

***WOMEN'S UPWARD MOBILITY INTO MANAGERIAL POSITIONS:
A CASE STUDY OF WOMEN MANAGERS
IN THE KRUGER NATIONAL PARK***

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DECLARATION

I, Themba Montgomery Mona, declare that this dissertation, which I hereby submit for the degree Master of Arts in Industrial Sociology at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at another University.

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SYNOPSIS

Women, like men, have always worked though their work tended to differ significantly from that of men. This resulted from the different socialisation processes of males and females, hierarchical structures, male dominance and gender oppression in society. Today, while men occupy most of the management positions, women mostly cluster in lowly paid jobs with virtually less career prospects.

Although women have taken the majority of new jobs created in the economy in recent years, the overall degree of gender segregation has not changed much since the new labour legislation came into effect in 1996. Along with the transformation to a new democracy and the changes in labour legislation in South Africa, was the expectation that opportunities would open up for women to access managerial ranks as it would be for Blacks. To date, women are still finding it difficult to make it to the top. Those who managed to reach senior positions have done so under conditions of labour market discrimination that have always plagued them. The reality facing women is that the culture of male-domination in the social organisation of work has not changed even in this new democracy.

The notion of gender-mainstreaming in the workplace has not yet reached desired levels. South African organisations have not as yet embraced a transformation process that would take women from the switchboard to the boardroom. The main thrust of the problem is that organisations lack a gender-awareness that will transform organisational

culture, policies and processes to make managerial positions to become accessible to women.

In the past, women's lack of upward mobility used to be justified on their lack of suitable qualifications for managerial jobs. Today, women possess qualifications that would take them to managerial positions but most still find it difficult to advance upwardly and the majority is still unemployed. Where organisations have complied with labour legislation to transform the workplace to give opportunities to people previously disadvantaged by past discrimination, black males benefit more than women of all races do. Management ranks are so stable to the point that even qualified women are unable to access top positions just because they are women. Those women who are already in management are expected to adopt styles of management which reflect masculinity rather than femininity. This, coupled with domestic pressure, makes management to become stressful to women.

The literature study reveals that over the years research on the labour process has been biased on the assumption that work belongs to men. Feminisation of work has been treated as problematic. The fact that women started entering the labour market later, created a significant difference between men and women's career development. This was also motivated by the sexual division of labour at home which was gradually transferred to the workplace. Most women still cluster in low paid positions and job hierarchies that have lesser opportunities for advancement. Today, women are emerging as graduates in traditionally male dominated fields such as accounting, law and engineering, however most of these women remain active job seekers. Different literatures reveal that the

workplace still has elements of gender discrimination and inequalities that affect women to a greater extent. Sexual harassment and other forms of inferior treatment of women discourage women from advancing their careers or to compete for available senior positions.

The Employment Equity Act of 1998 seeks to promote the advancement of the designated groups, which include Blacks, women and the disabled. Nonetheless, women still find it difficult to compete with black males in accessing managerial positions. The questions that I am concerned with in this research are: What makes organisations to fail to achieve gender parity in managerial ranks? How can organisations in view of employment equity and labour legislation go about transformation that would ultimately ensure women advancement in the workplace?

This research is a qualitative study of women's experiences and realities in as far as their upward mobility is concerned. The purpose of this study is first to research on women's experiences and perceptions of the realities they encounter both internal and external to the workplace. Second, to explore the role of labour legislation in creating an enabling environment that will integrate gender equality concerns. The research was conducted with women in management at the Kruger National Park (KNP) and the South African National Parks (SANP). Both a comprehensive questionnaire and an interview schedule were used as instruments for data collection. Data was analysed using the coding process of analysing qualitative research data.

The results of the study reveal that women experience a role conflict in society in the sense that they are expected to be productive through paid and unpaid work, and at the same time manage the home. Sexism and male dominance have led to stereotyping certain positions as men only positions and women are seen as intruding male avenues. In the past a woman could not be appointed as a camp manager at the Kruger National Park. Women see racism as still playing a role in as far as promotional opportunities between white and black females are concerned. The results of this study confirm that the reality facing women to date is that even women who possess the necessary qualifications and skills are not afforded the opportunity to use these skills and knowledge they have acquired in their academic training.

Measures such as employment equity and affirmative action embedded in the Employment Equity Act of 1998 and the Labour Relations Act of 1995 are a first step towards removing the glass-ceiling that blocks women's upward mobility in the workplace. To support these measures, the Kruger National Park and perhaps other organisations need to effect gender-awareness and empowerment initiatives which would aim at helping both men and women to change the perceptions they hold about women. Moreover, women need to be motivated to learn to support each other and form a collective action. A change in the culture of male-dominance to a culture that embraces femininity will greatly benefit women. A feminised culture promotes values of equal treatment of members within an organisation. The fact of the matter is that women are as capable as men are to perform at management level. They also carry the potential to be good managers and effective leaders. To realise this, organisations simply need to

embrace organisational change that will transform organisational culture to make managerial positions to be accessible to women as well.

There is no doubt that women's opportunities for upward mobility have been blocked, however I note that women possess the very qualities, skills, management and leadership styles that might benefit the workplace to a larger extent. The realisation of women qualities could be a springboard for workplace transformation. The recommendations for organisational transformation provided in chapter six of this thesis, can be useful instruments to guide initiatives for women advancement in the Kruger National Park.

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1. Introduction

The requirement to comply and submit employment equity plans to the Department of Labour has sent many employers into a scurry situation. Coming to grips with the practical problems of complying with the Employment Equity Act No. 55 of 1998 was supplemented by regulations and a 'code of good practice'. For many employers, the threat of penalties for non-compliance was reason enough to face the challenges set by the Act and to meeting the deadlines for submission of these employment equity plans to the Department of Labour. This has not been an easy feat. Lawyers and consultants benefited from attempting to provide the answers and assisting employers in the development of their employment equity plans.

Employers continue to face the challenges of the Employment Equity Act. Apart from the problems caused by the need to identify employees by race, it is also how are employers to decide who, among the Blacks, women and disabled people, is 'suitably qualified' for preferential appointment and promotion, and when the criterion is whether a given individual has the 'capacity, within a reasonable time, to acquire the ability to do the job'? Once classification has been effected, the Act requires designated employers to 'determine the degree of under-representation' of the designated groups, which include Blacks, women and people with disability, in all occupational categories and levels of employment. The Act further obligates designated employers to analyse the working environment and all 'employment policies, practices and procedures' to

identify barriers adversely affecting Blacks, women and disabled people. According to the code of good practice, 'all practices must be assessed in terms of cross-cultural and gender fairness', and the analysis must take into account 'more subtle or indirect forms of discrimination and stereotyping' which could adversely affect the designated groups. Under both the Act and the code, 'reasonable accommodation' for Blacks, women and disabled people must be ensured. In addition, under the Act itself, employers are also obliged to apply 'preferential treatment' to Blacks, women and disabled people to ensure their 'equitable' representation at all levels and in all occupations.

Despite the complexity of these issues, the Employment Equity Act has succeeded in raising awareness regarding the position of women in the workplace, both historically and contemporary. The Act has also succeeded in raising expectations to improve the situation of women in organisations.

While women have gradually been moving from the private sphere (or home) to the public arena (including the labour market), they have however done so under conditions of labour market discrimination. Despite the gradual feminisation of the workplace, male domination remains firmly entrenched in the social organisation of work (Zinn and Eitzen, 2001: 232). Under the employment equity legislation, women are no longer supposed to face discrimination. Instead, they have now become entitled to preference in appointments, promotions, and the provision of training.

The legacy of discrimination and the sexual division of labour would however not disappear overnight. The difference between what has been historically viewed as "woman's work" and "man's work" is deeply entrenched in our work organisations. The Unit for Gender Research in Law-

UNISA (1998: 135) notes that, even though the number of women entering the labour market is growing steadily, more women than men have poorly paid jobs or work in casual or part-time occupations, which offer little or no stability. In 1998 South African women constituted 40% of the country's labour force but tended to be poorer than men. Women owned and earned less than what men used to get. This indicates that the work benefits that are afforded men differ significantly from those given to women. While women spend on average a larger proportion of their day (23%) on productive activities (compared to men spending 19% on productive activities), women are however likely to be paid less than men (StatsSA, 2000).

In addition to the disparities in pay and amount of time spent on productive activities, women also face the so-called "glass ceiling", comprising a set of informal and often invisible barriers to managerial levels within an organisation (Smith, 2000: 11 & 12). Due to their sex, women have been noted to confront artificial barriers which prevent them from advancing in the labour market – often despite appropriate qualifications. The glass ceiling has effectively prevented women from achieving higher positions in the organisation's hierarchy. Many women find it impossible to confront and overcome these barriers to enter the upper echelons of work. Statistics continue to reflect the under-representation of women from managerial positions. Whether the Employment Equity Act (No.55 of 1998) would be sufficient to enable women to overcome these barriers, remains to be seen.

These and many other questions regarding women in the workplace, remain unanswered. The research reported on in this thesis was prompted by the requirements of the Employment Equity Act and the discourse regarding women as managers that emerged as employment equity plans were being compiled. The Kruger National Park was selected as a case study to document and

analyse women's experiences and perceptions of work, the role of legislation to remove barriers to promotion, and how women can play a role in bringing about gender equity in their organisation.

This chapter contains the fundamental arguments of this dissertation, as well as the problem statement and the rationale behind this study on women's upward mobility. This leads to a discussion of the assumptions and purpose of this study.

1.2. Background

The history of work reveals that the workplace has been characterized by inequalities based on race and gender. In the past, training opportunities, personnel practices and policies pertaining to selection and recruitment of staff, unequal pay structures, as well as labour legislation, have been used to subject women to positions where there were less opportunities for advancement. For example: the Wage Act of 1957 had set out wage determinations and conditions of employment which benefited mostly Whites. The Labour Relations Act of 1956 excluded Blacks from collective agreements and was used to draw up policies which reserved certain positions for Whites only, to mention but a few (Finnemore and van der Merwe, 1992: 115 – 123).

Institutionalised labour market discrimination has left a legacy of discriminatory practices. Today, women's disadvantaged position in the labour market is perpetuated by factors that are both internal and external to the workplace. Apart from remaining stereotypes and prejudice, formal organisations are not necessarily "women friendly" in their procedures and corporate cultures.

The theoretical framework that will be discussed in chapter two will explore further the background to women's disadvantaged position in society that eventually affected also their

position in the workplace. This will be understood by referring to theories of gender difference, gender equality, and gender oppression.

1.3.The problem statement

Despite legislative efforts to end all forms of discrimination in South African workplaces, this has not effectively changed the poor status of women. Efforts to end discrimination in the workplace have put emphasis on the advancement of Blacks as a way of ending racial discrimination and gender discrimination has been largely ignored. The perception in organisations is that women do not need any kind of preferential treatment and should not be treated on an equal footing with their male colleagues. Where gender has been considered through *ad hoc* affirmative action and employment equity initiatives, seemingly white women benefit more than black women do.

Organisations tend to respond impulsively, rather than transformatively, to the changes in labour legislation. Corporate culture, which is the most bonding instrument for organisation's members and a guiding tool for planning, is usually left unchanged. Hence, Human *et al* (1999: 67) argue that many organisations fail at employment equity simply because they fail to get it embedded in the culture and the reward systems of the organisation. Rao and Friedman (in Royal Tropical Institute, 2002: 69) support Human *et al* (Ibid) as they note that in South Africa, Government has gone a long way in developing policies in the direction of greater social equity, but it has been difficult to change people's values and ways of behaving and entrenched institutional cultures.

A male-dominated culture of patriarchy and dominance is slow to change and there are not sufficient incentives to secure sustainable change. The reality facing women in organisations is that management ranks are so stable that even women who have the necessary requirements for a

position, such as academic qualifications and skills, their opportunities for moving upwardly are being blocked just because they are women. Certain positions have been stereotyped as men only positions and women are seen as intruders. Moreover, management styles in organisations and male perceptions about women put women who are in managerial positions under severe pressure to over-perform, to prove themselves to their male colleagues. This is worsened further by the expectant domestic responsibilities exerted on them as women.

1.4. The rationale of the study

The new democracy in South Africa has brought a paradigm shift in many spheres, including the labour market. Changes in labour legislation has led to the scrapping of discriminatory policies and procedures to eradicate discrimination of any kind, and the opening up of opportunities for previously excluded groups of people, including women of all races. It is expected that also managerial ranks will become accessible to women. However, the mobility of women into managerial positions, especially senior and executive levels, is slower than what is expected. As a result, certain positions and pay structures are stereotyped, by both women and men, as men only positions, and women and men find it difficult to challenge this stereotype. Hence, Bartky (in Rogers, 1998:43) argues that while it is generally understood that oppression is usually economic and political, however it can be psychological as well. This is what Fanon refers to as “the psychic alienation” (Rogers, 1998: 43), which Bartky (Ibid) explains as involving being weighed down in one’s mind and to have a harsh dominion exercised over one’s self-esteem, resulting to the psychologically oppressed becoming the oppressors themselves.

While this is what legislation requires, one needs to acknowledge the fact that processes to mainstream gender in the workplace are still in infancy. Organisations have not as yet managed to

address the gender imbalances, especially in top levels, as they should.

Shireen Hassim (in Proctor, 1999: 18) notes that women have made some discernible and visible trends as they have increased access to decision making forums on all levels of government, including parliament. She notes that academically, women and especially young women are emerging as graduates in the traditionally male-dominated fields such as law, accounting and engineering. While women have made it in government, however they have not done so to the boardroom, yet they also are in possession of the qualifications desirable for top positions.

This issue is what I am concerned about in this study. My question is; how can organisations, in view of employment equity and labour legislation, go about transformation that would ultimately ensure gender equality in the workplace? The study focuses on the upward mobility of women into managerial positions especially in view of widespread advocacy for organisational transformation. This project fits into both national and international concerns regarding mainstreaming of gender into all levels and institutions of society.

1.5. Assumptions of the study

The assumptions generating from the arguments as presented in the preceding discussions are firstly, that the majority of women continue to be managed by men, a situation which is not conducive to women's upward mobility. Secondly, where the majority of managers are male, an organisation would embrace a male-dominated organisational culture. This means; there is still a lack of appropriate role models and a 'women friendly' corporate culture and work environment. Thirdly, barriers to women's upward mobility in organisations are founded in the hearts and minds of both men and women within the organisation and external to the organisation like in the social

environment where men and women find themselves. Lastly, that many organisations in South Africa have not as yet developed appropriate strategies to change the position of women in the labour market. These assumptions are what informed the intentions of this study as will be discussed in the next section.

While there are many reasons that lie behind the lack of gender equality in organisations, this study does not attempt to unlock all these many reasons.

1.6. Aims of the study

The study explores women's perceptions of their internal and external work environment, as well as their experiences regarding their upward mobility into managerial positions and the role of labour legislation in creating an enabling environment for women's career development.

The sub-problems of this study were delineated from the problem statement which led to the questions this study attempts to answer. The sub-problems are: that women are not adequately represented in management in organisations; that there are barriers both internal and external to the workplace that hinder women's advancement opportunities; that legislative efforts to end discrimination have not effectively addressed the barriers to women advancement in organisations; and how can organisations embrace issues of gender equality? In view of these sub-problems, the questions that are of concern to the researcher are: Why is there a lack of women in managerial positions? What are the barriers to women's upward mobility in the labour market? What are the measures that need to be taken to overcome these barriers? What role would measures like: the Employment Equity Act of 1998; affirmative action; organisational culture and diversity policies, play in promoting gender equality?

The section that follows will provide an outline of the entire dissertation reflecting the themes that will be covered in each chapter.

1.7. Outline of proceeding chapters

Chapter two of this dissertation will provide a discussion of related literatures that have been consulted in an attempt to understand and explain the theoretical arguments presented in the introductory chapter. The chapter will cover themes looking at the overview of the South African

labour market, a discussion of gender theories, which seeks to explain the roots of women's disadvantaged position, problems facing women both outside and inside the labour market, management styles and leadership, organisational culture, measures to accelerate women's advancement, gender and organisational change.

Chapter three will look at the research design and methodology used which informed data collection. The chapter reflects that the study is based on a qualitative research of women's experiences and perceptions of the realities they encounter both inside and outside their organisation.

Chapter four will provide the research findings drawn from the interviews and document analysis.

Chapter five provides a discussion of the research findings. This chapter reflects the main themes and sub-themes presented in chapter four. The chapter will show how the findings fit within the broader arguments raised in the introduction and the theoretical stand of the entire thesis.

The sixth chapter contains the conclusions reached and recommendations. These conclusions have been drawn from the interpretation of the findings. They moreover show how the findings answer the research questions and how they fit within the broader theoretical framework of this study. The recommendations pertain first, to measures that could be implemented to achieve organisational transformation that would take into cognisance the advancement of women. And second, to a focus of further research on the topic explored in this study.

CHAPTER TWO

2. THE LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

“While motivated by economic necessity or by choice, women are competing in the workplace for the same jobs and opportunities as men” (Smith, 2000: 10)

2.1. Introduction

The changes in women participation has been greatly influenced by factors such as; the changes in social conventions about the role of women in society, the declining birth rates, the rising relative wages for women resulting from reduced discrimination and greater demand for female workers; rising productivity in the household as technology advances, and also the rising divorce rates which propel women to become self-supporting (Barker, 1995: 45 - 46). In addition to these circumstances conducive to women’s gainful employment, globalisation has led to an increase in male unemployment whilst opening up opportunities for female employment (Macdonald *et al*, 1997: 108). As a result, women have increasingly become the main providers of income for their families. This in turn, gradually took away the traditional perception linking masculinity with man’s ability to be the sole breadwinner for the family. Existing theoretical stances regarding women’s work stunts both the effective role of women as sole breadwinners and the removal of the impervious glass ceiling phenomenon which continues to obstruct opportunities for women’s upward mobility (including increased financial security).

Baron (1992: 67) notes that research on the labour process has been based on the assumption that work belongs to men. In this regard, the feminisation of work has been treated as problematic while its masculinisation has been taken for granted. Resulting from the gendering of work and

women's late entry in the labour market, their career development tends to differ from that of their male counterparts. Hence, most women have clustered in low paid positions in the job hierarchy and their upward mobility has been blocked. The National Manpower Commission's Annual Report (1994) (in Barker, 1995: 172) indicates that in 1991 women formed only 40% of workers in high level occupations in comparison to 32% in 1965. Excluding professions like nursing and teaching they made up only 20.4% of high level occupations while their share in the total employment was 30%.

This literature review provides a theoretical and empirical foundation for understanding the current position of women in the South African labour market and of the problems women encounter both outside and within the workplace. This chapter includes a focus on the Employment Equity Act No.55 of 1998, as it relates to the advancement of the status of women in the organisation, organisational culture, management styles and organisational change to enable the advancement of women. Approaches for organisational transformation towards gender equality are investigated within the context of gender theory.

2.2. An overview of empirical studies explaining the changing position of women in the South African labour market

Prominent South African researchers have contributed to building the body of knowledge regarding women's participation in the labour market, and especially the issue of discrimination against women in the workplace. For the purpose of this thesis, the work of Budlender, Barker, Bennet, Crawford, Fallon and Lucas, Samson, and the Unit for Gender Research in Law-UNISA, has been selected for its analysis of themes relevant to this thesis. Each person's research will not be discussed separately, but thematically, as there is some degree of overlap between topics dealt

with by the various researchers.

2.2.1 Women's participation in the labour market

2.2.1.1 High rate of unemployment amongst women

Fallon and Lucas (1998: 1) argue that in the labour market in South Africa there is a tremendous under-utilization of the country's human resources. By the end of 1993 there was a range of between 12.3 and 29.8% rate of unemployment and women formed a larger section. Budlender (1998a: 18) has noted higher rates of unemployment of women especially in rural areas.

Most unemployed women become active job seekers while men become mostly available for work. The unavailability of jobs is discouraging to women, and at times subjects them to subjective responses (such as sexual harassment) in pursuit of finding a job. Restrictions imposed by society on a woman to work at home or nearer home have contributed largely to the higher rates of unemployment among women. Age-wise, younger members of the economically active population are most likely to be unemployed than older members. Since the majority of women who are seeking employment are the young, this means that most of them, particularly black women, would be unable to secure jobs (Fallon and Lucas, 1998: 5).

2.2.1.2 Sector participation

Budlender (1998a: 18) notes that biases in the labour market which affect women include:

- gender segmentation by industry and occupation, which subjects women to have fewer choices than men; and
- women's predominance in agricultural work, casual work and informal activities.

In South Africa, the formal sector of the economy is the biggest employer of both men and women. On average, there are more males from all racial groups who are in formal employment than females. When it comes to sectoral employment, there are relatively more women in the service, trade and financial institutions in South Africa. Over half (51%) of African employed women and 38% of all employed women work in elementary (unskilled) jobs compared to 36% of African men and 27% of all men (Budlender, 1998a: 19). Samson (1997: 13) notes that in South Africa 16% of people performing paid work in 1994 were in the informal sector, of which 70% were female and 79% African. The vast majority of these women work in survival enterprises. The October household survey (1995) (in Budlender, 1998a: 21) indicates that a larger proportion of women are found in clerical and semi-professional occupations, while a larger proportion of men are in operator and artisan or craft occupations.

Women are predominantly in clothing and textile industries while men dominate the construction industries. In as far as public sector employment is concerned, women form a larger percentage since most of them are in professions like teaching as well as nursing. With government's initiative to cut public sector employment, and teachers being the target coupled with the closure of colleges for teacher education, this would have a devastating effect on women as they will lose their jobs and professional opportunities for them will decrease. Consequently, this will complicate further the already high levels of unemployment among SA women.

2.2.1.3 Gender segmentation by position

In South Africa even though there seems to be a growing trend of women making an impact in positions of power with some of them becoming effective and successful entrepreneurs, the actual picture is that women are still under-represented at management level and are over-

represented at the unskilled levels. Budlender (1998a: 20) argues that, even though the Employment Equity Act seeks to promote the advancement of Blacks, women and the disabled, still workers who work in smaller workplaces where women predominate will not benefit.

Moreover, a study by Kris Crawford (1998) (in *The Star Workplace*, 1998: 22), sales manager at FSA Contact, indicates that over the past three years women's upward movement in job hierarchy has been slow. By 1995 only 9.3% women occupied middle management positions, and was projected that between 1998 and 2001 the figure would remain static at 14.5%. According to Budlender (1998b: 21) 38% of all women in our country worked in elementary positions in 1995. A larger section (20%) of women were working as clerks, 12% as service or shop workers, and under a quarter (22%) of the managers were females, with African women making only 9%. Bennet (2001: 1) notes that women in government and parastatal organisations now make up 25% of upper management (up from 12.6% in 1998). Despite an increase in the number of Blacks and women in the private sector, men (and particularly white men) still dominate the boardrooms. It is only in the retail sector that women make up 35% (compared to less than 45% of white men) of executive positions. Fagenson (1993: 5) is of the opinion that gender segmentation by position is greatly influenced by such factors as women's level of education, practical work experience, their marital status, affirmative action policies, as well as societal attitudes and women's perceptions of themselves and their role in society and in organisations.

2.2.1.4 Gender differences in earnings for workers with similar education, and differences in benefits

According to international standards, our labour market illustrates characteristics of inequalities

of a varying kind. These inequalities are largely based on race and gender. As a product of the *apartheid* regime, women, like black people, have clustered more in informal activities which are usually a low employment source. Despite the new democracy and improved levels of education and job skills, standardisation of wage differentials has been noted to be determined by influences associated with labour market discrimination; low mobility (especially for women); as well as institutional forces (Fallon and Lucas, 1998: 1).

In general, women earn less than men, as they usually occupy lowly paid positions. Budlender (1998a: 19) notes that women earn only between 72 and 85% of what men with similar education earn. This is largely due to the fact that women and men occupy different jobs and work in different sectors of the economy.

2.2.1.5 Bias in as far as access to skills training

Over time, women, like black people, have faced discriminatory practices which are both politically and economically motivated. While it is true that women's participation in the workplace has increased over the years, however, the workplace still has some elements of discrimination and inequalities of varying degrees, which subject workers (especially women) to inferior treatment. Barker (1995: 63 & 65) notes that the inequalities manifested in the South African labour market has amounted to discrimination. These inequalities range from educational inequalities to occupational ones. According to Reskin and Padavic (2001: 255), it is assumed that women are not advanced because of their lower levels of education, and that they lack the experience and training desirable for top positions. As a result, women are often located in jobs which offer less diversity of experience and lesser opportunities for upward mobility. By way of countering these assumptions, Barker (1995:163) notes that the discrimination directed at women

result from factors neither related to their education nor the labour market such as being female, black and so forth. The South African Human Development Report (2003: 19) reflects that, while important strides have been made towards overcoming past inequalities in the labour market, the distribution of jobs, occupations and income still correlates strongly with race, gender, age, disability and spatial factors. The labour absorption rate remained at 33.1% for women compared to 46.4% for men in 2002. According to Statistics South Africa (2003) (in South African Human Development Report, 2003: 145) the census of 2001 indicates that more females (48.1%) than males (35.8%) remain relatively unemployed.

The level of education and training plays a vital role in shaping opportunities for powerful advancement in the workplace. In economic terms, education itself forms the first step towards successful self-employment and job creation for both men and women. The Graduate notes: “even though the labour market in SA has the ability to absorb new entrants the imbalances between skilled and unskilled labour blocks the opportunities for certain groups” (1999: 10). Gender segregation in education is still evident between men and women. The Central Statistics Report (1998) (in Budlender, 1998b: 21 & 27) shows that nearly 23% of especially black women at the age of 25 years have no formal education, with only 16% of them having achieved a matric, diploma or tertiary education. This in part has been shaped by the fact that historically, education for women has not been seen as a relevant benefit in society. Mwanwenda thus notes: “formal education was essential only for men” (1994: 144).

Since there were few educational opportunities for African people under the *apartheid* regime the situation with women was even worse. Some parents even tended to believe that education was not important to girls. While more and more girls are now enrolling to study, they however

encounter a number of problems with a range from sexual abuse and assault to career stereotyping. Some find it hard if not impossible to visit libraries and classrooms at night to study, because they fear to be raped or subjected to other forms of violence. On the extreme level, is the tendency to dismiss a pregnant girl from school (Budlender, 1998b: 16). Nonetheless, Budlender (1998a: 30) notes that women students are in the majority at Universities in South Africa. In 1996 women made up 53% of the total student body at our Universities. This indicates that there is a gradual expansion of females who acquire professional qualifications that would perhaps take them to managerial levels.

2.2.1.6 Rigid employment policies

Among the many problems facing women in the labour market is the discrimination in as far as employment policies. It is evident that at times positive changes in legislation is not always implemented by employers. Recruitment policies in organisations tend to favour men and women are less considered because of their possibility of getting married in future and having children. This has been confirmed by the common questions which were usually asked during interviews such as: ‘When do you plan to get married?’ or ‘When do you plan to have a baby?’ Other job adverts would even specify that only male applicants need to apply.

Erwee (1988: 219) contends that companies do not usually plan for their employees’ long term career development, especially in the case of women, and where women are recognised, it is only a selected few who benefit. Milwid notes: “those who went to graduate school-the focus of their academic programs had been on gathering information and developing skills, but not on applying those skills in real life situations” (1990: 20). This means that leaving school to enter the place of work (corporate world) presents an added psychological challenge to women.

2.2.1.7 Sexual harassment

Alongside the growing advancement of women in the labour market is the ever growing conduct of sexual harassment. Unit for Gender Research in Law-UNISA states: “studies in the US and UK have shown that more than 50% of working women have at one time or another in their working lives been subjected to unwelcome sexual advances in the workplace” (1998: 169). This scenario is very likely in SA with the chances that it might even be more, estimated to be as high as 70% of cases. The ILO defines sexual harassment as; “any unwanted conduct of a sexual nature which interferes with the recipient’s work; is made a condition of employment or creates an intimidating, hostile or offensive working environment” (World of Work, 1997: 9). Complementary, Levy (2000: 125) refers to this behaviour as harassment on the basis of gender, which can be any behaviour that treats or affects women differently than men. Moreover, this refers to anything that demeans women or takes away the opportunity to succeed equally with men. Unit for Gender Research in Law-UNISA (1998: 172) notes that this conduct can fall into two categories namely: *quid pro quo* harassment and hostile environment harassment. *Quid pro quo* harassment refers to the situation where a female (or male) employee is forced to grant sexual favours to the harasser for fear of losing a tangible job or benefit such as a promotion or a raise in salary, while hostile environment harassment refers to the situation in which an offensive or hostile environment is created by jokes or other sexual innuendoes that are offensive to the recipient and which result in a violation of her (or his) dignity (Ibid), or creates an atmosphere that denies one gender equal employment opportunity (Levy, 2000: 126).

The conduct of sexual harassment can have severe repercussions on women. It can lead to interruptions in the woman’s career as she might end up quitting her job to run away from the threat. Unit for Gender Research in Law-UNISA supports this view by stating: “Sexual

harassment is not only an attack on the equal rights of a woman, it also violates her right to the integrity of her body and personality - a fundamental right that belongs to every human being” (1998: 169). The humiliation experienced as a result of sexual harassment might make the victims to suffer both emotionally and psychologically which might lead to an intimidating, hostile and offensive working environment for them. Moreover their work performance and productive capacity get affected which might block their opportunities to move upwardly.

In the section that follows we will reflect the roots for women’s disadvantaged position in the labour market with reference to gender theory. The section contains a conceptual clarification and taxonomy of gender theory, an explanation of specific relevant gender theories, as well as a discussion of approaches to integrating gender in organisations.

2.3. Gender theories

The history of women subordination has over the years been transformed into politics that raised feminist consciousness, as *apartheid* raised black consciousness. According to Rogers, feminist consciousness is “an awareness that one’s own subordination, while biographically unique, emanates from systems whereby other people like oneself are also subordinated and suffering” (1998:37). Much as feminism contributed to an in-depth understanding of women’s inequality and the women’s movement across the globe created awareness of women’s inequality and the effects thereof, the various women’s world conferences and so-called “decades of women” finally succeeded in turning the tide in many countries. This happened by and large through the development of international human rights instruments and women’s rights conventions, which hold states responsible to commit to gender equality and to put structures and mechanisms in place to ultimately implement strategies for the advancement of women’s status and gender

equality.

2.3.1 Defining gender

Gender is usually defined as the structure of social relations based on a person's biological sex, and the set of practices that result from this structure of social relations. For example, Lorber (2001: 41 & 51) defines gender as a social institution where distinguishable social statuses are created for the assignment of rights and responsibilities.

This definition has important consequences: (1) Gender patterns may differ strikingly from one cultural context to another; (2) Gender arrangements are reproduced socially (not biologically) by the power of structures to constrain individual action; and (3) Although gender arrangements appear to be unchanging, they are in fact always changing. Gender is constantly created and recreated out of human interaction, out of social life, and is the texture and order of that social life. It creates social differences that define men and women.

In many societies, men are ranked as superior to women even when they share the same race or class. Given this ranking, people assume roles based on their biological sex, which then come to constitute their gender role. This eventually shape the experiences of women and men which in turn produce ways of being usually described as either feminine or masculine (Lorber, 2001: 40).

2.3.2. The various theories of gender

The various theories of gender will be discussed by referring to theories of gender difference, theories of gender inequality, and theories of gender oppression, as explained by Lengermann and Niebrugge-Brantley (1992: 321 – 340).

2.3.2.1 Theories of gender difference

Central to the theories of gender difference is the view that women's inner psychic life is in its overall configuration different from that of men. Sigmund Freud in his biological explanation of gender difference asserts that the different personality structures of men and women stem from the difference in their genitals as well as their different cognitive and emotional processes. In this regard, women are naturally more emotional than men. In the workplace, where men project emotional bonding it is usually sympathy with other men than with women. Supporting Freud, Alice Rossi maintains that the different patterns of hormonal development over the life cycle influence the play patterns of girls and boys. This as a result determines the difference in the careers followed by these boys and girls in later years (Lengermann and Niebrugge-Brantley, 1992: 321). In the workplace, gender separation has been instilled by giving different job titles to the same tasks performed by a man and a woman. For example: the title executive secretary is usually given to the man while the woman is referred to as an administrative assistant (Lorber, 2001: 48).

According to socialisation theories, gender difference results from social learning experiences which are transferred to young children in terms of their separate roles. This eventually marks the sexual division of labour. As child bearers, women have been linked with the duty for child rearing. This confines them to the domestic environment (Meer *et al*, p.15; and Lengermann and Niebrugge-Brantley, 1992: 322).

Culturally, women and men are cast as opposites. Zinn *et al* (2001: 170) note that gender is usually configured through cross-cutting forms of difference that have deep social and economic

results. In cultural settings where men dominate gender difference is often used to subjugate women to men. As for cultural feminists, the difference between men and women is created in the context of structural relationships. In the family, a woman serves as a wife, mother and household worker confined to the home environment. This confinement makes her less competent in as far as working outside the home environment. The sexual division of labour at home is usually carried to the workplace where it creates glass ceilings which often prevent women from competing for high status positions and higher salaries (Zinn *et al*, 2001: 168).

According to phenomenological and post-structuralist theories, concepts used to explain the patterns of culture, language and everyday reality in society are derived from male experiences. French feminists like; Helene Cixous, Luc Irigaray and Julia Kristeva argue in favour of a female based vocabulary and a deeply feminine culture. They view a male culture as rigid and only emphasises singularity and uniformity (Lengermann and Niebrugge, 1996: 449). In this regard, we need an alternative culture which will reflect feminine characteristics suitable for women.

Reskin and Padavic (2001: 255 - 258) note that human capital theorists view sex differences in promotions as resulting from the differences in commitment, education and experiences of males and females. They argue that women tend to be more concerned with family responsibilities which make them to be less committed at work. Family demands make them to have less time to invest in their own career development. While this preceding argument is true, but to a larger extent women's position in the workplace is not so much due to their educational status or experience. Their mobility has been blocked because they are women. Segregation theories argue that women are less promoted at work because of the gendered labour market. Women are placed in jobs with short (or no) job ladders. This makes their accomplishments invisible. Segregation

theorists moreover argue that employers stereotype women as not having an interest in advancement and also lack the attributes needed in higher level jobs. This is referred to as “statistical discrimination” (Reskin and Padavic, 2001: 258).

2.3.2.2. Theories of gender inequality

Theories of gender inequality complement theories of gender difference. Maharaj (1994: 40) refers to gender inequality as the structured inequality of access to material and non-material social resources between the sexes, which generates male privileges and domination and female subordination in society. To support socialisation theorists, liberal feminists maintain that women oppression was typically conceived in terms of female socialisation into a limited range of roles and how these social roles were then reinforced through cultural traditions which viewed women as being different from men. For liberal feminists, sexism is the key force in the system of inequality. Andersen and Collins define sexism as “a system of beliefs and behaviours by which a group is oppressed, controlled and exploited because of presumed gender difference” (2001: 84). Sexism therefore subjects women and men into rigid characterological molds, denies them of available talents of the most charitable culture which carries values of worth and freedom to a person (Lengermann and Niebrugge-Brantley, 1992: 324 - 325; Maharaj, 1994: 43).

Marx and Engels note that within the family patriarchy predominates and it subordinates women, especially in societies with a capitalist mode of production and social structures. To them, women subordination results from man’s accumulation of surplus and of capital which he needs to pass on to his heirs. The heirs in this regard refer to the boys and not the girls. As wage labourers women earn less than their men counterparts and top positions are still an avenue for men. Marx thus notes that the entry of women in the labour market has never brought any

significant emancipation to women (Meer *et al*, p.16-17). By demeaning women's abilities and keeping them from learning valuable technological skills employers preserve them as cheap and exploitable army of labour (Lorber, 2001: 52). In the process, men therefore use their advantage to monopolize the better paid, more interesting, and more autonomous jobs (Lengermann and Niebrugge-Brantley, 1992: 328 - 331).

2.3.2.3. Theories of gender oppression

Theories of gender oppression describe women's situation as a product of the direct power relations between men and women. Frye *et al* (2001: 7) argue that the experience of oppressed people (women) is that the living of one's life is confined and shaped by forces and barriers which are not accidental or occasional, but are systematically related to each other in such a way as to catch one between and among them and restrict or penalize motion in any direction. In light of this argument, one would agree that women are fundamentally oppressed.

Contemporary psychoanalytical feminists explain patriarchy by referring to theories of Freud and Freudian scholars. They view patriarchy as a system through which women are subjugated by men. The question that concerns them is: why do women fail to put efforts in protest against patriarchy? (Lengermann and Niebrugge - Brantley, 1992: 332). Referring to Freud, they maintain that a woman's sexuality and the woman herself are conceived as naturally subordinate to the male sex. Contesting Freud, Sheila Rowbotham, a Freudian scholar, asserts that women oppression results from men's desire to control a woman as a person, and not her sexuality (Meer *et al*, p.17). To support Engels, radical feminists view patriarchy as the most pervasive and enduring system of inequality. Patriarchy teaches how to subordinate and control others. Women are mostly the targets for this subordination. To radical feminists, patriarchy is violence against

women. It is hidden in more complex practices of exploitation and control over women (Maharaj, 1994: 44).

Like radical feminists, socialist feminists refer to race, age, ethnicity, sexual preference and location as systems of oppression. They see race, class and gender as autonomous structural features through which power relations are generated to shape the disadvantaged position of women. They argue that in all life-sustaining activities exploitative arrangements exist which profit some while impoverishing the other. This view forms the foundation of Marxian theory. The exploitative arrangements form a solid foundation for domination and women subordination (Maharaj, 1994: 44; Lengermann and Niebrugge-Brantley, 1992: 337 - 340).

The taxonomy discussed in the preceding section provides some sort of a “map” to finding one’s way through the maze of gender theories. Gender relations are complex and comprise multiple dimensions. Connell (2002: 58) distinguishes the following dimensions of gender relations, which describe four structures in the modern system of gender relations: power relations, production relations, emotional relations and symbolic relations.

(a) Power relations

Power operating through institutions and power in the form of oppression of one group by another is an important part of the structure of gender. In addition, power also operates diffusely and discursively. Michel Foucault (1977) (in Connell, 2002: 58) explained power as widely dispersed, operating intimately and diffusely, through the ways we talk, write and conceptualise. Both these approaches to power are useful in an analysis of gender relations in the workplace.

(b) Production relations

The “sexual division of labour” was common throughout history and across cultures, and remains relevant in an analysis of women’s position in the modern work environment. In modern western society, gender divisions between jobs are not the whole of the gender division of labour. There is a larger division between ‘work’ – the realm of paid labour and production for markets – and ‘home’. The whole economic sphere is culturally defined as men’s world (regardless of the presence of women in it), while domestic life is defined as women’s world (regardless of the presence of men in it). The division of labour itself is only part of a larger process. In modern economy the shared work of women and men is embodied in every major product, and every major service, and combined contributes to economic growth. Yet women and men are differently located in that process, and women and men get different benefits from it. The gendered nature of work is quite diverse. It is also manifested in a gender division of labour in occupations; there is a gender division in the education system that prepares people for work. Consequently, there are courses where women predominate and courses where men predominate.

(c) Emotional relations

Patterns of relationships exist inside every social institution, including the workplace. This is an important dimension of gender, often interwoven with power and the division of labour, but also following its own logic. Emotional relations are also found in the workplace. For example; in gender-typed jobs where hospitality workers are trained to produce sympathy and induce relaxation.

(d) Symbolic relations

Symbolic relations in gender include the rules for ‘gender attribution’. This suggests a move below the level at which gender categories usually appear to consider how a person (or action)

gets assigned to a gender category. Whenever we refer to a woman or a man, we call into play a system of understandings, implications, overtones and allusions that have accumulated through our cultural history. The meanings of these words are enormously greater than the biological category of male and female.

All four structures of gender can be found in one situation. These four dimensions of gender are constantly intermingled and interacting in practice. A point mentioned before, namely that gender arrangements are constantly changing, is an important point and needs further discussion. Although social forces like changing technology and urban life are powerful forces to bring about change in gender arrangements, gender relations also have internal tendencies towards change. Gender categories are inherently unstable. Identities are always historically constructed and in principle open to change. Each of the four dimensions of gender relations are open to change. Power relations are changing – through the campaign against domestic violence, claiming human rights to freedom and safety. Production relations have also been the site of massive change, as more and more women enter the labour market and pursue equality. Emotional relations are changing due to the greater acceptance of visible gay and lesbian relationships, and the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Changes in symbolic relations are evident for instance through the diverse portrayal of women and men in the media.

2.3.3 Approaches to integrating gender in organisations

In view of the preceding discussion, Kabeer (in March, 1999: 104) states that underlying causes of gender inequality are reproduced across a range of institutions such as the state, the community and the marketplace, and not only confined to the home environment. In this regard, gender – awareness requires an analysis of how inequalities are created and reproduced by these

institutions. As institutions are inter – related though independent of each other, Kabeer (in March,1999: 105) asserts that a change in the policy or practice in one institution will cause changes in the other.

In what she calls the **Social Relations Approach**, Kabeer (in March *et al*, 1999: 108 - 109) distinguishes between three approaches to gender relations in the workplace:

Gender – blindness

(This approach does not attempt to distinguish between males and females. However, it incorporates biases in favour of existing gender relations, thus are more likely to exclude women and benefit men)



Gender – awareness

(These policies recognise women and men as equal actors. They recognise that constraints in a particular context can lead both men and women to have differing and conflicting needs, interests and priorities. She distinguishes between two kinds of gender awareness:



gender – neutral:

(Target interventions benefit women and men within existing divisions of resources and responsibilities)



gender – specific:

(Targets the women or men)



Gender – redistributive approaches

(These policies are intended to transform existing distribution of resources and responsibilities so as to create a more balanced relationship between women and men. They touch on strategic gender interests, which help create supportive conditions for women to empower themselves)

The first types of approaches contain rigid policies not adaptable to the changing work environment. To address the needs of women, organisations will have to adopt more gender – aware approaches, in particular gender – specific, and gender – redistributive approaches. These are affirmative action tools, which can facilitate organisational transformation and thus increase advancement opportunities for women.

Supporting the Social Relations Approach, Rao and Friedman (in Royal Tropical Institute, 2000: 67) purport that, while there has been some progress towards gender equality and equity in the world in the past 30 years, there is still a long way to go to achieve this goal. They argue that achievement of gender justice is not possible while other forms of social injustice continue. They are of the view that organisational transformation can only take place when the deep structures of the organisation have been challenged and changed together with the organisational systems and processes that are built on those foundations. The process towards organisational transformation has been exposed in what Rao and Friedman (in Royal Tropical Institute, 2000: 72 – 75) call: **Gender, Justice and Organizational Transformation Model**. To them, the process goes in this way:

Step one: Analyse the context

This involves exploring the contextual imperative that shape and influence transformation. Look at how can the strategies for change be adapted to particular cultural and social context, and to types of organisations and organisational cultures.

Step two: Define the vision

This pertains to; What is the organisation’s vision of gender justice – women and men represented in equal numbers at all levels and functions within the organisation? or Balancing productive and reproductive division of labour – ending the split between work, home and community? or Greater involvement of the marginalized in decision making process? or Is it to end gender – based violence, including sexual harassment?

Step three: Identify change agents

This involves asking questions such as: How women and current management become role models and begin to model what is being advocated? How to build change teams? Who can be the change agents(s) both inside and outside the organisation?

Step four: Transformation

This involves questions like; How will the changes in the organisation affect the delivery of goods and services? How is the organisation coping with the change? Where is more change needed? How organisational transformation relates to politically motivated changes and constituency pressure? What is the link between women's empowerment and gender justice?

Step five: Monitor progress and sustainability:

Questions often asked are: How to ensure sustainability of interventions? How to build ownership? How to monitor and evaluate progress? What the measurable indicators of success are?

2.4 Problems experienced by women

The problems that women face could be grouped into two broad categories. Firstly, is the category that points to discrimination outside the labour market. This happens mostly in as far as marriage and family life, cultural gender stereotypes, and educational barriers and stereotyping. Secondly, is the discrimination inside the labour market (or in-house discrimination). This mostly results from women's own perceptions and male stereotypes.

2.4.1 Outside the labour market problems

2.4.1.1 Marriage and family life

Drobnic *et al* argue: “the difficulty of combining employment and family responsibilities remains an obstacle for the achievement of equality in the labour market” (1999: 133). Since many people believe women's primary responsibility involves caring for children and other household

tasks, their occupational choices become affected. In western communities, most women find themselves having to work part-time in order to fulfil their dual responsibilities as both mothers and housekeepers (or wives). Ferguson (in Rogers, 1998: 38) notes that in societies where male dominance is a dominant culture, the function of serving and caring for men and children is placed in the hands of women. Hooks refers to this attitude as “self-negation” (Rogers, 1998: 38). Hence, Du Toit states: “since the practising of a professional career requires rigorous work hours, dedication, as well as commitment, the implications of practising such a career for the married woman with children, especially small children, are substantial” (1992: 132). It should be noted that despite the influx of women in the labour market, managerial work has remained the avenue for married (white) males. In most instances demands posed by being a manager might require that the woman discharges her home and family obligations to fulfil the expectations associated with their male-normative management jobs (Martin, 1993: 277 - 278).

In itself, marriage has some influence in women’s employment patterns even when this is not coupled with motherhood. In instances where the husband has to be moved from one geographical area to the other, the wife will be forced to terminate her employment in order to be with the husband. Similarly, where the one partner feels that there is less to exchange within the marriage due to the woman’s income, the outcome can be a divorce. Rogers (1999: 124) supports this view when she notes that the wife’s income may challenge the husband’s prerogative as the primary breadwinner. In contrast, as wives get some increased income they might expect more equity in decision making, which act husbands might fail to welcome. Nonetheless, women’s income could have some positive effects in that this could bring about the equal sharing of responsibilities in the home. This could serve as a relief to the husband in times of economic hardships and thus improve the well-being of the spouses. Rogers notes: “a feminist framework

... sees employment as a mechanism through which women can escape the patriarchal system that keeps wives economically dependent on husbands” (1999: 125).

2.4.1.2 Cultural gender stereotypes

In traditional terms, the qualities that make women acceptable in society can undermine their self-confidence and their ability to assert themselves, to assume responsibility and succeed career wise. Customary law views women as minors and this severely blocks advancement opportunities for women. The historical subjection of wives to their husbands both culturally and legally have created an environment wherein women are barred from paid employment, as this has stereotyped their work to that of housewives. Dinnerstein (1995: 5) argues that society shares the belief that men have been enabled through sublimation to be creative, while it is assumed that women were kept by nature on the reproductive track unless they in fact succeed in sublimation by becoming a nurturing Florence Nightingale. Where girls would be permitted to attend school, only behaviours compatible with success at school were encouraged, but high vocational aspirations were discouraged because of the possible diverse effect such aspirations might have on the more traditional family-nurturing roles assigned to women. Erwee thus argues: “women (in particular African women) are subordinated to men regardless of their age or educational status” (1988: 216).

2.4.1.3 Educational barriers and stereotyping

Within families a belief is shared that a career is something a girl could fall back on in case her husband dies or divorces her. This by implication means that a girl should not build up a career unless she is disappointed in her love life. A study by Beth Milwid (1990) on professional women indicates that in families fathers only discuss business with their sons, and daughters and wives are not included in such discussions. Some parents view their girls to be failures if they do not get married and become wives at the time they expect them to be. Some families even believe that the girl’s education is to train her to be a cultured articulate wife of a successful professional

man (Milwid, 1990: 11).

2.4.2 Problems within the labour market

2.4.2.1 Women's own perception and male stereotypes

When entering the labour market some women come with some preconceived ideas. Milwid (1990: 9) notes that some women think that getting a job would lead to a long-term career commitment. To some, while they enter the workplace, they at the same time secretly hope to retire when they get married. This, as a result, makes them reluctant to work towards being moved to better positions. Moreover, the question of male-female interaction in the workplace is something women think little about as they enter the labour market. Milwid (1990: 22) further points out that other women usually come with expectations that men would be their friends at work, just like the situation at school. Since women are good and hardworking when it comes to household duties, they usually perceive the workplace as only needing people who work hard and who do well on their jobs. Hence, they find themselves working very hard in order to gain recognition and keep their jobs as they do with their marriages, which as a result creates stress on them.

Adding to women's perceptions of the labour market, males tend to have some stereotype ideas about women in employment. Milwid (1990: 44) notes that these stereotypes fit into two categories. First, is the generalisation about female temperament where it is assumed that women are by nature too emotional, too nice or too unstable for business. Second, pertains to occupational ability, and it is believed that subjects such as finances, electronics and plumbing are inherently beyond the scope of a woman's intelligence. At times the stereotypes that men hold about women stem from family roles. Rather than viewing women as colleagues and equal

partners, men tend to see women at work as mothers, sisters and even daughters. While this is true to men, at the same time, women themselves might view their male colleagues as brothers and cousins, as well as seeing them in authority as fathers (Milwid, 1990: 45). It should be noted, however with caution that as soon as this happens the female professional loses her credibility. Consequently, the female colleague will fail to act independently and challenge her boss and other male colleagues. As soon as the workplace is run like a home, the woman professional adjusts herself to a daughter's role and thus cannot make any major decisions, which as a result blocks her way to advance upwardly into management positions.

2.5. Management styles and leadership

A Gemini Consulting survey (1999) (in Business Day, 1999: 10) indicates that gender has more impact on leadership style than race. Ann Spector Leif notes: "leadership is about motivating other people; it's more of a team effort approach, sharing the work and not feeling that (you) have to do it all ... Putting customers first, getting the message out and recognizing the contributions of other people" (Smith, 2000: 36). While males still dominate, their authoritarian, command and control style of leadership have blocked the advancement of women to a large extent. Smith (2000: 37) notes, however, that the different backgrounds that women and men come from have an influence in leadership opportunities. Hence, the socialisation and career paths explain clearly the leadership style of women in comparison to that of men. Hearn and Parkin (1988: 21) contend that hierarchical bureaucracies have produced a situation whereby there is little distinction between formal leadership and management. The hiring and promotion policies which result from bureaucratic ideologies have blocked the opportunities for women. What Dinnerstein calls "the captive wife syndrome" (1992: 154), which is the tendency to regard wives as minors, has become dominant in the world of work. Such is usually reflected in the

management style of ‘telling’ which is characterised by the leader’s defining roles and telling what, how, when and where to do various tasks (Hersey and Blanchard, 1982: 153), and the focus of such is more on tasks, and human feelings, emotions and needs are less considered.

Blake and Mouton, and Hersey and Blanchard models contain elements of male styles and female styles of leadership. The Managerial Grid of Robert Blake and Jane Mouton explains five different types of leadership based on concern for production (task) and concern for people (relationship). The impoverished leader has low concern for production as well as low concern for people. The country club leader is more concerned about people and less concerned about production. The task-oriented leader tends to be much interested in production and is less concerned about people. The middle-of the-road manager makes organisation performance possible through maintaining a balance in getting the work done while maintaining morale of people at a satisfactory level. And a team leader tends to show more concern for people and production (Hersey and Blanchard, 1982: 90). The assumption is therefore, that women tend to be more people-oriented and men tend to be more task-oriented.

The leadership styles described by Blake and Mouton are complemented by Paul Hersey and Kenneth Blanchard. Hersey and Blanchard use the terms such as; “task behaviour and relationship behaviour” (1982: 95). Task behaviour refers to the extent a leader organises and defines roles of members, explains what activities need to be carried out; when, how and where. In this instance there are well-defined patterns of organisation and channels of communication. This style of leadership is more bureaucratic. Conversely, relationship behaviour refers to the instance where the leader maintains personal relationships between himself/herself and members of the organisation. Channels of communication in this regard are open, provide socio-emotional

support to members, psychological strokes and facilitates behavioural interaction (Hersey and Blanchard, 1982: 95 - 96).

Developing from Hersey and Blanchard's view of leadership styles, a study by Helgensen (1990) (in Smith, 2000: 38 & 39) indicates that women have a tendency to lead from the centre of an organisation rather than from the top in the command hierarchy. She argues that leading from the centre is more like a web, whereby the focus is primarily on connections and not hierarchies. As a web leader, the woman leader is able to get information from different sources unlike with a hierarchical leader who relies on a chain of command. Smith (2000: 39) notes that feminists like; Maier, Ferguson and Shrivastava (1993) have viewed power as a source of synergy which should be taught and shared. Given, power is not about control and domination as men see it. In her study (1989) Carmen Griggs (in Smith, 2000: 38 & 39) noted some leadership characteristics possessed by women, and they include; that women use consensus decision making, view power in relational terms as something to be shared, encourage productive approaches to conflict, build supportive working environments, and promote diversity in the workplace. In this regard one could conclude in view of these findings that women are good at promoting a work environment which is not boss centred but one which allows a more adaptive style of leadership which is more interactive and transformational. The debate that one raises here is that women in management portray leadership styles which show more concern about people and building or maintaining relationships at work (Smith, 2000: 38 & 39).

Jacklin and Maccoboy (in Hearn and Parkin, 1988: 23) conclude that women are not psychologically handicapped for management, but are blocked by the recruitment, hiring and promotion policies, and we have to acknowledge the fact that most women have their first real

experience of leadership in the workplace (as supervisors, particularly in the retail sector), meanwhile the majority of men's first experience in this regard tends to be at school and at home. Jonathan Yudelowitz, head of the leadership discipline at Gemini Consulting, argues: "the skills that women bring into the workplace are exactly what the workplace needs right now and that is the ability to consult, to think systematically and to manage relationships" (Business Day, 1999: 10).

The management styles that have been discussed in this preceding discussion are in contrast portraying masculine and feminine characteristics. The assumption is that women will have more of the feminine characteristics than men. The management styles of men tend to have masculine qualities. In contrast with these views Macdonald *et al* (1997: 111) contend that this dichotomy has formed the basis for the popular stereotype view of male and female styles of leadership and management. Hence, Smith (2000: 43) contends that both women and men can possess feminine leadership traits such as being concerned with profitability, both task and people orientation, operate from the centre of the organisation and from hierarchies, can foster independence to subordinates, use consensus, and share the agendas and vision of the organisation, just as much as they can both possess masculine leadership traits like; controlling, authoritarian and command based (Macdonald *et al*, 1997: 111). However, resulting from their socialisation, women tend to have more of the feminine traits than men are. Granted, one may argue that women have the capacity to be true and effective leaders for this millennium.

2.6. Organisational culture

2.6.1. Organisational culture defined

Human *et al* (1999: 29) argue that in SA where organisations have made efforts around training

as part of the affirmative action process, only black people have been trained and developed through a series of *ad hoc* training programmes whilst organisational culture has been left untouched. Denison (1992) defines organisational culture as “the underlying values; beliefs and principles which comprise the foundation stones of an organisation’s management system together with the particular set of management practices and behaviour which exhibit and reinforce those underlying values; beliefs and principles” (Human *et al*, 1999: 43 - 44).

Greenberg and Baron define organisational culture in a rather simple way. They state: “Organisational culture refers to cognitive framework consisting of attitudes; values; behavioural norms and expectations shared by organisation members” (1997: 471). While many organisations have managed to get the climate right by appointing Blacks into positions of power, however they have failed to act proactively to cater for the appointment of women. This situation therefore demands that the culture in organisations need to be fairly, if not totally changed as part of employment equity initiatives.

2.6.1.1. Elements of organisational culture

In organisations, culture could be transmitted to members through things such as symbols, stories, jargon (language), ceremonies and statements of principle. These devices become what Kreitner and Kinicki refer to as “the social glue that binds members of the organisation together” (1992: 706). In organisations, symbols like slogans, emblems and even the structure of the building are used to connote meanings that extend beyond their intrinsic content. While stories are used to get members to buy-in to the organisation’s culture, the language used and certain concepts help members to define their identities as belonging to that organisation (Greenberg and Baron, 1997: 477 - 478).

Given, as most organisations are run and controlled by men the elements used to transmit the culture of the organisation tend to reflect more male oriented ideologies. For example, mission statements of organisations display more power than friendliness, and the use of such concepts like 'the toilet' instead of 'the ladies room or rest room'. In instances where stories are told about the company's history the male figure is portrayed as the main achiever and contributor to the success of the company, while the female is just recognised as an assistant.

2.6.2. Organisational culture and gender

Greenberg and Baron (1997: 480) note that employees tend to survive longer in firms whose cultures stress pleasant interpersonal relationships than those whose cultures emphasise the value of hard work. Unlike men, women tend to be good in managing and encouraging interpersonal relationships in the family and in the community, and this could be a quality that could be useful in the labour market. As culture becomes the most prominent determinant of people staying in a job, the more feminine the culture is in organisations (namely, the one which is warm, welcoming, caring and nurturing), the more the organisation will be able to maintain and keep its members. And the opposite is true: a masculine culture will chase people away. This supports William Ouchi who explains that a Theory Z organization is the one which is more people-oriented and looks at a person as a whole, which has a wholistic concern for employees which would include their work and non-work lives (Kreitner and Kinicki, 1992: 712). Deborah Tannen (in Quality Life, 1997:27), a linguistics expert, supports this when she points out that women use language as a means to make connections and create intimacy whereas men use language to preserve their independence and maintain their position in a group.

In some organisations it is believed that the more homogeneous the members of the organisation are, the more they will share in common and will better work together and be more effective. Human *et al* (1999: 42) contend that while this sounds true, it does not necessarily mean that being of the same sex would make an organisation to be effective. In this regard, an organisation can have a highly heterogeneous group by sex, race or age yet share common values as well as a commitment to organisational goals. From this view, one concludes that organisational culture is not necessarily created by the same sex or skin colour. While it might be easy to change the culture of an institution, breaking down the destructive elements of that culture, such as the perceptions and attitudes of managers and employees towards women, could be difficult. For diversity to have its value it would be required that the culture of the organisation be transformed first (Human *et al*, 1999: 70 - 71).

2.7. Measures to advance women in the workplace

Over time women have been subjected to various forms and categories of discrimination in the workplace. The needs of women were never given a priority since the workplace has been and is still controlled largely by men. Hassan notes: “many South African workplaces are not representative of the racial and gender realities of our society...while women make-up more than half of South Africa’s population, they are insufficiently represented in the workplace” (1999: 14). In our country, more white males are in high-paying management positions comparative to women and black men. Recent development in labour legislation attempts to address the many problems that women face in the world of work. Employment equity and affirmative action are widely seen as measures that can help to facilitate the advancement of previously disadvantaged groups.

2.7.1 The role of the Employment Equity Act No.55 of 1998 in women's advancement:

2.7.1.1 The purpose of the Act

The new Employment Equity Act seeks to prohibit unfair discrimination and thus propels designated employers to draw-up and implement equity plans. Equity could be promoted by providing equal opportunities in promotions and training for women and also provide conditions of employment that could make it easier for women to be employed and improve their career prospects. This is what women need in the 21st century: the new millennium.

The Employment Equity Act specifically aims at:

- creating workplace equity among all individuals as well as ensuring the equal representation of designated employees in the workplace;
- promoting equal opportunities and fair treatment in employment through the elimination of unfair discrimination; and
- stipulating that designated employers should introduce affirmative action measures designed to ensure that suitably qualified people from designated groups are afforded equal employment opportunities and are equitably represented in all occupational categories and levels (Hassan, 1999: 15; Human *et al*, 1998: 18).

From this discussion I note that equity can be promoted through both the elimination of unfair discrimination and the enforcement of affirmative action. This in essence could serve as useful mechanisms to accelerate advancement opportunities for women in the workplace.

2.7.1.2 Specifications of the EEA

There are some specifications of the Act that need to be noted as they could be useful weapons women could use to fight for their rightful position in the labour market. Chapter II of the Act

prohibits unfair discrimination. Section 5 of this chapter states that every employer must take steps to promote equal opportunity in the workplace by eliminating unfair discrimination in any employment policy or practices. Section 6(1) specifies that no person may unfairly discriminate, directly or indirectly against an employee, in any employment policy or practice, on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status...and birth (Statutes of the Republic of South Africa-Labour, 1998: 453). The relevance of this section is that it makes it clear that **gender and sex** should not be a ground for discrimination in the workplace.

Moreover, chapter III makes provision for affirmative action to be enforced in the workplaces. Section 13(1) states that every designated employer must, in order to achieve employment equity, implement affirmative action measures for people from designated groups in terms of the Act. Affirmative action measures refer to measures designed to ensure that suitably qualified people from designated groups (i.e. women, Blacks and people with disabilities) are afforded equal employment opportunities and are equitably represented in all occupational categories and levels (Statutes of the Republic of South Africa-Labour, 1998: 457).

To support the stipulations of the Employment Equity Act, schedule 7 section 2(1)(a) of the Labour Relation Act of 1995 states that it is unfair to discriminate an employee either directly or indirectly on the basis of race, gender, sex and so forth. And section 2(2)(b) makes provision for employers to adopt or implement affirmative action policies as a way of protecting and advancing persons (women) disadvantaged by unfair discrimination (Government Gazette, 1995: 253 - 254).

For women to benefit in this regard, section 15(2) of the Employment Equity Act stipulates that

affirmative action measures must include measures to identify and eliminate employment barriers, including unfair discrimination, which adversely affect people from designated groups (Statutes of the Republic of South Africa-Labour, 1998: 457). The Act requires that an employment equity audit be conducted in workplaces so as to identify any policies and practices or procedures which adversely affect women (and other members of designated groups). This also includes the profile of the workforce to ensure equitable representation of members in all occupational levels.

Since many women lack the experience needed for management positions, and employers usually prefer to put a person with a certain amount of experience in certain positions, section 20(5) of the EEA accommodates women's position as it states that an employer may not unfairly discriminate against a person on the grounds of that person's lack of the relevant experience (Statutes of the Republic of South Africa-Labour, 1998: 461). To increase the chances of women's employability, section 20(3) stipulates that a suitably qualified person for a particular job might have one or a combination of the following:

- formal qualifications;
- prior learning;
- relevant experience; or
- capacity to acquire within a reasonable time, the ability to do the job.

Generally, since women today are in possession of high academic qualifications compared to men, and also have the competence needed in the labour market, an employer does not have any legal grounds to refuse to employ a female job applicant or give her a promotion. It should be noted that while the EEA tries to cater for the needs of women, however it does not address the hidden problems women face in their places of work. The fact that the Act itself caters for larger

organisations (i.e. those in employment of 50 and/or more employees), it means that small organisations where women predominate will not benefit from the Act.

2.7.2 Affirmative action

Levy refers to affirmative action as: “a program in which, in trying to undo a perceived past inequality of opportunity, certain groups are given preferences in hiring, promotions, admissions, or any number of benefits” (2000: 129). According to Brimohanhall (1999: 141 - 142) a good affirmative action programme should do the following for women:

- increase promotional opportunities for part-time female employees;
- develop job sharing schemes;
- introduce flexible working hours;
- allow time off work during pregnancy for antenatal care;
- improve maternity and child-care facilities at work;
- recognise the parental responsibilities of both men and women;
- retain, train and develop women within the workplace and remove obstacles that block their path to promotion;
- take steps to narrow wage gaps between employees doing similar work; and
- adopt firm policies on sexual harassment.

These views on affirmative action show that the needs of women as a previously disadvantaged category require maximum attention. In essence, affirmative action advocates that women, like Blacks, need to be given preferential treatment in appointments, training, as well as in promotions.

2.7.3 Gender and organisational change

While labour legislation has an important role in accelerating women advancement, but organisational change has even a greater role. The term organisational change is usually used interchangeably with organisational development. Macdonald *et el* (1997: 19) explain organisational development as referring to activities intended to bring about change within organisations, with the objective of increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of their work in the world. As much as development and society are not gender neutral, so are organisations. In all these institutions men are dominant. In organisations a sexual division of labour prevails which mirrors the one prevailing in society as a whole. As stated earlier in this chapter, this sexual division of labour creates a situation wherein men are placed in public and decision making positions as managers and women are placed in private areas where they serve as assistants or secretaries. This gendering of the workplace makes organisations to reproduce gender discriminatory outputs (Macdonald *et al*, 1997: 19 - 26).

To facilitate organisational change as a way of changing gender relations in the workplace and accelerate women's upward mobility, Macdonald *et al* (1997: 19 - 23) suggest various strategies. They argue; for change to take place, first organisational learning should take place. A learning organisation commits itself to the process of collective learning. It pursues policies that increase its learning capacity by way of training, information systems, and consultation at all levels of the organisation. Learning in an institution occurs in three levels. The first level is a single-loop learning, which aims at changing rules and obligations to effect behavioural change. Double-loop learning is the second level, and aims at changing not only rules but also the underlying insights. It is innovative and addresses problems of conflicts and controversies within the organisation.

Lastly, is triple-loop learning which is concerned with the development of new principles to enable the organisation to move into a new phase in its development. This level of learning questions the culture, business and the future of the organisation. I find these levels of learning to be effective instruments to fast track the advancement of women.

Secondly, members of the organisation should develop a willingness to change. Given, both management and the employees need to buy-in to the change initiative. Lastly, organisations need to adopt traditions of transparency and accountability between managers and their staff, and between the organisation and external partners.

Ultimately, a commitment to gender equality in an organisation will require an approach that can help in analysing existing gender inequalities in the distribution of resources, responsibilities and power, and thus design policies and programmes to enable women to be agents of their own development.

2.8. **Conclusion**

In this chapter I have looked at the relevant literature to support the arguments raised in the first chapter. From this literature review it is clear that gender inequality and discrimination is still evident in the labour market. This cannot be understood separately from the other forms of inequalities and discrimination perpetuated through race, age, class and wealth distribution. While legislative efforts have been initiated to change and strengthen the position of women, some stereotypes exist which consequently block women's opportunities. The Employment Equity Act promotes a non-discriminatory work environment and the enforcement of affirmative action as a tool to address the needs of women in the workplace. Moreover, the change in gender relations as a way of facilitating organisational change has been shown to have a stake in

influencing and creating advancement opportunities for women. To effect gender – sensitive institutional change, Goetz (in Royal Tropical Institute, 2000: 78) suggests that organisations need to routinize gender – equitable forms of social interaction and also challenge the legitimacy of forms of social organisation which discriminate against women.

The understanding generated by the various theories of gender is that women's disadvantaged position at work has some roots from factors which are biological, psychological, institutional, economical, as well as socio-cultural. Through socialisation processes, patriarchy, male – dominance and cultural stereotypes, which created a distinction between a female's job as opposed to a male's job, women's position in the labour market has been significantly affected. The sexual division of labour, which is deep rooted in culture, has denied women the opportunity to participate in the public sphere of social life. The gradual transference of this sexual division of labour at home to the workplace has eventually created glass ceilings and a gendered labour market.

The issue of gender in the workplace and in society is quite a complex one. This literature study has indicated that in general women confront many problems, both within and outside the workplace, which eventually block their opportunities for upward mobility in the workplace. In this regard, to research on the experiences and realities of women in organisations require more qualitative approaches. And this is what I have done in this study. The research design and methodology are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

3. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Research has been described as a collaborative activity by means of which a given phenomenon in reality is studied in an objective manner, with a view to establish a valid understanding of that phenomenon (Mouton and Marais, 1990: 156). Mouton and Marais(1990: 156) continue to explain research as a scientific process, where science is that system of concepts, theories, findings and methods accepted by a number of scientists. The research reported on this dissertation is based on the scientific study of women's position in the labour market in view of the employment equity and affirmative action legislation. The question is; how can organisations, in view of employment equity and labour legislation, go about transformation that would ultimately ensure women advancement? This chapter provides the research design and methodology used in conducting this study.

3.2 Type of study

This study is a case study of women in managerial positions in the **Kruger National Park and the South African National Parks Board**. In this study, I seek to capture specific aspects of the social world of women, in particular the workplace, for which it is difficult to develop precise measures which can be expressed as numbers. The theme in question can be better explored and thus understood when open discussions, expression

of views, thoughts and feelings, as well as experiences regarding women's upward mobility, have been used. Therefore, the study is qualitative and thus uses an inductive approach to conducting social research (Neuman, 1997: 329).

As a qualitative researcher, I have attempted to understand the position of women in the workplace without imposing any pre-existing expectations or stereotypes on this setting. Therefore, this study begins with specific observations regarding the workplace and builds towards some general patterns about women. The purpose of the study was to research on women's experiences and perceptions of the realities they encounter both internal and external to the labour market. My interpretation of the realities of the respondents has been guided by the responses they gave in the questionnaires and interviews.

In addition, the study is explorative and explanatory. Neuman (1997: 55) notes that interpretive theorists, as explanatory, attempt to discover the meaning of an event or practice by placing it within a specific social context. The study was concerned with generating new concepts and themes, and to find out the factors that deter women's advancement into management positions, where they could play a role in organisational transformation. The disadvantaged position of women in the workplace has been placed within the broader context of women's disadvantaged position and poor status in society, on one hand, and the political commitment to organisational and societal transformation, on the other hand.

3.3 Operationalisation of the main concepts

Mouton and Marais (1990: 160) note that qualitative researchers are more inclined to allow themselves to be led by meaningful sketches or by intuition. Like in all qualitative studies, concepts have connotative meanings and not denotative ones as in quantitative studies. The following concepts are considered as the core concepts for this dissertation.

Upward mobility has been operationalised as one's movement from a junior (lower) position to a senior (higher) position within the organisation. In the questionnaire, respondents were asked to share their thoughts regarding the effectiveness of measures like affirmative action and employment equity in women advancement.

Managerial position refers to any position in which a person has decision making powers in the organisation (Hersey and Blanchard, 1982: 3). Managerial positions have been classified under three levels namely: top management, middle management, and lower or line management. By top management I referred to directors and general managers. Middle management included; operations managers, human resources managers, and divisional heads. And lower or line managers included; restaurant managers, nursery managers, project managers, and managers of small camps. This operationalisation of management levels is according to the categorisation of management for the Kruger National Park, as was described by Marais (2000), and as explained by Griffin (1987: 13-16). In the questionnaire respondents were asked to indicate at what level of management were their jobs at the Kruger National Park.

Discrimination has been operationalised to refer to any act or practice by which a woman is unfairly excluded from participating in management positions because of her gender (Lorber, 2001: 41; Government Gazette, 1995: 253). In the questionnaire, respondents were asked to say what they think are the reasons behind discrimination against women.

Employment equity refers to giving women opportunities equal with men in the workplace, taking into consideration their inherent differences, as according to the Employment Equity Act (EEA) (Statutes of the Republic of south Africa – Labour, 1998: 453). To operationalise employment equity, participants were asked to share their understanding of employment equity, to share their views regarding the role of the EEA in women advancement, and also to state if their organisation does have employment equity and affirmative action policies to give women preferential treatment in appointments and promotions, as according to the Labour Relations Act (Government Gazette, 1995: 253-254) and the Employment Equity Act (Statutes of the Republic of South Africa – Labour, 1998: 457). Employment equity has been related to **gender equity** which refers to the attainment of equality with males in legal, political, and economic spheres, a goal of feminism, as according to Ramphele (2002: 255).

Organisational culture refers to the practices, beliefs and assumptions valued by management and the employees in an organisation (Smit & de Cronje, 1992: 382). Organisational culture has been operationalised as male-dominated or feminine. In the questionnaire I asked questions about the women's perception of culture within the

Kruger National Park, and perceptions regarding a feminised culture and the various elements of culture of their organisation.

Organisational change refers to the activities or measures intended to bring about change to afford women the opportunity to access managerial positions and to excel in these positions within the organisation (Macdonald *et al*, 1997: 19). This concept was operationalised by asking respondents to state what they think needs to change in organisations to enable women to move upwardly and to become better managers.

3.4 Profile of the Kruger National Park

The Kruger National Park (KNP) is an organisation whose business is nature conservation and tourism. Its location stretches from Malelane in the Mpumalanga Province to the north in the Limpopo Province. In the post *apartheid* era, organisational transformation had been prioritised in the Kruger National Park (KNP) and the entire South African National Parks Board (SANP). As a result of black economic empowerment initiatives, Mr David Mabunda became the first black director of this organisation. The transformation statement of the SANP reflects that transformation is a strategy and a process that requires a shift in organisational culture. In compliance with this view, the SANP committed itself to the development and implementation of equity and equal employment opportunities to correct the gross imbalances in staff profiles and to enable individuals to enjoy their employment conditions (http://www.parks-sa.co.za/aboutus/aboutus_transformation.html, accessed on 29/ 04/ 2004). Alongside attempts to redress racial discrimination through affirmative action and employment

equity in the KNP and the entire SANP, plans have been made to advance women into managerial positions. This is evidenced by the number of women managers who participated in this study.

3.5 Sample design

The study was conducted among women in managerial positions at the Kruger National Park (KNP) and the South African National Parks (SANP). The inclusion of the SANP women managers was due to that these women represent the KNP as an organisation within the broader South African National Parks.

A population of 17 female managers was identified using a telephone–mailing list. Seven of these women were from the SANP while 10 were from the KNP. Three of these women were at lower level management, 11 were at middle management and the other 3 were at top management. Resulting from the fact that the population was small, I therefore decided to include all 17 women in the study.

3.6 Measuring instruments

In this study two different tools of data collection have been used. These were a comprehensive questionnaire and interview schedule. While questionnaires are mostly directly associated with quantitative studies, however I felt a questionnaire would be a useful, easy and cost-effective tool to use in gathering data from the women at the Kruger National Park, as they were widely placed in the various camps. Adding to this was the fact that the researcher conducted this study without any financial support. To gather as

much information as one needed, the questionnaire contained open-ended questions. Respondents were given the liberty to provide additional information on separate papers.

Content validity was ensured in this study. Hence the questionnaire was developed from the main themes covered in the literature review. These themes are: problems women face both inside and outside the organisation, reasons contributing to women's discrimination, sexual harassment, measures to accelerate women advancement, perceptions regarding employment equity and affirmative action, organisational culture, management styles and leadership, and organisational change.

The questionnaire has eight sections. Section A deals with biographic questions like; age, race, job title, educational status, etc. Section B includes questions about the problems women encounter both within and outside the workplace. Section C deals with questions pertaining to measures to advance women's position. Section D explores women's perceptions about their advancement in as far as employment equity and affirmative action are concerned. Section E addresses questions about women's views regarding organisational culture, and selection and recruitment policies. Section F deals with questions regarding women's perception of management styles and leadership. Section G deals with questions relating to women's management capacity. And the last section deals with questions about organisational change. (A copy of the questionnaire is provided as appendix A).

To supplement information gathered through the questionnaires both face-to-face and telephonic interviews were conducted. The aim of these interviews was to explore further the women's views, thoughts and feelings regarding their advancement. Some of the questions appearing in the questionnaire were asked as part of the interview. (A copy of the interview guide is appended as B).

3.7 Procedure in data collection

In conducting this study I got some assistance from an industrial psychologist working at the Kruger National Park, to gain access to the KNP and SANP. (Copies of the letters of correspondence are provided as appendices C, D and E).

The first planning meeting between the coordinator at the KNP and me took place in February 2000. Out of the sample of 17 women managers who were targeted, 11 returned their questionnaires. I have noted that only women from middle and lower management responded, and no response was received from women from top management. Seven of these women who responded were at middle management and 4 were at lower management. From the 11 respondents, only 4 were based at the South African National Parks and 7 were from the various camps of the Kruger National Park .

In December 2002, follow up interviews were conducted using both face-to-face and telephonic interviews with the 11 women who responded to the questionnaires. Five interviews were conducted face-to-face with the women managers at the KNP, and 6

telephonic interviews were conducted with the 4 women of the SANP and 2 women of the KNP. The next section explains the method that I have used for data analysis.

3.8 Method of data analysis

In this study I have followed a nonpositivist approach to conducting social research. My aim was to generate new themes and concepts which would lead towards developing universal statements about women's position in the workplace, particularly the Kruger National Park. Moreover, the study followed an analytical inductive strategy to data analysis, described by De Vos *et al* (1998:338). Analytical induction is a strategy to develop universal statements containing the essential features of women's position, as the case of this research, or those factors that are always found to cause or lie behind the existence of women's disadvantaged position in organisations.

Data has been interpreted in terms of experiences and perceptions of women's situation in the Kruger National Park and the South African National Parks, and their managerial roles. Conceptualisation has been used to organise and make sense of data collected, as described by Neuman (1997: 421). New themes and concepts have been developed, refined and organised into categories. This method of concept formation has been coupled with coding. De Vos *et al* (1998: 271) refers to coding as a process by which data are broken down, conceptualised and put back together in new ways, and is also a process by which theories are built from data.

First, open coding was used to look for key concepts in order to create preliminary concepts and themes. Secondly, axial coding was done as a way of putting together concepts and themes which almost address the same issue, to create sub-categories of themes. And last, selective coding was done to select core categories and systematically related them to other categories (Neuman, 1997: 421 – 424; De Vos *et al*, 1998: 271 - 276). These core categories finally explain the main themes that are discussed in chapter four and chapter five. The whole process of coding data is provided in the fourth chapter.

3.9 Limitations

The study did not go without any limitations. While I have opted to use a comprehensive questionnaire, as it was a cost effective tool to gather the data in the Kruger National Park, however I note that focus groups could have added value to individual interviews. This would have created a forum where women would gather to share with each other their views and feelings regarding their positioning in the organisation.

The following chapter will provide the research findings gathered through the questionnaires and the interviews.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter contains the research findings. What I present in this chapter is a description of the information gathered through the questionnaires and interviews. Attempts have been made to report data in its original form even though data has been reduced through the coding process to make sense of the information. The main themes of the findings have been deduced from the questionnaire, with sub-themes being generated through the process of data analysis. This is indicated in the tables for the coding process for themes 1 to 6. Data have been analysed and synthesised to explain the main findings of this study.

As stated in chapter three, the study was conducted with women in management positions at the **Kruger National Park** and the **South African National Parks**. Questionnaires were sent out to these women in April 2000. Of the total of 17 women, only 11 managed to return their questionnaires by November 2000. Only women at lower and middle management returned their questionnaires, and no response was received from the women at top management. Follow-up interviews were conducted with the 11 women to supplement the data that was gathered through the questionnaires. The biographic information of the participants is provided in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Biographic information of respondents

Respondent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Q.1.Age	39	30	55	49	37	32	42	33	33
Q.2.Race	Black	Black	White	White	Black	White	White	White	White
Q.3.Management Level	Lower	Middle	Lower	Middle	Middle	Middle	Middle	Middle	Lower
Q.4.Job title	Food & beverage manager	Human resources manager	Travel trade reservations manager	HR admin. operations manager	Research & publications manager	Head: resource management	Manager	Head ranger	Assistant restaurant manager
Q.5.Years of service: In total: In present job:	17 yrs 3 yrs	5 yrs 2.5 yrs	15 yrs 2.5 yrs	21 yrs 9 months	12 yrs 1 yr	3.5 yrs 1.5 yrs	15 yrs 8 yrs	14 yrs 2 yrs	13 yrs 6 yrs
Q.6.Marital status	Divorced	Never married	Married	Married	Not stated	Engaged	Married	Never married	Never married
Q.7.Husband's occupation	Fiancé not working	N/A	Retired	Retired	Not stated	N/A	Chief executive	N/A	N/A
Q.8.Number of children	3	0	2	3	2	N/A	2	N/A	0
Q.9.Level of education	Std 9,hotel management diploma, PMD certificate	BA Admin. degree	Public relations practitioner	Std 10	Post matric	PhD: zoology	Std 10	Higher diploma: nature conservation, MA-environ. management	HR management diploma

The biographic information of the women who participated in this study reflects that they have spent only a few years at management levels despite their high levels of education. Their qualifications range from tertiary education certificates to Doctorate degrees. One of the women who participated in this study holds a Doctor of Philosophy in Zoology. Another has a Master of Arts degree in Environmental Management, and another a BA (Hons) in Marketing.

4.2 Presentation of findings

Women face a number of problems both internal and external to the labour market due to their gender. The first set of labels in open coding, as shown in the table on theme 1, refers to problems external to the labour market, and the second and third labels refer to problems which are internal to the labour market. The problems that have been identified through the selective coding stage include: socio-cultural stereotypes, sexism and male dominance, and lack of career development.

Theme 1: Problems women face internal and external to the labour market

Open coding	Axial coding	Selective coding
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Societal pressure - Family responsibility - Culture - Gender stereotypes 	<p>- Societal pressure impacts negatively on women's upward mobility. Culturally a woman is to remain at home to care for the children and the family. Because of gender stereotypes, family responsibility is a woman's job.</p>	<p>- Women perceive and experience role conflict in society: have to be productive and be responsible for the family. This conflict is perpetuated by socio-cultural stereotypes on gender.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Racial discrimination - SA history - Management attitudes and stereotypes - Sexism - Male perceptions - Gender differences - Sexual harassment 	<p>- Male stereotypes and dominance affects mobility for women, perpetuated through sexism, sexual harassment and discrimination at work: certain positions are stereotyped as men only jobs, and women as intruders, women are not considered equal to men, and white women enjoy more privileges than black women.</p>	<p>- Women perceive the workplace as male dominated, and racial and gender discrimination affects women's position significantly.</p>
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of career development - Educational status - Workplace inflexibility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of career development impacts negatively on women's upward mobility due to their educational status, which is relatively low, and workplace inflexibility which makes it difficult for a married woman and mother to be away from home for a long period. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women perceive the workplace as failing to consider the multiple responsibilities of a working woman. This leads to a disrupted career development which is incorrectly linked to women's educational level.
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(a) **Socio-cultural stereotypes**

The results of this study reveal that women perceive and experience a role conflict in society. They are expected to be productive, to be reproductive and also to support their families, husbands, as well as other close relatives. High expectations have been put on women to perform at all levels and in tasks traditionally considered to be a woman's responsibility. For example: food-provision and child-care. Meanwhile, the recognition given to these responsibilities is very minimal in society. One of the respondents states that society fails to accept the role that women play in the community. She says, society demands that a woman should keep track with societal expectations and events outside the workplace. Culturally, there are a lot of restrictions posed by being a married woman. The husband's job is usually considered as a top priority meanwhile the wife has to maintain a balance between work and child-care. One of the respondents in this study clearly states that in the home environment the woman has a dual responsibility. This includes caring for the children and at the same time meeting the needs of her husband.

(b) **Sexism and male-dominance**

The results of this study reveal that we still live in a male dominated society. Men have the power to make decisions and women are not taken seriously. Women are seen as kids and as

men's property. This resulted from the customary laws on marriage and family life which used to subject women to the male power. In some societies a woman who works as a supervisor is not accepted. Therefore a woman who wants to break these stereotypes will have to choose a job which is nearer home or suffer ostracization. In contrast with this fact one respondent shares her views by saying; "at times people do envy (but at times get jealous for) a woman who holds a managerial position". She argues that in general women are partially discriminated in society.

In as far as the workplace goes sexism is still evident. Certain positions are still stereotyped as men only positions and women are seen as intruding the male avenues. In general, men are favoured for managerial positions. One of the women who participated in this study points to the South African Police Service (SAPS), the South African National Defense Force (SANDF) and Nature Conservation as some work fields in which women have less recognition. She notes that traditionally these work fields have been male reserves. She further notes that in some organisations certain functions are still stereotyped as a woman's job, for example, a secretarial function. Another respondent states: "within the Kruger National Park it used to be a shared belief that women could not be camp managers. In general men tended to have less trust and confidence in a female manager". Another respondent points out that in an instance where one woman fails to perform in a position this gets generalised with statements such as: "a woman cannot do the job and it was proven by so and so". This lack of assertiveness from the side of men contributes to the discrimination directed at women. What makes it even worse is the fact that even male subordinates tend to be aggressive towards the woman who is their boss. A respondent during the interview said; "men give bad looks to the woman who heads them and can even give her some punches. There is a lack of acceptance from men for what you are as a

woman and the position you hold ”.

Sexism has been defined as including gender discrimination, sex discrimination and discrimination on the grounds of pregnancy. One respondent argues that, when a woman is pregnant she usually receives a different treatment from her employer and colleagues. She notes that employers fail to recognise the fact that a pregnant woman can be able to perform her daily duties until the pregnancy reaches the advanced stage. When it comes to employment opportunities there is still a tendency of selecting male applicants for managerial positions before female applicants could be considered.

Moreover, sexual harassment is evident in the workplace. It is used as another form of male-dominance to subject women to the male power. A respondent argues that women usually confront statements like; “if you will have sexual intercourse with me you will not get fired”. This conduct degrades and undermines women, which as a result, impedes their chances for advancement at work. In as far as customer relations go, women also face acts of sexism. A respondent notes that customers tend to pay more respect to a male than a female who provides them with a service.

(c) Racial discrimination

In as far as race is concerned, the results of this study indicate that black female managers are treated differently as compared to white female managers in organisations. A respondent in this study contends: “seemingly white women have more privileges than black women in the workplace”.

(d) Lack of career development

The women perceive the workplace as failing to consider the multiple responsibilities exerted on a working woman. This leads to a disrupted career for the woman. In most instances the lack of career development for women is incorrectly linked to women's educational status which is assumed to be low. The women contend that even women who have the necessary qualifications are not given the opportunity to use their knowledge and skills, just because they are women. This is evidenced in the fact that there are generally not enough women in important positions. A woman will have to work twice as hard to prove herself before she is appointed in a senior position. Putting it rather differently a respondent says: "women have to prove themselves repeatedly to be accepted in a position". Another respondent points out that there is inequality in the treatment of young women in comparison to older women. She argues that, while on average young women have higher qualifications than older women, but due to their age they are usually not preferred at managerial level. Meanwhile, in as far as men's entry into managerial positions age is not considered as an issue.

Moreover, workplace inflexibility affects women's career development. Most workplaces do not have child-minding programmes, and working from home is not allowed. This makes it difficult especially for a married woman and mother to be away from home for an extended period. What makes it even worse is the fact that in the Kruger National Park over-time is usually not paid with time-off. All these factors make women not to be motivated to further their careers, which impacts negatively on their upward mobility in the labour market.

Theme 2: Measures to increase women's upward mobility in the workplace

Open coding	Axial coding	Selective coding
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Equal opportunities - Recognition - Participation in decision making - Collectivism - Openness - Empowerment - Firm policies on sexual harassment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participation in decision making is important to the advancement of women. This can be achieved by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - giving equal opportunities to women as according to their qualifications and experience, and - recognising the outside of work duties of a woman, and accepting women and not expect them to imitate men. - Women need to be collective by being open about their experiences and be vocal about what they can take or cannot take, especially when it comes to sexual harassment. - Empowerment has an important role in removing the barriers to women advancement by changing men's perceptions, empowering women not to fall victims of abuse at work, and encouraging non-tolerance to sexual harassment by developing firm policies. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women think that the recognition of women's qualifications and experience will enhance equality at work, thus enabling women to access positions with greater power. - Women activism is needed in the workplace. This can be a strategy to end the harassment of women which blocks their mobility. - Organisations need a change in men's perceptions about women. This can be facilitated through empowerment workshops and firmer policies.

The following measures have been identified through selective coding as measures to accelerate women's upward mobility in the labour market.

(a) **Equal treatment**

The women think that women's upward mobility can be accelerated by promoting equality at work. Women need to be given fair and equal opportunities with men. One respondent says:

“men and women with similar qualifications and work experience should be given equal value and recognition. People doing the same job should get the same salary regardless of their sex and gender”. She argues that equal opportunities for training should be afforded women so as to get them in line with their men counterparts. This will enable women to

access positions with greater power and thus contribute to the decision-making process of the management team. For this to be realised, she says: “the Kruger National Park should appoint women in the top directorate and allow them to take part in the drafting of the organisation’s constitution”. In addition, “organisations should recognise the additional pressure exerted on a working woman. Women need to be understood within the context of child rearing as well”. Being accepted and respected is crucial to a woman, she notes.

Another respondent points out that as managers, women should be allowed to manage like females and not to be expected to be copycats of men. Again, another respondent maintains: “a woman is strong, brings life to this world – for nine months she carries life and nurtures it afterwards when it is born”. She adds: “Women are patient and know how to maintain. They sacrifice to care for the children whereas men fail to devote time for this. Women are more transparent than men are”. To support these views another respondent says: “Having women in managerial positions sometimes brings in a human approach to certain issues as women are compassionate. The fact is that a woman can do the same work as a man – why do we need a difference”.

(b) Women’s activism

The women perceive women activism as a strategy to end the sexual harassment of women which blocks women’s mobility in organisations. Women need to act in unison to confront the discrimination and the acts of sexual harassment directed at women at work. To win this struggle women need to have a collective voice. As a collective, they need to force their way through to gain more power and be moved to managerial positions. A respondent in this study argues: “one woman cannot influence ten men in management, therefore more women are needed so as to form a strong wing”. Another respondent suggests that at times women

need to take action outside the confines of their institutions since there is a tendency that internally their complaints might be ignored. In this regard they have an option of taking cases of discrimination to the labour court. As women, they need to be open about their experiences and be vocal about what they can or cannot take, especially regarding sexual harassment.

(c) **Women's empowerment**

Women perceive empowerment as having an important role in removing the barriers to women advancement. Organisations should use empowerment initiatives to change men's perceptions about women. This should also be used to orientate women about their rights at work and also empower them not to fall victims of the male privilege at work. For the rights of women to be protected, it has been noted: "organisations would need firmer policies to ensure that disciplinary measures are in place to punish acts of sexual harassment within the organisation. These measures can include possible dismissal of the perpetrators of sexual harassment". Another one states: "women and the organisation have an important role in creating and maintaining a work environment in which the dignity of all employees, particularly that of women, is respected and in which sexual harassment is not tolerated". Given, the workplace should ensure that employees' standard of behavior does not become offensive to others. It should be the duty of the employer to inform all employees about the organisation's stand regarding acts of sexual harassment. Strong support against the perpetrators of sexual harassment should come from management, and this should apply in principle even where the perpetrator is in a managerial position.

Theme 3: Assessment of the effectiveness of employment equity and affirmative action on organisational change

Open coding	Axial coding	Selective coding
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Understanding of employment equity - Employment equity and women advancement - Adequacy of the EEA - Affirmative action - Preferential treatment - Training - Gender and racial balancing. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Employment equity can be an important measure to accelerate women advancement, as it seeks to eliminate discrimination directed at women. - Preferential treatment can be enforced through affirmative action programmes, which are aimed at promoting the employment of women as a category of the previously disadvantaged groups. Thus ensuring a balance as far as gender and race go. The training of women will enable women to be empowered to take up the available managerial positions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women view the Employment Equity Act as adequate to move women into management positions. This requires commitment from the top level in the organisation. - Women view affirmative action initiatives as the effective measures organisations should enforce to redress gender imbalances, as they have done so with racial discrimination. This can be coupled with training programmes to empower women to develop the knowledge and skills for management.

(a) Employment equity

The women managers who participated in this study say that employment equity can be an important tool in the advancement of women. They refer to the Employment Equity Act (EEA) as adequate to move women into managerial positions. The women understand that the EEA seeks to eliminate discrimination directed at women and other members of the designated groups. One of the respondents elaborated by saying: “employment equity promotes values of no-discrimination on any basis including reproductive capacity of a person”. She has further noted that it advocates in favour of equal opportunities for both men and women. Moreover, she has noted that equity balances work and family life and has a potential to dismantle white management culture. The Employment Equity Act states clearly that there should not be discrimination on any basis including race, sex, gender, age, culture, and so forth. Another respondent expresses her understanding of employment equity by saying: “employment equity is

a process through which women and other previously disadvantaged communities must be employed to form a certain percentage of the workforce”. The Act has value as it forces organisations to employ women. However, there could be some detrimental effects should organisations advance women only to comply with this legislation. The Act can be used to challenge the historical view that certain positions and jobs should be filled by only men.

Concerns have been shared regarding the Employment Equity Act. First is the fact that the Act addresses designated groups and not only women, which might promote workplace competition. In this regard, women will have to compete with black males and the disabled males which still puts them, as women, at a disadvantaged position. Second is that advancing women because of their gender might lead to tokenism whereby a woman will be appointed in a senior level even when she lacks the necessary credentials for the job. This will have negative effects on the EEA. Third is that men still hold negative perceptions about women. Most of the management positions are still occupied by white males and women advancement scares them. Men are worried about the skills of their women counterparts. Failure to remove these stereotypes will render employment equity efforts useless. Fourth is that there is a lack of enough qualified women with skills to take up the necessary positions. Last is that organisations might deliberately ignore to effect measures to address employment equity concerns.

For employment equity to become successful in the advancement of women, commitment from the top in the organisation ladder should be achieved. A respondent mentions that organisations would need people who are what she refers to as “innovative missionaries”. This should be coupled with a change in men’ perceptions, and a paradigm shift needs to take place within the organisation to accept women as equal to the men and that women are capable to perform at a management level. Policy plans should be put in place and monitored in a fair manner. Women need to change from seeing themselves as inferior to men. Should organisations manage to effect these options, then the Employment Equity Act would be relevant in speeding up the process to achieve workplace equity. However, one participant in this study shares her feelings about employment equity in women advancement by saying: “a woman should be appointed in a position, especially managerial, if she has the necessary qualifications and experience, otherwise she would be subjected to tokenism”.

(b) **Affirmative action**

Like employment equity, affirmative action is perceived as having an important role in redressing gender imbalances in the workplace. The women understand that affirmative action aims at promoting the employment of women as a category of the previously disadvantaged groups. Affirmative action has played a role in the advancement of Blacks as a way of ending racial discrimination. To date, affirmative action has in some way played a role in the promotion and employment of women into positions previously reserved for males. This is evident in the number of women who occupy management positions at the Kruger National Park. The women are of the view that preferential treatment should be afforded women with the necessary qualifications, skills, experience and the drive to do the job. A woman in this study argues: “a woman should not be denied the opportunity because she is a woman, rather if she does not have the experience and skills required for the position”.

Preferential treatment should be afforded women as a way of correcting gender imbalance. However, the workplace should not at the same time compromise to appoint the best candidate suitable for a job. Preferential treatment for women should not over shadow fairness in appointments. Nonetheless, if a woman shows definite potential she should be encouraged and be given the opportunity to advance herself. Given, women need to exert themselves because preferential treatment might work to their disadvantage, especially where they fail to adapt to the demands of the job. One of the women maintains: “a person (woman) should work for his/her advancement, and not to be advanced just because she is a woman”.

While women have been appointed in managerial positions through *ad hoc* affirmative action programmes, but the number of women in management has not reached the desired proportions. As a product of affirmative action more black males have been advanced than women of all races have. A respondent in this study reveals that in the tourism division in their organisation, there are only two black women in the D-band, as according to Patterson grading system, and only one woman is a camp manageress. In view of these, she feels that, for affirmative action to work in women advancement, women will have to be trained as a way of developing their knowledge and skills to be ready for management.

Theme 4: Women’s views regarding organisational culture

Open coding	Axial coding	Selective coding
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organisational culture - A feminised culture - A male-dominated culture - Recruitment policies - Selection policies 	<p>Organisational culture which is passed on through elements such as dress codes, mission statements, language, etc, accounts more for women’s lack of advancement perpetuated through selection and recruitment policies, which usually reflect a culture of male-dominance, which sees men as superior to women, rather than a feminised culture, which sees men and women as equals.</p>	<p>- Women view culture, as a bonding instrument within the organisation, as having a central function in moving women to positions with more power and recognition. This can be achieved by changing the stereotypes perpetuated through selection and recruitment policies.</p>

The women view culture as a bonding instrument within an organisation. It is argued that culture has a central role in moving women into positions of power and recognition like managerial positions. In the Kruger National Park male-dominance has always been the culture of the organisation. This male-dominance is greatly reflected in the dress code of the organisation which is khaki in colour and the kudu symbol. In the past men used to decide what women should wear. Recently a women's committee has been established to determine the uniform suitable for women. One respondent comments about the dress code by saying: "one cannot differentiate between a ranger and a manager - the khaki colour is not good for women". The culture in the Kruger National Park revolves mostly around a nature conservation ethic.

In other organisations the culture is reflected in the selection and recruitment policies through which men are usually given first priority over women in managerial positions. The selection policies of the Kruger National Park are partially women friendly. In the organisation applicants are usually selected according to their qualifications and not gender *per se*. One of the women states: "as a manager, I participate in the selection process (short listing), and at most, I advocate in favour of female employment". She moreover notes: "it is however true that in some instances male stereotype prevail where a male will be favoured against a female applicant in the belief that men are readily available unlike women who always have excuses and would need the permission from their husbands (or men)". In as far as recruitment goes, the Kruger National

Park usually considers the appointment of women even though this is evident mostly in women's stereotypical positions such as secretarial positions. The reality is that managerial positions are still largely reserved for men.

Given these views, the women in this study are of the view that a change in organisational culture, from male-dominance to a feminine culture, will bring about an end to women discrimination in the workplace. A feminised culture has been perceived as a culture that advocates for equal treatment of people, and promotes no favouritism. In this culture, the dress code for women is determined by a team of women. Moreover, with a feminised culture, men and women in management have equal decision making powers, and women's needs in as far as family responsibility are recognised as being different from those of men. However, on a different note, one of the participants feels that organisations should not put too much emphasis on a feminised organisational culture because this will tip the scale too much to the side of women. She argues: "organisations simply need to create a balance between men and women in order achieve gender equity". To support this view, another participant states: "people need to understand women as they are - when it is time for her to behave manly she should not be criticised as much as when it is time for her to behave womanly".

Theme 5: Women's perception of management and leadership

Open coding	Axial coding	Selective coding
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Management styles - Men's management styles - Women's management's styles - Feminine styles of management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Management styles used in organisations reflect the qualities, characteristics, beliefs and practices of men as different from that of women. The assumption is: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women use styles which are consultative, accommodative, supportive, people-oriented, and cooperative. - Men use styles which are autocratic, dominating, controlling, dictative, directive, and task oriented. - A feminine style of management can be used by both men and women, though it is more linked to women. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Men and women tend to possess styles of management which differ significantly from each other, in terms of the stereotypical view of the characteristics of men and women, which are usually described as masculine or feminine.

<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Women in managerial positions- Women's management capacity	<p>- Management is not a field which is difficult for women in that women can more effectively manage people better than men; they are considered to understand personal issues, can listen, support and motivate others, and are more caring. And women can effectively manage programmes relative to men's management capacity.</p>
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Two levels of responses have been identified as far as women and management is concerned, in selective coding. These include: management styles and women's management capacity.

(a) **On management styles**

When it comes to management, the women say that men and women possess styles of leadership which differ significantly from each other. This is in view of the stereotypical view of the characteristics of men and women. Women are perceived as using styles of management which are consultative, accommodative, supportive, democratic, people-oriented and co-operative. These are perceived as feminine traits. In contrast, men are seen as using styles which are more autocratic, dominating, controlling, dictative, directive and task-oriented. These are perceived as masculine traits. One of the respondents expressly says "75% of men are autocratic". Another respondent shares how she views white and black male managers. She states: "White male managers are stereotyped as they hold the view that men know too much, are autocratic and see themselves as the sole decision makers. Similarly, black male managers tend to be directive, do not motivate people to learn and do things on their own". In the Kruger National Park women view the management styles with masculine traits as mostly dominating. It has been pointed out that management styles which are autocratic, dominating, prescriptive, directive and controlling are more dominant in the KNP, than management styles which are democratic, participative, consultative, motivational and people-oriented. Hence, another participant maintains: "the organisation lacks some femininity, in the sense that, the management team is mainly male-dominated which makes the management styles used in the Kruger National Park to become more autocratic and so forth". A feminine style of management has been described as the kind of style where the manager is approachable, assertive, consultative, takes decisions when necessary,

is firm, understanding, supportive, motivational, and manages with fairness, serving the interests of both the organisation and its human capital.

(b) On women's management capacity

Women view women as not handicapped for management. They say that women have the ability to manage people better than men do. Women have been perceived as being considerate, understand personal issues better, can listen, are supportive and can motivate others, and are more caring. Women encourage co-operation at work and they can make people to feel that they are part of a collective whole. One of the women refers to this as "collective management of the work". By this she meant that people are allowed to take ownership of their work and that women usually encourage people to be independent. Another respondent states: "women are more advanced than men in as far as management goes". She points out that in most instances men use power to manage. Women are perceived as being good in planning, organising, leading and controlling, than men are, and these are the main management functions. Moreover, women are perceived as people who follow an open door policy in their managing the organisation. They are good at maintaining sound human relations with their subordinates. As helpers in the community women can help people, much better than men, in achieving organisational goals. In general, women are seen as are more disciplined in the way they interact with their colleagues and subordinates. The assumption is that women have more people skills than men do.

When it comes to managing programmes, men and women are perceived as having relative ability to manage organisation's programmes. However, in most instances men can manage organisation's programmes better than women do. One of the participants states: "my experience with women in managerial positions has been positive in most cases, however women who

lacked experience had problems and some did not last long in their positions." Another participant says that management can be difficult for women especially in the catering industry as managers are expected to work extended hours. She feels that this is an inconvenience to a married woman particularly when the husband fails to accept the work schedule of his wife. Another respondent when she was asked how she copes as a mother, wife and manager, she responded by saying that she enjoys all these roles. Her husband is very supportive to her. Being a mother helps her to work with her staff much better. As she treats her child so she treats her staff. She believes in training the staff to perform their duties with ease. She is always friendly with everybody and ensures that everybody performs well and is productive. Similarly, another respondent mentions that she always delegate responsibilities to her subordinates. This as a result makes the male subordinates to feel confident to work under a female manager. She believes that setting objectives and putting efforts to achieve them is quite crucial in managing work. She started her career as a school teacher, then a restaurant manager at the Kruger National Park, and now she is a camp manageress.

Theme 6: Women’s views regarding organisational change

Open coding	Axial coding	Selective coding
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Change management’s perception - Changes in as far as gender - Organisational change - Changes to enable women to be better managers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organisational change will affect women’s position positively by changing management’s perceptions through encouraging men to develop a willingness to accept and support women in their endeavour to move upwardly and become better managers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women view organisational change as having an important role in the advancement of women. This can be facilitated by adopting right attitudes to help women to learn and grow in management.

Women perceive organisational change as having an important role in the advancement of women. For organisational change to take place, organisations must adopt right attitudes that will help women to learn and grow in management positions. The changes that organisations can effect to enhance the advancement of women, and enable women in management to manage better include:

- more acceptance and support for women;
- greater flexibility and recognition of added (home) responsibilities on women, however not compromising productivity;
- develop clearly stated objectives and career plans as to how women fit into the organisational framework;
- head hunting for capable women and creating a climate that forces women not to cocoon themselves;
- removing the glass ceiling blocking women's opportunities;
- move female managers to directorship positions;
- ensuring a consistent upgrading of positions and ensuring professionalism;
- give women opportunities to receive better training;
- males with experience should mentor the new entrants in management; and
- the organisation should create realistic expectations from the women

4.3 Summary of findings

The results of this study indicate that women experience a work/family role conflict and bear heavy workloads; they experience lack of gender awareness, male-dominance and oppression in the workplace, which hinder their participation in managerial positions despite their qualities, skills and management styles.

Measures such as equal treatment, women activism, women's empowerment, employment equity, affirmative action, and a change in organisational culture, are perceived by the women in this study as having an important role in changing organisational behaviour. This will afford women the opportunity to be given equal opportunities that will probably take them to managerial positions in the workplace, as is required by our labour legislation, in particular the Employment Equity Act and the Labour Relations Act.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

It has become evident from the participants in this study that women experience discrimination in the Kruger National Park, even though there have been measures that have been effected to redress the historic discrimination based on gender and race. Women still perceive some barriers, which are both internal and external to the organisation. These barriers impact negatively on women's upward mobility into managerial positions and consequently, their participation in organisational transformation. This chapter provides a discussion of the main findings of this study, first by discussing the problems women face which affect their upward mobility. Second by discussing measures to be effected to overcome these problems (or barriers). Third by discussing views on organisational culture and organisational change in as far as women advancement is concerned. And last by discussing women in management. The sub-themes that will be discussed have been identified through selective coding as described in chapter four.

5.2 The problems women face

5.2.1 Problems external to the organisation

While in the literature review the problems facing women outside the workplace have been laid out in view of the theoretical arguments raised in chapter one, the actual results of the study have revealed socio-cultural stereotypes as the main external obstacle to women's advancement.

5.2.1.1 Socio-cultural stereotypes

The results of the study revealed that women experience a role conflict and work overload in society. They are expected to conduct paid as well as unpaid work, to be reproductive and also to be responsible for the family. Society demands that working women should maintain a balance between working full-time and at the same time manage the home. High expectations have been put on women to perform at all levels, particularly in tasks which are traditionally considered as women's responsibility, such as child rearing. This has been enforced through cultural stereotypes which prescribe that a woman should remain at home to care for the children, husband and other members of the extended family. In some cultures it is unacceptable for a woman to work as a manager or supervisor. This stems from the view that a woman should always be on the receiving end.

According to customary laws on marriage and family life, women have been treated as kids, minors and in some instances men's property. This reflects the gender stereotypes society holds about men and women. Consequently, this puts women at a disadvantaged position to be recognised at work. Dinnerstein (1992: 5) shares the same sentiments as she argues that society shares the belief that men have been enabled through sublimation to be creative, while it is assumed that women were kept on the reproductive track unless they in fact succeed in sublimation by becoming a nurturing Florence Nightingale. This implies that, for a woman to have recognition at work, she has to work twice as hard to prove her strength and abilities like Florence Nightingale who defied the cultural stereotypes on marriage and child care, during the

Victorian era in Britain, instead pursued her nursing career and also fought relentlessly to improve the status of nursing and of nurses (Ehlers, 1997: 17).

Moreover, in society the husband who is working has more value than the working wife. This is evident where the husband, due to work transfers, has to be relocated to another geographical area, the working wife will have to terminate her employment to be with the husband. In contrast, this can not be allowed where it is the woman who has to be relocated. The husband will even disapprove the transfer. Given these socio-cultural stereotypes, Drobic *et al* (1993: 133) argue that combining employment and family responsibility is difficult and this remains an obstacle for the achievement of equality in the workplace. This eventually has a negative impact on women's advancement opportunities.

5.2.2 Problems internal to the organisation

5.2.2.1 Sexism and male dominance

The results of this study indicate that the workplace is still male-dominated, and gender and racial discrimination have significant effects on women's position at work. Fallon and Lucas (1998: 1) support these findings as they note that discrimination on the basis of gender is still evident in the workplace. They argue that this results from the fact that we still live in a male-dominated society which believes that men are the sole decision makers. This stereotype has been consequently transferred to the workplace where it eventually stereotyped certain positions as men-only positions, and women are seen as intruders in male avenues. Garratt (1998: 18 & 19) supports this argument as she notes that women fail to secure deserved promotions or high level jobs because they are not male. This has become evident in this study since out of all the camp managers at the Kruger National Park only one is a woman. Resulting

from patriarchal attitudes, even women who are in managerial positions confront responses from male colleagues that prove to them that men have less faith in them as women managers. To prove this, a respondent in this study points out that in an instance where one woman cannot perform well in a position this gets generalised with statements such as "a woman cannot do the job, and this was proven by so and so". Decisions taken by the woman manager are usually not considered as equally important.

Cultural feminists have tried to understand the sexism directed at women in organisations by stating that culturally, women and men are cast as opposites (Zinn *et al*, 2001: 168). In general, women have been perceived as weak because they belong to the sex that has the ability to fall pregnant. This has made women vulnerable to all forms of gender-based discrimination in organisations.

5.2.2.2. Racial discrimination

Discrimination in the workplace takes two forms. Firstly, through sexism or male dominance, as discussed in the above discussion. Secondly, through racial inequalities. In the Kruger National Park discrimination on the basis of race is still evident. This is reflected in the difference in the number of black and white women who are in management. One would argue that white women are more privileged than black women. When it comes to appointments in managerial positions, a prospective white female applicant is twice as likely to be appointed, than a black female applicant. This is an indication that affirmative action measures have not pervasively succeeded in addressing racial discrimination in as far as women-to-women is

concerned, as it has succeeded in addressing the racial imbalances in as far as men-to-men goes.

5.2.2.3. Sexual harassment

Adding to the sexism and racial discrimination women face in the workplace, sexual harassment is still a problem. Women refer to sexual harassment as “any unwanted (act) with sexual connotations directed at the opposite sex, which the victim feels uncomfortable with”. In most cases the victim in the course of this conduct tends to be the woman. The women in this study have reflected that in most instances men occupying decision-making positions usually use sexual harassment to exercise their power over women, even though some of them have not been personally subjected to acts of sexual harassment. Karl Marx would have described this as the exploitation of the less privileged within the economic system. Comparing the evidence gathered from the women in this study, I find the assumptions by Unit for Gender Research in Law-UNISA (1998: 169) true, as they have stated that cases of sexual harassment could be as high as 70% in our country. The demand for sexual favours is often used as a prerequisite to women’s promotional or employment opportunities. This affects women’s self-esteem to a greater extent. It degrades the human dignity of women. Consequently, women who resist to offer these sexual favours are often excluded in advancement initiatives.

5.2.2.4. Lack of career development and workplace inflexibility

The results of this study reveal that in the Kruger National Park, and of course in other organisations, there is a lack of gender awareness. This is partly due to the fact that women are not motivated to further their careers. Garratt (1998: 26) explains this

lack of career development as stemming from the fact that at the beginning of their working lives women tend to have no clear goals for themselves and career counsellors also fail to give girls a range of options in pursuit of their careers. This has some roots from socialisation processes taking place in the family and at school. In the family and at school, girls are socialised to believe that some kind of professional training would be followed by marriage, motherhood and home making. This therefore makes women to be reluctant about building a career on their jobs. As a result, one finds that there are few qualified women who can fill-up available managerial positions.

The argument stated above is quite true but at the same time one should guard against over-generalising that the shortage of women in managerial positions is largely due to their lack of qualifications and management skills. The issue is: for a woman to get recognition in the workplace she has to work twice as hard and repeatedly prove her worth. We have to acknowledge that women's entry in managerial positions has been blocked just because they are women. In some instances women will be denied the opportunity to compete in managerial jobs because of their age. Older women are mostly preferred than younger women, meanwhile on average young women possess higher qualifications than the older ones. This confirms what Rogers (1998: 30) points out in her gender oppression theory, that femininity is not equally oppressive to girls and women. She argues that midlife women are usually less oppressed by culturally mandated styles of feminine flesh than women 20 or 30 years younger. One is led to question the exact prerequisites for a management position. Is it qualifications or life experiences? These questions need to be addressed critically. The point is: these forms of discrimination have a greater effect in women's advancement than their

skills and qualifications required for management. One of the respondents in this study notes: "even women who have the necessary qualifications and skills are not given the opportunity to use these skills and knowledge in correct perspective". Resulting from the demands exerted on women, other women end-up frustrated by work and this destroys their quest to develop and advance their careers. One respondent in Sally Garratt's study thus notes: "I was more concerned with job achievement than with job progression" (1998: 30).

Du Toit (1992: 132) continues the debate by arguing that the practising of a professional career requires rigorous work hours, dedication, as well as commitment. Therefore, the implications of practising such a career for a married woman with children, especially small children, are substantial. Moreover, the fact that most organisations are rigid regarding child minding and working from home, have considerable effects on the working woman. The fact that in the Kruger National Park overtime worked is not paid by time off makes it difficult for especially a married woman and a mother to devote time to study and at the same time take care of the family. Garratt (1998: 22) even notes that, due to the fact that most higher level jobs tend to be in the key cities, this is not always compatible with acceptable childcare. All these obstacles to women's career development impact negatively on women's upward mobility, especially, to the woman with ambition and a drive to succeed.

5.3 Measures to increase women's upward mobility

The preceding discussion has shown that there are many barriers to women's upward mobility in the labour market. In this section I aim to provide a discussion of the different measures that could be effected to overcome the barriers to women

advancement. To expose these measures, I have combined measures to increase women's upward mobility and women's perception of the role of employment equity and affirmative action in women's advancement. These were presented as separate themes in chapter four. This section therefore explores the measures to accelerate women advancement, which include: employment equity, affirmative action, women activism and women empowerment.

5.3.1. Employment equity

Employment equity has an important role in the advancement of women. Women refer to employment equity as a process through which women and other designated groups are given equal opportunities in employment and promotions. The Employment Equity Act No.55 of 1998 attempts to promote equality at work by stipulating that women with the necessary qualifications and/or experience should be given the opportunity to be appointed, especially in important positions. Equality at work, as women see it, implies that people doing the same job should earn the same salary and should share equally in the organisation's benefits, regardless of their sex or gender. The feeling of women is that, when correctly implemented, the EEA will manage to change the stereotypical view that managerial jobs are only for men. In essence employment equity is a process through which women and other previously disadvantaged groups must be employed to form a certain percentage at all levels of the organisation.

While women are positive about the EEA in women advancement there are however some concerns they have shown regarding the Act. Women feel that the EEA promotes indirect workplace competition, which puts women at an ever-

disadvantaged position. The Act makes provision for women to compete with black males and the disabled males, which still does not address their disadvantaged position. Secondly, as organisations feel the pressure to appoint women at senior levels they might be directed towards employing women who lack the necessary qualifications, skills and experience required in senior jobs. This as a result will promote tokenism. Thirdly, employment equity can not work in isolation, a paradigm shift, towards accepting women as equal to men in the workplace, needs to take place. The environment within the organisation needs to be favourable to ensure proper planning and monitoring of employment equity plans. The argument in this regard is that one can not enforce equity plans if the will or support for the change has not been achieved, especially from the top of the organisation. Like the Whites' response to affirmative action in black empowerment, men would view women advancement as challenging their prerogatives, or would see this as reverse discrimination.

5.3.2. Affirmative action

Barker refers to affirmative action as “a recognised way of promoting the principle of equality of opportunities in societies where this principle has suffered as a result of discrimination or where less developed persons have to compete with more developed persons” (1995: 183). In South Africa the struggle against *apartheid* has transpired into efforts to end racial discrimination in the labour market. Hence Blacks, especially black males, have been advanced through *ad hoc* affirmative action initiatives but women in general, and black women in particular, have not benefited much from these programmes. Women feel that in recent years women have been promoted into management positions, however this has not been done in proportion to the promotion of their men counterparts. Hence women partly agree with the statement that says:

“affirmative action has done a lot to address racial discrimination but has failed to address discrimination on the basis of gender”. For example, in the Kruger National Park women who are in management only cluster in low and middle management positions. And of all the camp managers, only one is a woman.

Given these arguments, to accelerate women’s upward mobility, affirmative action initiatives should forecast the organisation to bring about gender parity within a given period. Moreover, these initiatives should seek to train women to get them ready to take up managerial positions. This supports Brimohanhall (1999: 141) who argues that a good affirmative action programme should seek to retain, train and develop women within the workplace and remove the obstacles that block their path to promotion.

5.3.3 Women activism

To gain more power and succeed in moving upwardly, women need each other. When women keep contact with each other their strife against discrimination is entrenched. Acting collectively, women can be able to force their way through to gain more power and be enabled to access managerial positions. Milwid (1990:202) supports this view by stating that, when a woman feels like giving up the fight that is the right time for women to act collectively and never be afraid to ask other women for help. This women activism is also supported by contemporary Marxian feminists who postulate that the solution to gender inequality is the eradication of class oppression through a revolutionary action taken by a united wage-earning class of both women and men (Lengermann and Niebrugge-Brantley, 1992: 331). This basis of reasoning assumes that, by acting as a collective, women can manage to challenge the gender

discrimination and acts of sexual harassment prevailing in organisations. This will be a confirmation of the old adage that says; “united we stand but divided we fall”. In 1956, as shown on the photo in appendix F, South African women marched against the introduction of pass laws on the Union Buildings in Pretoria. This march reflects a collective action by the women regardless of their race and class. Today, women who want to challenge their inferior position in the workplace and change the corporate culture would have to adopt the same attitudes of women like Helen Joseph, Lillian Ngoyi, and the others (City Press, 2001: 17).

5.3.4. Women empowerment

Women perceive empowerment as also one of the tools to remove the barriers to women advancement. In the latter years of the 20th century, empowerment has been used to correct past imbalances. A common example in this regard is the black economic empowerment initiatives, which have opened doors for black people to move into the corridors of economic power, whereby some have become company directors while some have become successful entrepreneurs. The appointment of Mr David Mabunda, as first black director for the KNP and now the chief executive of the SANP, where this study was conducted, is worth noting in this regard.

As part of women empowerment, education is important. The organisation should initiate workplace programmes aimed at changing men’s perceptions about women and also empower women about their rights at work. Both men and women need to be trained regarding acceptable standards of behaviour within the organisation. This will create a work environment which protects the dignity of every member of the organisation, particularly of women.

5.4. Organisational culture

Organisational culture is important to women advancement. The culture at the KNP is perceived as male-dominated, reflected in their dress code which does not create a distinction between a manager and a ranger or between a male and a female. Moreover, male-dominance is confirmed by the fact that most senior positions are occupied by men. Women argue that the organisation lacks what is referred to as a feminised culture. According to the women in this study, a feminised organisational culture promotes equality and is not stereotyped towards any gender. In such a culture men and women have an equal share in taking decisions for the organisation. Moreover, a feminised culture recognises women as both workers and home managers. To afford women the opportunity to move upwardly in view of the culture of the organisation, the organisation will have to become a theory Z organisation as seen by William Ouchi (in Kreitner and Kinicki, 1992: 712). Such an organisation recognises the needs of working women both in their work and non-work lives.

5.5. Organisational change

The change in organisational culture will transpire into the change in the entire organisation. The women in this study view organisational change as having an important role in women's advancement. This can be facilitated through adopting the right attitudes to help women to learn and grow in management. The changes can be grouped into two categories, namely; changes to enable women to be moved upwardly and changes to enable women to become better managers.

5.5.1 Changes to enable women to move upwardly

Lemmer argues: “Moving onwards and upwards in the workplace is rather like undertaking a journey...Any serious traveller...undertaking a long and arduous journey calls for careful thought and precision planning...Transforming your job into a career will involve a radical turnabout in your thinking about yourself, your abilities and your role as a woman in the workplace” (1996: 1-3). This statement is quite a challenge to any career woman; it implies that change in as far as gender in the workplace has to be directed by women themselves. Women need to take an offensive stand and reposition themselves in a way that enables them to be available for head hunting. Secondly, organisations need to remove the glass ceiling that has blocked opportunities for women. This glass ceiling encompasses the stereotypes prevailing within the workplace, failure to recognise women’s non-work responsibilities and a lack of clear policies which spell out how women fit into the broader framework of the organisation. This is supported by Goetz, quoted by Rao and Friedman (in Royal Tropical Institute: 2000: 78), who argues that, to effect gender sensitive institutional change, the organisation needs to routinize gender-equitable forms of social interaction, and also challenge the legitimacy of forms of social organisation which discriminate against women. And lastly, organisations need to create an environment which is conducive for women to exert themselves and where female managers can be moved to director’s positions.

5.5.2. Changes needed to enable women to become better managers

Since there is already a significant number of women in managerial positions, for them to excel as managers, they need mentors. The men with experience could be a resource for their support. The training and support they would receive from a

mentorship programme could be of much significance to their output in management. However, the success of this mentorship lies in the change in male perceptions about women. Moreover, organisations should create realistic expectations from women and a work environment which promotes non-discrimination on the basis of gender. While it is quite correct for management to ensure that women grow in managing, but the greatest change need to come from women themselves. To become better managers, they need to change their own perceptions of themselves and should begin to see themselves as possessing the competence to make it at managerial levels and even at directorship level.

5.6. Women in management

5.6.1 Women's management styles

The results of this study indicate that women use styles of management which tend to differ significantly from those used by men. The assumption is that, while men use power to manage, women show more understanding in their dealing with people. Women have been viewed in this study as good in planning, organising, leading and controlling, which are the main functions of management. When it comes to work competence, women are seen as able to encourage work co-operation from their staff and their management style advocates that people should have a sense of ownership of their work. This implies that women use more democratic styles of management. This gives employees the liberty to operate independently. Martin (in Fagenson, 1993: 282) refers to this as feminist management, which is described as carrying the values of mutuality and interdependence, inclusion and co-operation, nurturing and supportive, participation and self-determination, empowerment and personal, and collective transformation. In essence, women believe people should be trusted to

perform on their own rather than being strictly monitored. The people centeredness in women's styles of management suits the team leader of Robert Blake and Jane Mouton. Given these views one would conclude that women use styles of leadership which are more people-oriented and consultative which organisations need in this millennium, and not task-oriented, as confirmed by Jonathan Yudelowitz, head of the leadership discipline at Gemini Consulting (Business Day, 1999: 10).

5.6.2. Women's management potential

Women are not handicapped for management. Like their men counterparts, women have the consistency and firmness needed in management. The problem facing women is that, most women lack the necessary experience needed in management due to past discriminatory practices which excluded them from top positions. When women feel trusted and respected, they tend to be committed in what they have to do. Women as helpers are able to help colleagues at work in achieving organisational goals. Because of their relational and emotional soft nature, women are seen as understanding people better than men can do. As care givers at home, women use more caring approaches at work. These are the qualities that distinguish women from men in as far as management goes. The assumption is that women use an open-door policy in managing the organisation. While we have enough reasons to believe that women can be good managers, however there are some women who adopt chauvinistic ways of managing the organisation. In institutions where women predominate, they find it easy to manage than in organisations where men dominate.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has reflected that women still experience many problems within the labour market. These problems are rooted in the socio-cultural stereotypes and the

negative perceptions and attitudes society and organisations hold about women. While these problems prevail, however they are not exempted from being challenged. Hence, measures such as the Employment Equity Act, affirmative action, change in work organisation through the change in organisational culture and male perceptions and stereotypes, have an important role in removing the barriers to women's upward mobility. In essence, the competence of women in management is greatly affected by discriminatory practices rather than their skills and qualifications. A commitment to organisational transformation is required in order to remove the glass ceiling that makes managerial positions to become less accessible to women. In the following chapter I will provide some useful recommendations that will guide the Kruger National Park and other organisations in their efforts to make managerial positions more accessible to women.

CHAPTER SIX

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts to relate how the findings of this study answers the research questions presented in the first chapter and fitting these findings to the broader theoretical framework of the study. The conclusions will be discussed by referring to problems facing women in organisations, and in particular the Kruger National Park, roots of women discrimination, and the need for women advancement. I will conclude this chapter by providing recommended measures for organisational transformation that the Kruger National Park and other organisations can use to create gender-awareness and thus speed up the advancement of women. I will also provide some recommendations for further research on the issue of women advancement.

6.2 General conclusions

As argued in chapters one and two, the participation of women in the labour market has increased significantly over the years. However, their upward movement into managerial positions has been very slow. This results from the fact that their participation has been received under conditions of workplace discrimination. Glass ceilings have been created which block women's opportunities for advancement. Despite efforts to end discrimination in the Kruger National Park, male-dominance and stereotype views about women are still in existence. The Employment Equity Act No. 55 of 1998 has an

important role in redressing the historical discrimination directed at women. However, the lack of a feminised culture, gender-awareness and feminine styles of management in organisations affects women's position significantly. In the Kruger National Park, and perhaps in other organisations, a male-dominated culture predominates. While women are currently in possession of the necessary qualifications, skills and competences required for management positions, but their access has been blocked just because they are women.

6.2.1 Factors blocking women's advancement opportunities

The findings of the study and the literature review have reflected that women confront a number of problems both within and outside of the workplace, which hinder their advancement opportunities. In traditional terms, education has been reserved for the boys while the girls were confined to the home environment. Resultant, women's educational status tend to be relatively lower than that of men. The difference in education, experience and commitment to work of males and females affect women's promotional opportunities at work. This view is supported by the human capital theorists. Working women are expected to maintain a balance between working full-time and managing the home which involves caring for children, husbands and other members of the family. This pressure exerted on women affects their competence at work which eventually blocks opportunities for them.

The subjection of wives to the husbands enshrined in some cultures and the laws which protected this, have created an environment which prevent women from pursuing careers.

Culture prescribes that a woman's job is to be a house-wife. Socialisation theories contend that, because of the sexual division of labour women are confined to the domestic environment. This is true in the sense that most people working in the domestic sector of the economy are women.

Moreover, today's work calls for greater commitment to and at times extensive traveling. This is mostly the demand in top positions. Looking at the position of a married woman with children this works to her disadvantage. Only a few husbands do understand and give support to their wives who have greater commitment at work. Because of patriarchy and male-dominance, decisions taken by men are valued more than decisions taken by women in society. Consequently, the workplace puts more value to decisions taken by a male manager than those taken by a female manager.

Within the labour market, management's attitudes and stereotype ideas about women, sexism, sexual harassment, workplace inflexibility and the employment policies that fail to take gender equality into consideration affect women's advancement opportunities. Men consider women as not having the capacity to perform at management levels. As managers, women are less trusted for management. The socialisation processes which prescribe what is a girl's job in comparison to a boy's job at home have also influenced the workplace. These have consequently created a preferential distinction between a man's job as opposed to a woman's job. Since men see themselves as the sole decision makers at work management is thus an avenue for men and women are seen as intruders. This is a reflection of sexism.

Sexual harassment as a common practice in organisations is demotivating to women in pursuit of their careers. This interrupts a woman's career to such an extent that she might end up quitting her job to avoid the threat. In essence sexual harassment is a degrading behaviour. The problem is that some women are quiet about this. What makes things even worse is the fact that management usually ignores complaints regarding this conduct. The problem is that many organisations do not have policies to address sexual harassment.

6.2.2 Roots of women discrimination

The discrimination women face in their places of work has some roots from factors not related to the labour market. The theoretical framework in chapter two has reflected that, because of the biological and natural difference between males and females, women and men are usually cast as opposites. Resulting from men's natural strength, power has been linked with masculinity rather than femininity. In this regard women are seen as less powerful than men are. According to cultural feminists, society sees women as wives, mothers and household workers. This view confines women to the home environment which makes them less competent in the outside spheres of life. Consequently, glass ceilings are created in the workplace to prevent women from competing for high status managerial positions. I find segregation theories correct to argue that women are less promoted at work because of the gendered labour market. Given, women are mostly confined to jobs with lesser chances for advancement.

6.2.3 The need for women advancement

While it is approximately over two centuries since women started participating in the labour market but their participation is still mostly concentrated on lower level and lowly paid jobs. In the past twenty years the need for women advancement has been of lesser significance. Where women have been advanced it was only up to the levels of lower management as supervisors especially in the retail sector. Within the Kruger National Park women cluster more in lower and middle management. There is still a gap in the participation of women in top management. Employment equity and affirmative action measures are not sufficient to enable women's advancement to management positions in the absence of gender equality and awareness in the organisation.

In this 21st century, organisations will have to adapt to people-oriented approaches. Because of their role as mothers, women will be the masters for the new management. Women tend to be more caring, patient, sacrificing and compassionate. Drawing from the Managerial Grid of Robert Blake and Jane Mouton women are the team leaders who show more concern for people and for production. The people orientedness in women's styles of leadership is what management needs in this millennium. Noting Carmen Griggs (in Smith, 2000: 38 & 39), women possess leadership characteristics which are consensus-based, shared power, supportive, handle conflict easy, and promote diversity at work. These preceding reflections support the argument that women advancement is inevitable. Women are the suitable agents of change in organisations for this millennium.

The section that follows will provide a description of measures that could be used to promote the advancement of women in the Kruger National Park, as part of the organisation's transformation initiatives.

6.3 Recommended measures to effect organisational transformation towards the advancement of women

6.3.1 Commitment to employment equity and affirmative action

In all efforts to redress past imbalances, equity and affirmative action feature as the core transformational tools. However, without gender awareness these tools cannot be effective in changing women's position in the workplace. One sees the Employment Equity Act No.55 of 1998 as having an important role in the advancement of women. The Act promotes a work environment which is free from any form of discrimination. Moreover, the Act makes provision for affirmative action to be enforced as means to address past inequalities. In this regard, the Kruger National Park and other organisations need to draw up gender-aware policies, which take into consideration the advancement of women and to spell out clearly how women fit within the broader sphere of their work organisation. This should be done without any reservations. The fact that the Employment Equity Act addresses designated groups should not be seen as a disadvantage to women. Women should be given a fair chance equal to black males and the disabled males. In some instances the selection and recruitment policies should be adjusted to give first preference to women. To increase their chances in this regard women themselves need to reposition themselves by investing in their education,

acquiring the necessary qualifications, skills and competences needed in management, and also increasing their commitment in the workplace. Where women have been appointed in managerial positions, mentorship programs should be put in place to help them receive the necessary training and support as a way of helping them to become better managers and to avoid tokenism.

6.3.2 Gender mainstreaming

To enhance women's upward mobility the Kruger National Park will have to mainstream gender by firstly developing more gender sensitive practices which will address all aspects of the organisation such as values, structures, systems and procedures contained in the culture of the organisation. Secondly by incorporating gender issues in the process of strategic planning and policy formulation. Kabeer (in March *et al*, 1999: 108 – 109) notes, in her Social Relations Approach that, for organisational transformation to take place, gender friendly policies need to be developed and these policies should make provision for organisation's resources to be distributed to benefit also women. Thirdly by setting targets to reach gender parity at top management and develop a vision for this, as stated by Rao and Friedman (in Royal Tropical Institute, 2000: 74) in their Gender, Justice and Organisational Transformation model. Fourthly by restructuring departments, by adjusting the work style to be more women-friendly, and this should be reflected in all activities and functions of the organisation. Lastly by putting in place tools for monitoring and evaluating the process of gender mainstreaming. These strategies should be backed up by women and other interested parties developing skills in advocacy and negotiation (Macdonald *et al*, 1997: 121 – 123).

6.3.3 The use of change agents

Macdonald *et al* (1997: 124) note that change agents are an effective resource for organisational transformation. Their role is that of clarifying the concept of gender in its simplest form, to sincerely explore and take seriously people's fears and doubts about gender parity, and to maintain a realistic view of women advancement. Given, the organisation will have to define the values enshrined in its culture and identify people who possess desirable values to be used as agents of change, as described by Rao and Friedman (in Royal Tropical Institute, 2000: 74). Women themselves can be the agents for the change who can affect management's perceptions about women by motivating other women to start competing for available higher level jobs. Similarly, men should be motivated to support the advancement of women in their organisation.

6.3.4. Change organisational culture

For change to take place in organisational culture, the Kruger National Park will have to become what William Ouchi refers to as a theory Z organisation. Such an organisation is more people centered. This people centeredness means that women will be allowed to have free movement and be comfortable with the organisational medium, as Macdonald *et al* (1997: 127) have put it. Changes in organisational culture will call for the building of structures of mutual support for women in which a staff women's group can be set up. This group will hold seminars and other events to create awareness of issues pertaining to gender with women and the organisation at large. What I recommend in this regard is that the Kruger National Park should adopt a more feminised organisational culture. This

change in the organisational culture will transpire into a change in the management styles. Granted, management will have to adopt soft skills which are linked to femininity. These include being supportive, caring, consultative, accommodative, sensitive, and fairness as a way of enhancing the advancement of women.

6.3.5. Promote institutional learning

To further create opportunities for the advancement of women into managerial positions the Kruger National Park will have to become a learning organisation. This kind of an organisation pursues policies aimed at increasing the learning capacity of the organisation. Learning can be facilitated through training and capacity building, holding annual workshops on gender, develop print media like bulletins on gender issues, systematizing gender information and building links with other institutions dealing with gender issues. Of much importance for organisational transformation is for the organisation to embrace a developmental vision. The transformation process should involve unlearning past behaviours and attitudes which were relatively unfavourable and thus gear towards learning new behaviours and attitudes favourable to the advancement of women (Macdonald *et al*, 1997: 21 & 129).

Given the above recommendations, it is important to note that, since the structures and the culture in organisations, including the Kruger National Park, reflect and replicate biases existing in society, to speed up the process of women advancement, organisations will have to enforce a total transformation or change of the existing culture and structures. This can be facilitated through a process by which organisations plough back

into the community. They can include communities in gender-awareness programmes and also support community projects which address gender issues, as part of their social responsibility.

6.4 Recommendations for future research

The issue of women advancement is crucial for workplace transformation. This study has focused on women's upward mobility into managerial positions regardless of the racial difference. The Employment Equity Act, as discussed earlier, seeks to give opportunities to designated groups which also include women. My concerns are: will women in general compete with black males and the disabled males? Will black women compete with white women? These concerns are what future research should look at, especially the latter. The current trend is that women are being advanced but such advancement is benefiting white women more than black women. Future research should therefore explore how race influences advancement opportunities for black women in comparison with white women. This study has been racially blind as it did not take this into consideration.

Moreover, the study was conducted in the Kruger National Park and the South African National Parks. This means that only the nature conservation and tourism sector of the labour market was accommodated, which excluded other sectors. Furthermore, only women in management were targeted which left out women in lower level jobs. The study was also gender biased as it excluded men. In view of these limitations, future studies should attempt to target different sectors of the labour market, and should also include men and women from all job categories as a sample of study. This will help in

effecting major changes in policy making in order to satisfy the needs of women and thus accelerate their advancement in the workplace.

Lastly, in as far as labour legislation goes, rather than focusing only on the Employment Equity Act, one recommends that further research on this subject should also make reference to the Skills Development Act No. 97 of 1998. I note that this Act is aimed at addressing the skills shortage of our South African workforce, and makes provision for learnerships as a way of increasing workplace competence and productivity. I am confident that women can benefit significantly in this regard.

GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS

The following terms are important in this dissertation:

Upward mobility: the movement or advancement from a junior or lower level position to a senior or higher position in the job hierarchies.

Gender: refers to men and women as socially constructed aggregates. Men refer to people of the male sex, and women are people of the female sex, as according to the biological differences. Gender roles are explained as either feminine or masculine.

Managerial positions (management): positions in which a person has decision making powers, and is in supervision of others in the organisation. A person occupying a managerial position acts as the employer.

Management styles: the way of leading the organisation, displayed in the attitudes and actions of management.

Employment equity: the giving of equal employment opportunities to people in line with their qualifications, skills and capabilities.

Gender equity: women attaining equality with men in legal, political and economic spheres, a goal of feminism.

Affirmative action: the giving of preferential treatment in employment and promotions to certain groups of people, where they were unfairly excluded in employment and promotions because of past discriminatory laws or practices.

Discrimination: the unfair and unequal treatment of people on the basis of their inherent differences such as; race, sex, gender, age, and so forth.

Organisational culture: the practices, beliefs and values shared by members of the organisation.

Organisational change: activities intended to bring about a desired change in the organisation's policies and practices to afford women the opportunity to access management positions.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE COVER

RECORD NO.....

**TITLE: THE UPWARD MOBILITY OF WOMEN INTO MANAGERIAL
POSITIONS IN THE LABOUR MARKET**

NAME OF RESEARCHER:

T M MONA

MA – INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

INSTRUCTIONS: Please fill – in responses in spaces provided and/or place a cross in the brackets as is appropriate.

SECTION A: Biographic questions.

1. State your age.....
2. Race?
 - Black.....()1
 - Coloured... ()2
 - White.....()3
 - Asian.....()4
3. Managerial level?
 - Top management.....()1
 - Middle management... ()2
 - Lower management.....()3
- 4 Your job title?
Specify.....
- 5 Years of work service?
 - a. in total.....
 - b. in your present position.....
- 6 Your marital status?
 - Never married.....()1
 - Married (customary/civil)... ()2
 - Divorced ()3
 - Widowed ()4
 - Other (specify) ()5
7. If married, what is your husband's occupation?.....
8. Number of children?.....
9. Highest level of education you have achieved?
 - Post matric (specify qualification)... ()1
 - Std 10..... ()2
 - Std 6 – 9 ()3

SECTION B: This section pertains to problems experienced by women, as well as sexual harassment in the workplace.

1. What do you think are the problems facing women **outside** the workplace? (please list them in order of importance).

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

2. What are the problems facing women **within** the workplace? (please list them in order of importance).

.....
.....
.....
.....

3. What do you think are the reasons that make women to be discriminated against in the workplace? (please list these reasons)

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

4. Do you know what sexual harassment is?

- Yes.....()1
- No()2
- More or less...()3

5. If your response is 'yes', or 'more or less', please state your understanding of sexual harassment. If 'no', can you guess what sexual harassment is?

.....
.....
.....
.....

6. Have you ever experience sexual harassment in the workplace?

- Yes.....()1
- No()2

7. How do you feel about sexual harassment? Please explain.

.....
.....
.....

8. What could women do about sexual harassment in the workplace?

.....
.....
.....
.....

9. What could organisations do about sexual harassment in the workplace?

.....
.....
.....
.....

SECTION C: This section deals with questions regarding measures to accelerate women advancement.

1. What do you think are the measures that could accelerate women advancement in the labour market?

Explain.....
.....
.....
.....

2. Is it necessary to advance women towards managerial positions in the labour market?

Yes.....()1

No.....()2

Explain.
.....
.....
.....

3. How effective do you think are the following measures towards the advancement of women?

a. Employment equity

.....
.....

b. Affirmative action

.....
.....

c. Changing organisational culture

.....
.....

d. Changing men's perceptions about women

.....
.....

e. Changing male management style

.....
.....

SECTION D: This section deals with perceptions regarding employment equity and affirmative action.

1. What do you understand by employment equity?

.....
.....

2. What role do you think the Employment Equity Act No.55 of 1998 has in the advancement of women?

.....
.....
.....

3. Do you think the EEA is adequate enough to address the problems women face in the workplace?

Yes.....()1

No()2

Uncertain.()3

Explain.

.....
.....
.....

4. What factors do you think could make employment equity not to succeed in advancing women?

.....
.....
.....
.....

5. Does your organisation have an employment equity policy?

Yes.....()1

No.....()2

Don't know..()3

If 'yes', does the policy make provision for the advancement of women?

Yes..... ()1

No()2

Don't know.()3

6. How will employment equity affect management's perceptions about women advancement?

Positively()1

Negatively....()2

Not at all()3

Explain your response.....
.....
.....
.....

7. "Affirmative action has done a lot to address racial discrimination but has failed to address gender discrimination".

Agree.....()1

Disagree.....()2

Explain.....
.....

8. What do you think men's perceptions are regarding the advancement of women?

Explain
.....
.....

9. How do you feel about women being given preferential treatment in order to enhance their advancement towards managerial positions? Explain.

.....
.....
.....

SECTION E: This section deals with women's management capacity.

1. How do you feel about women in managerial positions in organisations?

.....
.....

.....
2. Do you think women can manage people more effectively than men do?

Yes.....()1

No.....()2

Elaborate on your response.....
.....
.....

3. Do you think women can manage programmes of the organisation better than men do?

Yes.....()1

No.....()2

Elaborate on your response.....
.....
.....

SECTION F: This section deals with questions regarding organisational culture, as well as selection and recruitment policies.

Defining organisational culture: Organisational culture refers to “the cognitive framework which consist of attitudes, values, behavioral norms and expectations shared by members of an organisation. Culture is more characterised by elements such as company slogans, symbols, language, mission statements, dressing code, etc.”.

1. What do you perceive as the culture of your organisation?
.....
.....

2. How do you think a feminised culture of an organisation should look like?
.....
.....

3. How do you feel about the following elements of your organisation’s culture in as far as gender is concerned? Explain.

a. Language.....

b. Dress code.....

c. Mission statements.....

d. Office spaces.....

e. Toilet facilities.....

f. Working conditions.....

4. Do you think the selection policies are women (or gender) friendly, in your organisation?

Explain.

.....
.....
.....

5. Do you think the recruitment policies are women (or gender) friendly, in your organisation? Explain.

.....
.....
.....

SECTION G: This section contains questions about management styles of leadership.

1. What are the management styles mostly used in your organisation?

.....
.....
.....

2. What do you think are the management styles mostly used by women?

.....
.....

3. What do you think are the management styles mostly used by men?

.....
.....

4. How would you describe an ideal feminine management style?

.....
.....

SECTION H: This section pertains to questions about changes needed in organisations to enhance women advancement.

1. What do you think needs to be changed in organisations to enable women to move upwardly into managerial positions?

.....
.....
.....

2. What do you think needs to change in the workplace in order to enable women to be better managers?

.....
.....
.....

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR CO - OPERATION

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE

QUESTIONS:

1. What problems do women face outside the labour market?
2. What problems do women face within the labour market?
3. How do you feel about women as managers?
4. How do you feel about yourself as a woman (female) manager?
5. How do you cope as a woman (female) manager?
6. How do you cope as a manager, mother, and wife?
7. How do you feel about the management styles of women?
8. Tell me about your career achievements?

APPENDIX C

P O Box 1511
KANYAMAZANE
1214
13 April 2000

The Kruger National Park
SKUKUZA

Dear Madam

REQUEST FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN A RESEARCH STUDY: WOMEN'S MOBILITY TOWARDS MANAGERIAL POSITIONS

You have been recognised as one of the successful career women in management in this organisation. I am writing to ask for your assistance with my research project that will provide valuable information on women in management. I am conducting a study on: **women's upward mobility into managerial positions in the labour market.**

The background of the study shows that the South African labour market has been characterised by inequality based on race and gender. The participation of women in the labour market has however increased significantly over the past years. However, the so-called glass ceiling effectively prevents women, rather than men, from accessing senior positions in the organisation. Employment equity and affirmative action initiatives tend to focus more on addressing racial discrimination, again leaving women in a position of disadvantage. It is therefore my interest to explore the different kinds of problems women face in the labour market and also to explore appropriate measures towards women's advancement in the Kruger National Park.

Attached is a questionnaire which I kindly request that you complete as soon as possible. Please try to give as much information as possible, and feel free to provide any additional information on a separate sheet if the spaces provided are not enough.

Please provide your contact details, as I need to contact you again for a follow-up interview. Let me assure you that the information will be kept strictly confidential and will only be used for the purpose of anonymous reporting.

Thank you for your willingness to contribute to the body of knowledge about the upward mobility of women into management positions.

Yours Sincerely

Themba M Mona

MA Industrial Sociology, University of Pretoria

Contact Numbers: Tel; (013) 7942521 (h)

(013) 7592270 (w)

Cell: 0829780602

APPENDIX D

13 April 2000

Dear Chris Marais

PROPOSED DATES FOR THE FOLLOW UP INTERVIEWS

DATE	WHOM	PLACE
4 & 5 May 2000	women mangers of Kruger National Park	SKUKUZA
25 & 26 May 2000	Women managers of South African National Parks	PRETORIA

Please confirm this dates and arrange with the relevant people the times that would suit them best. The sample size should be 10 participants.

Your help is always valued.

Kind Regards

Themba Mona

APPENDIX F

Illustration of women acting as a collective voice to challenge discrimination and exploitation: South African women's march against pass laws (see text 94-95)



(City Press, Johannesburg, 12 August 2001: 17)