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EMPOWERING BLACK MANAGERS IN A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

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ABSTRACT

Recently, Erwee (1988) discussed the issue of black advancement in South Africa. This paper extends and clarifies her views. Three reasons for lack of progress are proposed. The first two, namely *prejudice* and *lock of ability* are rejected in favour of a mismatch argument, which argues that management is ethnocentric, seeking out and rewarding behaviours that are arbitrary and inappropriate. The effects of "culture" on the behaviour of black employees and white management are discussed and the need is stressed for both groups to move from their ethnocentric value systems and behaviour patterns if black managers are to be "empowered" to achieve their full potential.

OPSOMMING

Erwee (1988) het onlangs die kwessie van swart vooruitgang in Suid-Afrika bespreek. Hierdie referaat brei daarop uit en lewer kommentaar op haar sienswyse. Drie redes vir die gebrek aan vordering word aan die hand gedoen. Die eerste twee, naamlik *vooroordeel* en *gebrek aan bekwaamhied* word verwerp ten gunste van 'n *wanpassings-argument* waarvolgens bestuur as etnosentries beskou word en dienooreenkomstig gedrag soek en beloon wat in wese arbitrêr en ontoepaslik is. Die effek van "kulturele" faktore op die gedrag van swart werknemers en blanke bestuurders word bespreek en die behoefte daaraan dat beide groepe wegbeweeg van hulle etnosentriese waardestelsels en gedragspatrone, word beklemtoon as voorvereiste vir die bemagtiging van swart bestuurders om hulle volle potensiaal te verwesenlik.

In her recent article, Erwee (1988) examines in depth some of the major issues pertaining to the advancement of black employees into management positions in South Africa. The aim of this paper is to build on and extend the arguments she puts forward.

The aim of the Erwee article is "to describe culturally specific variables in the South African context which affect the career advancement of black managers" (p. 9) and then to pose a series of questions requiring further research (Table 3, p. 16). She organizes her discussion in four major categories. These are: *Physical environment theories* (largely relating to legal impediments, lack of geographic mobility, poor education and "sociological factors"); *The cultural hypothesis* ("that culture influences organizatitons both through societal structures and through the values, attitudes and behaviour of participants" p. 11); *Personologist approaches* ("which conceptualises behaviour as a function of personality factors" p. 10); and *Organizational policies* (e.g., discriminatory organizational practices such as selection, access to training, and the blocking of promotion).

Although this list is comprehensive and covers most, if not all, of the major factors influencing upward occupational mobility, the boundaries between them are not absolutely clearcut. For example, failure to be selected for a position can be a result of discrimination (i.e., suitable candidates are rejected on the basis of race or sex); as a result of management practices (for example, by setting entry standards too high or using wrong selection methods); or it can be because the applicant shows poor work-related values and attitudes (a "cultural" factor) that may have arisen in part as a result of poor education (a "physical environment" factor) and in part because of social class and ethnic value systems ("cultural" factors). A further problem arises when such issues as *motivation* are taken into consideration (for example, are *need for achievement* or *perserverence in the face of adversity* "cultural" factors, "educational" factors or "personologist" factors?).

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In order to overcome these and similar problems with Erwee's (1988) formulation, a simpler, more process-oriented, formulation is proposed. Simply stated, if people fail to achieve in the business world, this may be because (a) they are prevented from entering and/or performing properly (a discrimination or *exclusion* model); (b) they are not capable of doing the job, for whatever reason (a *deficit* model); or (c) the talents they have, although valuable in themselves, are not required by the particular organizational environment (a *mismatch* model). Each of these arguments or models is now examined in more detail.

The Exclusion Model

Simply stated, this argument is that minority groups are actively prevented from entering into more senior jobs by the dominant group. For example, in a recent paper, Braddock and McPartland (1987) argue that minority groups in the U.S. are excluded at different stages of the employment process — at the recruitment or "job candidate" stage, at the selection or "job entry" stage and at the promotion or "job advancement" stage. If we look at Erwee's (1988) paper, we can see that many of the points she makes can be recast in terms of this framework.

Clearly, many of the factors she lists under the "physical environment theories" can be interpreted directly as *exclusionary* forces aimed at protecting the white minority from competition for various scarce resources and power. At the sociopolitical level these include job reservation, influx control, the Group Areas' Act, inferior education and other legal impediments. Exclusionary factors at the organizational level would include discriminatory practices with respect to recruitment and selection, promotion, performance appraisal and the host of other "evils" identified by Franks (1986) and listed by Erwee (p. 14). At a more subtle level, the term "malicious compliance" has been used to describe the behaviours that give the impression of aiding the advancement process but which in reality are designed to sabotage it by setting people up for failure. In recent times, pressures brought by some black political and community leaders and organizations to bear on upwardly mobile black employees not to participate in the "racial capitalist" system is another form of exclusionary pressure.

Of course, these exclusionary forces need not necessarily be blatant and deliberate — many organizational practices are discriminatory by virtue of poor planning, lack of specialist knowledge and even the unavailability of equitable "non-racial" procedures. The whole question of the psychometric testing of minority groups in South Africa, (with ethnic tests and different norms) is potentially an area of great, though unintentional, discrimination.

The Deficit Model

The *deficit* theory in its crudest manifestation argues that various groups are genetically unable to master certain tasks or to hold senior positions. The arguments put forwardd by authors like Jensen (1969), Eysenck (1971) and Shockley (e.g., 1986) with respect to the relatively poor school and work performance of American Negroes are familiar. Shockley (1986), for example, states that:

> "the tragedies of social, educational, and economic disadvantages of Black Americans are racially genetic in origin — the evolution of the Negro races has not progressed as far as it has for the white and yellow races . . . (T) hese tragedies for Blacks are increasing through backward evolution. The cause is dysgenics . . . [which is] the retrogressive evolution caused by the excessive reproduction of the genetically disadvantaged" (pp. 3-4).

These arguments are rejected by all thinking people. At the same time, it is amusing to note that in accounting for the relative paucity of females at management levels in U.S. corporations, this kind of argument is put forward. For example, when asked by Sutton and Moore (1985) why there were so few female managers in their organization and why the earning and status of female managers were lower than that of their male counterparts, one of their respondents — a male bank vice-president — stated quite categorically that:

> " . . . There is a basic difference between the sexes that has to do with reproductive functions and early childhood experiences. That difference will likely prevent women from achieving equality in leadership positions" (p. 66).

Another version of the deficit argument is that certain people, and groups of people, by virtue of the way they are socialized, lack required patterns of motivation, values and attitudes. For example, it is argued by some people that individuals who are low in achievement motivation lack the sense of determination, drive and "bloody-mindedness" required for success in the competitive world of business. A typical example of this kind of argument is given by Riger and Calligan (1984). Respondents in their study argue (pp. 902–903) that women generally struggle in the US corporate world because "female socialization practices encourage the development of personality traits and/or behaviour patterns that are contrary to the demands of the managerial role". Similarly, one of Sutton and Moore's (1985, p. 67) respondents, a male vice-president of an electronics company argues that: "If from birth one is taught 'femininity', it is difficult for the adult women to change those instilled attitudes enough to fit into the corporate world". Buouno and Kamm (1983) argue that women are socialized into a particular *female societal role*, which they define (p. 1128) as "a constellation of certain feminine traits . . . (e.g. emotionality, narrow task orientation, inability to take risks, inability to delegate authority)".

In the South African context, Humen and Allie (1989), investigated the attitudes of 103 white, English-speaking MBA students at the University of Cape Town, with respect to the advancement of women in business. One quarter of their respondents felt that women are less capable than men of learning mathematical and mechanical skills and even larger percentages had problems with the competitiveness, self-confidence and emotional control of women. More than 80% felt that many men in their companies believe that women do not 'have what it takes' to become managers.

These arguments about the lack of "female advancement" are clearly put forward in terms of a socio-cultural model in which differences arise from social and educational experiences. In all four of the studies cited above, male-female *differences* have been interpreted as *deficits* on the part of the females.

The Mismatch Argument

An alternative to this *deficit* model is a *mismatch* argument which states that different motivational patterns and value systems are in themselves neutral. Under varying circumstances these characteristics may be viewed as strengths, weaknesses or of no relevance to the issue at hand. Put differently, the mismatch view holds that black advancement has failed to take off, not because black employees are *deficient* in abilities or lack initiative, but rather because those abilities and characteristics they have (skills, attitudes and values) are not recognized by or properly utilized in their work environment. This is quite different from the deficit model which says "ability is lacking" but argues instead that there is a basic incompatibility between the abilities, values, and other characteristics commonly available in the black workforce and those that are seen by management as desirable. We have argued extensively elsewhere (e.g. Moerdyk and Coldwell, 1982), that it is management's *enthnocentrism* that is at fault — white management in this country believes that the ways of managing that have been inherited from our colonial predecessors is the only or the best way of managing. This is a misperception, as Hofstede's work (e.g., 1980) clearly indicates. More appropriate ways of managing, motivating, developing and rewarding people are possible and even preferable in South Africa's mixed economy.

In her paper, Erwee (1988, p. 13) discusses the misapplication of Western psychological concepts like "achievement motivation", "locus of control" and "tolerance of ambiguity" to the analysis of non-Western groups. She cites Biesheuvel (1987) whom she notes "decries the ethnocentrism which analyses the behaviour in terms of constructs which are not relevant to their cultures". The whole thrust of the *mismatch* thesis is precisely this point — why judge people in terms of criteria that are not relevant to them — whether in terms of their psychological make-up and functioning, or in terms of their job-related behaviours? Psychologists, as much as business leaders and managers, must move away from their ethnocentric world-views. We have argued elsewhere (e.g., Moerdyk, 1983a) that South African managers must move to a unique South African way of business life — we must find ways of "squaring the hole" rather than of "rounding the peg". After all, as Cherniss (1980, p. 158) has so correctly pointed out in this regard, "it is easier to restructure a role than to restructure the character of either an individual or a society". However, in order to make these changes some attention has to be paid to the nature of any differences that exist — an exercise that was carried out in Moerdyk and Coldwell (1982). Some ways of achieving this "role restructuring" have been described in Moerdyk (1983b) in order to minimize stress, and in Moerdyk (1984a; 1984b) to enhance productivity.

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sioned by the SA Foundation (HRM, 1989) showed a significant number of black managers having:

> "great difficulty in adjusting to the demands of the white-dominated corporate environment, having to act out imposed roles and conform to white corporate norms of body language, social habits and style of dress" (p. 8).

This issue and the accompanying need to move away from "Eurocentric" management styles and processes to a unique South African style brings us to the question of "culture" and its role in business and black advancement.

THE ROLE OF "CULTURE" IN BUSINESS

Culture is usually defined by anthropologists and sociologists as the sum total of behavioural paterns, attitudes and values which are recognized as desirable by members of a given community. The classic definition is that of Taylor (1871), who states that culture is:

> "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society".

Culture is thus a collective noun or "basket of meaning" used as a shorthand for the symbolic and learned aspects of human society — its language, customs and conventions. Quite clearly a society's culture shapes the attitudes and values of its members through child-rearing and socialization practices and through its taboos and sanctions (i.e., its social and legal structures). Culture serves to shape the individual's behaviour by prescribing and proscribing (permitting and restricting) certain courses of action and by strengthening or weakening the underlying psychological processes (such as motivation) upon which this behaviour is built. In this spirit, Hofstede (1980, p. 43) defines culture as "the collective mental programming of the people in an environment".

The term "culture" is thus used to describe the value systems, norms and expectations of people in any organization or group. In this sense, different organizations can have different "cultures", class differences in Britain and elsewhere are seen to be "cultural" in origin — and the differences in outlook between males and females towards many aspects of life are largely "cultural", in that they reflect habitual modes of thought and behaviour that have their origin in the socialization and lived experiences of the two sexes.

Of course, not all members of a cultural group are identical. Not all Germans are the same as all other Germans, nor are all Frenchmen the same as all other Frenchmen. However, it remains true that most Germans are more like other Germans than they are like Englishmen, Frenchmen or Japanese — in terms of values, attitudes, behaviours and motivations. The work by Hofstede (e.g., 1980) on international differences in work-related values illustrates this argument very well.

In looking at the issue of "culture" and its relation to black advancement in Western technological societies, Biesheuvel (1980) notes the that culture:

> " . . . is seen by some as an attempt to justify discriminative treatment . . . There is a feeling that managements in particular hide behind alleged cultural differences to do little or nothing to further significant advancement of Blacks. If only we were to create confidence, so the argument goes, give Blacks the right expectations, make genuine training efforts, then there would be no reason to believe that Blacks would not perform just as well as Whites . . .
>
> I do not think that scientists should be confused by these arguments, or distracted from their search for facts. We are all creatures of culture. Culture is the accumulated experience and wisdom of the past. It provides us with a set of adaptations to the requirements of the particular society in which we are born and which we acquire through our upbringing and education . . .
>
> It is therefore in the interest of the Blacks themselves that we should know how culture has moulded their abilities, on what foundations we have to build to achieve competence in various fields, what methods are best suited for this process of development. Performance is the ultimate test and Blacks are far more likely to pass the performance test if we do not play at make-believe (pp. 5–6).

Against this backdrop, "the most often quoted summary of the differences between African and Western world views and cultural paradigms" (to use Erwee's [1988, p. 12] words) was put forward in tabular form by Moerdyk and Coldwell, (1982) as poles on a continuum rather than as an absolute dichotomy. In much the same way, Hofstede (1980) identifies Germanic countries (e.g., Germany, Switzerland, and Austria) as *masculine* and Scandinavian countries and Holland as *feminine* countries (See his work for the specific meaning he attaches to these terms).

A whole series of tables similar to that currently under discussion could be drawn up in respect of *capitalist* and *socialist* countries, in terms of *plain-dwellers* and *coast-dwellers* and even in terms of *bicycle-riders* and *non-bicycle-riders*. Drawing up such a table does not in any way absolutize or reify the concepts contained in the table.

And thus, although we may have argued in our original work that the general picture described "exist(s) across all levels of acculturation", we have come to realize that this is a matter of degree and not of absolutes. In fact, Moerdyk (1986a; 1986b) has clearly demonstrated that, on many of the psychological dimensions given in his table, *black graduates and potential managers score as high and even higher than those of equivalent white graduates*. Indeed, given the current and historic inequalities of the education systems in South Africa, it could hardly be otherwise. It has always been our view that with increasing modernization and acculturation to Western norms and as one moves up the job hierarchy, these differences become less and less discernable. but we maintain they do not completely disappear.

This point of view is reinforced by a number of recent writers who have argued that particular cultural values may survive long periods, even after "transplantation" to a very different environment. For example, it is argued that strong African cultural "remnants" can be detected in the values and socialization practices of North American negroes. This view is subscribed to by numerous black American writers when arguing for a distinct black psychology within what they term an "Afro-centric" perspective. White (1984), for example, makes the following statement (amongst numerous others):

> "At the root of the Afro-American frame of reference is an identifiable African cultural influence that has persisted despite the continuing exposure of the Black American psyche to the Euro-American culture during the past 350 and more years of geographical and temporal separation from Africa. Black psychology, the psychology of blackness, is the attempt to build a conceptual model to organize, explain, and understand the psychosocial behaviour of Black Americans based on the primary dimensions of an Afro-American world view" (p. 3).

Barnes-Harden (1984), makes a similar point.

> " . . . we find that no matter how oppressed the African and his progeny, no matter how suppressed his cultural heritage, he has

> managed to retain in his safekeeping some parts (whether in full or partial form) of the original African way entirely to himself. Many of these "Africanisms" (or "African continuities", "African survivals", or "African retentions", as they have been called) can be recognized easily as they appear in obvious and readily comparable forms in black life" (p. 31–33).

Wade Boyken (1983), in turn argues that:

> "To understand the Afro-American cultural ethos, it has been argued, requires insight into its African roots. Yet ultimately, Afro-Americans are, . . . of "African root but . . . American fruit" . . .

It is of course possible to reject these arguments as the sepculations of a suppressed people urgently and romantically trying to establish their "Roots". To do so may be fashionable in certain circles, but to ignore the existence of cultural differences is as ideologically biased and naive as is the building of restrictive social policies upon these differences.

"Culture" as a factor in black advancement

Where does this argument take us in respect of Black Advancement? Firstly, it is important to note that advancement in business organizations is essentially an exercise in power distribution. Using Schein's (1971)" conical" model, advancement occurs in one or both of two ways — moving *inwardly* towards its "power core" and upwardly towards the seat(s) of power. Secondly, it is argued that there exists a powerful hegemony in most organizations that is dominated by a group of *ethnocentric, white, somewhat conservative, Anglo-Saxon and/or Afrikaans males* who are unwilling to share this power with "outgroup" members, be they black, or female, — Rosabeth Kanter's (1980) "A Tale of 'O'" illustrates how this is maintained.

In South Africa, the general reluctance to accept the need to move away from Eurocentric management practices lies at the heart of the relative failure of Black Advancement and "Female Advancement" programmes. "Culture", in this context, is used as a justification for exclusion (e.g., Biesheuvel, 1980, pp. 5–6 cited above), and for black employees to succeed they must be seen by white management as "black Europeans". By the same token, females must be seen as some kind of sloppy, sentimental male. Until management in South Africa comes to a different understanding, outgroups will be powerless to make the proper and meaningful contribution to the organization of which they are capable. Thus racial, cultural and even sexual characteristics become important barriers to progress — *not in themselves, but because they are visible "pegs" upon which to hang a "pariah" or "untouchable" label.* The more similar the person is (both culturally and phenotypically) to in-group members, the easier it is for him (or her) to overccome the barriers to in-group membership and thus to be integrated into the power structures of the organization.

At the same time it is intereesting to note that some minority groups have been able to overcome the disadvantages of their minority group status, while others who are equally as discriminated against are unable to do this, and have become "pariahs". For example, as Bostrom (1986) points out, both Jews and Chinese have risen to positions of relative advantage and affluence, and even economic dominance, in societies in which they were discriminated against and subjected to prejudice, stereotyping, and frequent violent attack.

Within the United States, Sowell (1983) has compared the impoverished Scots-Irish farm folk with their relatively prosperous German neighbours who were in fact given the less desirable land in Appalachia. He compares the upwardly mobile Japanese Americans with the much less-well-off Mexican Americans. He contrasts the relatively well off black West Indians who have only relatively recently migrated to the United States with the black American population that had migrated and become nationalized much earlier. Clearly, these differences are inexplicable in terms of racial and ethnic discrimination, in that the different groups were equally discriminated against, and require the inclusion of other variables, such as ethnic/cultural values related to work, savings, and entrepreneurship.

Cummins (1986), in looking at school achievement and patterns of minority student failure in various parts of the world, shows (p. 21) that power and status relations between minority and majority groups exert a major influence on school performance. He gives the example of the relatively poor academic performance of Finnish students in Sweden, where they are a low-status group, compared to their far greater success in Australia, where they are regarded as a high-status group. Similarly, Ogbu (1978) reports that the outcast Bnurakumin group perform poorly in Japan but as well as other Japanese students in the United States.. Cummins (1986) sees this occurring because dominated groups become powerless and "disabled" in their interactions with the dominant group. An important outcome of this is that they show many of the symptoms of "learned helplessness" (Seligman, 1975) and of stress (Moerdyk, 1983). When these "poor" students move into a new "enabling" context, in which the cues of minority or out-group status and helplessness are absent, their "disablement" is effectively neutralized and they are "empowered" to perform as well as members of other groups.

The issue of "merit"

Clearly, people are, (or should be) promoted on the basis of "merit" irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex. So, what then constitutes "merit"? Dictionary synonyms include terms like *worth, value, excellence, dessert* (as in "just dessert"), so clearly it has to do with the assessment of one's competence or performance as being satisfactory or above average. Merit is being able to do what is required of one well. However, if one looks deeper into the issue, it can be seen that one important component of what constitutes doing something "well" is that it involves a judgement that the individual's performance will contribute to the achievement of the organization's aims, and that he/she is 'safe' and 'trustworthy'. Schein (1965), for example, observes that:

> "Advancement into the higher levels of management is as much or more a function of having the right atitudes, values and perspectives as it is a function of having the right skills and abilities." (p. 1)

Braddock and McParland (1987) in their survey of 4078 US employers show (p. 13) that attitudinal traits are at least as important as education or training in hiring decisions for many jobs. For example, dependability in coming to work regularly and on time, proper attitudes about work and supervisors, and the ability to get along well with work members consistently top employers' lists of qualities they seek in new employees.

Finally, as Rosen and Jerdee (1977 p. 631), have shown, "outsiders" are at a disadvantage in the organization in that minority and low status employees are consistently evaluated as less likely to use good judgement and less likely to consider organizational objectives ahead of personal goals. (Cohen (1986) refers to this tendency to undervalue the contribution of minorities as "interaction disability".

This argument suggests tha having "merit" has as much to do with the extent to which the individual is seen as being similar to the boss (ie "social closeness") as it has to job-related

competencies. Put another way, to be seen as competent means to be seen as having the same or similar characteristics, interests and motivations as the boss. Kanter (1977), in looking at the upward job mobility of women, makes this value orientation quite explicit when she notes that:

> "There is much research evidence that leaders choose to promote the careers of socially similar subordinates . . . One manager put it this way: 'Boy wonders rise under certain power structures. They're recognised by powerful persons because they are very much like him. He sees himself in younger version in the person . . . *Who can look at a woman and see himself!*' " (p. 51, emphasis added).

The same can be said for the potential black manager. However, when we consider how much closer the potential female manager is to the typical white male manager than is the potential black manager (in terms of perceived social distance), it can be seen that the black employee is going to be far worse off. To paraphrase Kanter: "*Which white manager can look at a black manager and see himself reflected there?*"

Quite clearly, then, if "merit" is to be the key to black advancement, a new definition of *merit* that is appropriate to the South African context will have to be found. Will (1983), goes some of the way when he states that:

> "the trouble with the merit principles is that the current notion of 'merit' is far too narrow: it is normally conceived in terms of probable future success in performing the kinds of duties that would be listed in a person's job-description. A more reasonable criterion, both from the company's point of view and from that of candidates for a job, would be the broader one of *a person's probable overall value to the organization*. Obviously, the employee who carries out his assigned tasks most efficiently is not necessarily the one who most benefits his work unit or the organization as a whole; for example in contributing towards a healthy diversity of values and opinions which can help to improve unit performance". (p. 39, emphasis added)

In this passage, Will argues for a much broader conception of what merit means, and concludes that it has to do with the person's contribution to the overall value of the organization. Hofmeyr (1985), makes a similar point when he argues that "Suggestions that advancement must depend solely on merit are shortsighted because they assume that all factors are equal." (p. 31)

EMPOWERING BLACK MANAGERS

The above analyses suggests that socio-economic status and other forms of "culture" operate to influence work performance and occupational advancement in four distinct (though sometimes complementary) ways. These need to be reversed to ensure that advancement occurs.

Firstly, there are macro legal and social factors tht continue to act as *socio-political environmental barriers* and which discriminate against people of different race groups, cultures and outgroups. These exclusionary forces need to be removed. To do this, management needs to extend its corporate social responsibility into reversing social and educational inequalities. A few organizations are doing something in this area but, according to Erwee (1988, p. 14), most organizations do not see this as an important contribution they should be willing to make to the future of South Africa. Management must also lobby the State for legislative changes — and, for the strong at heart, even to move into a "confrontation" mode — in such areas as the Separate Amenities Act, the Group Area Act and the separate educatiton systems. The need to draw up anti-discriminatory (e.g., EEO) legislation is an important governmental priority as put forward by the Law Commission and discussed elsewhere, (See Moerdyk (1987)). Erwee, (1989) also discusses how EEO can/should be made to apply in the context of 'female advancement'. Moreover, management must set the scene within their own organizations and must help manage the change process (Moerdyk and Fone 1987, 1988).

Secondly there exist, and shall continue to exist for the foreseeable future, specific knowledge and educatiton-based *deficits* that militate against the advancement of certain segments of the black workforce — as they do against segments of the white workforcce. These need to be addressed to a larger extent by the State and by the private sector by means of bursary schemes and education upliftment programmes. At the same time, the need to develop management sysems appropriate to the African context has been recognized (Blunt, 1983), as has the need to improve management training (Safavi, 1981; Harari and Beaty, 1986).

However, to argue that culturally-based differences which are known to exist across groups should be seen as deficits merely reflects the rigidity and ethnocentrism of the system in which the behaviour is being judged. Attempts to teach "achievement motivation" to potential black managers is one example of the ethnocentric trap into which management sometimes falls. Even if black employees generally show low levels of individual achievement orientation (and we have shown this is *not* always to be the case), it is white management alone that labels this a *deficit*. Participative management approach as that emphasize team work and mutual support do not always require individualism and high levels of N.Ach.

Thirdly, closely related to this deficit view is the *outgroup* argument, which sees job advancement in terms of perceived social distance. In other words, the more one is seen as "different", the more unlikely it is that one will be seen to have merit and to be accepted into the organizational power-core and up the job hierarchy. The "solution" in terms of this formulation is for the aspirant black managers to actively take steps to minimize the social distance between themselves and the "establishment" in the organization. However, as with the deficit view, the assumption here is that the "out-group" is at fault and that any adjustments that have to be made will have to come from the "out-group" members, and no need is seen for the "in-group" to adapt.

Finally, there is the *empowerment* argument — although people must develop the competencies required for the adequate performance of their jobs, they must also be allowed, *enabled* or *empowered* to do their jobs properly. This argument has two sides. Firstly, minimum levels of knowlegde and expertise are required and must be developed via training programmes and special "bridging educatiton" programmes, if and where necessary.

The other side of this empowerment argument is that management needs to examine critically those processes, procedures and culturally-based assumptions that act as barriers to performance and advancement. These include entry qualifications, job structures, ethnocentric (and thus arbitrary) value judgments and "standards" against which "success" is judged. Thus if we are to employ black managers, we have to take into account the value systems brought by the aspirant black manager to the work place. Not to do so is to run the risk of being irrelevant. The work of Blunt (1980) in Kenya, and Safavi (1981) in Nigeria and the proposal put forward by Harari and Beaty (1986) with respect to the design of more appropriate management education systems show that at least some academics are coming to terms with the issues.

CONCLUSION

The whole thrust of our writing in the past has been to lay the basis of a new definition of what is required in South Africa today. We started off (Coldwell and Moerdyk, 1981; Moerdyk and Coldwell, 1982) by pointing out the reality of the different cultural heritages people bring, in varying degrees, to the work situation and the impact these can have on patterns of motivatiton, values and job related needs. We then suggested (Moerdyk, 1983a, b; 1984a, b) that jobs and organizational structures should be adapted to build upon, rather than deny, existing and deep-seated values. We have developed a general model for the implementation of non-racial, merit-based manning programes (Moerdyk, 1986) that exhorts management to examine their assumptions about how black advancement should be conceptualized and implemented, and we have assisted management in the implementation of such programmes (Queripel, Richardson and Moerdyk, 1986). Some people, have followed this general direction. Many have chosen to interpret the dimensions that we listed in our "most often quoted" table as *deficits* and not as differences signalling a *potential mismatch* which, if addressed, would "contribute to a healthy diversity of values and opinions" (Will, 1983), to the benefit of the organization and its bottom line profitability.

Our later research (e.g., Moerdyk 1986a; 1986b) has made it plain that the differences put forward are not absolute dichotomies but are poles on a continuum and that many black people are higher on the "desirable" values than equivalent white people. We have argued strongly (Moerdyk, 1983a; 1983b) that managements must move from their untenable Eurocentrism in order to build a unique South African management philosophy. Of course, it can be argued that black managers should first come to terms with the current (Eurocentric) principles of the business/commercial/industrial world and only then to move away from these established princeples, i.e., they should "first learn how to ride the bicycle, before changing its design". To put forward this argument, however, it is to miss the whole point — if people live where bicycles cannot operate and thus lack bicycle-riding skills, why should they be expected to have to learn to ride bicycles. In Venice, or in the riverine deltas of the Ganges, it would be nonsensical to insist on teaching people to ride bicycles, for the sole reason that it is believed that bicycle riding is an essential skill. It is far more appropriate for them to reorietate their thinking in terms of paddling boats and punting gondolas.

To use Hammond-Tooke's (1986) terms, it is time that white South Africcan management became *irumsha*, someone who has changed culturally, and to move away from being *itshipa* — a cheap but powerful absconder from reality who imposes his set of values from high upon the workplace. It is a simple truth that people are different and that groups of people are different, that as a result they may have to be treated differently. to deny this basic reality is as ideologically biased and naive as it is to abolutise these differences into rigid social structures. It was never our intention to do this later, but it was, and still is, our academic and civic duty to argue the case against managerial arrogance and ethnocentrism.

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