward. Five were very involved with church activities and two stated that they "never entered any situation without praying".

Three managers made reference to their political commitment, which for one manager "fuelled the idea of working for oppressed people". Another manager who had been active in the UDF was still "a member of the ANC and I still attend meetings". The community activities which social workers listed often involved working with other welfare agencies, usually as members of their management boards. The managers revealed that this activity was essential preparation for advancement and offered frameworks for building up confidence, for ventilation and for providing networks. Two managers had been active in the structure called "Concerned Social Workers" which according to one manager "helped me to grapple with the value of and the values of social work".

The category of "other helpful professionals" included colleagues from the employing organisation as well as informal leaders and political figures in the community. Some informants made reference to their childhood teachers and principals as having raised their aspirations.

Friendship often received low priority as the major part of the women's time is taken with work and home commitments. Friends were viewed as providing networks, relaxation, sharing and they also help "to retain the balance between home and work".

Twenty five percent of black managers and 17% of white managers received support from friends. This support offered was for many

managers in the form of socialising and help with child care as well as with showing confidence in the individual. One manager stated that "friends outside of the workplace who are supportive and acknowledge my skills make me feel honoured and help me to realise that I have the skills to be a good social worker". Another respondent commented that "I have very special friends and I can relate to them in a deep way. For me this is a gift".

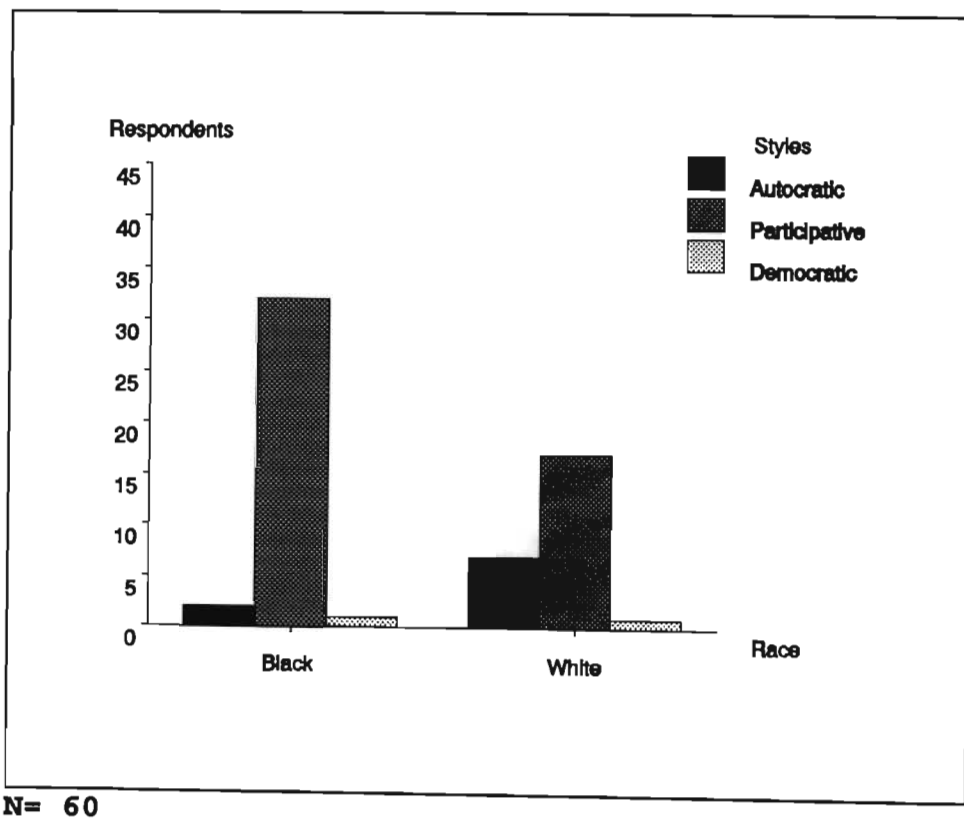
Ten percent of black women managers and 8% of white women managers had found that their studies provided the knowledge and guidance that they required to cope with their work.

An important finding was that a significant number of women managers ascribed their success to their self motivation. Nineteen percent of white managers and 17% of black managers considered that they had motivated themselves. This tendency was particularly apparent with women who lacked family support. One respondent who had experienced "a lack of family backing" ascribed her success to "my inner strength". Another respondent who met with resistance from her husband and family because her promotion entailed having to work late at night and travel, saw "compromising and mediating between opponents" as featuring amongst her major strengths.

For both white and black managers the main sources of help came from structures in the community, from friends and from self motivation, especially when family support was lacking or family resistance was evident. Friends feature more significantly as sources of support for black managers while white managers obtained their supports principally from the activities which they undertook in relation to other social work organisations.

6. MANAGEMENT STYLE

FIGURE 17 : MANAGEMENT APPROACH



The respondents were asked to discuss their ideas about their management style. Three styles of autocratic, compromising and

democratic management were presented as alternate styles of management. Many of the respondents viewed the autocratic-democratic dichotomy as containing elements of over or under control and described themselves instead as using a compromising or participatory style of management. The comments on the figure are contained within the discussion which follows.

Compromising and participatory style of management

The majority of black and white managers viewed themselves as using a compromising or participatory management style as they considered that "people were generally very accountable" and because they "liked doing things with others". The dual functions of this style of management were illustrated by the respondents' use of phrases such as, "I am still holding the reigns, but they are not so tightly held"; "I compromise, I adapt and I like to be flexible, but you cannot be too flexible as you have to make decisions"; "not too wishy washy either as you have to give direction to the staff". Three managers who initially adopted a more democratic stance found that it "does not ensure a superior outcome" as "those who cared took responsibility and went the extra mile, but others took advantage..." and that "this is sometimes seen as a weakness by social workers who feel that you are consulting because you don't know how to do it". These repercussions reinforced the realisation that "clear structure and boundaries are important but that flexibility, communication and participation in decision making

strengthens the commitment of the staff".

Autocratic style of management

In considering their personal leadership style, 16.6% of the managers described themselves as autocratic and as task orientated. Their style of management is portrayed by their beliefs that "efficiency is important and I don't need to be liked, I need to be respected"; "I am a task master and you tend to be autocratic when you are a task master"; "I think that I am approachable...When I say jump, they say how high. But I don't often say jump"; " I feel strongly about minimum standards and I won't allow things to fall below these standards and this causes resentment in people who try to manipulate". This management approach was frequently adopted because of concerns around time or because the manager needed to assert her competency as a manager by taking a firm and directive approach.

It is notable that the managers who considered their style to be authoritarian were mainly white managers who had accrued long years of management experience.

The difficulties with this style of management is portrayed by the criticisms that "I don't believe that the authoritarian manner works as when you are away the mice will play"; I don't feel that an autocratic style is development orientated and is likely to oppress and suppress people".

Democratic style of management

This style as the term suggests incorporates aspects of democracy and leadership. Networking, nurturing and vision were crucial to this approach. Three of the managers who adopted a democratic style were new to the agency. Thus:

"I couldn't see myself coming in as authoritarian because I need to learn a lot"; "I came in wanting to be a manager who was democratic and I compromise a lot more than I would normally have done outside... but I find that this is necessary in order to create some kind of equilibrium". The third respondent considered that her management style was in keeping with the spirit of community demands as , "the nature of work requires that we are flexible within communities and that we should be ready to change and follow the pace that they set".

All of these respondents perceived themselves as developing people by "being open to teamwork and participation"; having "very little directive style- that we must do this"; by "making it clear that I am interested in what they want to do" and that "I trust them to do their work and they appreciate that I don't police them".

Various consultative forums were established by managers who preferred this style of management which included "everyone from the handyman upwards". Generally, "Issues and problems are first taken to staff meetings then we have weekly business meetings for social workers

looking at our programmes and service delivery. Following that meeting we have a meeting with the whole staff to look at the general organisation. There is a lot of consultation with the staff, so its pretty democratic".

Managers who saw themselves as democratic in their style of management tended to operate an open door policy "even though it plays havoc with my schedule". The benefits reported were that "people were able to talk to me about what is worrying them when they need to"; "staff walk in with ideas and little problems"; "they give input and I learn from them and rely on this input". The difficulties which the managers encountered with this approach occurred when "you think one way and they another".

Flexibility in style

Although the managers were able to identify their style of management, they indicated that their leadership styles were flexible and affected by prevailing circumstances, the type of staffing and situations, the needs of individual staff members and other relevant issues.

One manager stated that "one has to look across the spectrum. I try and adapt my leadership style to where the individual staff member is".

Two managers commenting on staff, said that "I work differently with different people.

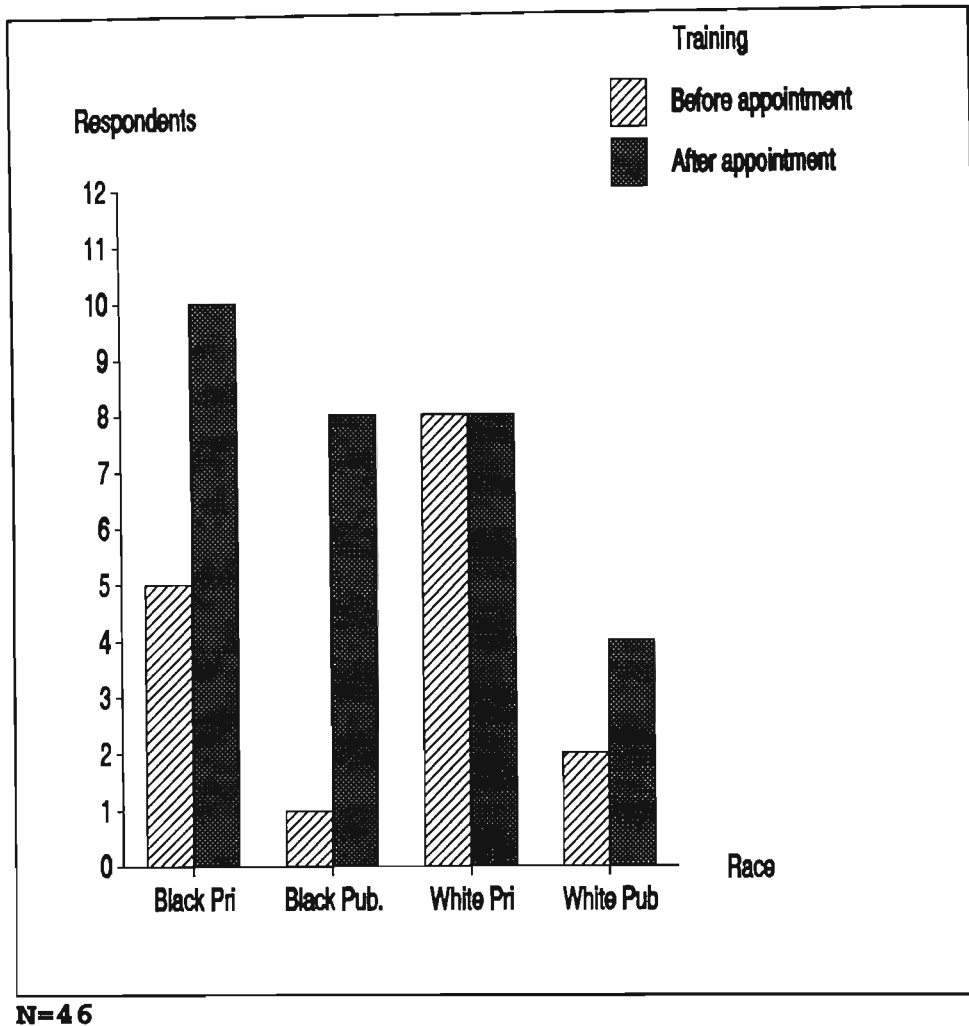
With a new person I would not be autocratic, but I would guide them in the procedures and policies which they have to follow. With somebody more experienced and mature there is a need only to liaise. With one or two of them who I know are not hot on certain things, I am perhaps semi-autocratic on those issues". Another manager stated that "With people that I know fairly well, one person in particular that I have a relationship with outside of work, I tend to be more authoritarian because we have an open relationship where we can scream at each other. Another manager reported that " I do find that when I am under stress, sometimes I will go to extremes. I will either be too flexible and let people get away with things or become quite defensive and aggressive sometimes".

Another stated that "On some issues I am non negotiable while on others around conditions of service I would be compromising, sometimes towards flexible" and that "I tend to be authoritarian on the non negotiable side and I have participative management style for the negotiable side". Another clarified that "Where standards are concerned, you have to be more authoritarian. You cannot continue to ask people to improve their standards of work and have discussions about personal problems ad infinitum. At some stage I am more inclined to say that the standard of work must be acceptable".

If these results can be generalised, then it suggests that women managers show important differences in their working styles and these

differences have to be recognised and appreciated by organisations.

**FIGURE 18 : RESPONDENTS WHO HAD RECEIVED
MANAGEMENT TRAINING**



Sixteen respondents had attended short management courses prior to appointment and thirty had attended short courses in management since appointment. Five of the respondents had attended courses prior to and after appointment to their present posts. The overwhelming majority of managers who had received training were found in the public social work departments which provided in-service training for managers in their

administrations. These courses were not geared to meet the needs of social work managers in particular. Three respondents additionally made use of consultants on a regular basis.

It was noteworthy that many of the managers had embarked on their own reading prior to appointment and that they had also learnt by consulting with colleagues whom they trusted.

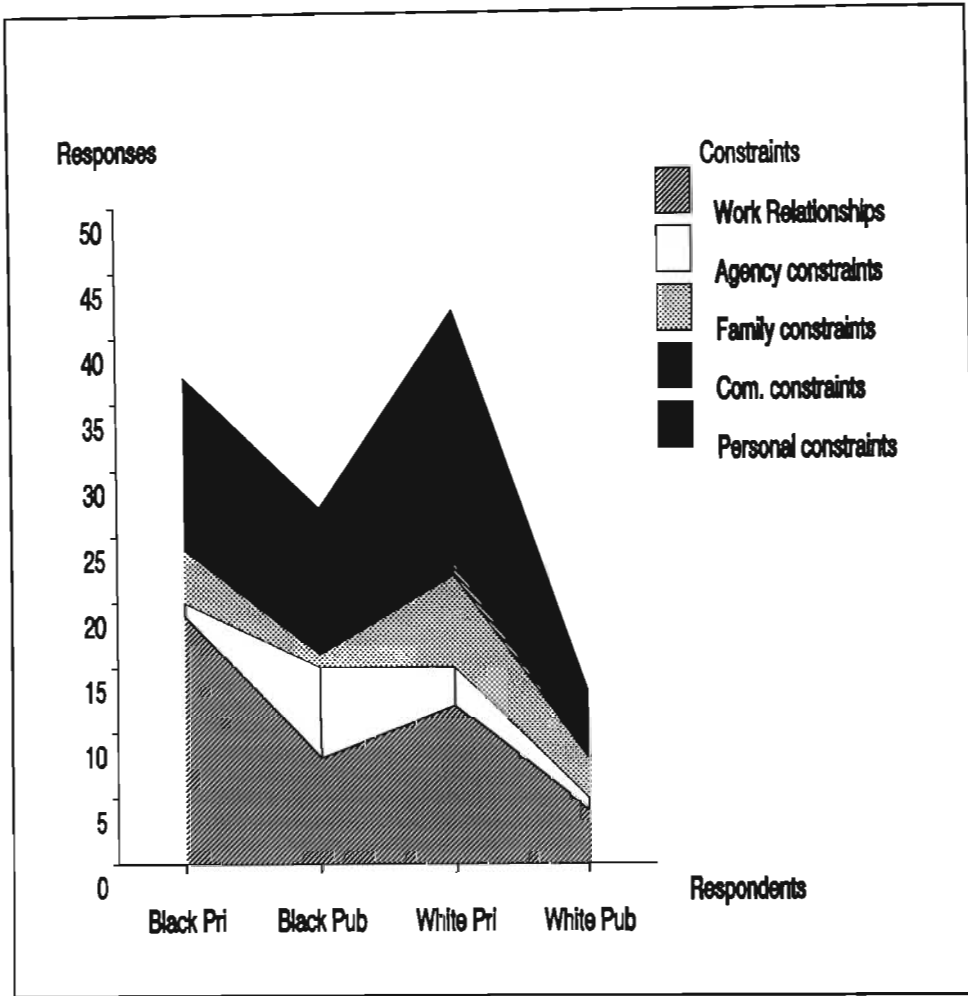
One of the significant findings was that 19 managers had not attended any management training courses. Fifteen of these managers were located in top and senior management positions in voluntary agencies. Eight of these were directors of organisations and seven functioned at senior management level. Five of the directors had been in the post for a number of years and they had learnt their skills "on the job". According to these managers, until recently, formal training had not been available. Four middle managers had not attended management training courses and one of these managers was based in a State department.

Managers who had experienced no formal training prior to appointment reported their reactions to the promotion. For example, "I feel very much having been thrown in at the deep end"; "first I started panicking and then I started reading books on management and I was fortunate to borrow a thesis on the beginning manager"; "mainly it was

curiosity that helped me to learn about management"; it has worked out reasonably, but I do think that it is a dicey situation". One manager recognised that "the reason why I was nominated for the position was because of my potential as a social worker and these are not necessarily the skills required to be a good manager". Managers who had attended management training courses noted the benefits which they had received from training such as the confirmation and strengthening of their management knowledge and skills, opportunity for interaction with others, guidance, honest feedback and the acquisition of valuable contacts in the field. One manager emphasised that training "motivates you which is necessary when you spend all your time motivating others".

Managers reported a shift in the prevailing attitude towards management training. They considered that shifts toward more autonomy for staffing, the need for information about cost effectiveness and the added emphasis on labour relations and conflict resolution have highlighted the inadequate training and lack of direction for the role which managers are expected to assume. There is also the recognition that in circumstances of rapid change, managers need help in coping with unfamiliar responsibilities.

FIGURE 19 : OBSTACLES AS REPORTED BY WOMEN MANAGERS

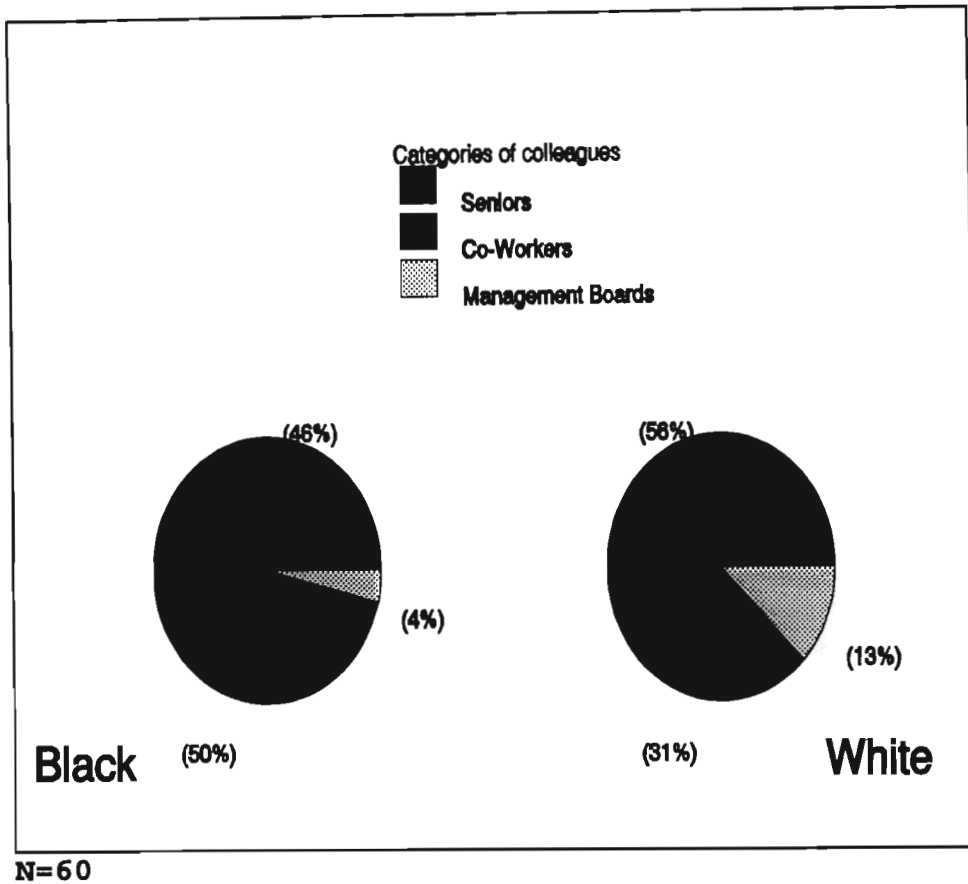


N=121 as there were multiple responses to the question

This figure represents a composite picture of the major categories of obstacles reported by the women managers. Difficulties with work colleagues featured prominently and the other hindrances relate to problems which can be associated with personal identities. The two figures which follow provide greater detail of these two categories. Family, community activities and agency constraints which also feature as obstacles, are fully discussed in the section relating to the pressures which managers are expected to cope with in their worklife and will not

be dealt with here.

FIGURE 20 : DIFFICULT STAFF RELATIONSHIPS



Research studies indicate that women managers may face particular difficulties in their relationships with other workers and that some of the discriminatory experiences which affect their working lives emanate from specific categories of workers. In this study managers reported that they had to deal with difficult work relationships with seniors, peers and subordinates. Potential relationship problems with seniors were particularly relevant for more than half of the white women managers.

There was no strong correlation with the sex of the senior as many of the women managers who experienced these difficulties had a woman as a senior manager. White women managers also experienced a higher percentage of difficulties with Management Boards as compared with black managers. This is not a surprising finding as many of the white women managers interviewed were at top management levels as compared with the black women managers who were clustered in the middle management range. The two major categories of workers which black women managers experienced difficulty with were collegial relationships, followed closely by relationships with seniors.

The different problems which arise in relationships with these particular groups were highlighted as follows:

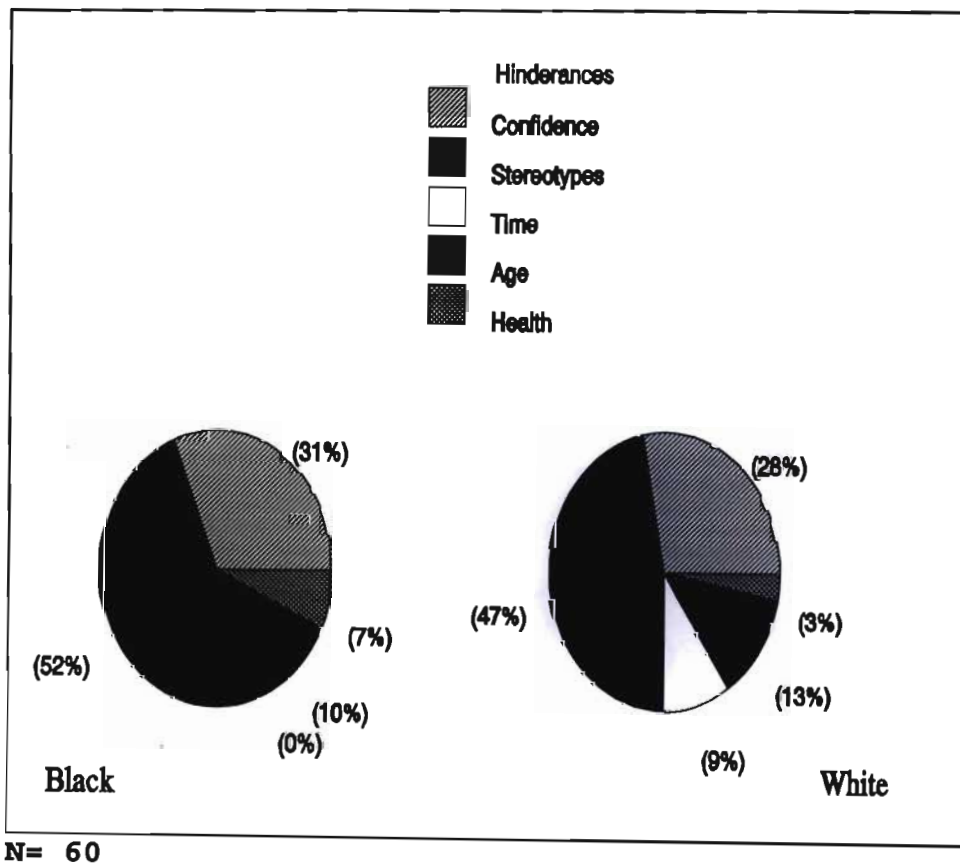
All of the respondents were concerned about their relationships with their seniors. This relationship is probably the most critical because of the power which the manager has over the subordinate. Eleven managers were able to recall experiences where their advancement had been hampered, although many of them had not been aware of the blocking at the time it occurred. Seven of these managers were from State departments where the merit system made promotion dependent on sponsorship and recommendation.

The difficulties which five of the managers experienced with boards of management were related to the conservative attitudes of members, their heavy investment in the existing structures and processes of the

organisations and the fact that they were usually not social work trained and were predominantly white.

The resistances and lack of support from colleagues are similar to those detailed in the section on racism and sexism which is covered extensively following figure 21.

FIGURE 21: OBSTACLES REPORTED BY WOMEN MANAGERS WHICH RELATED TO THEIR PERSONAL IDENTITY



The discussion which follows focuses on the main obstacles identified by women managers which hindered their work activity.

There was a very similar spread of hindrances reported by white and black managers. Nine percent of white managers reported time constraints as an impediment to their performance. This aspect is covered later in this Chapter under the section dealing with the pressures which managers experience in the workplace..

Three managers who were in the over 50 years category viewed health as a constraint. Two were recuperating from serious illnesses and two managers were intending to retire shortly owing to ill health.

Self confidence was identified as a major hindrance by many of the managers who considered that lack of confidence had adversely affected their careers. Their comments indicated that "managers could not be effective without self confidence" and that "management would be a nightmare".

Confidence was described by these women as "believing in yourself, being assertive, believing in what you are communicating and in your decision making abilities.". They conceded that decisions sometimes fail and "you should be confident to admit that the decision hasn't worked, not that the person has failed". Confidence was also portrayed as "A delicate balance between exuding in some place and being human and approachable in others; to be fair and to be the boss".

Confidence was deemed to be important in a variety of group situations "because you have to model confidence for others". Subordinates easily detect diffidence and this affects their sense of security, "which you need to provide for staff so that they can approach you". Confidence in forums "with managers from your own or other organisations where you represent your agency" reflects your effectiveness as a manager. One manager reported being affected by Afrikaans authority and another by male managers from the State department. Five black managers commented on attending meetings with white managers in the past where they "needed to push their points in order to be heard".

The advice offered by many managers was that "even if you don't feel confident it is important to exude self confidence". Many cautioned that too much confidence causes difficulty. This was expressed as "you must not be over confident"; "wear your confidence on your sleeve, don't become over important"; "it is not always nice to hear about your mistakes, but you can always learn".

Respondents concurred that their confidence had developed over the years. It has to do with being a centred person, having a good knowledge about yourself and feeling good about yourself. One respondent recognised that people's earlier experiences can affect their personality and confidence level. Another recalls that "when I started, race discrimination was at its height and I lacked self confidence to push

for things for the staff". She considered that this had repercussions in terms of her credibility.

Sexism, Racism and Ageism

Approximately half of the black and white managers viewed stereotypes as the major hindrance to their careers. The stereotypes which they identified will now be discussed.

All those surveyed were asked whether they had experienced barriers in their careers which they had felt were gender based. Managers in this study varied in their appreciation of gender. Although the managers could accept that there was discrimination against women and that stereotypes reflected differential ways of treating men and women, the majority of white managers considered that their career progress has been relatively unimpeded by sexist practice. They were of the opinion that generally attitudes were more liberal within the social work profession. Two white respondents were able to give examples of sexism in their dealings with white and black men, such as being called "girlie", being mistaken for the secretary and in their dealings with Zulu men who refused to negotiate with women.

Black managers in the State social work departments appeared especially aware that there was polarisation of the sexes and that "the bureaucracy instils this in both men and women".

Two respondents considered that "in the past it was apparent that you had to be a male to aspire to senior positions. In the past, there would be a difference in the way they would receive your ideas, irrespective of whether you wanted a senior position". Two respondents considered that there had been little change in their organisations "mainly we have had males at the top and they feel threatened when females are in senior positions".

Seven respondents submitted that often the discrimination is subtle and "we are so conditioned into accepting male superiority that we miss some things". Only one of these respondents had initiated training sessions to make employees more aware of sexism. Most respondents, by thinking of themselves as people or professionals, appeared to minimise their own sensitivity. While they accepted that there is discrimination, they also considered that there were opportunities there to be used.

Black respondents appeared to be more aware of the institutionalised sexism which existed. Their heightened perceptions could be a reflection of the impact of gender bias with racial bias.

Racism

The profile of successful black women managers demonstrates how they persevere in a hostile environment.

A range of barriers were identified which included those which functioned at personal, interpersonal, organisational and societal levels.

Agency symbolism

Twelve black managers considered that while organisations were viewed as non racial on paper, that in practice discrimination still existed. Respondents in both state and private agencies pointed to the compartmentalisation of race groups which allowed preferential treatment to exist without any recourse to action.

Promotion opportunities was one of the barriers to career development. Six respondents mentioned that until 1972, there were only whites appointed to posts as supervisors. Even today "few black people hold managerial positions. They are more likely to be in consultant or supervisory positions. There have been few opportunities for people of colour to become directors at welfare agencies".

Three respondents in the State departments made specific reference to the discriminatory practices "as far as salaries and opportunities were concerned". One of the consequences with giving preferential treatment was that "white workers were in supervisory positions and that their superior attitudes then caused additional difficulties for workers of colour". Another problem which was highlighted concerned the perception of organisations as non-racial in the new South Africa, because then the "community expects a society which can easily adjust to their needs. An agency which provides mainly first world services and is largely apolitical and with many social workers who are afraid of

challenges" will have difficulty meeting the expectations of the community. The concern that one respondent was grappling with was that "we have to take these people with us quickly and rush the process".

Being stereotypes and scapegoats

"A lot of hidden discrimination lies in the heart and attitudes of the people" said one respondent in her discussion of stereotypes and scapegoats which many black people experience. Another considered that this reflects a "failure to acknowledge individual differences and the preparedness to believe the worst of people for whom you have little regard". A comment from one manager was that "One constantly has to fight to receive recognition for the work you do and to be developed. People are not always prepared to allow you to develop, they oppress you and if you stand up for yourself then you are considered a rebel and a troublemaker. This constant fight ties up your energy and makes it difficult for you to develop and extend your knowledge".

Resistance from others

Many black managers expressed the resistance which they encountered from both white and black colleagues. One respondent stated that "My greatest frustration was the passive resistance and the testing which I encountered mainly from young white social workers". The testing "was not so much around black issues as around my expertise". Four managers identified the expectation that "you have to be right all the

time-something that makes you a super human being".

Managers also articulated the lack of support from colleagues and senior management. "When I was appointed to a very senior post, I knew that some white colleagues had expressed to top management their unwillingness, inability, dissatisfaction to account to a black person- it affects your whole being-of being yourself". They recognised that the situation is exacerbated when the line manager is unsupportive.

Being undermined

Five managers also shared their common experiences of being undermined and sabotaged in that "decisions would be reversed and people were not open in terms of making suggestions and contributions" that "things are not usually said directly but inferred" and that "there is no confrontation, the discrimination is subtle and often one feels it instinctively" and certain "workers played safe and watched how the other workers reacted and then aligned themselves with the stronger party".

Inter-race rivalry

Three managers commented on inter-race rivalry as occurring especially with promotions. "There is a lot of envy among women workers. When one person is promoted, there are lots of questions about why and whether she is the best. Especially now when we have a few posts and

people are vying for the same posts, this has become a problem".

Another manager stated that the very people who had complained that "only white managers were appointed are the ones who are now objecting to having a manager who was not white".

Multi-commitments

One respondent perceived the diversity of the job and the way in which the organisation is structured as formidable pressures. She stated that "as the branch director I am responsible for management, fundraising and a large proportion of direct service. This is a multi-disciplinary organisation with a small complement of inexperienced social workers. It is difficult to delegate. Consequently, the organisation takes up all the space in my head and this puts one in the mindseat that you are forgetting something. You never quite feel that you are achieving". One respondent discussed a posting to a large institution where she was left "totally on my own to sink or swim with the welfare of 1600 non-white patients and occasional visits from the regional supervisor who had little knowledge of my work". These multi-commitments serve to place black managers under even greater pressure to perform. The effects of the cumulative pressure was for many like Davidson & Cooper's (1982,p.31) phrase of "walking the tightrope".

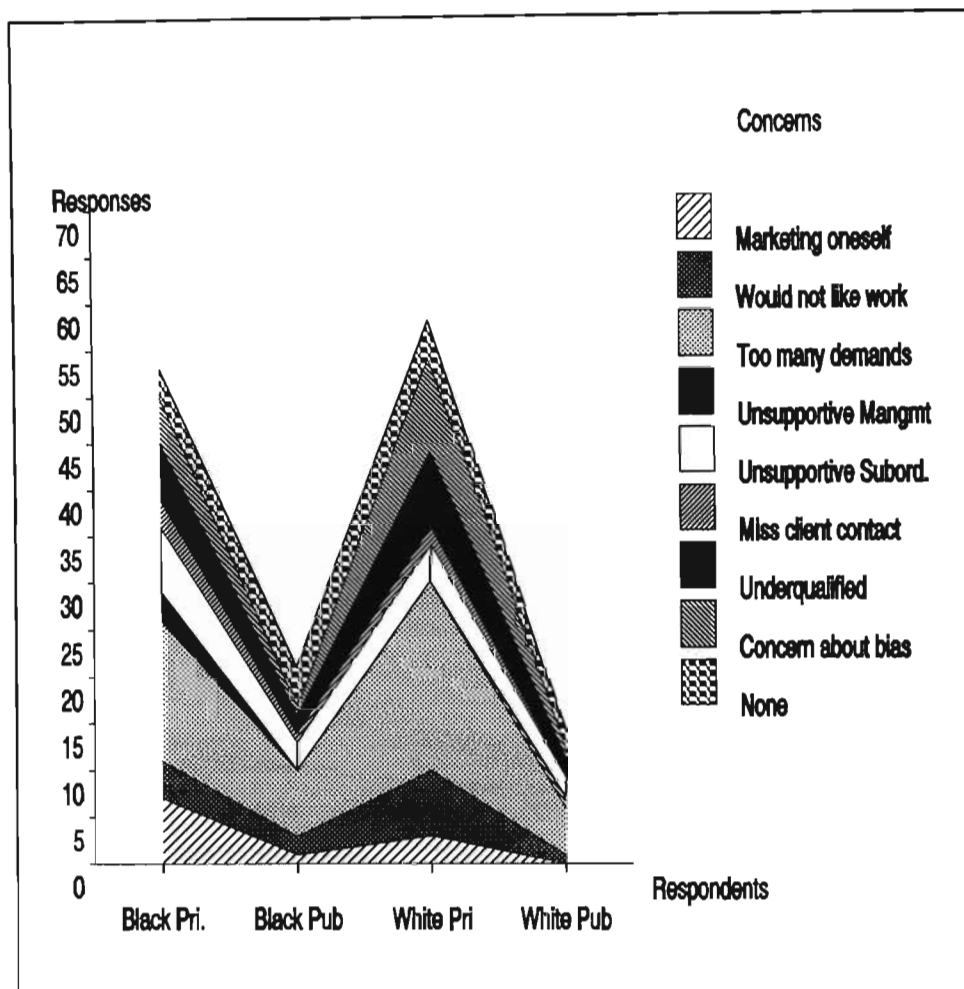
Only four of the black respondents claimed that they had experienced no real hindrances to their career development and the informants, by definition, in having achieved their management status, had been obliged to overcome many difficulties. This is not to say that informants were reasonably satisfied with their ability to combat obstacles. There was some spoken and unspoken resentment of these forms of discrimination.

Ageism

Although the managers in the study had achieved promotion despite their age, they were faced with a new set of obstacles on appointment. Younger managers identified that their age was a constraining factor in their performance, partly because they were held back by the reactions of others. A manager who worked in a medical setting recognised that "My age was an added difficulty, especially in dealing with staff and patients from different disciplines and race groups". Managers from private voluntary organisations offered the comments that "I felt intimidated and thought that I was too young for the job", "I was inexperienced for the position and there was resistance from a few staff members who felt that I did not have the necessary skills" and "Because I was young, people were a bit dubious about whether I could do the job, especially the staff who have been there for many years". All of these managers felt insecure and unprepared initially, but they had a belief in themselves and they endeavoured to equip themselves with the necessary

knowledge. All reported that they had successfully negotiated the obstacles and were accepted by their staff groups.)

FIGURE 22 : REPORTED CONCERNS ABOUT PROMOTION



N= 151 as multiple responses were recorded

This figure depicts the concerns about promotion at the time of the respondent's first promotion to management.

The respondents were asked about the specific concerns which they had about their first move into management.

Nearly 20% of respondents reported no concerns because they were invited to apply, were offered jobs without competition, were deputising before promotion or had no option about promotion. The latter situation was found to occur frequently in state organisations where the merit system operated. It was found that these managers had been employed in the same organisation for long periods. Managers who had been promoted quickly from within the agency or who had been recruited from outside of the organisation reported that they had wondered "what I had done to deserve the promotion" and "how other people would respond to me". An analysis of reported concerns reveals that the anxieties which the women managers shared about their coping capacities related to the volume of work, to relationships, to their expertise and to bias in the workplace.

Concerns about work overloads head the list, even though many of the respondents admitted that some of the performance pressure was self imposed. This overload was expressed in terms of the quantitative load which managers were expected to carry. The overload was a specific problem for black people who, by comparison with their white counterparts, carried vast workloads. More detailed description of the workload pressures imposed by the agency and the additional pressures which emanate from the manager's choice to hold a limited caseload, is furnished in figure 23.

Overload was also expressed in qualitative terms by descriptions about the difficult work which managers were required to do. For example, One manager identified "that people management and staff disciplineries were major concerns" because of the discomfort which women managers generally experienced when they had to deal with conflict. Their uneasiness was highlighted through comments such as "I soon realised that I was not good at telling people what I wanted from them and when their work was not satisfactory"; "Confrontation was a skill which I didn't have and it took me five years to confront in a constructive, unloaded way"; "I knew that I would have difficulty coping with assertive people" or that "I was concerned about working with unmotivated employees, who concentrate more on worker satisfaction at the expense of the client".

Other related concerns which led to managers indicating that they may not like the work were due to the "unclear boundaries of the role"; "uncertainty about what was expected of me"; "lack of clarity about agency requirements" and "the conflict of the personal style of the manager with the more autocratic style of the agency. For five respondents the lack of contact with grassroots was seen as a possible cause for dissatisfaction with the managerial role.

Seven managers considered themselves to be *underqualified* for the post because they lacked expertise in specific areas.

Two directors expressed concern because, "I don't enjoy public speaking" despite the positive feedback which she received about her performance and because "I am not good at marketing myself...I don't know whether it is a personality or a sex thing". Three managers were wary of accepting the position because they lacked theoretical knowledge and entertained doubts about the relevance of their existing knowledge. One manager expressed her concern as "Not having the theory was like a large mountain to climb- until I got the theory, then I realised that I knew the theory".

Financial aspects were regarded as a formidable problem by many managers in private organisations because of their lack of training in budgeting, their blocks around financial issues and their concerns about meeting their commitments on limited budgets" and within a depressed economy. One manager recognised that "I hand over a lot of power to the Treasurer and my husband in this area... and it is essential to have this kind of training".

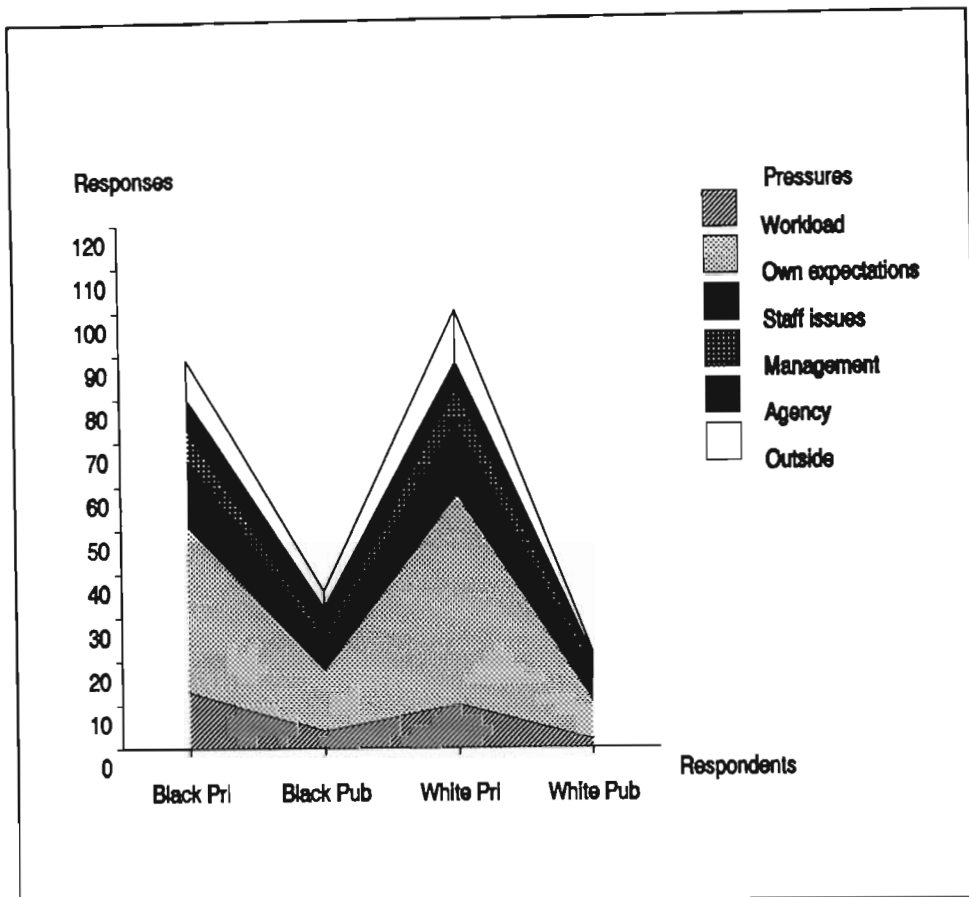
It is also noteworthy that the categories of unsupportive managers and colleagues and the bias against women as managers were other significant problem areas. These aspects have already been explored fully in Figures 20 and 21.

Significantly, the concerns identified by top management relate to specific expertise such as budgeting and public speaking while managers at the middle management levels were concerned about labour relations and confrontation. These concerns reflect the responsibilities which managers are expected to carry at different levels in the organisation

7. PRESSURES AND SATISFACTIONS EXPERIENCED BY WOMEN MANAGERS

The five figures which follow provide details of the pressures and satisfactions which women managers experience in the workplace and in the wider environment. The first three figures are specific to the workplace and the other two depict the situation outside of the workplace.

FIGURE 23 : PRESSURES IN THE WORKPLACE



N= 252 as multiple responses were recorded

Managerial jobs are multi-faceted and consequently the pressures emanate from different sources. The data reflected in figure 23 indicates that own expectations, time, funding, workload and relationship problems were the main categories of pressures identified by managers. It has already been noted in Figure 22 that the workload pressure which women managers experience represents a combination of the agency expectations and the managers own expectations about her needs and her coping capacities. The tensions created thus reflect a dilemma of "what do I do on a feeling level and what's possible on a structural level".

Workload Pressures

The different responsibilities of top and middle management were illustrated by their descriptions of their pressures. When directors discussed their jobs, they described long lists of tasks which required attention. Four directors listed a series of tasks which were often unrelated and which needed attention during the course of a day. The range of tasks included the purchasing of cleaning materials, equipment, desks and vehicles; staff appointments and the supervising of domestics, staff interaction with the community, donors and the media, report writing, commenting on new legislation, policy making and representing the organisation at a variety of forums while dealing with their administrative and management tasks. For many, these lists were actively growing, particularly in agencies where workloads had increased, but staffing was pegged by subsidy systems. Despite the burden, the different tasks were viewed as challenging.

The pressure was felt acutely by three senior managers in the State departments who were deputising. / Their pressures reflected a combination of the "sheer volume of work"; "lack of knowledge about their new areas of work"; "the enormous amount of time spent with travelling between venues" and the vagueness of the policies which they were expected to implement within tight time limits". /

The disparate nature of the work constituted a pressure for women managers in middle management positions. Managers in community settings described pressures such as:

"We have the community development, gardens, vegetable and sewing groups, economic programme (loans and small businesses), peace education in schools and monitoring; and then there are the individual work and the administrative and management responsibilities."

A frequent concern for managers in traditional welfare organisations was the supervision required for large complements of social workers, especially when "they were not particularly strong social workers and... it was difficult to delegate". Other complaints included the frequency of meetings, responsibility for the infrastructure, the resolution of conflicts, the initiation of developmental work and the administrative tasks. Seven managers were also faced with "the pressure to revamp the entire system of approach". This entailed conversion of caseloads into programmes and the reorientation and motivation of staff "to move from the casework orientation to a groupwork and community work emphasis". A major difficulty encountered was staff resistance to the "vast amounts of paper work which is involved in the programme development efforts".

A specific pressure experienced by many of the middle managers concerned the balancing of relationships between different levels of seniors, sub-ordinates and the community.

Five managers referred to this as "feeling like the filling in the sandwich". (The main pressures with subordinates included "the expectation that you have to be right all the time" and "that you have to be available and in touch with their needs". Other pressures revolve around motivating "people to do things and on time" and "managing assertive or incompetent staff". A specific minefield for three managers was "dealing with staff promotions and evaluations which must be done fairly and with people in a way that ensures good labour relations".

Managers indicated that the pressures with senior management arose from "having to explain to people in more senior positions what you are doing"; "Dealing with the expectations of upper management who don't always have a clear perception of what social work entails" or "acting as a mediator between professionals and top management, because there are some interpersonal dynamics which are evident".

Managers were generally aware of the image of the organisation and the importance of the credibility in the community. One manager expressed the general view that "The political pressures in the country makes one alert to possible problems that could be created by not being in partnership with decision making in the community". (One of the main problems was with "Trying to keep the organisation on track according to what the community has set for us".

The work included "getting the hierarchy to accept the needs of the community"; "cutting down on the time consuming bureaucracy "; "reconciling the different views and different paradigms of various actors in as far as this affected the way that they practised"; "assisting with decisions about where the service delivery emphasis is going to lie".

Finances

✓ Funding was another constant pressure for many managers "especially when you have a vision of where you want the organisation to go". Sixteen managers in private organisations and two managers in public organisations concurred that "a big anxiety is about not having enough money to run the organisation" and that "financial budgeting is a problem especially when the economy is depressed". A common concern was the lack of expertise as, "I am not trained in the area of finance and I don't have sound skills with fundraising and this is a major pressure". One pressure experienced by community based organisations was that "the subsidy is for traditional social work and so there was little money available for preventative work".

Staff Shortages

Often the work was hampered by staff shortages which inflated the workload. Thus:

"The workload is not always determined by me. Staff shortages also add pressure".

"I am holding two posts at present... I plan and work with a diary and I am supposed to have two secretaries, but things don't work like that. We are in crisis management here and this keeps us from the routine work".

"I have some secretarial help which I share with several other people, I have to take minutes for some of my own discussions, sit on 17 committees in the organisation, am consultant for seven managers and I have initiated two new projects and deal with all the tasks that come in for attention including telephone calls which could have been done by secretarial help".

Other pressures

Specific pressures identified by managers at the senior levels involve making the right impression through public appearances and when interfacing with the media and engaging in organisational politics. Three managers reported that "internal organisation politics was a strong and major influence which posed a great obstacle in my personal development. There were mixed messages and a different value given to different areas of work".

Manager's own expectations

Many managers also placed high priority on keeping in touch with the field. One manager satisfied this need by "sometimes going out on visits and investigations in the field as well as sitting in for many interviews".

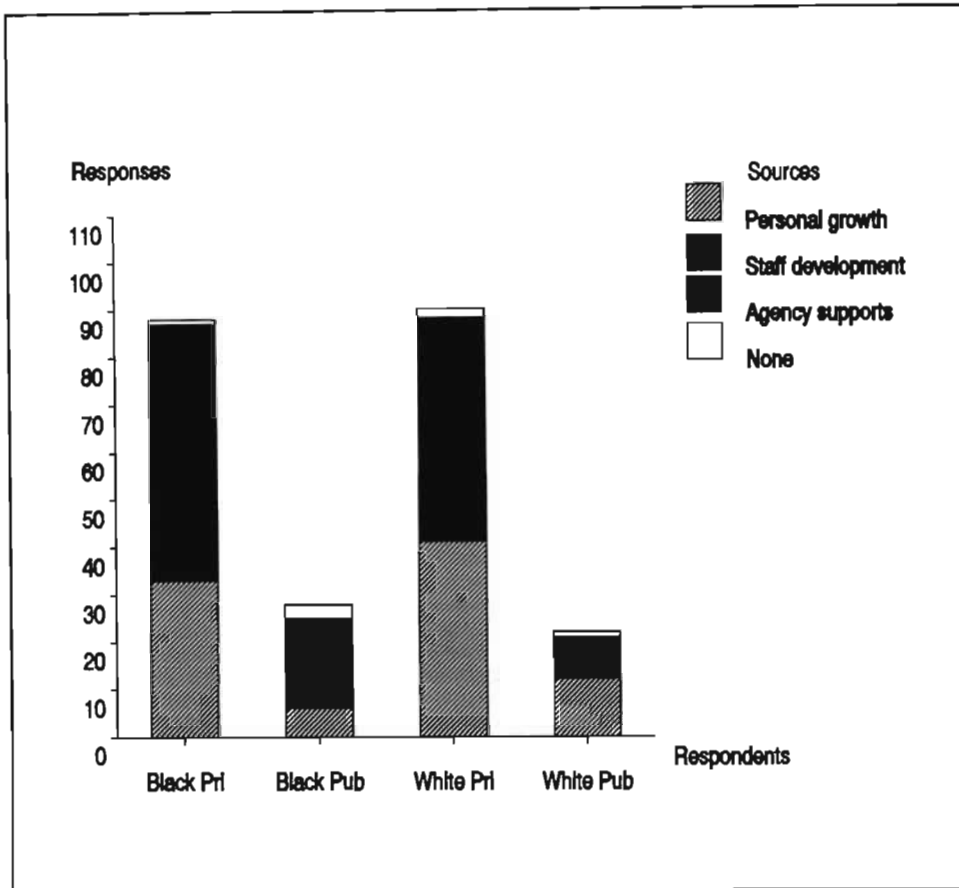
One manager who found it difficult to change from working with clients to working with staff "retained a small caseload as I would feel isolated from the field if I did not deal with clients myself" and another "juggled with meeting my own needs as a therapist (which I won't give up) and to be available for the people under me and in meeting deadlines which I consider a waste of time".

These then become ongoing stress factors which contribute to the "emotional pressures which occur mainly because of the amount of work".

The difficulty then arises to "keep a balance between the conglomeration of needs ...".

In summary it can be submitted that the pressures are internal, external, meeting deadlines, constraints in financial resources and relationship complications and with delivering appropriate and cost effective services.

FIGURE 24 : JOB SATISFACTIONS REPORTED BY WOMEN MANAGERS



N=288 as multiple responses were recorded

The data shows that the main sources of satisfaction were related to personal growth, staff development and agency supports.

Personal growth

It was found in this study that the career development of the women managers was not simply a means to an end, but that it satisfied strong needs for personal development, self fulfilment and for challenging work.

Satisfying the challenges at work were reflected variously. For example, "Getting an overall view of the organisation; taking decisions which are

major ones"; "working with the staff and it is good when they respond well"; "being in charge"; " being able to address human resources management"; " correcting attitudes, victimisation and prejudices which I had set out to do" and "ensuring that community needs are addressed to the best of our ability given our limited resources".

In order to negotiate these challenges, the managers had engaged the organisations in various development strategies. The restructuring exercises which they had initiated included strategic planning sessions, new project development, orientation to the community; the development of an integrated approach; programme development and the creation of new systems and specialist units.

The satisfaction which managers derived were apparent from comments such as:

"There are many. It's nice to be acknowledged and recognised and to have a title. There are certain achievements and developments which you see over time and which you are competent in and which give satisfaction".

"The satisfaction of being on top of things and therefore being in control. I want to know that I am capable of doing things- not in the sense of being the boss".

"I found that I have the capacity for management, I feel that I am seeing progress, I get tremendous satisfaction from seeing the organisation

grow- staffing and facilities wise".

Staff development

The need for staff development featured strongly with white respondents in private agencies and with black respondents in both private and public agencies both as a satisfaction and as a source of support for them.

Satisfaction for many managers was derived from seeing their staff enjoying their work and growing professionally. They commented variously that,

"There is a very helpful atmosphere currently where people relate to each other..." .

"It is good to work with people where there is a smile and where people can laugh and be serious as well". "The staff is fantastic- a lot of mothering and support...This is for me like my second family".

"Some staff who are enthusiastic and helpful and I can see the excitement develop in the staff".

"It is a challenge for me to assess how I can facilitate the work of my supervisee and using my own experience and knowledge, ensure that standards are maintained".

"Although sometimes we miscommunicate, there are also good communications, especially in our weekly management meetings".

To facilitate growth, workers were encouraged in a variety of new ventures which included the taking on of new areas of work, new tasks, attending seminars and workshops and writing articles in their areas of expertise. Managers were able to report on specific progress which had been made. For example, the branch secretary whose abilities were never acknowledged was trained within one year "to the extent that she now carries all the bookkeeping functions"; and "the staff are strong and can all appear on TV and they will and can all give interviews and lectures".

Personal development

For many managers personal growth and change are valued goals and according to one manager "the process of change which has occurred has helped me to work through a lot of things from the past". Eight managers reported that they had difficulty saying "no" and with confronting staff and that these skills have now improved. Thus:

"My sense of self respect has improved, not always being prepared to compromise, being in touch with myself and emotionally less involved with things", I am now able to state clearly what I want from people and organisations"

Personal development was indicated in that many respondents were undertaking management training. The reasons given for this included, "I felt that I wanted to be good, so I undertook further study", "I am not

stifled because when I want to study, I am given the flexibility of job and space to do so by the management committee".

Agency supports

The main supports which managers recognised were the workers, colleagues and the management committee.

Many of the managers commented on the support which they received from staff. One director reported that "Many directors feel that they are alone and have to carry the can, but having a warm supportive staff can help. Even if you do make a mistake you can always pick up the pieces the next day".

The benefits for the organisation were tremendous in that managers had "the peace of mind of going home or on leave and knowing that you have reliable people" and of seeing the "excitement develop in some people" with the result that "the high staff turnover was checked". Four managers reported that the stability in their staffing had meant that they could plan effectively and work together towards achieving the desired outcomes.

A positive influence for five of the managers was the executive committee. One manager received support both personally and professionally in that "they don't stifle my development and if I want to do courses or develop, they encourage that".

Another manager "had a management committee who was mainly white but the members have changed now and they are incredibly supportive".

Collegial support was given on an individual basis, but also in the supervisors forum. For one director "the knowledge that my workforce is supportive of what I do and if they are not, they will tell me about it" was important, "because if I don't know what's going on or where I am failing, then it creates difficulties".

Lack of satisfaction in the job

The dissatisfaction of six of the managers were articulated as follows:

"It is difficult to hone into the satisfactions because right now there are more negatives than positives; "Difficult to think about positives as we are currently involved in a struggle with our seniors. This makes you forget why you are here and that you need to serve the community".

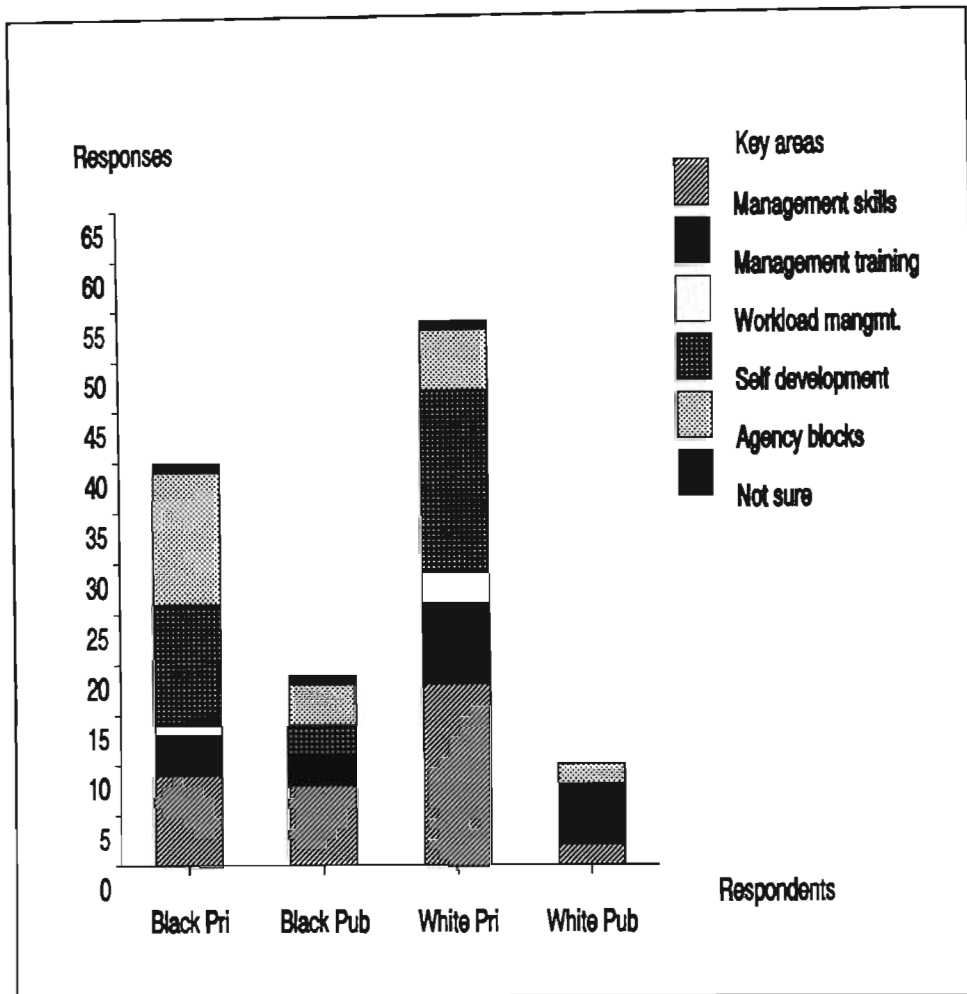
"The work is good, but personalities cause the problems".

"There is very little satisfaction. It is a bit boring because the job is not high profile".

"I experienced more satisfaction when I was in direct work with clients".

"Currently I'm feeling very low and I need a holiday to get some perspective, so its difficult to focus on the positives now. It is a strain and a nightmare to come to work".

FIGURE 25 : ACTION REQUIRED FOR IMPROVED PERFORMANCE



N=123 as multiple responses were recorded

The data shows that women managers were able to identify the learning opportunities which they required in order to perform more efficiently and effectively in their roles.

The overwhelming majority of women managers recognised the need for management training and management skills. The lack of opportunity for training and inadequate training were two of the common concerns expressed by these managers. One manager aptly summarised the general view that "I want to be clued up in the same way as other

managers, but I do not have time to do the reading". The need for ongoing training was emphasised because "knowledge has to be updated".

The main benefits of training which were identified by managers included the following:

increase own efficiency and effectiveness;

stimulate and develop workers;

keep abreast of changes generally;

keep pace with social work issues; and

gain specialist knowledge.

The analysis of the data shows the different training skills which were required by different levels of management. Top and senior managers listed their priorities for skill acquisitions as financial management, fundraising, policy making, policy implementation (with special reference to harassment and disciplining), computer literacy, conflict resolution, strategic planning, labour relations, working with politicians and relationships with different levels of staff.

Middle Managers required training in staff appraisal, delegation, motivation, assertiveness, education supervision, people management, knowledge of the organisation and organisational procedures, organising skills, time management, workload management, leadership skills and liaison with the community.

Presumably, the women who were higher up the ladder would have acquired skills orientated to meeting present needs. The needs of managers in the higher echelons indicate an orientation to the immediate and the distant future.

Agency blocks featured more prominently for black managers in private agencies than for white managers in similar type agencies. The blocks which were identified read similar to those which have been discussed in Figure 23. It is noted that bureaucratic red tape, staff shortages, vague policies, diversity of tasks, paperwork, resistance by staff and balancing different levels of relationships, were mentioned as formidable barriers which managers had to negotiate on an ongoing basis.

Self development

Self development relates to women's assessment of their performance and of the need to develop the necessary skills to deal with the challenges of the position that they hold. For example:

One manager recognised that she "had tremendous professional ability which is still to unfold. I have the potential to be a good director and I have not yet been given the space for optimal development. I am willing to take responsibility for that development, but I need to be in an environment where there are other efficient managers. This exposure to efficiency and a demanding and stimulating environment will help to

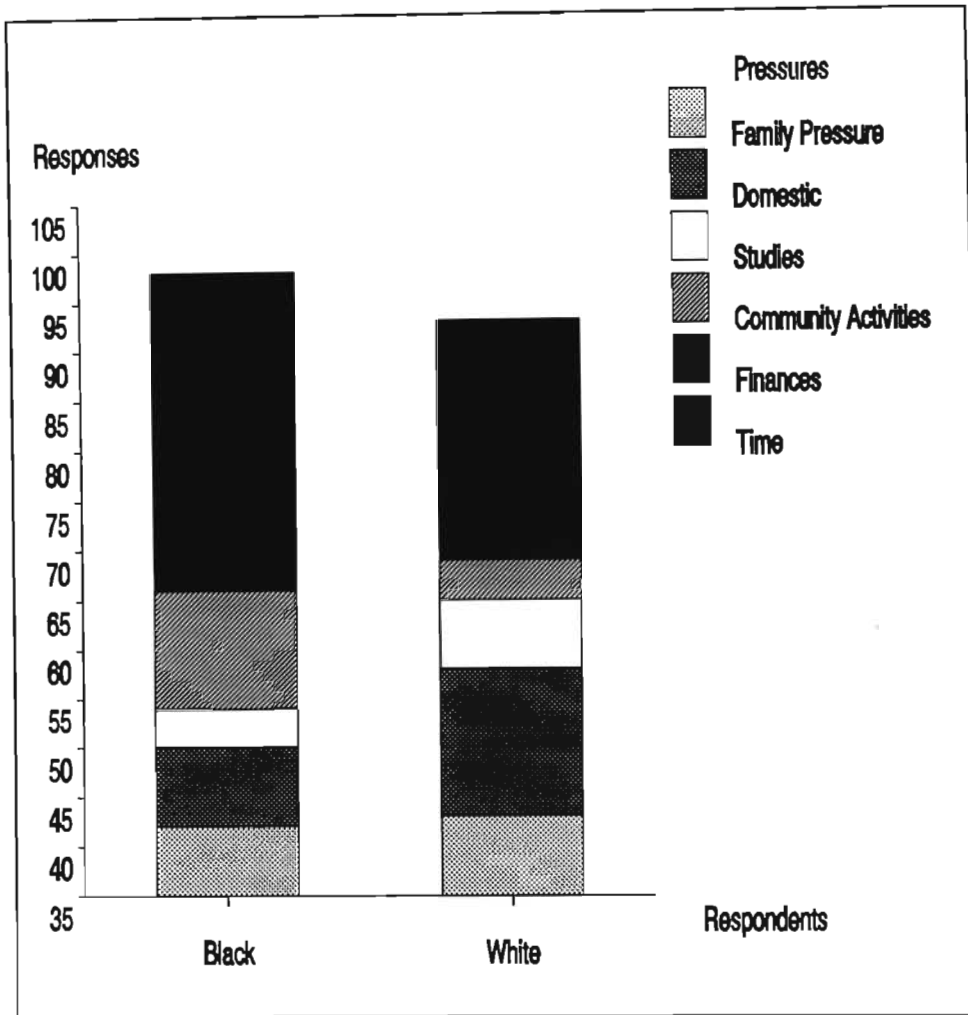
improve my skills".

Networking with the right kinds of people, sharing with other black managers, discussing various concerns so that energies can be used more constructively, were concerns for many of the managers.

One manager reported that "everything currently is in a shambles and chaotic and it has a ripple effect along the line. It would help if I had the authority or power to make the changes that I see fit". Another shared that "in a government department, I cannot discipline somebody for coming to work drunk, that is a long drawn out procedure". An essential ingredient in making these changes was the need for "more support from seniors. I can only take a few decisions and this limited power influences the way in which subordinates view me and the respect that they have for me as a manager. If more was delegated and more responsibility was given, I could be more effective in my role".

Two other significant measures included the need to "do regular reflection and review in order to improve" and that "I have the same expectations of people as of myself and sometimes this is unfair, and I have to separate my objectives and goals from those of the person and also be clear about my energy levels".

FIGURE 26 : OUTSIDE PRESSURES REPORTED BY WOMEN MANAGERS



N=191 as there were multiple responses

Figure 26 shows the range of pressures which women managers experience outside of the workplace. The most frequent pressure identified by many respondents was that of time. This was usually related to the difficulty experienced when balancing the heavy burdens of home and work commitments. Domestic, family and community pressures feature prominently in the lives of all the managers. Study and finances were also significant pressures which impacted on the lives of the managers.

Time Management

The most frequently reported management skill which was required was that of time management. The need for additional time to cope with pressures was expressed as follows: "I tend to procrastinate a bit but I can work very well under pressure"; "If for instance I have secretarial help it would save time and a more adequate staff distribution will also help"; "We are getting a senior social work manager which is a source of anxiety, but this new appointment may give me space to take time to work at home which will definitely help me"; "This is actually about juggling various commitments and at times I feel that when I work under pressure, I think that quality is sacrificed" and " I am impatient with wastage of time. If I had better time management it would help".

The time pressures which the women managers experienced were directly related to their workloads. For example:

"I work best when I am clear and not disorientated with files all around me. I should firstly have one of my administrative workers assist me on a regular basis to get inherited work out of the way"; "Currently I see myself as having a problem in terms of time management, but that is related to the volume of work, as I also have to act as fundraising manager and I am involved in conflict resolution"; " I am not that great an organiser, so having to be available for a variety of people who are here is a stress"; "The decision as to whether you close your door or to have an open door policy, otherwise your work will not be complete"; "

This is a different kind of job which requires enormous flexibility. No matter how well you plan, there are always unexpected meetings and you feel that you are missing out if you don't attend; ...The things I had planned to do will get done, but this will happen at 11 pm or in the early hours of the morning"; "I often feel that I don't utilise my peak working periods to the maximum. I slow myself down and then this prevents me from having time for reading and this irritates me as I could be more effective if I was up to date in the field" and "Time management is an issue. I make copious notes on time management but when I get to the office, this goes out the door. I can do it theoretically, but not practically. I have a difficulty in that I cannot say no and that throws my planning out".

The time pressures can thus be considered as related to both the quantity of work and the variety which they were expected to handle.

FAMILY PRESSURES

The family pressures which women managers experienced differed according to their marital status.

Pressures experienced by unmarried women

Ten of the women managers had not married and half of these managers lived on their own. Although these managers appeared not to have major outside pressures because they were single and lived alone, one

constant pressure for them was the concern about work. This occurred because "when you are single people make more demands on you" and as a result all of these managers were teaching themselves not to take pressures home. They all believed that "a good balance helps me to accept the frustrations of the workplace".

Five of the managers had a large family and a circle of friends. For those who were living with the family problems arose "as they don't like me being out of the house for late meetings or in different cities for days at an end". One of the managers who lived on her own expressed the common concern that "To now try and hold relationships with friends is impossible. I am in the position now where I don't want to get to know more people, but rather to consolidate the friendships which I have. That becomes a major pressure in that I feel that I am running around too much so I end up with too little time for me". For others the balancing of private with political, church and community was important "so that I don't get burnt out again and so that I am not so tired all the time". In an attempt to claim time for herself and use it in a nurturing way, one manager had embarked on further study "and this has landed me back in a situation of all work".

Pressures of managers who are divorced

All of the managers who were divorced had children. Three of them who have fairly young children "still battle with a tremendous sense of

inadequacy about acting as both parents. Its a confidence and a judgement thing about parents balancing each other out. The balancing of yourself is difficult and perhaps the work and home situations balance because when I feel myself becoming more assertive in the work situation, it spills over into my home situation". The major difficulty was with balancing the demands of family, friends, peers and bosses.

Pressures of married women

Women managers are affected critically by family pressures and for many women, their family situations and their stereotyped idea that mothers should look after their children, have dictated their options.

Guilt was a common feeling expressed by many of the mothers and they often tried "to work through the guilt especially during the holidays" and many constantly overcompensated for being a working mother.

The difficulties which they have in trying to balance their overloads were expressed variously as:

"My family has to be my first priority and so I work for six eighths of the time...and my executive frequently expect me to be at home when I am at work and so I am not available to my children."

"I have two pre-school children and I never leave the office without taking work home. I feel bad because I have to spend time with the children and there is the work to be done".

"When I took this job the children were younger and I had to collect them from school. There were many difficulties in getting to places on time. This was a pressure so I have had to be more strict about leaving on time.

"I also have a learning disabled child and I have been torn about whether I ought to be working full or part-time to give the child the help that I need to. Also to help my other children with their homework after school".

"When you have young children it is difficult to say that you don't have time. When you get home, you try to make up. Sometimes I find that I just disengage when they become involved in their conflicts".

"Sometimes when you have had a busy day you don't feel like you have anything left to give. Everybody has had a whole chunk of me, I've given to everybody and now I want a little time for me without any interruptions- its difficult. At the moment I feel like I am on the treadmill and not very satisfied. I still find a problem with balancing home and work but I think that if I am not satisfied then I won't make anyone else happy either".

Three managers reported that the pressure has eased now that the family are now all adult children, some of whom were living away from the parental home.

The difficulties became exacerbated when frequent travel was part of the work because:

"often I come home tired and these are real pressures"; "When I have to travel I try to ensure that I get back on the same day so that I am still with my family"; "The children have grown up with a working mother and they are comfortable with the situation. When I am away for a long period, this is probably worse for me than for them because of the guilt feelings which I have".

Often women were able to continue to work because suitable child care arrangements had been contracted with family members such as grandmothers and sisters or with childminders and day care facilities. One manager reported that, " The extended family system worked well for me as my sister-in-law collected the child, cooked and helped when I went to meetings, especially with a husband who is not domesticated".

The data suggests that support from the spouse was a critical factor which influenced the coping capacities of the woman manager. Four managers described their husbands as "understanding and supportive" to the extent that one husband "encouraged me to study and supported me so I didn't have the pressure that other managers have when they are late or at an evening meeting". Yet, "despite the support it was sometimes difficult as time limitations at work means that the family is neglected to an extent".

Five managers had husbands who were chronically ill and who spend long periods in hospital. All of these managers reported that their husbands had positive attitudes towards their illnesses and were supportive in the home and cared for the children when they were pressured.

Some managers described spouses who did not appreciate that they were "not being given as much attention as they should get, as my priorities are child, work and then husband". Those who had ambitious husbands were expected to accompany their husbands to functions and to host dinner parties. Others had husbands who resented their success because they were "less well educated" than their wives; "had little comprehension of my job or social work in general" and because they "earned less than I do".

Six managers expressed regret at not having more contact with ageing parents. One manager had just returned to work from nursing "a mother who was recuperating from a ear operation and then my husband had his tonsils removed. If there is nobody to care for family at home, I have to take leave to cope with this situation".

DOMESTIC PRESSURE

This study shows that women managers often re-organised their lives to cope with domestic pressure.

One manager stated that "when you work you have limited time, so you take some of the effective time management skills home and that lessens some of the stress". Cooking meals in advance assisted one manager to cope, while two managers reconciled their standards so that "If I can't get the washing done, then it doesn't get done. I am a very practical person...we moved to our own accommodation three months ago and I feel guilty that I still haven't unpacked, even though the family assure me that they are coping well".

Seven black managers reported that they had no domestic help and two white managers were only able to afford part-time domestic help. Their coping skills then became critical skills as, "It is a great difficulty spreading myself equally between work and family. It is sometimes difficult for me to express how important some things are without implying that they are more important than the family". They articulated their pressures as follows:

"I don't have time to finish the work here, but I have even less time to do what needs to be done at home. It leaves me feeling permanently guilty about things that are not getting done".

"I can't remember when I last helped my husband to iron his shirt or when I last collected the child from creche".

"My husband often has to collect the child and sometimes I intend to collect the child and then I am caught up in a meeting...Sometimes the

child is not picked up because he was unaware that I had been unable to collect the child. I have had to bring my child to work today because the day care facility is closed and because my husband can't take the child to his work". "As I am a single parent the pressures are more on the domestic side. You never leave the office on time and then I have to rush to pick up the children, make supper, supervise homework and give quality time. It goes on and on...Then the cleaning".

"With meetings if there is no sitter, you either leave the children at home on their own or take them with you and when they interrupt the meeting you are highly embarrassed".

"Sometimes when I pick up the children I am already late for a meeting and I have to stop at Kentucky and spend money that I can ill afford. I have a very supportive staff and sometimes when I have to travel they may stay at my home or in an emergency they will stop at my home and sort out urgent things".

"What I resent is to be viewed as not coping because I have to collect my child from school, see that he has dinner. So when I have late meetings, I will prepare everything at home and still be at the meeting on time. I try to organise my life, but it is a tremendous pressure".

"Being a working mother, my day starts early and I have to manage my time well. So I have to be happy in my job and give quality time to my family as well as my husband, even if my household tasks are not done.

I do not have domestic help".

"As somebody who has just come back to this country, I am finding it difficult to settle down. This has caused me a lot of tension and a bit of loneliness... It is a matter of going to work and coming home, preparing supper and doing the domestic work, then either reading, listening to the radio or watching television. I have no social life, especially since I am here on my own. My children are grown up".

"As I have no domestic help, often I would wake up at 3.30am to study and by five I would start the chores".

"I do my own cooking and some of my housework. I only have a part-time maid. I cannot do housework all the time, but I enjoy it as supplementary to my work".

"I like my home to be a certain way and I can only afford to pay a good salary to a maid twice a week. So I still have the housework, garden to take care of".

COMMUNITY PRESSURES

Black women report that community activities pose a significant pressure, although they also reported that they received significant support from the community.

Ten respondents involved in social work related activities reported that they served mainly on various national and local committees and management boards of welfare organisations, assisted pressure groups to organise or helped to alleviate the "frustration of dealing with red

tape".

The church has been one source of pressure in that when "the church council becomes aware of what individuals have to offer they pounce on you...I have been involved on the parish council, in counselling, youth work and as a co-facilitator in marriage counselling since 1974". Other managers had "served on the management committee of a women's organisation in the church, sang in the choir, promoted educational programmes in the church and operated on a fundraising committee".

STUDIES

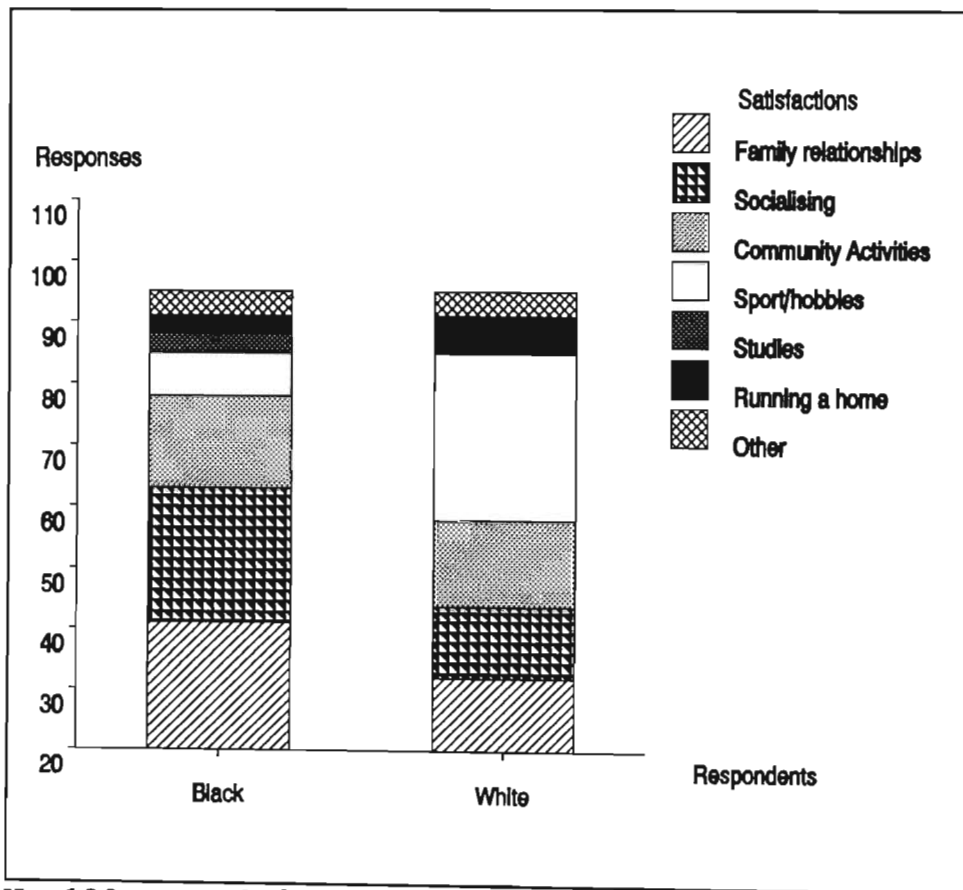
Eight managers who were undertaking formal management qualifications reported on the conflicts which occurred with further studies. "It was difficult when I studied as I had to do the household tasks after a days work and attending classes. I had to study late in the evening sometimes until 4am and then at 6am I had to prepare for work. Many people do this and although it was a difficult year, it was worth the trouble".

"In between the full time work and study the family suffers. They don't suffer in a negative way as I have a supportive husband and the children know that I want a career for myself. When the pressure is on I get my mother to assist, for instance at exam time and now as we are moving house. I also have a supportive circle of friends who help on a Saturday if the children have to be taken to extra mural activities".

FINANCIAL

Three managers commented on the poor pay and the struggle for survival which is there all the time and which "compromises your lifestyle, while you give so much". One of the managers was employed in a community work setting which "is not very lucrative. In April this year with growing assertiveness, I discussed with the Board my poor salary and my long working hours. This resulted in a 60% pay increase and a mutual arrangement that I give them time in return for the use of the car".

FIGURE 27: OUTSIDE SATISFACTIONS REPORTED BY RESPONDENTS



N= 190 as multiple responses were recorded

It is not surprising that the sources of pressure are similar to the sources of satisfaction for these women managers. The information provided on aspects of studies, running a home and community pressures are similar to the issues discussed in Figure 26, and will not be dealt with in this section.

The repercussion of general life overload can be seen in the subjects' descriptions of how they spent their time outside of work and the kind of social life that they developed. Individual circumstances outside of work varied and for many of the respondents spending quality time with their families was a major source of satisfaction. A common response is contained within the comment that "I am more conscious in terms of the time that I spend with the family".

"One satisfaction is to be home with my family. My home is my haven and I like my husband and children to be home"; "Having a family is great. When the tension becomes high, knowing that I am going home makes me feel good. They allow me to blow off steam although I do this only occasionally"; "I enjoy my children, especially now that they are much older and we have family fun together".

Husband

Many managers considered that they "would not have been able to do viable work without the support" from husbands. For example,

"My marriage is a new marriage but it feels good. There is a lot of communication and sharing and I know that if there was a work oriented crisis that I will get assistance if he can empathise with it".

"I am married to a social worker who understands the situation, but he sometimes became fed up when I stayed late at meetings and then had to do work afterwards".

"My husband is supportive and understanding and he is very flexible. There is a sharing of responsibilities in the home".

"I am fortunate in that I have a very balanced partner, as he is able to be pragmatic. We also play open cards with the children about major incidences which impact on the family".

In summary it can be submitted that husbands were a crucial form of support for the managers.

Socialising

All of the managers were aware of the importance of friendships and also that these require investment. For many respondents the comments that "we socialise at times, but this is very limited" and "I seem to have less energy for socialising especially at weekends" hold true. Despite the fact that time is at a premium for the majority of managers, some do make efforts to socialise. Thus:

"The time I can relax and draw support is with close friends. Most of my friends are married, so this has to be planned and organised".

"Certain evenings are spent with the children and we have gatherings

which the children and adults share together".

"My husband and I enjoy dancing and we make an effort to go on a weekly basis. We have that time for ourselves".

"I have a good circle of friends and I enjoy entertaining, even though this turns into heavy political discussions at the end".

"There are satisfactions in terms of making time for things like keeping in touch with relatives".

"We have quite a broad social network. I have at least three close friends who are social work trained and who provide support when I'm fed up".

"I have very special friends and I can relate to them in a deep way. For me this is a gift. I have very different friends and this is both a pressure and a satisfaction in that I am allowed to share in very different worlds".

Physical Activities

Physical activity helped to release stress. Two respondents stated that they regularly "play tennis and nothing comes in the way of that"; another played golf and three attended the gym. Five respondents submitted that when they needed time to gather themselves, "I do things like hiking, getting into nature and relaxing and walking". Other ways of relaxing included going dancing, being able to go on good holidays, spending time at home doing the things that I choose to do, gardening, cooking, baking, tapestry, sewing, visiting the theatre, reading and

meditating.

Other satisfactions

These are related to feelings of value and of recognition and were expressed thus:

"Knowing that because of hard work I have got where I am. I know that I am quite capable of supporting myself if I need to do so and of being a mother and having something of a social life".

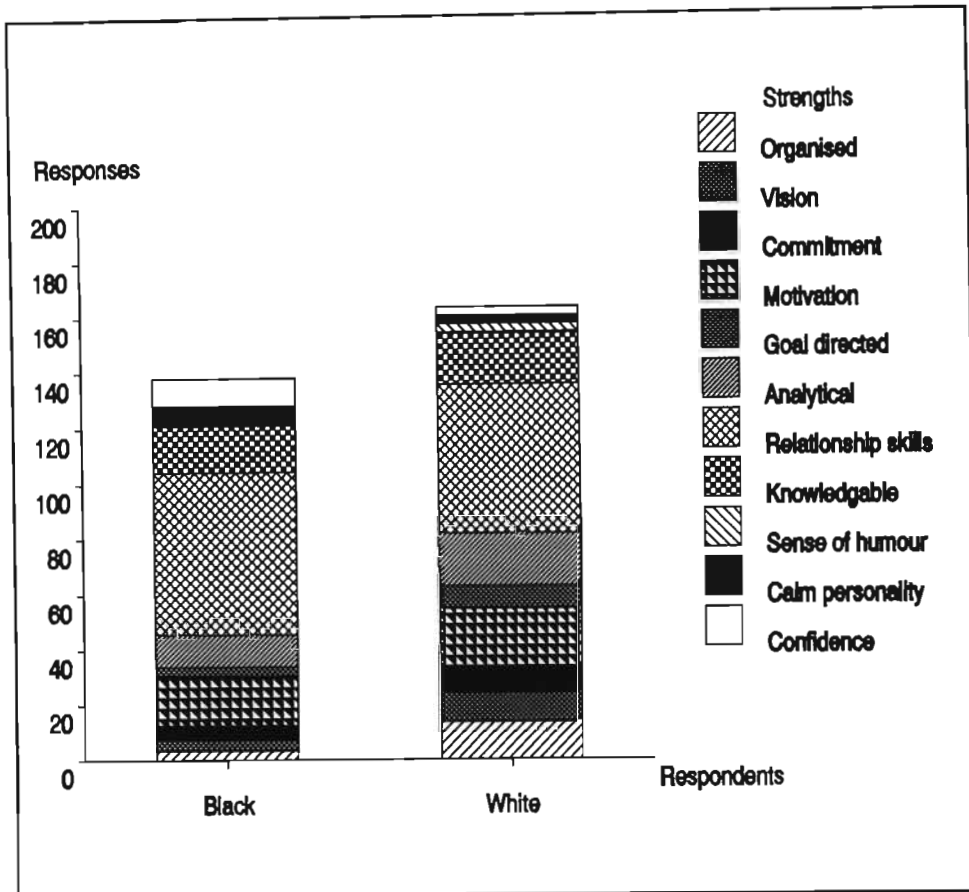
"There is quite a lot of recognition of the kind of position I am in and of how much I have developed in my career and the fact that I have worked hard to get where I am".

"Acknowledgement from my family and husband. Recently he has talked more with me about human relations issues".

"I also accept that I am a public person and I get irritated if I feel that I am isolated. I get satisfaction from the P.R. function and knowing that you are a role model".

"Colleagues outside of the agency who are supportive and acknowledge my skills make me feel honoured. When I ask myself whether I have any business being in social work, then these experiences help me realise that I have the skills to be a good social worker".

FIGURE 28 : IDENTIFIED STRENGTHS OF WOMEN MANAGERS



N=301 as multiple responses were recorded

Generally women managers found it extremely difficult to identify their strengths. An analysis of the data reveals that women's leadership styles were underpinned by strong relationship skills. Being motivated, analytical and knowledgeable were other significant strengths. Their leadership styles show that these women actively work to make their interactions with subordinates positive. They encourage participation, share power and information and enhance the self worth of their subordinates. Their descriptions of their commitment, vision, goal directedness reflect their ability to determine strategy and accomplish performance goals.

Relationship skills

The overwhelming majority of women managers emphasised the importance of relationship skills. These managers believed that people performed best when they felt good about themselves and their work and so they created an atmosphere which contributed to that feeling. Words used to describe the quality of the relationships included "tolerant, caring, empathising, nurturing, honest and a good listener".

The facilitating role which they played reflected attitudes such as: "having a democratic attitude "; "believing strongly in the potential of people"; "being people orientated"; "being prepared to learn from everybody on the staff" and "helping them to feel good about their decisions and supporting them in implementing those decisions and their growth".

A dominant theme which emerged was women's description of their use of power for the empowerment of others. Many of the managers expressed their sharing of power in different ways as "listening, sympathising, being prepared to apologise, asking for help, admitting to mistakes, having little concern about taking sole credit, getting on with the task and sharing information and decision making". While many respondents enjoyed being in charge, their satisfactions were in "seeing people working well together, sharing what they are trying to do and delivering it as well as they can".

Respondents were interested in team building "as people enrich each other and especially if they feel proud of what they are doing, as a way to help their confidence and to develop their vision". The respondents described themselves as good motivators, very understanding and sympathetic. Five respondents noted that the "workforce is supportive; like a second family and if they don't like what I do then they tell me". Three respondents reported that they were kept going by a good sense of humour and by being able to share these positive feelings with the team. "I am a positive person and I do encourage and motivate people".

"I believe that every person has the ability to be able to cope. Through written and verbal feedback, I know that I can motivate people as they participate extremely well in the programme.

"I have a good manner of appreciating shared feelings and channelling these in a constructive rather than destructive way".

To many of the managers the sharing of information also entailed being candid about work related issues. Often these managers used a direct approach when they were concerned about a worker's functioning. Thus: "I have found that people generally know what is not okay. As a worker I disliked the situation where a few people had done something wrong and everybody has to hear about it. The person affected ought to hear first and not for the issue to be generalised".

"I am an upfront kind of person, I am not afraid of confrontation. I go through life, not partaking in gossip.

"If there have been problems with certain staff in an agency, I am not the sort of person who takes comments about other people's behaviour at face value".

Vision

A few of the managers described themselves as visionaries. Visionaries are viewed as natural strategic planners and this is evident from their descriptions. For example:

"I have an ability to see broader issues beyond the organisation and I have learnt to fill in some of the details, stickability- learnt to persist".

"I have strong ideas and conceptualisation of the service and the integrating of ideas with people-a kind of circular function".

"I am able to look at the broad and the detail".

"I enjoy being creative with each job that I have held and it is exciting to be creative, enthusiastic and very practical".

"I have an instinctive way of knowing where things should go and I can make decisions quite quickly. I seem to know what we should be doing as an agency...and one of my strengths has been to be able to go along to meetings and hear and then decide what is a legitimate role for the agency".

One weakness associated with the visionary style is the tenuous involvement with people. While the quotes which follow confirm the

women's ability to distance themselves, for social work managers this appeared to be counterbalanced by the emphasis on relationship skills. However, this differed for the social work manager who recognised the importance of balance.

"I don't need to please people (as I needed to do when I was younger), but it is important to be sensitive". "Not always getting too emotionally involved. While this may seem a contradiction, I can stand aside and examine how things affect others. My social work training taught me to be objective".

Organised and Analytical

Managers expressed their ability to be analytical by their indications that, "I am good at perceiving a situation, analysing what goes on and seeing how it links with other things"; "Helping people identify problems and define strategies"; and "I have strong analytical skills, am good at summing up situations and strongly intuitive".

Their skills at organisation were manifested through their ability to, "work hard and fast and I am quite good with time management and I can consolidate the work easily and get through it in the working day" ; "I have a good memory and excellent organisational skills and the ability to manage time which is vital" ; "I have good staff management skills and apply my social work skills to every sphere of my life" ; "Good planning skills, I enjoy the work and I am committed to the profession";

"I have insight into the administrative side of things and I tend to get things done on time".

Motivation

A constant pressure which women managers had to deal with was having to keep everything together and motivating staff. Their descriptions of their people skills showed that they created an atmosphere of industry through their own role modelling, enthusiasm and energy. For example:

"I believe that every person has the ability to be able to cope and I encourage that development through showing trust and belief"; "I allow people space to try out new things without being judgemental about whether it is going to succeed"; " I encourage initiative and creativity and I listen to people" ;"I get very enthusiastic and that bubbles over and spreads to others working with me" and "I have energy and staff often comment on this. I feel alive and this is what I bring to the organisation. My style is not a very laid back way of leading rather I energise the team".

Calmness

The managers considered that the creation of a calm atmosphere assisted with motivating staff and they provided the following descriptions.

"I take time to think through things before I take decisions and I consult"; "I don't go over the top, I am not an alarmist" ; " I don't get

excited very easily; high frustration and tolerance level and I am able to deal with quite a lot of stress and this actually helps my own functioning"; "I rarely get into conflict with people. I don't become adversarial or confrontational because I think that I will probably come off second best".

Commitment

The commitment which the managers felt was demonstrated through statements such as:

"I have a sense of responsibility and I have high expectations for myself and the staff".

"From feedback, I am seen as setting a good example of hardwork, am willing to listen, flexible and dedicated. I would wash the floor if necessary and am willing to participate and follow through and be energetic and knowledgeable"; "I am approachable and flexible within reason. I always try to be there for the person. When someone has a crisis, I always ask what I can do from this side".

"If things have to happen on a certain date, I try to submit on time, even if this means that I have to stay up all night. This is difficult when you have three things all due on the same date then you have to prioritise as to which one to submit. This gives no satisfaction and to me it looks bad".

"I like to think that I am open to new ideas and am easy going with a sense of humour".

Knowledgeable

The managers attributed their knowledge to skills, specialist expertise, knowledge of resources and years in practice. Experience in working within different settings and in different countries added to what they had to offer. Knowledge was also viewed as being derived from "own insight and I have a broad knowledge through my studies. I am into development issues and this is one of my strengths".

Confidence

The managers description of the importance of confidence has been covered earlier in this chapter. It can be noted that their display of confidence was linked with the ability to relax, to be articulate, assertive and to actively listen to others. It is notable that while many of the managers identified self confidence as crucial for managers, very few considered self confidence as numbering among their strengths. Of the few, more black managers appeared to be able to identify with this quality.

Goal directed

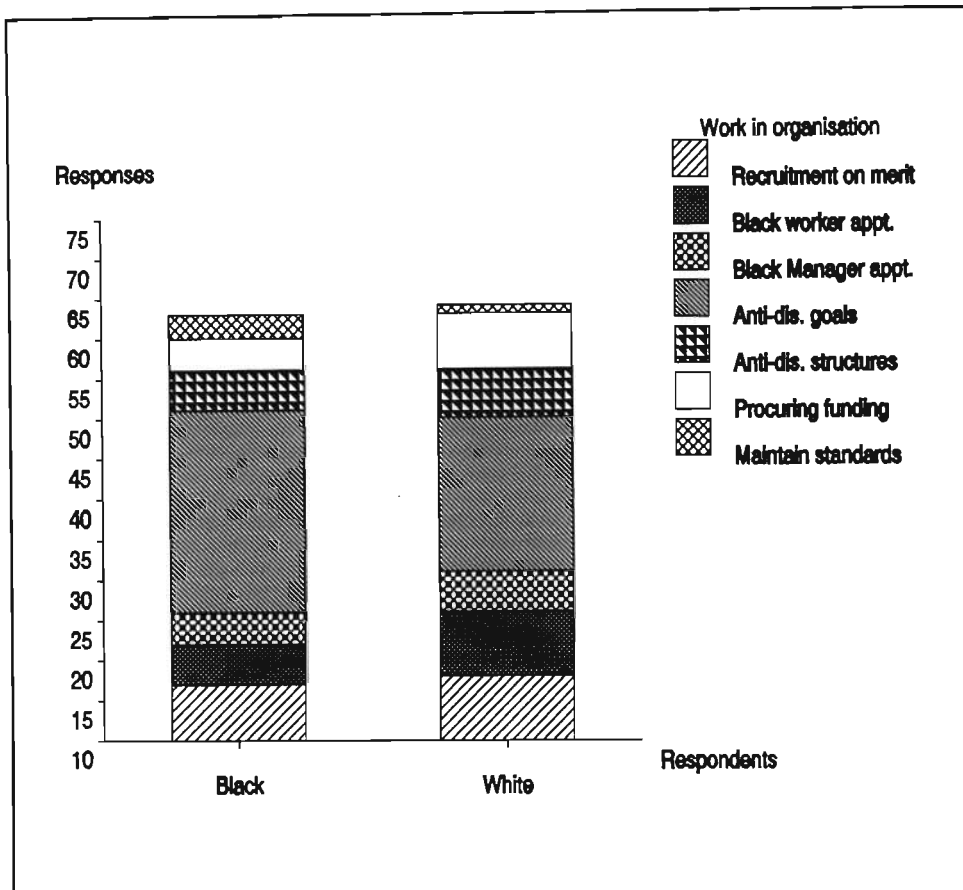
According to the managers, ambition was linked with the commitment which many of the managers felt.

They expressed their goal directedness variously. For example:

"There are certain things which guide your conduct and determine how you operate"; "Knowing what I want and what is important- like values

and principles- a bit of a strong word, but I refer to the things that structure what you are going to be irrespective of whether you are at work or elsewhere"; "I am very ambitious and I can never stagnate because often I am looking for the next goal. I am quite goal orientated and I have a very analytic mind. So I spend a lot of time thinking things out and ascertaining why they happen as they do, especially regarding the medical field. In effect, the reading and the questioning mind is a strength"; "I am a bit of a perfectionist and hardworking so I will do the job to the best of my ability and this has resulted in promotion for me".

FIGURE 29 : ENTRY POINTS FOR EQUALITY PROCEDURES



N=127 as multiple responses were recorded

The majority of the agencies showed some level of commitment to equal opportunity initiatives. Only three organisations had no statements of intent about equal opportunity or affirmative action. The majority of respondents reported that the statements had not been translated into explicit practice goals, thus indicating that the commitment was on a symbolic level only.

Debates and controversies about anti-discriminatory practice and change are important for managers because they have the responsibility for instituting anti-oppressive policies and have the power to effect change.

With this in mind, managers were asked about their perception of the management role with regard to equality practice. One of the main purposes for the inclusion of a question about the managerial role was to ascertain an agenda of ideas in respect of equal opportunity. It transpired that some practices are more popular than others. To facilitate tabulation, these responses were divided into awareness and strategy. The awareness category can be seen as including the understanding of discrimination, the recognition of resistance and the "owning" of identity. Strategies are depicted by the promotion of change through actively developing anti-oppressive structures, policies and procedures.

The information revealed that recruitment was a priority for many organisations and that good representation at grassroots and at managerial level was deemed to be important. One manager stated that "I believe that it is the best person for the job, and so I have started writing to the State departments to point out that if there is difficulty with recruitment, and if workers of a different race group were not appointed, then their clients would not receive a service".

One respondent stated that "posts were now being created for marginalised individuals to work in the black community and this will provide the necessary black perspective". Five white managers and four black managers were actively engaged in planning for black managers to take over as directors on the retirement of the incumbents. Attitudes

were expressed such as "I insisted that my middle management should be mixed and so representative of the population"and "We have mixed teams and appoint in terms of what the service requires", which gives the impression that equal opportunity initiatives are being seriously addressed in certain social work settings. Managers recognised that it was currently still difficult to implement equal opportunity because of "the restrictions of the subsidy situation".

The importance of explicit anti-discriminatory goals and structures were given priority, but with the proviso that standards were maintained. Many respondents from State departments made reference to the employment of more black people, but considered that this had to be linked with maintenance of professional performance and accountability. For example:

"the representation of different race groups is important, but they must have the ability" "we should strive for excellence and not lower our standards" "the calibre of the work and not affirmative action *per se* is what matters". Other respondents believe that "affirmative action has to offset the deficits of the past and the disadvantaged environment." "We have already frustrated the generation of the eighties and this must not be repeated". Four managers stated that "We have on occasion taken a lesser trained person but who had the right qualities for the job". The importance of providing the necessary training and opportunities to bring about growth and change then becomes a priority task.

To ensure uniformity and parity in the selection and promotion of staff, one manager was involved in " screening all applicants and interviewing them with another manager"

Once the relevance of equality is established, other resistances emerge which affect the pace and scope of change. These relate to people's attitudes and their fear of losing power and benefits. Many issues may not be well received because they make people feel threatened and uncomfortable. Consequently, they will resist and covertly sabotage efforts to implement equal opportunity.

The managers' understanding of their roles regarding equal opportunity indicated that they saw themselves as facilitators, encouragers, providing vision, setting goals and shaping the service to ensure equality. There was an appreciation that the process of change involves attention to the lack of opportunities and to attitudes and behaviour of people.

Comments which follow attest to the energy which these managers expend in keeping equality issues on the agenda and in being sensitive to the feelings of resisting colleagues. "My role is to keep people conscientised".

"It is difficult to force a mission statement on people because then we have a window dressing situation" "Constantly people have to be reminded of decisions which they have agreed on . Usually I raise these

issues at joint annual evaluation planning, when we review the services which we offer; I am in a facilitative role and if they are angered, I will acknowledge this and use it to explore further. I use a lot of self disclosure".

One respondent discussed negotiations with the management board to alter policy statements. "If you believe in equal opportunity it is fairly easy. I have just drawn up the conditions of service and these should apply to the domestics as well as to the Director. Currently, I am debating these in the management committee as some members are concerned about eroding differences".

To a lesser extent the importance of securing funding for equal opportunity initiatives was recognised. Significantly, other aspects like mentoring, networking and feasible working packages for the recruitment and retention of women were not mentioned. A possible explanation for this could be that the responses were made with race rather than gender in mind.

8. STRATEGIES FOR COPING

8.1 Introduction

The creativity required for women managers to be effective, to survive and to achieve identity are all evident from their responses.

Three respondents summarised the general view that "I have resigned myself to the fact that I am always going to be a working mother, so I have to develop coping strategies". I am being positive about working because it is not a temporary state"; "I need to work, I love to work and I will continue to fit together the pieces in my life and make it work".

It was found that respondents thought through their strategies in different circumstances. One respondent did a lot of thinking in her car, another wrote things out in letter form and another found that "the veil lifted" when she was under pressure to be creative and to produce.

While some of the strategies concerned individual coping skills like planning, prioritising and finding "the golden mean" in work and home commitments, much of the planning revolved around the staff team.

Workers were given opportunities to have input in the organisational functioning through various forums such as formal meetings, gripe sessions, daisies and daggers, backchat sessions.

The strategies which women managers used for coping on an individual and a group basis and for creating ladders of opportunity for staff will now be presented.

TABLE 9: INDIVIDUAL STRATEGIES FOR COPING - USE OF NETWORKS

The information for individual strategies will be sub-divided into three separate tables which reflect contacts with supportive and trusted individuals, the techniques which provide control over the work stresses and the "taking time out" activities which help to relieve pressure.

PRIVATE AGENCY

PUBLIC AGENCY

NETWORKS	TOTAL	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE
Senior/Head Office	16	6	6	3	1
Consultant	8	5	3	0	0
Expert	7	4	3	0	0
Objective person	7	2	1	4	0
Husband/father	5	2	3	0	0
Chairperson	4	1	3	0	0
Friend	4	1	3	0	0

N=51

Part of managing is learning how to manage time. A vital ingredient in this skill is about knowing when assistance is required and who one should approach for help. The supportive individuals whom managers used were authority figures in the workplace, but supports outside of the workplace in the form of experts, consultants and trusted family members were significant for one-third of the managers.

It is unlikely that one supportive individual will fulfil all the above functions. In this regard, the importance of mentoring has been recognised and also the need to establish formal mentoring systems in organisations where informal mentors are not available. It is for this reason that women have become more aware of the need to form support networks of friends, colleagues or other professionals.)

TABLE 10: INDIVIDUAL STRATEGIES - WORK TECHNIQUES

PRIVATE AGENCY PUBLIC AGENCY

WORK TECHNIQUES	TOTAL	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE
Discussion re: issue	30	13	9	3	5
Identifying issues	28	7	14	2	5
Encourage Development	26	11	12	3	0
Check out issues	25	7	12	1	5
Give it back to others	23	6	13	1	3
Openness	20	8	8	4	0
Introspection	19	11	7	1	0
Delegate	15	7	6	2	0
Admit to finding difficulty	10	3	6	1	0
Prioritise	5	4	0	0	1

N=201 as multiple responses were recorded

The findings indicate that these women (managers use discussion, encouragement, introspection, feedback, transparency and clarification as primary techniques. This is consistent with a participatory style of management which emphasises collaborative techniques, communication and discussion.

TABLE 11: INDIVIDUAL STRATEGIES - TAKING TIME OUT ✓

PRIVATE AGENCY PUBLIC AGENCY

ACTIVITIES	TOTAL	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE
Take time out	12	4	6	2	0
Withdraw	9	1	4	3	1
Pray/meditate	5	1	1	3	0
Humour	4	0	2	1	1
Gardening	4	1	2	0	1
Sport	3	1	2	0	0
Music	2	1	1	0	0
Smoke	2	0	0	1	1
Eat	2	0	0	1	1
Swim	2	0	1	0	1
Leave work at work	1	0	0	1	0

N=46

Fourteen respondents had no *time out* activities. A breakdown of the time out activities shows how little time women take for themselves.

The main activity consisted of short walks in the vicinity "to clear the head".

Some of the coping mechanisms like depression, withdrawal and smoking may be viewed as less healthy coping mechanisms than sporting activities. However viewed, these mechanisms represent the activity which worked best for the manager at a particular point in time.

The comments from the managers suggest that they understood the causes of time directed behaviour and of the need to control time dominated behaviour. Their awareness of regular breaks was evident from comments, such as:

"I think that perhaps I need to give myself a rest and time out. I never eat a meal without having some work in front of me. I know that if I have a break, I would probably be able to complete my work more efficiently"; "After the Christmas break I noticed the difference in my performance. I can use my time more efficiently. When I get strung out I can become intolerant and then my expectations become a bit frenzied. Pacing myself would be important"; "I have to combat the unhealthy lifestyle which comes with the stress of the job. I could also use my time more efficiently at work. I don't feel the stress at work, but when it comes to five o'clock, I realise that I have been busy all the time

and so I never took a break"; "A lot of things I could do to combat stress would be just basic things and related to what I do outside of work. I need to do a lot more of hiking and walking, a daily exercise routine to deal with stress. Proper eating. I tend to leave home without breakfast, drink lots of coffee to get me through the day and the first time I get to eat is in the evening, as I am so rushed off my feet".

Other comments reflected the managers' appreciation of the importance of time management at work. For example:

"If I take care not to overload myself and give up the things that I know I should"; "I will work with a year planner for this year and I have decided that I would rather do things well. So, if I can't stretch myself, then I will not take on the task at all"; "I do a self analysis for each year.

At the beginning of the year I will set goals for myself. At the end of the year I review these and find whether I have achieved the goals".

COPING STRATEGIES IN THE HOME

The strategies which women used to cope at home included making arrangements with supportive family members, reliable domestic help and day care facilities to ease the pressure of running a home and caring for children. A good support network of friends was another strategy which working managers reported utilising.

Arrangements for quality time with the family shows that difficulties in the special time which had been set aside, related to interruptions by urgent work commitments. For example:

"At weekends I try not to become involved in work as far as possible. If one of the parents has to do urgent work, then the other will remain with the children"; "Usually I try to keep Sundays free, but sometimes I am caught up in work commitments".

Five women practised time management and prioritising skills. For example:

"I employed the same time management skills at home and I found myself furiously cleaning the home, doing the cooking and I had completed my chores by early morning"; "personal stress I deal with by not carrying stress home. I consciously say to myself that work is now over for the day. I love gardening and control stress by swimming and listening to meditation tapes"; "I have a philosophy that even if you are not coping very well, you should give the impression that you are"; "I like looking good because this makes me feel good"; "I like doing my hair and my nails and I am a compulsive packer. This is my way of managing my stress. If my cupboards are neat then I feel as if I am in control and this helps me to cope".

TABLE 12 - GROUP STRATEGIES

STRATEGY	TOTAL	PRIVATE AGENCY		PUBLIC AGENCY	
		BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE
Team building and team relationships	42	13	17	8	4
Staff meetings	39	11	14	9	5
Discussion/compromise	28	8	13	3	4
Mediator	19	4	11	1	3
Individual counselling	14	4	5	2	3
Being calm	7	2	1	1	3
Modelling	4	1	0	3	0
Open door policy	3	0	2	1	0

N=156

The activities of the women managers in the study shows a facilitative emphasis, which creates a sense of motivation and commitment. (They are supportive, they show that they need the groups expertise, they work as a team and they share leadership by taking on various needed roles. This can generate much enthusiasm within a group. Constructive feedback is the norm and the manager attempts to establish a climate of trust and honesty.)

The group strategies are consistent with a feminist perspective. The activities reconceptualise power so that it is not only vested in the leader and the rules which were created to censure behaviour. Within this perspective, conflict is dealt with as it arises and the importance of valuing the perspectives and experience of individuals, compromising and of avoiding polarities are recognised components

of the model. The collaborative way in which women handle conflict is evident from comments like "I try to push problems back where they belong and give people the opportunity to problem solve" or the use of language like "how can we deal with.." are indicative of this approach.


The feminist model is concerned with long term effectiveness rather than short term efficiency. Staff development occurs through the planning of programmes, in-service programmes and intra-team programmes. The brainstorming of ideas and future plans and an assessment of self and how others want to change- "I can see that they are all glowing and do things that they want to do and this improves the spirit". 

TABLE 13: CREATING LADDERS OF OPPORTUNITY /**DEVELOPMENT
OPPORTUNITIES****PRIVATE AGENCY PUBLIC AGENCY**

OPPORTUNITIES	TOTAL	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE
Staff Development	39	11	15	9	4
In service training	24	8	7	6	3
Supervision	8	1	5	2	0
Individual supervision	8	1	4	2	1
Group development	6	2	0	3	1
Financial incentives	5	4	1	0	0
Delegation	5	2	2	0	1
Workshops	4	2	1	1	0
Peer Supervision	4	0	4	0	0
Think tank activity	2	1	0	1	0
No ladders	1	1	0	0	0

N=106

The creation of ladders of opportunity when there are no financial incentives, is vital for staff retention. Worker longevity means that agencies do not have to bear the costs of frequent orientation and training of new staff. When workers remain in the job, tasks may be distributed more easily and smoothly. The measures which women managers used to retain staff and which carried the greatest importance were related to training, supervision of workers on an individual, group and peer basis, consultation, and think tank activity. This range of activities indicates that professional development beyond education is highly prized as is the opportunity

to exercise professional identity.

8.2 ASPIRING MANAGER

The summary table which follows reflects the advice provided by informants for individuals who are aspiring to become managers. The question was included to test the assumption that the advice that the managers give will resemble strategies which they have used to scale the career ladder. The responses have been organised into two sections: advice from black and white women managers. There are obvious similarities so strategies can be shared in the struggle to achieve equality, despite differences of gender, colour and class. The list reads like the priorities which the managers identified in Figure 25 as necessary to improve their positions in the workplace.

TABLE 14: KNOWLEDGE ACQUISITION

COMPETENCY REQUIRED	PRIVATE AGENCY		PUBLIC AGENCY		
	TOTAL	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE
Academic Qualifications	33	11	17	3	2
Technical expertise	25	13	9	1	2
Organisational knowledge	21	8	5	7	1
Support systems	1	0	1	0	0

N=80 as multiple responses were recorded by some managers

The categories of qualifications and expertise were related to management training and administrative skills and the handling of paperwork.

It was emphasised that training had to be available, appropriate and ongoing in order to assist managers to adjust to a rapidly changing environment.

The identification of knowledge of the organisation and support systems included a knowledge of the organisational procedures, policies and practices and the resources which were available in the community.

SUMMARY

9. Introduction

The findings are discussed using nine primary themes of this study.

These theme are listed seriatim as follows:

The participating agencies in the study;

Profiles of the managers in terms of the personal characteristics.

Management experience of respondents;

The supportive frameworks which assisted the manager in her career development.

Managerial styles which the managers have adopted;

The pressures and satisfaction in the workplace;

The pressures and satisfactions outside of the workplace;

Equal opportunity issues; and

The strategies which women have adopted to cope with the challenges and stressors which they experience.

9.1 Participating Agencies:

The spectrum of agencies which were represented in the study included voluntary welfare organisations, the social work departments of the House of Representatives, the House of Delegates and the Departments of the Provincial Administration, community based agencies, a hospice, and residential insitutions.

9.2 Profiles of the Managers:

A total of sixty women managers were interviewed who worked in public and private social work organisations in three urban areas in South Africa. Demographic details of the management sample indicate that 73% of the subjects were married, 16,6% were unmarried, 8,5% were divorced and 1,6% widowed. The age distribution of managers indicate that women in the top management echelons were concentrated in the over 50 age range, senior managers (who were usually directors of smaller organisations or assistant directors) were found mainly between the ages of 40-49 years while middle managers were spread across the categories covering 35-49 years. It is noteworthy that more recent appointments have been of younger managers, some of them with management training. These managers were being appointed to top management positions, but the reasons for this trend are not readily apparent.

The data confirms that the qualifications held by the majority of respondents represented basic qualifications for social workers in South Africa and that very few managers had undertaken further studies. Fifteen percent of respondents were found to have obtained a Masters degree and 5% of white respondents held a Doctorate qualification.

At the time of the study only 3 managers held formal management qualifications in addition to their social work qualification. Just over one quarter of the sample had completed management training prior to promotion and half of the sample had undertaken short courses since appointment. The majority of those who had received management training worked in the public social work departments and had attended general training courses which were provided for managers from various sections of the public service departments. It is significant that 19 managers who had undergone no management training at the time of the study were located in the higher echelons of management, mainly in private social work organisations.

From discussions with respondents, it emerged that the formal social work system recognised English and Afrikaans as the dominant languages. These two languages were the first languages of the overwhelming majority of the managers and this places the majority of the community members who speak only an African language in an invidious position. The incompatibility could mean that they would have difficulty in making their needs known directly to managers who have the power and resources to assist and this could result in their needs not being clearly understood and met.

9.3 Management experience:

Half of the managers in private welfare organisations were found to have had less than 9 years of experience in the field. Managers in the public social work departments had accumulated between 5-14 years of experience. The most seasoned managers with between 15 and 20 years of experience were located in the private welfare organisations.

The number of workers managed by respondents varied across the agencies, but the general impression was that middle managers supervised less than 10 workers and that top managers were responsible for between 11 and 600 workers.

One of the significant findings was that of the racial distribution of the managers which indicates that predominantly white women were found in the top management levels and that black women were clustered in the middle management range. The promotion patterns corroborates the racial bias in the private welfare organisations in that white women were promoted within a one to three year period while black women waited between 4-6 years for advancement.

In public social work departments, respondents had generally been promoted between 4-6 years, but it was inferred that white women received promotion earlier than black women. The data relating to previous postholders provides further confirmation that white women dominated as previous postholders and that they continued to occupy the majority of existing management posts. While black women were represented as previous postholders within private welfare organisations, they did not feature as previous occupants in the public social work departments. This finding serves to substantiate the belief that the promotion of black workers in the State departments generally occurred only after 1986. Biased selection practices based on recommendation and co-option were advanced as possible reasons for the racial skew.

The findings indicate that there has been an increase in the number of black women who have been appointed to managerial positions. The factors which could play a part in the growing proportion of black women who are now entering management are the move towards fixed selection procedures for all candidates and the equal opportunity strategies which organisations have generally adopted. The managers confirmed that the recruitment of disadvantaged individuals, mainly to basic grade posts in the community, but also to management posts, was an example of the equal opportunity measures undertaken by organisations.

Another discernible trend was that black women were being appointed to newly created posts. The reasons for the creation of these new posts have not been investigated and this trend deserves further documentation.

9.4 Supportive frameworks:

The supportive frameworks which assisted respondents with their career development were found in the family, the community and the workplace. The findings show that the subjects' career paths had initially been influenced by parents who supported and protected their children into adult life, provided role models, established a work ethic and showed belief in their potential. Later husbands and children provided the necessary encouragement and helped respondents to cope by undertaking some of the household tasks. In the community, religious and political groupings and social work related activities were crucial supports. About one third of the women managers received help from friends on both a practical and an inspirational level. Child care, relaxation and confidence building are examples of the kinds of support which were made available.

An interesting finding was that self motivation featured prominently, especially where there was resistance or a lack of family support.

In later life positive influences were also exerted by university lecturers and tutors. In the workplace, supervisors who acted as sponsors and mentors were sources of support as were colleagues and management committees. One fifth of the respondents reported that they had not been sponsored for the posts which they currently occupy. Seven of these respondents had been recruited by private welfare organisations through the advertising process and four positions had similarly been filled in the public social work departments. An analysis of the data indicates that white women feature significantly as sponsors both in the public and private welfare organisations. White men appear to have acted as endorsers for white women especially within the private organisations. This is not an unusual finding in South Africa since black managers are supervised principally by white women and sponsors are usually senior managers who functioned as supervisors to the respondents at a point in their careers. The situation serves to confirm the reality that there are few black managers in the higher echelons of management.

Sixty percent of the respondents could identify a mentor who had provided guidance, specialist expertise or advice about career opportunities. Usually these mentors were senior staff from the employing agency, but other experts and academics were also reported to have assisted.

Nearly half of the mentors were white women and a significant percentage (28%) were white males. Although there was only a small percentage of black people in management, they reported fulfilling important supportive and development functions in relation to junior staff who were aspiring to management. It is noteworthy that the black managers who were at senior levels showed awareness of other black people in higher management and they made reference to the need for a supportive framework for black people which could provide guidance and feedback and facilitate the exchange of information.

9.5 Managerial styles:

The majority of managers showed a preference for the participative style of management which they considered to be both people and task orientated. Collaboration and co-operation were evident in their descriptions of the ways in which they worked with their staff. Much of what they describe, were attempts to enhance self worth, to energise staff, to encourage staff to discuss difficulties, to facilitate open communication, to establish trust and to respect ideas, irrespective of the source of the idea. In general, these managers believed that people performed best when they felt good about themselves and their work and so they created situations that contributed to that feeling.

The study showed that white women who were among the first women managers to be appointed, considered that they had to set the example of good management and the development work which was required demanded quick decisions. Consultation was difficult and so these managers took decisions on their own. They defined themselves as autocratic managers and described their style as being concentrated on achieving objectives, setting up systems and procedures and as being realistic about time requirements.

Managers who adopted a more democratic style were found to be new appointees who considered that they required time to settle into the organisation, to become conversant with procedures and to establish relationships with staff members.

The overwhelming majority of the managers additionally indicated that they adapted their styles according to circumstances, situations and staff needs. From their descriptions they were likely to be democratic with new recruits who required guidance and support, autocratic with manipulative and irresponsible workers and participatory with more conscientious workers. An autocratic style was also employed when issues were non negotiable such as those relating to the maintenance of standards and a more democratic approach was adopted on issues which could be negotiated.

9.6 Pressures and satisfactions in the workplace:

9.6.1 Pressures in the Workplace:

The information which was obtained in relation to the concerns about promotion, obstacles to career development, training requirements and the advice for aspiring managers dovetailed with the responses about the pressures which managers experienced in the workplace. These themes will be amalgamated in the ensuing discussion.

Women managers were asked about the concerns which they held about management at the time of their promotions and then they were asked to reflect on the pressures which they currently experienced in their work. The intention was to elicit whether the anticipated concerns had materialised since their appointments. The main concerns of the managers related to the workload pressure which was a combination of the agency requirements and their own performance expectations, staff relationships, lack of specific expertise in areas of finance and public speaking, lack of contact with grassroots and bias against women managers.

The pressures which were subsequently experienced in the workplace were consistent with the concerns which had been identified by the managers and also reflected some of the obstacles to career development

which had been highlighted by the managers. It thus appears that their original fears had become reality for many of the managers.

At middle and senior and top management levels, the workload pressures feature prominently. The pressures reflected the volume and diversity of the work, as well as the need to attend to often unrelated tasks as part of their daily schedule. In addition middle managers held small caseloads and sat in on interviews in an attempt to keep in touch with their expertise.

An analysis of the data shows that the women managers reported difficult work relationships with seniors, colleagues and management boards. All the respondents showed an incisive understanding of the ways in which difficulties in relationships with seniors could adversely affect their development and advancement. Management boards which were reported as retarding change efforts were found to have heavy investment in the existing structures and processes of the organisation, had members who were usually not social work trained and were often predominantly white.

The resistances and lack of support from colleagues were for many managers linked to the worker's perception of the manager and often

reflected their stereotyped thinking, attitudes and behaviour. The discriminatory behaviour which they encountered reflected personal, interpersonal, cultural and institutional bias. Some examples of the personal bias which managers experienced, related to the way in which the black managers were tested, stereotyped and scapegoated by staff members. Interpersonal bias was displayed in the communication difficulties they experienced with staff, in the resistance from workers and in the way in which managers were undermined. Cultural bias was evident especially in the State departments where the values and the reality of the organisation reflected those of white men. Institutional bias is reflected in the agency blocks which many black women identified as occurring with promotion.

It is often argued that women fail to try for promotion because they lack confidence and have negative self perceptions. One third of the managers regarded confidence as being crucial for their roles. They considered that a display of confidence was vital in group forums and in individual situations and that it was necessary for the manager to exude confidence, even if she felt diffidence. Confidence was linked by these managers with image projection of the organisation and was also associated with that of being role models for staff members.

An interesting finding was that generally the concerns did not reflect doubts about their ability to do the work, but rather it was external constraints which were important for these managers.

The different pressures identified by top, senior and middle managers were commensurate with the different skills and tasks which they were required to perform and correlated with training needs. A major pressure for many of the middle managers was the effort which was required to balance the needs of subordinates, seniors and the community. According to the managers, subordinates required them to be knowledgeable, supportive and accessible; seniors expected them to be efficient, effective and accountable and the community anticipated that managers would obtain the necessary resources to meet their different needs and that decisions would be made in partnership with the community. The training needs which they identified included theoretical knowledge of management, staff appraisal, delegation, assertiveness, leadership skills, motivation, supervision, time management and workload management.

The pressures identified by top and senior managers related to finance, public speaking, staff shortages and organisational politics and they identified their training requirements as financial management, policy

making and implementation of policy, computer literacy, conflict resolution, strategic planning and labour relations.

It is also noteworthy that the advice which managers suggested for aspiring managers proved to be a reflection of their own training requirements.

9.6.2 Job satisfactions:

The data shows that personal growth, agency supports and staff development were the main sources of satisfaction identified by the managers.

The managers' descriptions of their personal growth suggested that challenges, self fulfilment and personal development were components of their conceptualisations of personal growth. Some of the challenges included obtaining an overview of the organisation, delivering services to fulfil community needs, undertaking various restructuring exercises in order to meet the changing needs, taking decisions and working with staff. With self fulfilment they registered positives such as being in control, being successful, achieving and seeing growth in the organisation. The areas of personal growth which many of the managers had achieved were related to successfully confronting and challenging

workers.

Satisfactions were also derived from the support offered by staff, seniors and the management committees which encouraged growth and development.

Many of the managers attributed feelings of satisfaction to seeing the staff working well together, being supportive of each other and the manager and allowing the enthusiasm to grow as the staff undertook new tasks, new training and innovatory challenges such as the writing of articles.

For some of these managers, great satisfaction was also obtained from the title and the recognition and there was also the satisfaction of knowing that the manager could be independent and self supporting.

Generally the sample of women managers had difficulty with identifying their strengths, but these were a recognised source of satisfaction, especially when the managers had worked hard on developing particular strengths. The pattern which emerged was that women managers set great store by relationship skills and on motivating people, sharing power

and information, encouraging initiative and showing trust and belief in the capabilities of the workers. These strengths confirmed their beliefs that allowing the workers to contribute and to feel a sense of self worth would enhance worker performance with goal achievement.

Other important strengths which women identified related to having vision, being motivated, analytical, knowledgeable and goal directed.

There were six managers who recorded their lack of satisfaction in the workplace and each of these had either experienced a clash of personalities, lack of contact with clients or difficult staff relations, which had caused the dissatisfaction.

9.7 Pressures and satisfactions outside of the workplace:

9.7.1 Pressures outside of the workplace

The different pressures which women experienced outside of the workplace were in part a reflection of their marital status. Single women experienced a modicum of pressure from the demands of other people.

Their own concerns about work, the need to keep in touch with friends and to deal with the mixed reactions to their status were other sources of pressure for them.

The divorced women in this study were all mothers, and for three of them who still had young children, child care constituted a main burden. The guilt which they reported at not being always available to their children and the absence of a partner to consult with, proved to be additional pressures for them. Another major pressure was the difficulty with the balancing of time for work, family, friends, peers and bosses.

The pressures which married women reported in the home emanated from three interpenetrating strands. Firstly, there is the assumption that women have traditionally been expected to stay at home with their families. Secondly, the responsibility for the care of the family has proved to be a significant pressure which caused many managers to suffer pangs of guilt and this worsened when the work involved extensive travelling away from home. A small number of women had refused promotion because they considered that the extra work responsibility would cause too much conflict with the home commitments. Descriptions of ageing parents and husbands who were ill, served as a reminder that women also have to care for dependent adults. Thirdly, women are responsible for the smooth running of the house. For many of the managers the answer to child care and domestic responsibility had been provided by various family members or by domestic helpers. Seven

black women managers who had no domestic help and two white managers who had part-time help, described the overload which they had to cope with in order to meet the heavy demands of both work and home.

Other pressures which women managers reported as taking up their time included community activities and the post graduate studies which they were undertaking.

9.7.2 Satisfactions outside of the workplace:

It is not surprising that the sources of pressure for these managers were also the main sources of satisfaction.

Family life, the support of husbands and the wider family and the benefits of socialising were among the registered satisfactions.

Community activities which included churchwork and social work related activity provided confidence and were also important sources of preparation for future career advancement.

The managers reported that physical activity helped to relieve stress and three respondents undertook regular workouts in the gym and three others played golf or tennis. Many of the managers were partial to the outdoor activities such as hiking and getting into nature. Quiet pastimes suited many of the managers who enjoyed cooking, tapestry,

gardening, going to the theatre and meditation.

A significant finding was that in women's career development high priority is placed on leading a balanced life. All the managers commented on the various compromises which they had to make in order to find some balance in their personal and work lives. The feelings expressed by two respondents summarise well the general feeling expressed by many of the managers that "it has been a tension in that the two areas of my life which give me the most satisfaction rub up against each other" and that it feels like "being on a treadmill".

9.8 Equal Opportunity Issues:

Only three of the organisations had no equal opportunity policy. A substantial number of managers reported that although equal opportunity principles were supported, they were only vague policies and there were no clear guidelines for the translation of the policy into practice.

It is evident from the data that organisations identify particular areas of work for a variety of reasons. The strategies adopted by many of the organisations can be identified as workforce planning, changing of attitudes and behaviour and attending to training requirements.

Many of the managers also described their roles as facilitators, helping staff groups to deal with issues of inequality in a non-threatening and a sensitive way, to attend to the composition of the board of management, to provide appropriate anti-oppressive training, to influence policies on equality and to set and develop anti-oppressive goals and structures.

The risks which many of the managers took in advocating and enforcing policies and practices beneficial to disadvantaged groups and the energy which was invested by some of the managers showed their commitment to equality principles.

9.9 Strategies for coping:

The ways in which women managers coped with difficult and demanding working lives showed creativity and determination. The individual strategies which they used to cope showed that they identified trustworthy people who they could ask for help both in the workplace and in their homes.

The stress free breathing spaces which they created show that some of the managers had learnt to interrupt their activities, but that the stress reduction exercises which they undertook, such as short walks, were characterised by their brevity. Some of the managers reported that they had been able to use meditation and other relaxation techniques to assist

them to relax.

The strategies which they undertook when difficulties arose in their staff groups showed that relationship skills feature significantly in their endeavours to build a sense of motivation and commitment and to settle disputes and conflicts. As a way of rewarding people for their efforts, positive appraisal, encouragement, openness, sharing power and compromise were major mechanisms employed by the managers.

The ladders of opportunity which these managers created were necessary to ensure commitment from staff because career progression was restricted. Such vehicles included the introduction of a system of consultation instead of supervision sessions, attention to the professional development of the staff members through the allocation of new tasks, developmental work and training opportunities.

In summary it can be stated that the women managers used a variety of strategies to cope with the difficulties which they encountered to motivate and empower themselves and their staff.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

1. Introduction

In this chapter the results of the study will be discussed in relation to the literature. A number of themes permeating the literature on women in management and on equity were especially pertinent to this study as these themes revealed the similarities of experiences with women managers in other countries. Some of the significant aspects which have been selected for discussion include the following:

support systems;

management styles and leadership skills;

differences in the experiences of women managers in private and public organisations;

training;

patterns of racial inequality;

equal opportunity practice in social work;

balancing the components of the work home dichotomy; and

coping mechanisms.

1.1 Support Systems

In this study the kinds of support available to the respondents came initially from parents, husbands and children. The majority of the managers came from homes where parents were not professional. Mainly the fathers were the professional parents and the majority of fathers were involved in business related activities. The impression given by the managers showed that they viewed their mothers as organised and industrious and their fathers as achievers and that both parents were perceived as role models for success.

In the community, formal and informal leaders, social networks and social work structures and religious and political groupings were important sources of support. Later in life, key supports were found in university staff and in supervisors and tutors. These sources provided support, development, self confidence, ventilation and helped managers to prepare for career advancement.

Powell (1988,p.196) and Haynes (1989,p.22) recognise that career planning is influenced by the structures and systems which exist in the family life and in the wider environment of the individual. The argument that is proposed is that there is a close relationship between the cultural conditions and the opportunities which individuals come to view as available to the different sexes. It is posited that the socialisation process produces and perpetuates stereotyped images of

male and female and of men's and women's work. The way in which an individual's career is affected thus depends on the modelling provided by significant people. If it is accepted that the beliefs and assumptions held by these significant people are pivotal, then it can be argued that if the supportive frameworks reflect ambition and confidence then the individuals will be encouraged to develop career attitudes which will assist them with the planning of their careers. By the same token, the traditional and non-traditional images which are reflected by these primary and secondary socialisers can be seen to have an important influence on the career attitudes and the career choices which individuals make. After the individual has embarked on the chosen career, key authority figures in the university who are responsible for guiding and nurturing the individual's development, have a impact on the career development of the individual.

The findings are commensurate with the key influencing factors identified by Powell (1988) and Haynes 1989). Given the modelling which these women had received, management as a career was not a contradictory choice for these women.

However, where the individual had encountered resistance and lack of support from the family, self motivation was found to be a strong factor in the success of the manager. This dynamic may indicate that, irrespective of the extent of help offered by supportive frameworks, these

managers had the ambition and the right qualities to succeed. This may be an indication that there are specific qualities which are essential for managers and which should be identified and nurtured in the individual long before promotion occurs. This finding also raises the fundamental issue as to whether there are innate abilities which predispose certain individuals to management. Dinnage (1991,p.12) found in her study in London that not all good social workers make good managers. She demonstrated that "not all middle managers are able to make the transition, not all possess the required management skills and in spite of earlier successes, not all will successfully meet the new challenges". An investigation of heredity versus environment is beyond the scope of this research study and deserves further investigation.

In this study it transpired that the individuals who provided support and encouragement in the workplace included mentors and sponsors. Over half of the respondents in this study could identify a mentor who had helped with their career development. Eighty percent of the informants had been sponsored for the posts which they currently occupy. The data in this study indicates that the majority of mentors and sponsors were white and female, although white male mentors played a crucial role in mentoring white women in the public departments.

The crucial influences which mentors and sponsors exerted on the individual's career development is recognised by Marshall (1985,p.134)

and York et al (1985,p.32) who make the distinction that mentors are teachers or coaches who show protegees the ropes and assist them to adapt to organisational life, while sponsors are senior people who recommend individuals for promotion. Moss-Kanter (1976,p.276) and Cooper & Davidson (1982, p.86) assert that sponsors and mentors are more likely to be males because they proliferate at management levels and because the few successful women were reluctant to share their skills for fear of competition. Haynes (1989,p.41) contends that women are increasingly involved in the mentoring of junior staff as a deliberate strategy to instill new ideas and to introduce different ways of working in organisations.

The findings show that mentors and sponsors, who were part of the power hierarchy, were able to influence the individual's career progression. The findings are commensurate with Haynes' contention that women are providing the mentoring to aspiring staff. Whether their motivation for providing the mentoring is linked to changing the organisation culture, as is posited by Haynes, is unclear. Feasible explanations for this practice could be reflected in the facts that women managers constitute a large proportion of managers in the social work field and that they have a vested interest in ensuring that the organisations functions effectively. Part of this responsibility entails coaching middle managers so that they are able to perform their tasks efficiently and effectively.

The virtual absence of black managers as mentors and sponsors in South Africa reflects the situation internationally, that there are few black managers represented in senior management positions. This is not unusual. The E.E.C. Report (1991,p.3) records that as senior posts are occupied predominantly by white people, the mentors and sponsors are inevitably white and the literature shows that women of colour often experience difficulties with procuring a mentor.

A finding of interest in this study was that black women managers who were in senior positions were aware of other black people at senior positions and they raised the need to establish a network of black managers.

Networking is a support system which is increasingly being used by women. Haynes (1989,p.52) describes networking as a process, technique or forum which allows for advice, assistance, feedback, reassurance, information giving and as an outlet for anger.

It can therefore be contended that the creation of a network may be a necessary strategy for black managers to counter balance some of the negative experiences which they have as managers, to explore their strengths and talents, address their sense of identity and self worth and share survival tactics. They can risk being more open in situations where language and experience is shared.

Such activities may enable women to strengthen their feelings of belonging and to manage their work situations better, but they are not an alternative to the management training which all managers require.

1.2 Management styles and leadership skills

The overwhelming majority of managers in the study used a participatory style of management which focused on task accomplishment and the development of staff. The respondents also emphasised that they varied their management style according to the circumstances, the situations and their perception of the needs of staff members.

The participatory style of management is consistent with the descriptions which the managers gave of their leadership style. The use of techniques of mediation, discussion, compromise, counselling and modelling were employed by many of the managers to build a team. The development opportunities which were made available for staff showed a leadership style which is focused on the development of staff through their professional enrichment.

The strengths which the women managers identified also corresponded with the participatory style of management. Relationship skills headed the list. Other significant strengths were catalogued as being motivated, having analytical skills and being knowledgeable. Having a sense of humour and being organised were identified to a lesser extent by the

managers.

Power and authority featured as themes indirectly in women's recognition that they had to show confidence in a variety of forums, that their contributions had to be relevant and that they had to foster the group morale.

The literature on management skills and leadership style shows that the foci have been on the qualities and abilities necessary for management and on isolating gender specific leadership behaviour.

The literature which emerged from the 1970s emphasised the occupational segregation which favours men as managers and which occurred also in occupations that are identified as the traditional stronghold of women. The literature suggests that the under-representation of women as managers has led to the difficulties which women experience when they aspire to management and has resulted in the paucity of female role models and mentors (Haynes, 1989, p5; Hanmer and Statham, 1988,p.99).

Myths about women's alleged inferior abilities to manage have been examined. These have been ascribed to internal or external factors. It was posited that women were socialised to serve and to receive validation from others (Podmore and Spencer, 1987,p.21).

Women were viewed as lacking in ambition and as being ambivalent about success. For these reasons women doubted their competence and strengths and did not apply for management posts. Other explanations were that women do not receive promotion because they did not develop the same career plans and strategies as men, that they tended to over-specialise and that they did not construct competence through public performance. More recent writings recognise that when women do enter management positions they represent a threat to male ideologies, culture and norms. Resistance to change is expressed in the barriers which restrict entry and the obstacles which have a dampening effect on women's success as managers (Moss Kanter (1976); Josefowitz (1980); Haynes (1989)).

The research studies have shown that women are not deficient in their abilities, but that external barriers to success have impeded their advancement into management.

The debates and controversies surrounding management style shows that the last forty years has seen a significant shift in management from the more technical process which conceptualised management as a masculine activity concerned with male qualities of functionality, rationality and instrumentality to one which emphasised accessibility and consensus. Powell (1988,p.152) asserts that the research studies found little difference in leadership, attitude and style between women and men.

Korobrik (1989,p.136) suggests that successful women have adopted an androgynous style of management which blends the task orientated style with the more expressive style.

The variation on the gender and leadership argument which assumed prominence in the 1990s revolved around transactional and transformational leadership. Transactional leadership style was conceptualised as the setting of goals, clarifying of objectives and advice giving. Transformational leaders were viewed as inspiring others through their motivation, their vision and their energy (Bass, 1985,p.24). Rosener (1990,p.122) contends that women prefer to employ a transformational leadership style and Bass (1985,p.24) asserts that this style is not restricted to women and that successful male leaders use the transformational style of leadership.

It is noteworthy that the studies have consistently demonstrated that there was no leadership styles which were unique to men and women, but that generally women may prefer a more expressive style and men may adopt a more instrumental style of management.

Coulshed (1992,p.105) and Kouzas & Posner (1990,p.3) assert that followers prefer leaders who are involved, have vision, persistence, an ability to support good ideas, express confidence in others' capabilities, take risks and are brave enough to fail.

These qualities represent a mix of task and expressive behaviours.

The picture of the strengths of these managers shows that teamwork, concern and support for subordinates as well as commitment, vision and hard work on the part of the manager feature prominently. The descriptions of the leadership styles which women managers in this study employed also confirms that a transformational approach is favoured by the overwhelming majority of respondents. A crucial finding is that the respondents in this study lead by using their involvement with the team and their relationships to produce the desired outcomes; thus task and expressive behaviours are employed.

In the rapidly changing socio economic climate, leaders who are committed and flexible and who can inspire and motivate subordinates will be important assets to organisations.

1.3 The differences in Management Experiences in the Public and in the Private Welfare Settings

In this study there were many similarities between the experiences of women managers in public and private social work organisations with some important differences which will be discussed here. From the comments provided by respondents in this study, it can be inferred that white males proliferated as managers in State Welfare Departments.

As the study has not set out to establish the proportion of male managers, no evidence has been produced to verify this information. The study found that white women were well represented in the senior hierarchies of private welfare organisations and that black women were under-represented in the hierarchies in both public and private welfare organisations. Over 30% of the black managers in this study were located in the State Social Work Departments. It appears that racially segregated departments provided more opportunity for black women to enter management levels and this trend has been in evidence since 1986, when coloured and black workers were appointed to supervisory posts.

The meritocracy system which promoted workers at fixed intervals determined the promotion patterns. While 50% of managers in the private agencies had less than 9 years of experience, managers in the public sector were found to have 5-14 years. This situation is directly linked with the merit system which promoted workers at specific intervals. Promotion patterns indicate a similar period of 4-6 years for both black and white workers, although the general view was that white workers were promoted earlier. The way in which the meritocracy system assured the promotion of white people into management, can be viewed as a form of job reservation practice. It is important, however, to note that promotion was also an individual's choice, even though senior posts often required extensive travelling which conflicted with home commitments, and so militated against women.

The most obvious way in which women's comparative lack of success in reaching management positions is to argue that women are subject to discrimination when seeking promotion. The literature which examines the reasons for white men's proliferation in management shows that men were recruited to give status to the profession and that selection procedures were biased in favour of men. They tended to flock to bureaucracies because the settings were prestigious. Studies by Gilbert (1992) and Zunz (1991) show that women are as motivated as men to seek promotion and Dinnage (1990,p.24) found that marriage was not a factor in stifling ambition as married women are as interested in securing promotion. In research studies it has been found that most managers when questioned deny that sex discrimination occurs and state that they select applicants on grounds of merit. The literature also indicates the converse in that managers also believe that managerial qualities are more likely to be found in men (Powell, 1988,p.49).

If women and black people are ambitious and if selection is fair, then the staff composition should reflect a reasonable gender and race ratio. The findings show that promotion had been dependent upon biased selection practices which had in the past favoured white employees and this could account for the racial skew. One explanation for the proliferation of men in public organisations could support the contention in the literature that while they may be attracted to large and more prestigious bureaucracies, they are less motivated to work as managers in the private welfare

agencies.

One of the effects of a male dominated organisation is that inevitably they will influence the organisation culture. In this study, the black managers in State Social Work Departments were especially aware of the polarisation of the sexes because the majority of senior managers were white and male. For these women managers one of the problems of working in a male defined environment was that their communication was considered to be of lesser significance than communications by male staff members. Subtle discrimination often occurred in the State Departments and although women managers were generally aware of this, only one respondent had initiated anti- sexist training.

Research studies have established that senior management have a major influence on the image of an organisation. This can occur through the processes which they use, the way in which they communicate and the values which underlie the policies which they adopt (Morgan, 1989,p.78).

It is inevitable that men and women's conditioning cause them to behave in different ways in groups. Studies have found that in discussion men are likely to assert themselves by interrupting and competing for space to contribute and that this behaviour was reinforced by the power relations of the institution (S.S.I.Report, 1991,p.24). This dynamic emphasises the importance for women to get in touch with their personal

power, to learn assertiveness and to increase their representation at management levels, so that they can counteract sexism in the workplace.

The data showed that more women managers received training in Public Social Work Departments, but the courses which were on offer were general courses for all managers in the public services, were mainly geared to the middle management level and occurred after appointment.

1.4 Training

The data shows that the overwhelming majority of women had obtained a basic social work qualification, but that very few had undertaken post graduate study and only three respondents had obtained formal qualifications in management. Just over one quarter of the respondents had undertaken management training prior to appointed and one half of the managers completed a training course after appointment. It was significant that the overwhelming majority of managers who had not received management training, were the most seasoned managers.

The lack of training may reflect the demanding nature of the work, the pressures of home and work commitments or it may reflect the generally low priority given to further training and specifically to management training within the social work profession. Alternatively the fact that there are few existing management courses for social workers, may also have influenced the situation.

Erwee (1989,p.6) submits that the greatest concentration of management training is in basic planning, organisation and controlling and that little attention is paid to human relations management. The training packages also appear to cater for middle management and there is limited training for those managers in top management positions who have different needs. As has already been noted, the training courses in State Departments were general courses and not intended specifically for social work managers.

This study shows that managers recognised the need to receive adequate training and induction for the role which they are expected to perform in the current turbulent climate. The needs which managers articulate are for short courses, refresher courses and for formal management training. Gilbert (1992, p.12) writing in Britain, states that even in circumstances of rapid change and expansion, it was not recognised that managers needed help in coping with unfamiliar responsibilities. While the move towards the development of new projects and organisational systems has supported the need for ongoing management training, mainly short training courses and workshops appear to be on offer in Britain. Gilbert (1992,p.12) declares that the reluctance to establish adequate and ongoing training for new and experienced managers had been based on the arguments that all social workers already possess many management competencies and that present day managers don't have to be qualified social workers.

He (1992,p.12) asserts that in the current economic climate, managers face difficult times with having to balance the demands of cutbacks, efficiency, effectiveness and equality and the trend in response to these challenges has been to appoint accountants and business people to top management positions. These recent developments have produced varying degrees of success in Britain. De V. Smit (1994,p.7) confirms that a similar trend whereby managerial posts in the welfare field are being filled by accountants, business and public administration graduates is now occurring in South Africa. He (1994,p.7) cautions that this trend may result in social workers losing their positions of power and influence.

It is important for organisations to have fully effective employees at all levels. There appears to be agreement amongst the respondents in this study, that training is vital and that workers should be given the opportunities to acquire the skills necessary for career success and to undertake ongoing training to keep abreast of new developments in the social work field and in the management arena.

1.5 Patterns of racial inequality

The majority of participants interviewed were white and there were few black managers. The proportion of black managers was also found to be greatest at the lower levels of management. The promotion rates confirm a difference by race, especially in the private sector, where white women

are promoted faster than black women. The study also shows that the previous postholders were white, with a significant proportion of the posts being held by white women. This finding illustrates that the situation is a long standing one.

Black managers recognised that the insidious effects of stereotyping continue to be noticeable features of their lives after their appointments. The black women managers in this study reported that high visibility, undermining, scapegoating, testing and the resistance which they experienced, placed them in a position where they worked harder to prove that they could do the work successfully. One concern which was frequently expressed related to the support that they could expect if they made mistakes.

Erwee (1992,p.8) contends that one of the pertinent influences within the structure of the organisation is the power hierarchy. The framework proposed by Lukes (1986, p.10) discusses the different dimensions of direct, indirect and hegemonic power which prevail in organisations. The rules which govern the organisations, decision making and deployment of resources are considered in forums where top management is represented. The rules governing visibility are thus controlled at levels at which black women were not represented and in forums to which they do not regularly have access. Van Rooyen (1989, p.12) suggests that in South Africa, women's lack of insight into power and

their inability to effectively play organisational politics may be responsible for their poor representation in the higher echelons in commercial fields. As social work is a traditionally female profession, women managers are represented in the top management, but they are mainly from the white racial group. Quartey (1990,p.84) proposes that black women who are appointed to senior positions can open up ladders of opportunity to other black people. Affirmative action initiatives are one vehicle for ensuring that representation of black women improves and that they are adequately represented at all levels of management. Black women who are appointed to middle management positions may not have access to the information on which to base necessary decisions, they may not participate in decision making forums and processes, especially those which deal with the distribution and re-distribution of resources. While black women may be aware of the power politics which are played out, they may be powerless to intervene because they are too low down the hierarchy.

Moss Kanter (1987,p.262) identifies the high visibility which is usually associated with under-representation. Her study of the effects of tokenism in groups, shows similarity to the problems experienced by many of the respondents in this study. Quartey (1990,p.84) recognises that black women are viewed as not having any real authority. She also identifies that people often demand more of them and their expertise is tested more often.

In her study of the pitfalls which black managers experience, Williams (1991,p.17) concludes that the response of top level management, available supportive networks and role models become key indices.

The experiences of black women managers are reflected in the writings of Moss-Kanter (1987) and Quartey (1990) but their experiences also need to be seen in the context of the way that South African society acts towards black workers in general. The majority are in low paid, low status jobs. It is not surprising that black women who do manage to enter management are appointed to lower level management positions.

If there are no barriers to upward mobility for all women managers, then the situation should remedy itself as a function of time. The more black women who are appointed, the less the tokenism and as the practice continues, the black managers who follow are likely to experience fewer acceptance problems. An alternative view is that the imbalances will persist given the discrimination which exists with hiring and promotional practices and with the under-development of the managers at lower levels and that these should receive further attention.

1.6 Equal Opportunity Practice in Social Work

Only three organisations had no equal opportunity policy. Respondents based in organisations where these policies existed indicated that predominantly they were vague policies.

While the broad goals were anti-discriminatory, there had been no guidelines and the policy had not been discussed and endorsed at all levels in the organisations. Responsibility for the implementation of these policies were allocated to senior managers, many of whom, although committed to equal opportunity, felt that they were ill equipped to translate these policies into practice without extensive guidelines. Many of the managers were concerned that the policies would remain at a symbolic level and would be marginalised and that the action taken would not be effective.

The literature indicates that individuals and groups are socialised and educated to accept the prevailing socially constructed realities. It is also noted that social work programmes tend to focus on effects and symptoms rather than on the actual causes. To effect any real and lasting change, there has to be a focus on the root causes of problems as reflecting personal, interpersonal, organisational and societal bias. Each individual must be enabled to see the reality differently by stepping out of their socially constructed realities. There is an urgent need for the development of training courses which help people to explore the relationship between people and social institutions and which examines the cultural myths which determine the actions and reactions to individuals.

In order for policy to become a vehicle for change, the organisation's commitment to equality should be defined, specific equal opportunity objectives should be identified within the organisation's action plan and these should be linked with attendant timetables so that progress can be measured.

Ahmad (1987, unpag) contends that a pre-requisite of any equality strategy is an acknowledgement of the different dimensions of oppression. The principles of equal opportunity are not about treating everyone the same as this perpetuates inequality. She asserts that the strategy needs to focus on the inequalities suffered by various groups and has to identify their various needs. The implications of this is that a programme for the elimination of sex discrimination will not be effective for black women, without addressing the intersections of oppression within their race, class, gender and sexuality.

The programmes which many organisations have adopted showed that the affirmative action policy statements covered areas such as recruitment, training and development and attention to changing to the attitudes of workers. These will be discussed seriatim.

Workforce planning is concerned with ensuring that there are sufficient staff with the appropriate skills and attributes to assist with the delivery of effective services and equal opportunity practice additionally requires

that the staff make-up has to reflect the composition of the community.

State Departments were reported by respondents in this study, to be supportive of moves to recruit more black workers, but this goal was linked with the maintenance of minimum standards. In organisations where lesser trained and qualified people were appointed, but who possessed the right qualities for the job, the need for planned and effective staff development was emphasised.

The literature indicates that one of the pre-requisites of workforce planning which has to be given attention is the valid collection of statistics and purposeful analysis. The data will help to identify the current situation, the needs of different clients, future needs and action plans to remedy the situation. There was no indication from respondents that this exercise was occurring centrally or in any meaningful way in organisations. Assessments about appointments tended to be made on an ad hoc basis when vacancies arose. If it is accepted that workforce planning involves the appointment of trained and skilled people to effectively deliver services, then it automatically follows that it is the right of all people to use their own language to state their needs. Given this pre-requisite, the inevitable scenario is that more black workers who speak vernacular languages have to be appointed to deal with clients who cannot speak English or Afrikaans.

If organisations are to take full advantage of the supply of workers, then alternatives such as translation services, language training for workers and the use of interpreters need to be made available.

While a small number of managers had taken a decision to undertake language training, this study showed that the main emphasis was on appointing black workers to basic grade positions in the community which entailed same race servicing. Ahmad (1988,p.32) observes that the initial response of appointing out of norm individuals to low level and temporary posts or as specialist workers has been severely criticised.

The line of reasoning is that no matter what is done to ensure entry, to consign *out of norm* employees to positions where they are ineffective, undermines the chances of developing equality. Demands for the permeation of *out of norm* individuals at all levels of staffing, support from management and career progression schemes will remain key concerns for equal opportunity initiatives.

Efforts to promote equal opportunity is also about change in organisations and usually change meets with resistance by employees. In this study the managers recognised that there were various reasons for and forms of resistance. The managers in this study all recognised the facilitative role which they played as one of the more important functions which they fulfilled with regard to equal opportunity. The literature indicates that if change is to be effective, the understanding

and support of an informed workforce is vital. Connelly (1989,p.1) recognises that

"change in the direction of race equality has been slow in part because the range of attitudes is so wide, but also because of the many uncertainties about the appropriate scope and the appropriate content of change" (Connelly,1989,p.1).

Connelly (1989,p.8) recognises that resistances such as resentment, complacency, anxiety, game playing, marginalisation, compartmentalisation and abdication of responsibility come to the fore.

In order to contain these, communication and consultation with staff at all levels, in both a formal and an informal capacity has to be undertaken on an ongoing basis and in a sensitive way (Ahmad, 1987 unpag). Although managers were aware of the necessity to consult sensitively, there was too little information available to indicate how consistent they were in carrying out this task.

Equality programmes are however meaningless without the means of measuring and estimating their progress and outcome. This involves articulating clearly the goals and targets which can be monitored and the documentation of success and failure in terms of long, intermediate and short term goals. As has been previously stated there is little evidence of any coherent affirmative action policies having been developed. Rather the initiatives address aspects which are immediately important to the functioning of the organisation.

In line with the idea of changed outcomes and equal opportunity initiatives, Human (1991,p.220) proposes a people development strategy which has principles commensurate with equality strategies. Human (1991,p.220) motivates for the adoption of people management models where employees are perceived as individuals able, willing and allowed to develop and where there is recognition that contributions will occur subsequent to development. She defines development as a process in which ability can increase through dynamic and complex interaction between ability, motivation and the way a person is managed and that this applies to all employees, both black and white. This process envisages that affirmative action will occur at selection and recruitment stages only. Thereafter all employees have the opportunity to develop on merit.

The overall picture of how equal opportunity initiatives operated as was reported by respondents in this study, shows that there were no coherent policies in place. Patchy, piecemeal and uneven development will be a likely consequence when specific action plans, which define special objectives have not been developed.

1.7 Balancing the components of the work home dichotomy

The pressures which women managers articulate in this study shows that they find themselves in a highly demanding environment as managerial work is stressful. Managers experience work overload, both

in qualitative (by meeting high performance standards) and quantitative terms because of the volume of work. They are expected to be responsible for decisions and to deal with competing pressures from seniors, subordinates and the community which they struggle to satisfy.

The different pressures which women experience outside of the workplace was in part a reflection of their marital status. Single women experienced difficulties with the demands made by other people, with work concerns and with their social lives. The data shows that nearly three quarters of the sample are married and 8,3% were divorced. All, but one, are in full-time employment. Statistics related to marital patterns indicate that divorce rates have risen steeply in Britain and the U.S.A. Robinson (1989,p.59) indicates that 1 in 3 marriages will end in divorce in Britain. Marshall (1982,p.197) reports that marital difficulties occur more often among managerial women because of the conflicts between home and work. Many of the women Marshall interviewed complained of fatigue and time spent on housework and child care contributed greatly to their stress levels. Robinson (1989,p.59) drawing on Burman's (1987) figures for 1982, shows that for white South Africans 1 in 2.24 marriages will end in divorce. In urban areas this figure rose to 1 in 1.43. According to McNally (1988) this figure ranks amongst the highest in the world (Robinson, 1989,p.59). Robinson (1989,p.59) using Burman (1987), submits that the official figures for Coloured and Asian populations show a divorce ratio of 1 in 4.5 and 1 in 8.8 respectively. The figures for Black

divorced couples are misleading because of polygamous marriages, customary law and domicile, but they are reported to be fairly high.

The major issue which divorced and married women related was the impact of parenthood on employment and the indirect costs of parenthood. The triple role which women were expected to play, that of reproductive work, productive work and of managing the commitments of work and home can be viewed as the indirect costs which women had to bear. Other costs were related to employer expectations and to the pattern of jobs which ignore family responsibilities. There were women managers who had refused promotion because the responsibilities of the work or the travelling involved constituted a major source of conflict for them.

Most women's issues have been examined in the context of the family. The costs which are recognised are due to the ideology about motherhood and childcare which is critical of mothers with young children who work. There is little recognition of women's role in the home and consequently there is the tendency to see men's and women's needs as similar. This leads to the neglect of the difficulties which women face in the attempt to balance these roles. In this study it was found that the reactions of their partner was crucial to these women. Those who had supportive husbands, family members or domestic help were afforded the space to cope with the demands of home and work.

The family work dichotomy was substantively different for black women who had no domestic help and for white women who had only part-time help and who then experienced great difficulty in coping with the double burden of work and home commitments.

It is apparent from the above situation that sex role stereotypes place involvement in any job in conflict with the role of wife, mother and housewife. In view of this it is quite logical that women are under more pressure when they choose to pursue a career.

This study showed that a further dynamic was involved in the balancing process. Even when managers were reassured by family members that they were able to cope, these managers still experienced the guilt associated with not fulfilling the traditional role. This dynamic appeared to be related to women's own expectations about their performance in the home as well as in the workplace.

Haynes (1989,p.81) describes *the superwoman syndrome* as an attempt to perform well, the multiple commitments and conflicting roles of manager, mother, wife and friend. There are several factors that identify this superwoman role: multiple roles, guilt, difficulty with "saying no", niceness orientation, high level of stress, time to socialise, time for self. These pressures are not only issues which women have to recognise, but they are part and parcel of the woman's identity. These two aspects are

integrated and stress in any one area impinges upon and affects the individual and adds to the stress experienced in the other area of the manager's life.

The balancing act requires the skills of time management and prioritising, as well as knowing who to call for help and when, but also it requires that women lower their expectations of their performance and accept what can be achieved in the time available to them.

The notion of "own expectations" is usually the reflection of the pressure to succeed, despite the obstacles. The literature acknowledges that people who are different are subjected to performance pressure and this pressure also occurs when they are not acting in accordance with societal expectations. Black women thus face double jeopardy because of the racial implications and because of the traditional expectations. This raises a concomitant issue about women's position under customary law and statutory law. The debates in South Africa are concerned with whether statutory law which supports human rights should operate alongside common law and customary law. As women's subordinate position is supported by customary law, the relationship should be carefully considered as an equivocal interpretation could serve to entrench the discrimination against women.

1.8 Coping Mechanisms

In this study the individual strategies for coping with stress emphasised

a range of strategies which women used to cope with pressures.

The overall picture endorses notions of identifying when to ask for help and who to call, developing behavioral skills such as time out exercises, meditation and relaxation, and developing a lifestyle that will strengthen the individual against stress and which involves active physical exercises, outdoor activities and quiet pastimes.

The group strategies which are employed emphasise the woman manager as a norm setter. The roles which the managers reported fulfilling were consistent with harmonising through reconciliation, releasing tension and helping people to explore differences. Other techniques were compromising, admitting errors and giving feedback and credit to group members.

Kanter & Stein (1979,p.136) in an American study of the success strategies used by women managers in sales, list some of the specific coping mechanisms that women managers use as "guts and a good sense of humour... an ability to make light of problems, tolerance and patience".

The creation of ladders of opportunity encouraged group members to develop through professional enrichment and training. Among the action which managers took were the allocation of new tasks, the provision of challenging work and developmental opportunities.

1.9 Summary

The above discussion has analysed the plight of women managers in the social work field and the evidence points to the importance of *balance* in the lives of managers. The satisfactions and pressures which the managers experience appear as two sides of the same coin.

On the positive side *inter alia* the following were apparent:

- ◆ supportive relationships in the workplace and in the home;
- ◆ developments and changes involved in attempts to improve the situation of black managers;
- ◆ strategies to provide *breathing space* for the managers; and
- ◆ managerial strengths to accomplish taskwork and to develop people.

On the negative side *inter alia* the following emerged:

- ◆ overwhelming pressures of the workplace and the home;
- ◆ difficulty with socialising;
- ◆ limited representation of black people in management;
- ◆ resistance from staff; and
- ◆ agency *blocks* which impede the change efforts.

It is noteworthy that the women managers emphasised a range of strategies which were concentrated more on developing others rather than on their own development.

Their responses also indicate that they did not make extensive use of time out activities and when they agreed on arrangements for quality time with the family, these periods were interrupted by work commitments. It is significant that these managers did not consider, as important, mechanisms aimed at analysing and controlling their daily stress and their performance needs.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. INTRODUCTION

The present study was undertaken to highlight the issues and concerns of women managers in the social work field in South Africa. The research was designed to explore the compromises and the balances which women have to make in order to cope with the various demands of the home and the workplace.

In order to meet the objectives of this investigation a literature study was undertaken. Salient themes concerning women were located in existing social work texts, in management theories and in traditional and feminist research studies. The racial bias which was exhibited within the literature was also examined.

The aims of the study, as discussed in Chapter 1 were to ascertain:

- (1) Which factors assisted the individual's career path and which factors presented as obstacles?

- (2) Which discriminatory practices have, according to the respondent's perception, impeded her career?
- (3) Is there a conflict between home and work pressures? If so, how do the major stressors and challenges of home and work pressures affect women managers in social work?
- (4) What are the strategies which individuals have used to cope?
- (5) What kinds of changes should be incorporated into employment policies and practices in order to minimise the problems faced by women managers in general and black women in particular?
- (6) In which ways do the experiences of black women managers differ from those of white women managers?

Information was obtained with regard to all of these aims.

A feminist qualitative research design was compatible with the envisaged study as it enabled the understanding and interpretation of the influences on the respondents' career paths. The limitations of the design are situated in features such as, the use of the snowball sampling technique, the urban bias of the study, the subjectivity of the qualitative research process and the voluminous data which is generated for analysis and interpretation of the trends.

The emerging themes from the empirical study show many similarities to the literature, but there are also significant differences which affect the lives of women managers within a South African social work context.

This chapter will draw conclusions from the themes which emerge from the literature study and will integrate these with the findings from the empirical study. Finally, recommendations will be discussed and suggestions for future research will be made.

2. THE LITERATURE STUDY:

The broader issues covered in the literature study are summarised through the use of five discrete themes as follows:

historical and societal context of social work;

past and current influences on women's career development;

women and social work management;

inequality and equal opportunity; and

strategies women use to cope with their workloads.

2.1 The historical and societal context of social work

The history of social work can be traced to developments in Britain and in North America which were transplanted to South Africa during the period of colonialism. Many writers note that the control rather than the caring function dominated early welfare provision (McKendrick, 1990,p.10).

The historical roots of social work in South Africa also depicts the overriding influence of the apartheid system. It has been recorded that the establishment of the formal welfare system was inextricably linked

to the needs of the white population group and the continuing bias is apparent in the services and benefits which favour whites in South Africa (Mc Kendrick, 1990,p.12; Lund, 1989,p.3). By 1976 South Africa was facing economic problems because of oil prices and a political crisis as a result of the upsurge of resistance within the country against the apartheid regime (Patel, 1992,p.54). These events paved the way for the development of the alternative system of welfare in South Africa. The social and political grassroots movements which emerged out of the struggles of black people were concerned with meeting economic and social welfare needs of the poor and with assisting the people to articulate their demands for equality and equal treatment (Patel, 1992,p.54).

These two systems which currently co-exist in South Africa, espouse divergent views on the delivery of welfare. While progressive organisations harness participation and the power of the people, the formal system continues to fashion its solutions on the welfare pluralist policies formulated in Western countries. In the debates of the 1990s the intention was articulated to radically alter the system of welfare provision and to address the optimal employment of resources. De V. Smit (1994,p.5) notes that to date the allocation of welfare resources remains unchanged.

2.2 Past and current factors which influence career development

2.2.1 Past factors:

A range of factors which are present during an individual's socialisation can affect the person's career attitudes and the choices which are perceived as being open to the sexes. The web of influences which become more prominent after the individual has embarked on a chosen career can be located within organisational contexts. For women who have achieved managerial status, the pressures which emanate from their home and work settings are major factors in determining their continued success.

Powell (1988,p.196) recognises that some of the supports and the barriers which women managers encounter are internal but that there are also external factors which can be located in the environment and in organisation structures. These sets of factors interplay to influence the career prospects of individuals.

Consequently, he developed a theoretical model which identifies four sets of factors which have an impact on an individual's career development at societal, organisational, family and personal levels. At the societal level the accepted sex and gender roles and the cultural influences which affect career choices and attitudes are communicated by the significant people in the individual's life. The type of modelling which is represented affects the individual's perceptions of possible future careers.

In the areas of personal and family factors, the demographic data, the socialisation experiences and the influences which immediate family members offer to individuals are also important determinants.

Organisational factors consist of the structures, processes and support networks which can be located in the workplace. Erwee (1992,p.8) identifies the organisational and group structure and processes as being most relevant to career progress within organisations.

Within the organisational structure, Erwee (1992,p.8) includes the policies, procedures and the power hierarchy. Lukes (1986, p.10) indicates that the power can be exercised in three dimensions, directly as force, indirectly through the control of agendas and hegemonically through defining the values in the workplace. When decisions are made in the second and third dimensions of power, they occur at levels to which most workers do not regularly have access.

Erwee (1992,p.8) recognises that informal groups in the workplace exist to meet a variety of needs and that within these groups indices of social closure operate to marginalise certain individuals in organisations. Prekel's (1989,p.10) analysis shows that this marginalisation occurs with black managers in the workforce. It is asserted that the processes which occur within groups reflect the perceptions which individuals have of each other. When certain managers do not bring the *value added factor*

(Kouzas & Posner,1990,p.7) to the position they are faced with reactions such as stereotyping, resistance and undermining which place added performance pressure on them. Mentoring and sponsorships reflect some of the key supports which these networks provide. It was found that individuals who had procured a mentor were able to obtain specific advice and guidance at crucial stages in their careers.

In this study, the accounts of the support which women managers received show that networks of people and community structures dominate. Initially, supportive people included parents who acted as role models and fanned their children's aspirations. Later, husbands and children supported and encouraged the manager.

Community supports took the form of teachers, informal leaders, political and religious leaders and other significant socialisers who encouraged and inspired the managers. Other professionals in the community also provided positive support and recognition of their status. Friends were an important source of practical help and psychological support. Active involvement in networks and structures such as political and religious groupings and in social work organisations as members of management boards, fundraising committees and as voluntary consultants, gave these women confidence and helped to prepare them for future jobs. Beyond school life, university lecturers and tutors played an important supportive role.

In the workplace, colleagues, subordinates, supervisors and boards of management provided essential sources of support. Some of the support came in the form of mentors who taught protegees the ropes and sponsors who assisted with the career progression of identified individuals.

A significant finding was that self motivation featured prominently where there was a lack of supportive networks. This indicates that these women were motivated and had the ambition to succeed irrespective of the lack of support. This raises a question about the innate ability which individuals may have to become managers. This ability is also portrayed in the reinforcement derived from the managers' own strengths. As these managers realised that they had the abilities, the knowledge and the skills to be successful, their successes provided a further incentive for them.

2.2.2 Current Influences

The overwhelming guilt, which is often reported in the literature, is the culmination of three intersecting beliefs which relate to the traditional women's role, the woman's responsibility for the care of the family and for the smooth running of the home. For the women in this study, their continued success and ambition for progression were contingent upon considerations about their ability to manage their home and work commitments.

The information which was collected about the respondents' concerns about promotion, the obstacles which they experienced in their career development and the pressures in their lives converged, and reflects that the anticipated fears about promotion had become a reality for many women managers. It was found that the conditions in the work environment which impeded the effectiveness of these women managers were associated with the work relationships, agency blocks, community constraints and with issues which were the direct consequences of belonging to a disadvantaged group. The latter obstacle will be dealt with later in this chapter.

For many of the managers, the workload pressures presented formidable barriers. These pressures were reflected quantitatively in that there were disparate tasks which required attention during the course of the working day. In addition, many of the managers carried small caseloads which helped them to keep in touch with practice. The qualitative pressures were especially acute for managers who were dealing with the diverse and often conflicting needs and expectations of senior management, colleagues, management boards and the community.

Many of the women managers reported that they experienced difficult work relationships with seniors, colleagues and management boards. All the respondents showed an incisive understanding of the ways in which difficulties in relationships with seniors could adversely affect their

development and advancement. Issues with management boards often revolved around their heavy investment in the existing structures and processes of the organisation, their lack of social work training and the fact that they were often predominantly white.

Other specific pressures emanated from activities such as budgeting, public speaking and organisational politics. The managers, in this study, were aware of the need to be self confident, assertive and in touch with their power in their role as managers. It is evident, that the concerns which managers reflected, do not indicate doubts about their ability to cope, but rather that there were external constraints which hampered their performance.

The sources of satisfaction which these managers experienced at work were similar to the sources of pressure. Women define themselves in terms of work and home and these two aspects are integrated so that stress in any one area impinges upon and adds to the stress experienced in the other area of their lives.

The managers reported that they felt positive when they had met some of the challenges which the job posed, such as obtaining an overview of the organisation and of the procedures and practices, meeting changing needs, taking decisions, working well with staff, developing staff and watching the enthusiasm grow.

Self fulfilment was derived from being in control, being successful, getting recognition of their status and title and from the personal growth which they experienced through work and study.

The pressures which managers experienced at home differed according to their marital status. Single women were concerned about the demands made by others, about work concerns and socialising. Divorced women were concerned about their child care burdens. The concerns of married women were related to the care of the family, household tasks, socialising, involvement in community activities and in post graduate studies. The pressure which women who had little or no domestic help described, constituted an overload, as they had to cope with the double burden of home and work commitments.

The satisfaction which managers described were being with immediate and wider family life, the smooth running of the home, socialising activities and involvement in community activities were also listed as the sites of stress.

One of the significant findings was that the balancing of home and work pressures was not only about the management of the commitments, but also reflected the manager's own high expectations of her performance. Often these women executives noted that the dual career pressures deprived them of important personal time.

Haynes (1989,p.81) refers to this as the *superwoman syndrome*. She (1989,p.81) describes the superwoman syndrome as an attempt to perform perfectly multiple commitments and conflicting roles of manager, mother, wife and friend. There are several factors that identify this superwoman role: multiple roles, guilt, difficulty with "saying no", niceness orientation, high level of stress, time to socialise, time for self. These pressures are not only issues which women have to recognise, but they are part and parcel of their identities.

Haynes (1989,p.84) asserts that in the attempt to be seen as effective, women are often over-achievers in their jobs and experience guilt feelings if they do not perform well at home and at work. Haynes (1989,p.84) describes guilt as an unproductive emotion, as it incapacitates and wastes energy. She advises women to prioritise, decide what is important and then to make a choice. The emphasis then is to accept the choice which has been made. The choices which women made in this study included, the delegation of tasks within the home, paying for housekeeping and of doing less housework.

Women's expectations of their performance are also bound up with issues of race. Many of the black women managers commented that they were conscious of performance pressure and that they felt highly visible and vulnerable.

They were aware that historically in South Africa black people are viewed as less capable than white people and consequently they were concerned about making mistakes.

2.3 Women and social work management

There are separate, but intertwined strands which reflect the position of women in management. These relate to the management changes which have occurred in the profession, to considerations about whether women are deficient as managers and if there are gender specific management styles.

The literature study reflects that different waves of management approaches have influenced the way in which social work managers have operated over time. In the 1960s Taylorism with its emphasis on efficiency and productivity was the dominant ideology and the management by objectives approach which was evident in the 1970s was a variation of Taylorism. In the 1980s consensual management and strategic and rational planning approaches showed the tempering of Taylorism with the human relations approach. In the 1990s the concepts of transactional and transformational leadership have assumed prominence.

The literature which emerged from the 1970s emphasised the occupational segregation which favours men as managers and which

occurred also in traditionally female domains. The literature indicates that the under-representation of women as managers has led to the difficulties which they experience when they aspire to management (Haynes, 1989, p5; Hanmer & Statham, 1988,p.99).

Explanations for the lower proportion of women in managerial posts focused on their lack of ability for management because of their nature and socialisation, the little attention which they gave to the development of career plans and strategies and the perception that they managed in a different way from men (Podmore & Spencer, 1987,p.21). Myths about women's alleged inferior abilities to manage and their ambition have long since been examined and debunked. More recent writings recognise that when women do enter management positions they represent a threat to male ideologies, culture and norms and that there are external barriers which restrict entry and which have a dampening effect on women's success as managers.

Gender specific styles of management and leadership have become pivotal issues in the quest to show that women are not deficient in their management style. The contention is that women develop leadership styles which are more democratic, motivating and more open to change and which differ from those of male peers (Lockley & Fawcett, 1989,p.iv).

Women's styles are described by Rosener (1990,p.119) as close to the transformational leadership style including teamwork, support, information sharing and concern for individuals. Powell (1988, p.152) and Bass (1985,p.24) contend that there is no gender specific style, but rather there is a preference of style which cuts across gender boundaries.

In the present study, a profile of the management experience of the sample shows that half of the managers in private welfare organisations had less than 9 years of experience and that managers in the public departments had between 5-14 years of experience. The most seasoned managers who had between 15-20 years of experience were found in private welfare organisations.

Managers who functioned as middle managers generally supervised less than 10 workers, while those in top management were responsible for a spread of between 11 and 600 workers.

The majority of the managers had developed a participative style of management and a transactional leadership style. They energised, motivated and encouraged active staff participation, but there was also hard work and commitment on the part of the manager. It was significant that they achieved their task work through the consolidation of these relationships.

New managers were found to be democratic as this style allowed them to settle into the organisations and build relationships with their staff. They employed a style of openness which involved all their staff members in the decision making process.

More seasoned managers considered themselves to be autocratic in that they concentrated on task work and time management. This approach was often adopted because consultation could delay urgently needed decision making. The managers who considered themselves as autocratic, were also committed to motivate and encourage the workers, and this could be the result of their social work training.

The majority of managers considered that they were flexible and adapted their style to suit the needs of the staff or the situation which they encountered. When minimum standards were at issue, then the more autocratic style came to the fore, but where guidance and support were required, managers were inclined to be democratic and participative.

The data shows that few women managers had undertaken post graduate study and only three held formal qualifications in management. Over one quarter of the respondents had attended short courses in management training prior to appointment and half of the managers had received some management training since their appointment.

The overwhelming majority of the women managers who had attended training courses were employed in the public social work departments.

The training needs identified by the managers in this study varied according to the individual's level of management, but the respondents were in agreement that training was necessary and should be provided on an ongoing basis.

2.4 Themes of inequality and equal opportunity

2.4.1 Inequality

Black women face great difficulties with gaining promotion. Subsequent to their appointments a set of different stressors appear. The literature currently reflects the under-representation of black women as managers and the trend is likely to continue if the inequality present in the promotion patterns are not addressed.

In this study, black women were poorly represented in the higher echelons of management. This situation was partly the consequence of the different rates at which black and white managers were promoted.

In private welfare organisations promotion for white women were on average between 1-3 years while black women ranged between 4-6 years. Although the impression that could be gained from the data concerning promotions in State social work departments, was that all promotions occurred between 4-6 years, respondents were emphatic that white

workers received earlier promotions. The meritocracy system which operated was based on recommendation and the acquisition of defined experiences. Moreover, seniors ensured that white workers had the necessary exposure for promotion. This did not happen automatically for workers who were black. Promotion prospects for black women increased after 1986 when white workers transferred to the departments of the House of Assembly. The data concerning the previous postholders confirms that white women have and continue to dominate as postholders. While black persons featured as previous postholders in private welfare organisations they were not represented in public welfare departments. The system of promotion which revolved around co-option and recommendation has now been succeeded by a system based on applications, references and selection interviews. This criteria considers the history of performance as a social worker and as such is insufficient to assess management potential, however, it does provide a more objective basis for considerations about promotion. The study shows that there has been an increase in the proportion of black women who have been appointed as managers and the altered selection criteria could partly explain this increase.

Senior positions are frequently blocked for black women. When they do achieve senior status they report feeling isolated and exposed. On promotion black women often have to learn additional rules for success.

They are placed in a double bind because they are not told the rules and yet are under pressure to perform (Stewart, 1970,p.68).

Moss Kanter (1987,p.262) asserts that high visibility is usually associated with under-representativeness and that tokenism has various effects. Black women in particular tend to be seen as tokens, to be marginalised and viewed as not having any real authority. Quartey (1990,p.84) recognises that people often demand more of them and their expertise is tested more often. Williams (1991,p.17) indicates that problems which have been unaddressed for a long time, suddenly require urgent solutions. If the manager cannot deliver, then disapproval is conveyed through indirect means such as silence, sarcasm, gossip and the use of the grapevine.

Race was recognised as a significant dynamic in the managers relationships with other workers. The resistance and lack of support from colleagues were, for many managers, linked to the workers perception of the manager and often reflected their stereotyped thinking, attitudes and behaviour. The difficulties which they experience have to be placed in a broader societal context, as it is to a great extent a reflection of the perjorative notions which are held of black people and of women.

The unique set of stressors which black women encountered included, lip service paid by organisations to equal opportunity policies, being stereotyped and scapegoated, undermined, tested, allocated multi-commitments, experiencing passive and active resistance from white and black workers and not receiving adequate support from seniors. Although these women managers have not allowed the prejudice and stereotypes to stop them from attaining management positions, they still had to deal with discrimination, as a major obstacle to their effectiveness and thereby a key source of stress.

The higher up the hierarchy these women managers advance, the more intense the isolation they feel from their colleagues. In part this is a reflection of the lack of gender grouping and networks and of women's exclusion from formal decision making forums and informal male forums.

This adds to their powerlessness. Image management is seen to be an important aspect of their success as managers.

Black women also face double jeopardy as they experience discrimination on gender as well as on racial grounds. The majority of white women managers considered that they had not been confronted by difficulties with sexist practice. Black managers in the State social work department were particularly sensitised to the polarisation between the sexes, partly because of the male defined environment which subjugated women's communication.

These managers were able to recognise the more subtle forms of discrimination which existed. However, the respondents accepted these discriminations because there were opportunities for them within the structures.

2.4.2 Equal Opportunity

Equal opportunity policies have been promulgated as one of the most crucial mechanisms for overcoming discrimination in many countries it involving long term change. Many organisations, as reported by respondents in this study, had equal opportunity policy statements and regarded themselves as equal opportunity employers. This can be very significant, or meaningless, depending on how much support it has in the workforce and whether it is put into practice. The policies were described by respondents as vague and as reflecting only the overarching goal of creating a working environment which promotes equality.

The initiatives were mainly of an *ad hoc* nature and were focused on selected areas of recruitment, training and attitudinal change. An important emphasis in many organisations was to address the under-representation of black staff. While the principle of increasing black staff was supported in the State departments, there was also the *proviso* that standards were maintained. Other organisations which had appointed less qualified people with the necessary qualities for the work, emphasised the importance of access to appropriate training and

development for the appointee. This action concurs with Human's (1991,p.220) thinking that affirmative action should occur only on recruitment and that managers should subscribe to a people management model in which individuals who are able and willing, are allowed to develop on merit.

The data produced in this study indicates that the responsibility for the implementation of equal opportunity initiatives had been devolved to senior managers. The managers expressed their feelings of being ill-equipped to implement equal opportunity without proper guidelines and expressed their fears that the policy would remain a paper commitment. Despite their misgivings, there was evidence that these managers viewed their facilitating roles seriously by setting up programmes, by acting as the conscience of the organisation and by confronting the resistance of various staff members.

The absence of a coherent policy accompanied by a programme of action plans which allows the policy to become a reality in practice, conveys the impression that lip service is being paid by organisations to equal opportunity. An action plan as a way of translating equal opportunity principles into practice by defining each issue, determining what action should be taken, by whom and to agreed timescales, is essential if any serious attempt is being made to redress discrimination.

The involvement of all workers in drawing up and in implementing an equal opportunity policy is a necessary contribution to promoting both equality and good work relations. The policy should be available to all staff so that they are informed of their rights and can assist the organisation in promoting equal opportunity.

2.5 Coping mechanisms

The coping mechanisms which managers employ provides an overall picture of the way in which they manage their home and work commitments. Balancing commitments, time constraints and lack of personal time were recurring themes for the majority of the women managers in this study.

The sources of satisfaction which managers identify in their homelives are linked to their coping mechanisms. Spending quality time with the family, involvement in community activities, socialising, church activities, political interests, studies are identified as important to their well being. The awareness of developing a lifestyle that will strengthen the individual against stress is also translated through the physical activities in which they engage. Some of the respondents engaged in vigorous exercise, others enjoyed the outdoor life and for some managers quiet activities such as tapestry, cooking, reading and meditation represented the means through which they relaxed.

The individual strategies for coping with stressors at work, emphasised the importance of relationships with various levels of staff, of understanding who and when to ask for help, knowing when to take a break and of simply settling down to complete the work. Managers were also acutely aware of the unhealthy ways in which they coped, such as, poor diets, skipping meals, overeating, smoking and of the need to find more positive ways of dealing with stress.

The group strategies employed emphasised that the ways in which they coped were consistent with harmonising through reconciliation, releasing tension and helping people to explore differences. Other reactions which were highlighted showed that they were compromising, admitted to errors and gave feedback and credit to staff members.

The creation of ladders of opportunity are especially important in the current economic climate where career progression is not readily available. The women managers encouraged group members to develop through challenges which provided professional enrichment and through encouraging members to undertake further training.

The coping strategies which women used provided evidence of the creative way in which they energised and empowered themselves and their staff to develop.

3. RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations which follow are integrated from the literature, from the research study and from the suggestions which have been made by the women managers. They represent changes to be made within the organisations and within the individual.

3.1 Equal Opportunity

It is recommended that a comprehensive and cohesive equal opportunity policy has to be developed by all organisations. This policy has to be based on clearly stated aims and objectives which are planned and carried out within a policy framework and to an agreed timetable. A range of specific measures will be required to ensure the effectiveness of the policy and some of these measures are outlined below.

◆ Each organisation needs to affirm its belief in the equality of all human beings, its opposition to any form of discrimination and its awareness of the need to recognise and eradicate all forms of discrimination, both direct and indirect, and whether conscious or unintended. To this end, the organisation should:

- * Examine all aspects of its work, in order to identify and change any practice or procedure which has the effect, albeit unintentionally, of reducing opportunities for members of any particular group.

- * Take active steps at all levels of policy making within the organisation, to ensure that certain individuals are not disadvantaged. This requires a mechanism for ensuring that policy statements address the anti-oppressive dimension and that it is regarded as the responsibility of all staff to be involved in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of the policy.

- * There should be a formal organisational document published which sets out equal opportunity service provision which should be available to all individuals in the organisations.

- * Operate an equal opportunity policy on the recruitment, selection and promotion of staff at all levels in the organisation.

This study has highlighted the serious need for organisational efforts to increase the number of black managers and to ensure that black woman managers permeate all levels of management.

A first step would be to collect baseline statistics. Discrimination may result from current organisation systems which are geared to hire, pay, promote, train, mentor, appraise and reward certain individuals. A complete audit of the managerial situation in the agency and the above mentioned policies and practices within institutions will provide essential baseline information for an

equality strategy. The creation of a task force within the agency to identify particular components which could be followed up by work groups which address discrete discriminatory practices.

- * Address the identification of the needs of black workers in terms of training, development and other supports and facilities required. The development of effective and unbiased appraisal schemes, support from senior staff and the development of support systems for black women managers are important vehicles for ensuring equality.

The encouragement of black support groups and networks is inadequate: these groups must have status and recognition within the formal structures of the organisation. If these groups are to function as task groups and to be taken seriously, they must be given a voice in the policy and decision making processes.

- ◆ The organisation should take appropriate action to protect staff on duty, from harassment, abuse or attack by individuals or groups, whether from within or outside of the organisation. Complaints and grievance procedures for staff and also for community members should be developed as a matter of priority.

◆As a provider of services, the organisation should offer equal opportunity for access to the community and should identify any direct and indirect discrimination and challenge any assumptions about the interests and abilities of particular groups which might hamper their access to services.

Part of this service is about ensuring that information is available about the services on offer in the relevant languages and that the material provided is sensitive and culturally acceptable. Access to translation and interpreter services are other support mechanisms which are required.

◆A necessary pre-requisite to effective service delivery is the availability of staff development and training which provides anti-oppressive education for staff and assists them with understanding the equal opportunity process. For managers, training is required with the promotion of equitable service provision and in managing diversity and promoting subordinates. For all staff, language training in the vernacular, should be accessible.

◆In order to ensure that the service is being implemented equitably, arrangements should be made to monitor the outcome of the policy and, an essential part of such monitoring, to identify possible areas of inequality.

◆ Where appropriate, organisations should draw the attention of external bodies to its policy on discrimination and, should use such influence as it may have to further the cause of equality outside of the organisations.

◆ The establishment of local and national forums for private and public agencies as a mechanism for communication and consultation on issues relating to long and short range plans could be devised for equalisation programmes.

◆ The organisation should have a mechanism for generating and researching new ideas or initiatives to support the equal opportunity policy.

◆ External incentives for being progressive organisations such as the current Gold Award for companies who have established a good track record with the advancement of women. Another example is the black managers forum where individuals are honoured with awards and recognition in the presence of their employers and the public.

3.2 Training and development of managers

◆ To assist the organisation with developing management potential, it is recommended that there should be a training programme and a career development programme.

The theme of training will be explored in this section and career development will be dealt with in greater detail in the section which follows.

◆ The purpose of training and development programmes will be to ensure that all employees have access to training, to providing the opportunities that will ensure that they develop skills relevant to their job and to enhance their career development prospects within the organisation. Another aim would be to ensure that those with managerial and supervision responsibilities have adequate guidance as to their responsibilities in the organisation.

◆ In achieving these aims, the organisation will have to give attention to certain measures and in this connection, the following recommendations are of importance.

- * The organisation has to define its commitment to the provision of adequate and ongoing training as a first step. This will entail a review of its current training provision and priorities and an examination of the need for new training provision.
- * The organisation should determine a training policy. A realistic budget should be set aside for training and time provided for staff to attend courses.

- * Individuals who attend courses, both internal and external, should provide feedback and ongoing evaluation of the training courses. On the basis of this organisations can decide whether to use, modify or terminate the training course.

- * The establishment of training should be based on the identified general training needs of managers, the need for training in particular skills and on the future training needs. Consideration should also be given to the appropriateness of gender and race specific courses. Above all, managers need to stay in touch with local and national political, social and economic issues, thus the training should be reality based to South African conditions.

- * Access to training is important to upgrade women's skills and to assist them with upward mobility. This could be achieved by the provision of foundation courses such as induction programmes and bridging programmes for updating skills.

- * The availability of training in the form of stress management, time management, assertiveness training, workload management and labour relations training, effective performance, equal opportunity policy and implementation, anti-oppressive training, budgeting and public speaking are some of the more relevant training opportunities which should be on offer.

- * A variety of forums for providing training such as workshops, seminars, short courses and formal education should be available. The training courses can be offered on an ad hoc basis as in-service or as external courses and also as part of the undergraduate and post graduate curriculums at local universities. Formal training courses could be linked with incentives such as certification, salary increments and day release schemes. Informal networks such as peer training networks, mentoring, support groups are other forums where training can occur.

- * The organisation has to ensure that all its employees are informed of new and existing training schemes through the identification of an appropriate vehicle for disseminating information. Line managers, for instance, can have an immediate impact by detailing service needs and by supplying information about training opportunities.

- * Managers should offer support and resources for training guidance and counselling. This can be achieved through the establishment of a training profile for each staff member which reflects the training which the person has completed and which assesses the individual's training needs on an ongoing basis.

3.3 Career development and balancing lifestyles

◆ The conditions of service for employees will need to be examined to ensure that they do not discriminate against certain individuals. The organisation needs to examine ways of supporting women with their moves into management. This includes the provision of supports in the workplace for career development and an examination of the kinds of measures which will reduce the negative impact on families. The following recommendations are deemed to be pertinent:

- * A study should be commissioned of the job ladders and the career patterns within the agency to ascertain career advancement practice and of the practices (such as extensive travelling) which militate against the appointment of women to management posts. The creation of new ladders of opportunity should be designated as an important task to be undertaken jointly by managers in the organisation.

- * The nature and availability of career planning, training and development programmes are important factors which influence individual commitment and decisions about management careers. Organisations should consider a strategy whereby women are helped early with career choices, especially when they have young children at home.

- * Joint performance appraisals can help to identify individuals for advancement who might otherwise be overlooked. This mechanism should allow for early identification of people who are suitable for management and for preparing them for this task before they are appointed.

This vehicle should also be one which allows for participation and joint planning and which encourages self analysis of competencies, needs and goals as a first step in career planning.

- * The availability of supports like mentors and networks cannot be under-estimated. A scheme which allows for potential managers to be assigned a mentor to guide their mentoring of lower ranked managers is important. The creation of mentors through officially recognised systems is worthy of consideration and this may be one way in which to increase the numbers of black managers who are available to mentor.

Women's networks which provide support through the use of professional clubs, seminars focused on specific difficulties and strategies can provide a useful medium for discussing issues where tough decisions have to be made about work and family.

- * Other important opportunities should be made available once the individual has been identified as suitable management material, such as a job rotation system, which will provide potential managers with exposure to the wider operations within the agency.
- * Future trends in management may depend on a host of provisions which organisations may have to give attention to. These can include flexi-hours, part-time work, job share schemes, the availability of or assistance with child care facilities, paid leave entitlements for women who have to care for sick dependents and extended maternity and parental leave which should be open to both sexes.
- * There needs to be opportunities for individuals to become aware of and have greater possibilities for improving their status within organisations. Attention has to be given to the avenues for disseminating information.

3.4 Coping Strategies

It is important to recognise that women cope in the ways which work for them, but which seldom create space for them as individuals. The individual strategies which the managers used to cope consisted of knowing who to consult with and when to take a break from the pressures. Physical exercise, meditation, outdoor activities and other

relaxing pastimes such as gardening, reading, cooking and tapestry were some of the coping mechanisms listed. Women managers are managers of people and their skills in team building and reconciliation were among the main coping mechanisms used to maintain harmonious group relations.

There are, however, important themes which women should explore in order to become more aware of themselves and their worlds. The following themes are put forward for consideration seriatim.

- * Women should explore their experiences as managers through the issues which they cope with in their setting and by recognising the aspects which give the most satisfaction and those which create difficulties. Part of this exploration of their identity as managers, is in dealing with difference.

- * The process of documenting women's experience of management could be achieved through activities such as keeping a personal journal centred on the experiences of being a woman manager; writing a daily diary of how time is spent; recording images around the theme of being a manager, such as press cuttings, photographs, pictures; reading both fiction and non-fiction provides relaxation and learning; recording critical incidents at work when strong feelings, whether positive or negative were experienced;

procuring management training and other relevant courses which would extend management skills.

- * A focus for study within the organisation should be on understanding power and empowerment and discovering and practising ways of becoming more effective. The focus within the individual should be that of exploring various aspects of self management such as managing time, managing boundaries and creating personal space.

- * An action plan should be devised which will help the manager to be clear about the aims and objectives for the future. The action plan should set out what the manager hopes to achieve, how she would achieve it and by which date. She also needs to recognise how she would stop herself from being successful and how she intended to celebrate her success. Regular review of the plans has to be undertaken.

- * A useful mechanism for identifying the specifics of change is a forcefield analysis which shows the present and intended situation and details the forces supporting and blocking the change inside the person, in the group, organisation and home.

FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

The research as a descriptive exploratory study implementing a feminist methodological approach provides insights into other related areas for further research and development. These include the following aspects.

- * The ongoing need to understand more about the issues for women in management as well as to prepare them with adequate skills, knowledge and experience to deal with these issues.
- * There is a need for increased data bases of women managers and social work organisations to include both formal and informal sectors.
- * Mentoring is an important mechanism to address change and additional information about mentoring is required.
- * Career planning and networking are currently addressed only to a very limited extent within the social work profession.
- * The impact of gender and race differences on career patterns and discriminatory institutional biases have to be further researched. This should entail the collection of successful measures used by various organisations to combat discrimination.

- * Further studies which compare the experiences of male managers, of managers in rural areas and in other professions should be undertaken.

- * Further exploration about differential socialisation and the impact of this on leadership styles is an important subject for future study.

- * Active steps should be taken to resolve the issue of women's legal identity in such a way that their human rights are assured.

This thesis has been undertaken to illustrate the issues and sensitise readers to the challenges and stressors which women experience as managers within the social work field and to demonstrate the ways in which they cope with the pressures. In comparing the experiences of black and white women, the inequality which has been created by the apartheid system had been evident. With the establishment of a more egalitarian society in South Africa equal opportunity will hopefully prevail- so that a reader of the future may find this study obsolete.

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APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME OF MANAGER :

ORGANISATION :

TELEPHONE NUMBERS :

(a) HOME :

(b) WORK :

* PLEASE NOTE THAT THE NAMES OF RESPONDENTS WILL NOT FORM PART OF THE STUDY.

* THESE DETAILS WILL BE RETAINED TEMPORARILY IN CASE THERE IS A NEED TO CONTACT RESPONDENTS IN ORDER TO CLARIFY/OBTAIN ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

APPENDIX TWO

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

(17) IDENTIFY THE MAJOR POSITIVE INFLUENCES WHICH ENHANCED YOUR CAREER DEVELOPMENT.

*(Prompts: These can be people, networks or structures
....in your family,
....in the work setting
....or in the community.)*

(18) IDENTIFY THE OBSTACLES TO YOUR CAREER DEVELOPMENT

*(Prompts: These include any discriminatory practices which you have experienced,
....resistances,
....hostility,)*

(19) WHAT WERE YOUR CONCERNS ABOUT PROMOTION TO MANAGEMENT?

*(Prompts: only if not covered
.....miss contact with clients
.....too many demands
.....lack of acceptance
.....would not enjoy management
.....any other
.....follow up with prompt about the ethos of hard work
.....Management training received?)*

(20) WHAT ARE THE PRESSURES ON YOU IN YOUR CURRENT JOB?

*(Prompts...with people
.....with structures
.....with the workload)*

(21) WHAT ARE THE SATISFACTIONS?

(22) WHAT ARE THE MAIN PRESSURES OUTSIDE OF WORK?

(Prompts...with people

.....with structures

.....with commitments)

(23) WHAT ARE THE SATISFACTIONS OUTSIDE OF WORK?

(24) HOW WOULD YOU CATEGORISE YOUR MANAGEMENT STYLE?

(Explain: for simplicity, I would see authoritarian at one end, compromising in the middle and flexible on the other end)

(25) WHAT DO YOU SEE AS YOUR STRENGTHS?

If not mentioned, prompt -How important is self confidence to a manager?

(26) HOW COULD YOU BE MORE EFFICIENT AND EFFECTIVE?

(27) DESCRIBE SOME OF THE STRATEGIES WHICH YOU HAVE USED TO COPE WITH MAJOR PROBLEMS AND STRESSORS.

(prompts...

.....personal strategies- when your back is up against the wall

.....group strategies - when there are difficulties in the group how would you resolve these

.....creation of ladders and opportunities to develop the staff and for yourself)

(28) DOES THE ORGANISATION HAVE AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY POLICY?

(29) WHAT IS YOUR UNDERSTANDING OF YOUR MANAGERIAL FUNCTION WITH REGARD TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY PRACTICE.

(30) WHAT ADVICE WOULD YOU GIVE TO A YOUNG PERSON STARTING OUT AND WANTING TO ENTER MANAGEMENT.