

BLACK MANAGERS' CAREER ADVANCEMENT IN A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

RONEL ERWEE

*Graduate School of Management
University of Pretoria*

ABSTRACT

The career progression of black managers in white dominated organizations in South Africa, as has been the case in the United States, has not been rapid. However, a number of different variables in each of the two countries account for this common trend. The various theoretical models which seem to be underlying South African research i.e. physical-environment theories, the cultural hypothesis, personologist approaches and the organizational systems view, are discussed and contrasted.

OPSOMMING

Soos in Amerika, toon swart bestuurders in blank-beheerde ondernemings in Suid-Afrika, nie 'n besonder snelle loopbaanvordering nie. Die gemeenskaplike tendens word egter deur verskillende faktore in die twee lande veroorsaak. Die onderskeie teoretiese modelle waarop Suid-Afrikaanse navorsing gebaseer is, naamlik fisiese omgewingsteorieë, kulturele hipoteses, 'n persoonologie-benadering, en organisatoriese sisteemteorie, word bespreek en gekontrasteer.

In analysing the models presented by Bowen and Hisrich (1986) and Jones (1986) regarding black advancement and career development, it became clear that there are certain concepts that are universally applicable across cultures. However, certain elements of the models do not appear to apply to Southern African conditions. One of the obvious differences is that the population distribution in the United States differs from that in South Africa and that most blacks and whites in the United States share a common and homogeneous culture. In South Africa, whites are the "minority" and the society is characterised by a rich diversity of cultures. Furthermore, there is little reference in Bowen and Hisrich's (1986) model regarding social, economic and political factors influencing career development, whereas these variables play a major role in affecting the career development of blacks in South Africa. Both Ford (1986) and Jones (1986) describe the impact of legislation and racism as factors impeding careers – these variables do influence black advancement in South Africa and should be included in models of career development.

This paper will attempt to describe culturally specific variables in the South African context which affect the career advancement of black managers. The literature survey will include the relatively few contemporary findings and opinions of South African researchers. The potential contribution of this paper therefore lies in putting these few existing empirical findings into a new structure. It will describe the domestic cultural heterogeneity and can be classified as a cross-national rather than a cross-cultural perspective. One must bear in mind that black managers form a highly selected group and the comments in this paper can therefore not be generalised to other occupational groups. As the term "black" refers to a person who could belong to one of nine different ethnic groups (eg. Zulu, Tswana, etc), Coloureds (persons of mixed race) and Asians will be excluded.

POPULATION GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE AS INDICATORS

In order to appreciate the plight of black managers as an occupational group, the population distribution and occupational structure of South Africa must be taken into account.

Blacks constitute 72 percent of the total population of 32 million people. This black population is not a homogeneous mass but comprise nine major ethnic groups, each with its own cultural identity and language. Graaff (1987) quotes a 1983 study which noted that 41,6% of blacks are urbanised, whereas his own estimates indicate that 51,8% are urbanised. Urbanisation in this context merely refers to people who have changed their geographical location from a rural to an urban setting.

In considering the following statistics, one must remember that the statistics for the independent states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) as well as Namibia, have been excluded from South African manpower surveys in recent years. As a section of the black higher level manpower category lives in these states, the actual numbers for 1980 to 1985 would have been higher. The following statistics therefore will only indicate the lower limits of progress by blacks.

The participation rate (i.e. the economically active population) is 43,3 percent for whites with the participation rate of blacks being 33,7 percent. More than five million blacks are economically active whereas approximately two million whites are active in the labour force. Only 11,2 percent of the total economically active labour force is classified as "higher level manpower" – this category includes all individuals who completed more than two years of tertiary education. The higher level manpower category includes occupations such as engineers, scientists, medical doctors, lawyers, educationalists, paramedic, managers and administrators. Blacks constitute 3,8 percent of the higher level manpower category (National Manpower Commission, 1986a).

White males are the greatest source of higher level manpower (HLM) as they constituted 80 percent of all male HLM in 1985, with black men representing only 12 percent of all male HLM (National Manpower Commission, 1987). The share of black women in the female HLM category has escalated from 22 percent in 1975 to 32 percent in 1985 – this can be attributed mainly to even more black women choosing the teaching and nursing professions.

A greater number of black people are moving up in the occupational structure but this pattern should be compared to the relative numbers of people from each racial group who are economically active and in a particular category. Furthermore, the professional and technical occupations represent 75 percent of HLM, whereas the managerial and administrative occupations represent only 25 percent of this category. As can

be seen in Table 1, the numbers of white and black managers and administrators have increased since 1981. Initially the number of white and black female managers and administrators increased significantly from 1970 to 1983 (Prekel, 1985), but there has been a slight decline in their numbers during the recession. Currently, the numbers of black male and female managers and administrators are still significantly lower than those of their white counterparts.

Despite the definite gains of blacks in the higher level manpower occupational categories, whites dominate the professional, managerial and other skilled positions. One can now investigate the reasons for this type of occupational structuring by focussing on a theoretical framework which indicates the structuring of relevant variables.

TABLE 1
HIGH LEVEL MANPOWER:
NUMERICAL INCREASE OF WHITE AND BLACK ADMINISTRATORS, 1981 – 1985

| Occupational category | 1981 | | 1983 | | | | 1985 | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------|--------|--------|-----|---------|--------|--------|-----|---------|--------|--------|-----|
| | Whites | | Blacks | | Whites | | Blacks | | Whites | | Blacks | |
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| Managerial | 54 208 | 11 420 | 891 | 589 | 67 860 | 8 910 | 1 143 | 622 | 59 106 | 7 191 | 1 008 | 489 |
| Administrative | 62 363 | 8 122 | 889 | 154 | 63 873 | 12 678 | 936 | 128 | 77 162 | 12 001 | 1 535 | 99 |
| TOTAL | 116 571 | 19 547 | 1 470 | 743 | 131 733 | 21 588 | 2 079 | 750 | 136 268 | 19 588 | 2 543 | 588 |

NMC, 1987, Appendix A

RESEARCH TRENDS

Retief (1986) discusses major trends in personality theorising and notes that there are: a) a *personologist* approach which conceptualises behaviour as a function of personality factors, b) *situationism* which emphasises environments or situations as the main sources of behavioural variation, and c) *interactionism* which emphasises that both personality and environmental factors influence behaviour.

To apply the abovementioned viewpoints in the current paper, one can state that the theoretical construct under investigation is "career advancement" as it applies to the black manager in South Africa. The *research questions* are then: which variables are important in the theoretical model, what are the relationships between the variables, and how are the variables which affect the construct, structured. The various statements of different researchers in this field (which are also reflected in the rest of the paper), seem to indicate that there is little agreement regarding the importance (or ordering) or variables affecting career advancement for black managers. Some researchers focus on the role of the physical environment whereas others view organizational policies as most important. A third group describe the impact of culture, while other researchers document individual perceptions or personality factors as important variables. These divergent views will first be presented before conclusions will be drawn about the current theoretical frameworks in South Africa.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT THEORIES

Occupational mobility

The term "physical environment" here refers to variables on a macro or national level which have an impact on career advancement. Variables within a company, such as corporate policy, will be referred to as "situational theories".

According to these viewpoints black managers' lack of advancement can be ascribed mainly to problems with geographical and occupational mobility. Geographical mobility in South Africa is a function of legal and sociological factors. Occupational mobility is dependent on the worker's geographical mobility, level of education, his cultural milieu, legal impediments and company policies (National Manpower Commission, 1987).

A number of laws have limited the geographical mobility of people of colour. One particular example was the Urban Areas Act which specified that a black cannot remain for more than 72 hours in a white urban area unless certain preconditions are met (Human & Hofmeyr, 1985). This restriction placed on blacks limited opportunities for advancement based on geographical mobility. Although this law was scrapped in 1986 it adversely affected generations of blacks.

Prior to 1976, many South African labour laws restricted the occupational mobility of blacks (e.g. Mines and Works Act, 1941; Apprenticeship Act, 1944). After this period the recommendations of the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions of enquiry led to more relaxed

labour policies (see Human & Hofmeyr, 1985). The Wiehahn Commission recommended that the principle of fair employment practices based on non-discrimination and equality be accepted and that statutory work reservation be scrapped. Most of these recommendations have been incorporated into the Labour Relations Act of 1981, and the Wage Act, Basic Conditions of Employment Act and Manpower Training Act in 1983.

Human and Hofmeyr (1985) argue that the occupational mobility of the black urban elite is still being hampered by the Group Areas Act. As this act delimits separate residential areas for different racial groups, companies may therefore not provide housing to their senior black staff in white residential areas and transfers of black managers to other cities create problems because of insufficient suitable housing. Companies do however, provide housing in defiance of legislation and the Government tends to turn a blind eye to this practice (see Moerdryk and Coldwell, 1982).

A recent study (Schneier, in Human & Hofmeyr, 1985) has indicated that, over the generation studied, there has been more upward than downward mobility amongst blacks. Currently such mobility is at a relatively low level as blacks whose fathers are unskilled, are being employed in clerical, blue-collar, technical and skilled manual work. This trend of upward mobility is also evident amongst black women (Prekel, 1985). Human and Hofmeyr (1985) contend that post school education and entry level positions are important determinants of occupational advancement.

Educational impediments

Black managers are generally dissatisfied with what they regard as a segregated and inferior black education system, and indicate that this poor educational base hampers their career advancement (Human & Hofmeyr, 1985). The De Lange Commission recommended that equal educational opportunities and equal standards in the provision of education be implemented; that the educational systems become more flexible to accommodate the different needs of individuals; that closer links should be forged between formal and informal education systems and between state and private sector in this regard and finally that the professional base of the educational system be improved.

During 1985 the number of university students increased for all population groups, however, only 14 percent of these students are blacks (National Manpower Commission, 1986a). Furthermore Dostal (1985) noted that in 1980 only 8,3 percent of the white labour force and 0,2 percent of the black labour force had degrees. She estimated that these percentages will increase by the year 2000 to 10 percent for whites and 1 percent for blacks. She states that many more blacks and whites will have to undergo tertiary training if there is to be any significant contribution to the supply of high level manpower.

THE CULTURAL HYPOTHESIS

Hofstede (in Adler, Doktor & Redding, 1986, p.6) defines culture as "...the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another..., the interactive aggregate of common characteristics that influence a human group's response to its environment". Adler et al (1986) contend that culture influences organisations both

through such societal structures as laws and political systems and through the values, attitudes and behaviour of participants. They also observe that the circular nature of culture has made it difficult, if not impossible, to separate cultural causation from determination by other societal factors.

Although there seems to be consensus that organisational behaviour differs across cultures, the question remains as to what proportion of this variability is caused by cultural determinants (Adler et al, 1986; Hofstede, 1985). In South African this is a contentious issue resulting in conflicting viewpoints. The major sets of viewpoints will be reflected here.

A Government publication states that "cultural differences among the various tribes are often underscored by tribal animosities rooted in a long history of internecine conflict. Some of these ancient tribal rivalries are as potent a force today as when they originated. Early in 1986 a clash between Zulus and Pondos on the Natal south coast left 100 dead and many wounded" (Bureau for Information, 1986). This quote indicates that cultural differences are seen as a divisive factor between groups and this argument is used to establish separate institutions of self-government for different groups. This view, however is not supported by all researchers.

Human & Hofmeyr (1985, p.18) argue that although the impact of culture on behaviour of black managers is important, it should not be overstated as most of the black managers are "urbanised and westernised". They contend that black managers' conformity to traditional (tribal) cultural values are merely situational as "... on a visit to his elderly parents in a rural area, the black manager may well display the kinds of traditional behaviour expected of him by his family whereas in the work situation in the white organisation, he will deliberately "westernise" his behaviour as much as he can" (p.18). This statement seems to be a subjective assessment by these authors as they do not provide any empirical evidence (e.g. TAT-Z measurements). Although these authors minimise the cultural differences between blacks and whites, they do acknowledge that a cultural gap between whites and blacks exists.

Hammond-Tooke (1986) does not accept that a black who has merely changed his geographical location, is in fact urbanised or modernised. He declares that urbanisation refers to fundamental structural and cultural changes that a person experiences. Therefore to the extent that a black manager severs his ties with his rural home, takes an urban wife, joins urban associations and ceases to interact with the original tribal society, a structural change has taken place. In addition, cultural change will involve the adoption of new, or alternate perceptions, concepts and symbolic structures. Hammond-Tooke (1986) observes that the Xhosa make a distinction between structural and cultural change as "They call a man who change culturally an *irumsha* and a man who changes structurally an *itshipa* (i.e. cheap) - an absconder, who neglects his kinship ties and rejects his social obligations". This indictment of a particular group of their members who have changed structurally and culturally, is in marked contrast to Human and Hofmeyr's (1985) view of the effect of "urbanisation".

The clash of cultures

The thesis of a fundamental conflict of cultures between blacks and whites is supported by South African researchers such as Becker (1974), Boeyens

(1985), Coldwell and Moerdyk (1981), Hammond-Tooke (1986), Mjoli (1987), Moerdyk and Coldwell (1982), Raubenheimer and Kotzé (1984) amongst others. The most often quoted summary of the differences between African and Western world views and cultural paradigms is reflected in Table 2 (see Moerdyk and Coldwell, 1982) and it is argued that these exist across all levels of acculturation. It also reflects the general trends among the nine major ethnic groups, although each group has its own unique customs. It must be noted that Table 2 reflects a particular theoretical viewpoint of these authors and are not based on their own empirical research. It presents an integration of certain perceptions and therefore tends to contain general statements. One should therefore guard against forming simplistic stereotypes about African world views.

One of the most striking differences between these cultural paradigms, is the African notion of causation which is linked to a particular ontology. African ontology consists of a hierarchy based on the amount of vital force which each tier of the hierarchy possesses (Coldwell & Moerdyk, 1981, p.71).

This universe is rigidly determined and fixed so that the removal of one of these categories destroys the whole structure. Causation occurs according to this ontological hierarchy and in agreement to immutable laws. These laws dictate for example that a vital force at a given level in the hierarchy may affect any being on a lower level but that the reverse is impossible. The ontological hierarchy also links to the structure of the ex-

tended family system. In this system, the person's status is ascribed according to his lineage, and his source of authority are his age, seniority and sex (Coldwell and Moerdyk, 1981).

Sky God – the ultimate explanation of genesis and sustenance of both man and things (apex of the hierarchy);

↓

Spirits – superhuman beings and ancestors;

↓

Human beings – those currently living and about to be born;

↓

Animals and plants;

↓

the remainder of biological life; and

↓

phenomena and physical objects without biological life.

TABLE 2
SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCE

| Dimension | | "Modern" ("White/Western") | "Traditional" ("Black/Tribal") |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|---|---|
| Social structure | Subsistence mode | Industrial/Technological | Agriculture |
| | Use of technology | Widespread | Limited |
| | Rate of technological change | Rapid | Slow |
| | Family structure | Nuclear | Extended |
| | Status | Earned | Ascribed |
| | Source of authority | Ability | Seniority |
| | Occupational mobility | Relatively high | Low |
| | Ambition | Materialistic | Religious, other worldly |
| | Affiliation and loyalty | Legal, written | Tradition, cultural |
| Psychological consequence | Socialization | Larger unit – nation, employer | Smaller unit – family, tribe, work team |
| | Socialization | Benign, tolerant | Harsh, authoritarian |
| | Basic orientation | Inner directed, individualistic | Other directed, communalistic |
| | Motivation | Achievement need | Affiliation need |
| | Locus of control | Internal | External |
| | Cognitive style | Field independent (analytic) | Field dependent (global) |
| | Uncertainty orientation | Tolerant of ambiguity | Intolerant of ambiguity |
| | Risk taking | Willing to take calculated 'entrepreneurial' risks and to show initiative | Unwilling to take any risks, conservative |
| | Interpersonal relations | Opportunist, exploitive competitive | Communalist, co-operative |
| | Time | Linear, from past to future | Circular, based on seasons |
| Relation to authority | Autonomous, independent | Dependent, conforming | |

Further significant differences in the cultural paradigms relate to socialisation practices: "while the white child is typically socialised into patterns of early independence, self-responsibility and competitive materialism, the black child in Africa is generally reared into patterns of group awareness, shared responsibility and the need to preserve and foster communal bonds – especially family and tribal bonds" (Moerdyk & Coldwell, 1982, p.190). This leads to a communalistic orientation where the person is embedded in his group and loyalty to the group is paramount. Godsell (in Barling et al, 1986) in her study of value differences between senior white and black employees, noted that blacks place a high value on *ubuntu*. This apparently unique value governs relations with other people and focus on sharing and being part of a community.

Becker (1974) also noted that in tribal society rewards were seldom calculated on the basis of productivity or time taken – the system of differential rewards which implies competition is foreign to the traditional work situation. This traditional orientation toward work is not consonant with modern corporate culture, as Khoza (1987, p.14) declares that the dominant work value system in white-dominated organisations is the Protestant work ethic which "finds itself in occasional conflict with Marxist related or humanistic work value systems espoused and propounded by blacks generally". Khoza (1987) implies that the ideology of communalism is still accepted by blacks. Communalism does recognise the rights of the individual but also highlights the duties of membership in the community. Khoza (1987) argues that this ideological base is conducive to co-operation and teamwork in the workplace.

Further differences in the world view between whites and blacks relate to the concepts of time and probability. Coldwell and Moerdyk (1981, p.72) reported that in traditional societies, the concept of time as "Linear" is virtually absent and the concept of probability is totally absent – "events are either certain to occur in which case they constitute 'potential time' or have taken place, in which case they are 'actual time'". Coldwell and Moerdyk (1981) document the effects of the contrasting world views on specific management processes such as planning, organising, leading and controlling. For example planning becomes less relevant if the person has a fatalistic world view and adherence to time schedule becomes nonsensical if the person has a circular concept of time. Khoza (1987, p.10) acknowledges that there are differences but warns that these should not be transformed into simplistic stereotypes such as "that all blacks suffer from a pervasive and ubiquitous time neurosis...this stereotype of African time is bandied around with relish".

These contrasting world views (table 2) imply that the traditional (black) person does not possess a number of characteristics which is considered as desirable in the Western-oriented (white) business system in which he has to survive. Coldwell and Moerdyk (1981) postulate that this constant struggle between dissonant cultural paradigms has a deleterious effect on black managerial performance and is a major source of stress. The survival mechanism that black managers seem to have developed to deal with this person-environment mismatch is to copy the required behaviours but not to accept the underlying world view. Khoza (1987) contends that black managers quickly master "explicit culture" i.e. the recognised and easily observable standards of the corporate culture. However, "implicit culture" i.e. the underlying unarticu-

lated assumptions, present a particular problem to black management trainees as their interface with white management is limited to formal contacts.

In this section the focus was on culture as an important variable and some reference was made to the impact of culture on personality. The researchers made little reference to organizational policies, laws or other variables.

PERSONOLOGIST APPROACHES

Moerdyk and Coldwell (1982, p.190) argue that child-rearing practices in black society can give rise to psychological characteristics – "personality and culture generally covary with each other". Table 2 therefore deals with the psychological consequences of black culture and its social structures. It must be noted that many researchers do not agree with these statements by Moerdyk and Coldwell (1982). However, certain other authors do present similar viewpoints.

Psychological constructs

Nasser (1984) assumes that blacks have developed a stronger need for affiliation than a need for achievement. Human (1986) in accepting this statement, notes that the affiliation need is valuable in building corporate loyalty. Khoza (1986) however, rejects the stereotype that "all black people lack the achievement motive". Pottas (1981), who constructed a reliable achievement motivation questionnaire, found that samples of black university students obtained higher scores on all dimensions of achievement motivation than the white counterparts. Charoux (1985b), using the same questionnaire, found a significant relationship between achievement motivation and leadership effectiveness in a group of black management trainees. He observed that the black potential manager has the basic drive to achieve success, but "lacks the behavioural process required (probably because of the education and socio-economic background) to express this basic drive". This view is supported by Moerdyk (1985). Godsell (in Barling et al, 1986) noted that blacks and whites had values such as achievement in common, but for blacks achievement seems to occur in some communal context. A different interpretation for the high achievement needs of blacks is given by Moodley (1986) who remarks that minority members have to become overachievers to prove their worth in a sceptical environment.

Some writers (see Mjoli, 1987) state that blacks tend to have an external locus of control, but these opinions are not verified by research (see Charoux, 1985a; Erwee 1986; Moerdyk, 1985; Riordan, 1981). Reference is also made to a lack of tolerance of ambiguity and an unwillingness to take risks among blacks (Moerdyk & Coldwell, 1982; Mjoli, 1987). Moodley (1986) and Louw-Potgieter, (1982) refer to an internalised low self-concept which can affect blacks' behaviour in the workplace.

In contrast to this, Biesheuvel (1987) is concerned about the cultural relativity of psychological constructs. He notes that constructs such as achievement, autonomy, drive, volition and self-expressing are essentially western in origin but may not be meaningful elsewhere. Biesheuvel (1987) decries the "eurocentrism" which analyses the behaviour of blacks in terms of constructs which are not relevant to their cultures.

Marginality

Moerdyk and Coldwell (1982) as well as Khoza (1986), refer to the clash of cultures in the workplace which causes stress for the black manager. The black manager is viewed as a marginal man who must function in a series of diverse, conflicting and ambiguous environments. Human (1987) defines the concept of psychological marginality as the psychological responses to standing on the boundary between two or more groups – where such responses constitute specific feelings associated with inconsistencies in the social and mental spheres of the individual. She declares that the marginal man is subjected to a high level of role conflict and role ambiguity. Furthermore, the role conflict and ambiguity is seen to have a significant relationship with problems that the black manager experiences such as dissatisfaction, distrust, tension, turnover, low performance and psychological withdrawal.

Perceptions of black managers

Black managers perceive that they are placed in specific specialist positions where they advise management on black marketing and labour issues (Human, 1987; Khoza, 1986). They do not control a budget centre and have very few employees reporting to them. Although top management has a nondiscriminatory policy, the black manager still perceives discrimination from employees at lower levels. Black managers state that little attention is paid to their individual training and development needs (Boeyens, 1985; Hofmeyr, 1987). Many of the programmes are presented exclusively for blacks and this is perceived to be paternalistic. Blacks experience little encouragement and support from white peers and supervisors. Black managers identify negative attitudes of other personnel as constraints.

Black managers perceive that among the black population, they are highly valued because of their position. They are seen as a new elite, yet this description is at variance with their socio-economic background and their racial categorisation. Further pressures may come from family and friends "Do they see him as someone who...has broken through the oppression of people of colour? Or do they see him as someone who has sold out to the whites..." (Human, 1987, p.14; see also Mafuna, 1986). Apparently the political polarisation in black society is causing tension as radical groups are putting pressure on upwardly mobile blacks not to become part of management (Human, 1987).

White perceptions of black managers

Chalmers (in Barling et al, 1983) states that the degree to which attitudes of white workers and organised labour act as restraints on black advancement varies from industry to industry and is apparently decreasing over time. His research indicates that in 1980 25% of a sample of companies reported objections from white workers to black advancement. This figure was reduced to 17% in 1981, whereas only 9% of the companies reported resistance in 1982. Franks (1986), in commenting on these findings, notes that they reflect the opinions of white managers but not of the rest of the white staff in those companies.

Franks' (1986) own surveys did find white resistance to black advancement in a sample of companies. Some of the strategies of overt resistance were blatant discrimination, not training or developing subordinates or blocking communication. Strategies of covert resistance included biased appraisals, subverting grievance procedures, blocking advancement and setting people up for failure. Charoux (1984, p.13) also noted so-

me of the stereotypes regarding the performance of black managers e.g. "lacks understanding of the free market system", "cannot work by himself but has to be constantly monitored", "not assertive enough" and "unable to win the confidence and respect of his colleagues". Mafuna (1986) reported that some black managers were accused of being "too cocky" or "too politicised".

One must take into account that the abovementioned observations in this section are usually gleaned from attitude surveys or workshop discussions in the workplace. As such they represent subjective perceptions of individuals and are most often based on existing stereotypes rather than verified by empirical research.

ORGANISATIONAL POLICIES AS IMPEDING VARIABLES

Black managers tend to cite discriminatory organisational policies as a further variable restricting their career advancement (Khoza, 1987; Human, 1987).

Organisations are open systems (Kamfer, 1986) and in South Africa, the spillover effect of environmental issues (such as the state of emergency) into the workplace, is inevitable. Managers are finding that their workers are bringing community issues into the workplace. Many of the community pressures are aimed at the government, but as blacks do not have avenues of political expression at national level, government cannot easily be influenced. This leads workers to pressure their companies to affect social changes (Kamfer, 1986). Wagenaar's (1979) findings indicate a growing social awareness among business leaders that they are in a better position than government to identify and help solve racial problems. Mangosuthu Buthelezi (1986, p.61-62), the paramount chief of the Zulus, notes that "What convinces me that it is possible to remove the derestrictions of business in South Africa is the extent to which the private sector has lately been in the forefront of the campaign to abolish apartheid..."

Hofmeyr (1987) observed that in the realm of black advancement, many companies have taken a narrow focus in the sense that certain performance problems were identified and training programmes were in vogue. Behaviour modelling (see Orpen, 1985) was followed by achievement training (see Nasser, 1984). Some bridging education programmes (see Moerdyk, 1985) were then developed while mentorship programmes are currently used (see Mafuna, 1986; Cochiuis, 1986). Some programmes have been successful, but black managers tend to be sceptical of programmes which they have not helped to design or which are based on incorrect assumptions. Hofmeyr (1986) comments that many of the programmes only represent a technical or ad hoc response to the problem of black advancement. They do not address the underlying problems, are peripheral to the main activities of the company and do not ultimately lead to significant increases in the numbers of black management.

Although the impression is created that much training takes place in the private sector, a comprehensive survey of management training in South Africa, indicated that 87% of the small, medium and large firms which responded do not do any management training (National Manpower Commission, 1986b).

There is a gradual shift in emphasis regarding black advancement – away from ad hoc training inputs to a more holistic organisational development approach. A

good example of a more integrated approach is a case study by Hofmeyr (1986) on the black advancement programme in Kodak. Many of the current suggestions are still fragmented and have not been drawn together in a comprehensive framework.

SUGGESTIONS FOR BLACK ADVANCEMENT AS AN ORGANISATION DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

- ★ Top management should be seen to be totally committed to black advancement (Hofmeyr, 1987; Human & Hofmeyr, 1985).
- ★ Black advancement should be part of the human resource plans which are incorporated into the company's strategic planning – numbers of black managers to be placed in each management category should be specified (Human, 1987; Ntseare, 1986).
- ★ Attitude surveys, affirmative action audits or discrimination audits should be conducted in companies; followed by affirmative action discussion workshops (Charoux 1985; Hofmeyr, 1986; Human, 1987; Humphry, 1986; Mercer, 1986).
- ★ Qualifications for posts should be downgraded to the lowest realistic level (Human, 1987).
- ★ Selection procedures should include tests that are valid cross-culturally, interviews and assessment centres can be utilised more effectively (Charoux, 1986; Human, 1987).
- ★ Individual training needs must be identified and training should take place on a non-racial basis (Human, 1987; Mercer, 1986).
- ★ Performance appraisal of supervisors should include an assessment of the extent to which he develops his black subordinates (Charoux, 1986; Fenwick, 1986; Human, 1987).
- ★ Supervisors should be trained how to act as coaches, sponsors or mentors through workshops (Hofmeyr, 1987).
- ★ A logical integrated model of managerial competence should be developed (Khoza, 1987).

Most of the suggestions above refer to attempts which are made to fit the black manager into the demands of current white dominated work environments. Another approach is to increase the degree of match between the individual and his environment by restructuring the environment to fit the needs and values of the person more closely. Moerdyk and Coldwell (1982) argue that this approach builds on the individual's values and abilities and management structures are created which are more culturally relevant. The latter approach is often described as "Africanising" the company (Franks, 1986; Harari & Beaty, 1986; Khoza, 1987). Some of the suggestions made by Moerdyk and Coldwell (1982) aim to restructure the organisation so that the perceived problems of collectivism-individualism, need for affiliation-need for achievement and linear – circular concepts of time can be addressed. They therefore advocate a) team development processes which foster the view of executive groups as co-operative family units, b) structural changes using matrix structures, project management, employee scheduling of work, c) evaluating and rewarding the performance of a stable work group rather than the individual (Moerdyk, 1984). They believe that in place of attempting to re-educate black workers into individualistic modes of

behaviour, their communal approach can be harnessed by appropriate organisational design.

In this section the writers critiqued companies for ad hoc black advancement programmes which assume that the black manager must fit into a predetermined pattern. Some mention was made of companies' awareness of external social and environmental factors having an impact on internal policies.

CONCLUSIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

What emerges from this South African literature survey of variables influencing the career advancement of black managers, is that this area of research is fragmented. Our theorising about black advancement is still embryonic.

With regard to theoretical models, writers seem to assume that models, constructed in different cultures, are universally applicable without questioning this assumption. As a result the cultural relativity of variables and constructs included in the overseas models, are not researched. Hypotheses that might be valid in different cultural contexts, are assumed to be applicable in this culture and are not tested.

As yet we do not have a guiding framework which can eventually evolve into a concise integrated theoretical model relevant to the Southern African situation. In order to create such a framework, some of the existing "overseas" models (see Bowen & Hisrich, 1986) may be used as a point of departure. However, variables which seem to be more critical in the Southern African context (such as cultural diversity, legal impediments, etc.) need to be added and adequately researched.

In the South African context most of the empirical research has been done in the area of personality variables (personologist approach). Yet many of these studies have not questioned the cultural relativity of the constructs or measuring instruments. Some researchers such as Charoux (1985), Moerdyk (1985) and Pottas (1981) have been critical in this regard and have utilised measuring instruments constructed for South African samples.

Very little empirical research has been done on factors in the physical environment, social structures created by a cultural milieu and the influence of specific situations (situationism approach) which have an impact on the career advancement of black managers. Yet subjective opinions and untested assumptions abound in this area of research. One also has to be wary of the reliance on attitude surveys undertaken among small samples in a particular company as the findings cannot be generalised to all black managers. Many of the assumptions are still based on anthropological data gathered at an earlier time. Therefore the extent to which assumptions about the impact of culture and its social structures on career advancement, still apply, need to be adequately researched.

South Africa lags behind the trend to research the interactions between persons and environments (interactionist approach). Some linkages between personality and culture have been suggested (see as an example of this vast field of literature Moerdyk & Coldwell, 1982) but have not been empirically researched.

The few research designs that have been utilised tended to have a few independent and dependent variables. If an interactionist approach is eventually follo-

wed, multivariate designs will have to be created. This may again necessitate multivariate measurements.

Despite the lack of empirical research, a myriad of practical programmes, based on overseas models, have been suggested to South African companies. Many of the programmes have been rejected by black managers for a variety of reasons. If there had been a greater willingness of writers and consultants to test their hy-

potheses, greater success may have been achieved.

In future research on variables affecting the career advancement of black managers, South African researchers must be willing to empirically test their current hypotheses. Some of the research questions which need to be examined are included in the following table (Table 3).

TABLE 3
FUTURE RESEARCH ON BLACK MANAGERS' CAREER ADVANCEMENT

| Category | Research questions |
|----------------|--|
| Culture | Do major differences still exist between the cultures of ethnic groups? Do major cultural differences occur between a tribal member and a westernised member of an ethnic group? Are black managers' conformity to "tribal" cultural values situational or internalised? To what extent are there differences in cultural paradigms between black and white managers eg. in terms of perception of time, individualism versus collectivism? To what extent does the organisational behaviour of black and white managers vary? If cultural diversity does exist, how can it be used as an organisational resource? |
| Psychological | Have black managers developed a higher need for affiliation than a need for achievement, an external locus of control, a low tolerance of ambiguity, etc.? Do these constructs have any relevance for managerial success in the Southern African context? To what extent do black managers experience role conflict and role ambiguity (marginality)? What is the link between this perception of marginality and behaviour in the work situation? What are the general stereotypes black and white managers hold about each other and how does this affect organisational relationships? |
| Organisational | Are there differences in the career paths of white and black managers within a company? If so, to what extent do organisational policies contribute to the differences? To what extent do companies differ regarding policies for managerial advancement? Which factors contribute to the success of an advancement programme? Which factors need to be taken into account in creating a holistic approach to managerial advancement? |
| Societal/legal | How can companies campaign against laws impeding the occupational mobility of their workers? How do social, economical and legal barriers interact to hamper occupational mobility? Which training programmes are the most effective in overcoming educational impediments to career advancement? |

It must be noted that these preliminary research questions are not exhaustive and do not investigate the interactions between persons and environments (interactionist approach) which again illustrates how much basic research still needs to be done. Some of the objectives of this research should be to ascertain to what extent cultural diversity exists and how diversity can be utilised as an organisational resource to benefit the black manager's career advancement. Such a cautious orientation to research may yield reliable and valid data which can contribute to attempts to construct a theoretical model of variables affecting the career advancement of black managers in a multicultural society.

REFERENCES

- Adler, N.J., Doktor, R. & Redding, S.G. (1986). *From the Atlantic to the Pacific: Cross-cultural management reviewed*. Working paper, McGill University, 1-35.
- Becker, P. (1974). *Tribe and township*. St Albans, Panther.
- Biesheuvel, S. (1987). Psychology: Science and politics. Theoretical developments and applications in a plural society. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 17, 7-18.
- Boeyens, M.J. (1985). A new approach to black manager training. *Institute of Personnel Management Journal*, February, 4-7.
- Bowen, D.D. & Hisrich, R.D. (1986). The female entrepreneur: a Career development perspective. *Academy of Management Review*, 11, 2, 393-407.
- Bureau for Information. (1986). Population. *Profile factsheet*, November, 1-4.
- Buthelezi, Mangosuthu G. (1986). What boundaries for business? *Industrial Relations Journal*, 4, 58-64.
- Chalmers, B. Black advancement: some practical issues. in Barling, J. (Ed.) (1983). *Behaviour in organisations: South African perspectives*. McGraw-Hill, Johannesburg.
- Charoux, E. (1984). Criteria for selecting black managers. *Manpower Journal*, 11, 12-14.

- Charoux, E. (1985a). Identification of black leadership potential: locus of control. *Institute of Personnel Management Journal*, 8, 8-9.
- Charoux, E. (1985b). Identifying black leadership potential: achievement motivation. *Institute of Personnel Management Journal*, 10, 25-26.
- Charoux, E. (1985c). Identifying black leadership potential: conclusions. *Institute of Personnel Management Journal*, 12, 19-22.
- Charoux, E. (1986). Assessment centres identify black management potential. *Human Resource Management*, 4, 30-32.
- Cochius, D.D. (1986). Mentorship: a structured methodology for black advancement. *Institute of Personnel Management Journal*, 6, 6-9.
- Coldwell, D.A.L. & Moerdyk, A.P. (1981). Paradigms apart: Black managers in a White man's world. *South African Journal of Business Management*, 12, 3, 70-76.
- Dostal, E. (1985). Manpower: supply and demand 1980-2000. *Industrial Relations Journal*, 3, 16-24.
- Erwee, R. (1986). Achievement motivation and locus of control of black university students. *Journal of Industrial Psychology*, 12(2), 1-9.
- Fenwick, G. (1986). Managers must be involved in black advancement training. *Human Resource Management*, 4, 37-38.
- Ford, D.L. (1986). *Civil rights and anti-discrimination: The progression of women's and minorities' careers*. Paper presented at the Careers Workshop, Academy of Management, Chicago, August 12.
- Franks, P.E. (1986). *White resistance to black advancement*. Paper presented at the PASA Congress, Johannesburg, October 7.
- Godsell, G. Work values in organisations. in Barling, J. Fullagar, C. & Bluen, S. (1986). *Behaviour in organisations: South African perspectives*. McGraw-Hill, Johannesburg.
- Graaff, J.F. de V. (1987). The present state of urbanization in the South African homelands: Rethinking the concepts and predicting the future. *Development Southern Africa*, 4, 1, 46-66.
- Hammond-Tooke, W.D. (1986). The role of culture in maintaining mental health. *Psychoterapeia*, 45, 2-6.
- Harari, O. & Beaty, D.T. (1986). Africanising the South African MBA: a way of avoiding self-delusion. *South African Journal of Business Management*, 17, 1, 17-23.
- Hofmeyr, K. (1986). Black advancement – a case for affirmative action. *Human Resources Management*, 7, 23-29.
- Hofmeyr, K. (1987). Black advancement under the spotlight. Paper presented at the Multicultural Management Workshop, Johannesburg, 24-25 March, 1-10.
- Hofstede, G. (1985). The interaction between national and organisational value systems. *Journal of Management Studies*, 22, 4, 347-357.
- Human, L. (1986). Lack of social mobility hampers black advancement. *Human Resources Management*, 4, 4-13.
- Human, L. (1987). The story of Eric Matau: a reply to Edward W. Jones, Jr. Paper presented at the Multicultural Management Workshop, Johannesburg, 24-25 March, 1-27.
- Human, L. & Hofmeyr, K. (1985). *Black managers in South African organisations*. Juta, Cape Town.
- Humphrey, J. (1986). Blacks must fill more management positions. *Human Resource Management*, 4, 35-36.
- Jones, E.W. Jr. (1986). Black managers: the dream deferred. *Harvard Business Review*, May-June, 84-93.
- Kamfer, L. (1986). *Community pressures on organisations: some survey findings and implications for industrial psychology*. Paper presented at the PASA Congress, Johannesburg, October 6.
- Khoza, R. (1986). Whites suffer from cultural blindness worse than blacks. *Business Day*, March 24.
- Khoza, R. (1987). South Africa needs total management integration. *Human Resources Management*, 2, 14-19.
- Louw-Potgieter, J. (1982). Reactions of South African students to their status in society. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 118, 87-98.
- Mafuna, E. (1986). Mentorship: a sound system to train black managers. *Human Resources Management*, 4, 14-18.
- Mercer, E.B. (1986). Freedom to learn develops people in business. *Human Resources Management*, 4, 22-25.
- Mjoli, Q.T. (1987). The role of the psychologist in culturally diverse Southern Africa. *Development Southern Africa*, 4, 1, 7-20.
- Moerdyk, A.P. (1984). Improving productivity in South Africa. *Manpower Journal*, 7, 15-23.
- Moerdyk, A.P. (1985). *Evaluating the effectiveness of bridging education programmes*. Paper presented at the PASA Congress, Pretoria.
- Moerdyk, A.P. & Coldwell, A.L. (1982). On fitting paradigms to people. *South African Journal of Business Management* 13, 4, 189-196.
- Moodley, K. (1986). *Multiculturalism in the workplace of the future*. Paper presented at the Women's Bureau Congress, Johannesburg, September 4.
- Nasser, M.E. (1984). Achievement training- a re-assessment of the technique and its impact on the development of supervisory and managerial talent in South Africa. *South African Journal of Business Management*, 15, 105-108.
- National Manpower commission. (1986a). *Report for the period 1 January 1985-31 December 1985*. Pretoria, National Manpower Commission, 1-120.
- National Manpower Commission. (1986b). *The training and development of managers in the RSA, 1983/84 – a factual survey*. National Manpower Commission and National Training Board, Pretoria, 1-88.
- National Manpower Commission. (1987). *Resente Ontwikkelinge met betrekking tot hoëvlak- en middelvlakmannekrag in die RSA*. National Manpower Commission, Pretoria, 1-75.
- Ntseare, K. (1986). Black advancement at Pick 'n Pay. *Institute for Personnel Management Journal*, 6, 27-28.
- Orpen, C. (1985). The effects of behaviour modelling training on managerial attitudes and performance: a field experiment. *International Journal of Management*, 6, 4, 21-24.
- Pottas, C.D. (1981). *Entrepreneurspotensiaal onder swart studente*. *Development Studies of Southern Africa*, 3, e 243-261.
- Prekel, T. (1985). *Black women at work: overcoming double obstacles*. Working paper, School for Business Leadership, Unisa, Pretoria.
- Raubenheimer, I. van W., & Kotzé, J.C. (1984). *Personeelbestuurder en die swart werker*. Durban, Butterworth.
- Retief, A. (1986). *Theories of culture and environment: common themes*. Paper presented at the PASA Congress, Johannesburg.

- Riordan, Z.A.V. (1981). Locus of control in South Africa. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 115, 159-168.
- Stewart, B. (1986). Community development projects vital for black advancement. *Human Resources Management*, 4, 33-34.
- Van Wyk, R.J. (1985). Environmental change and the task of the human resource manager. *South African Journal of Business Management*, 16, 2, 71-75.
- Viljoen, J. (1987). What future for South African management? *Institute of Personnel Management*, 1, 22-26.
- Wagenaar, C.F. (1979). Social responsibility: the changing role of business in South Africa. *South African Journal of Business Management*, 10, 3, 93-100.